COMMONWEALTH

A JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

COMMMONWEALTH: A Journal of Political Science

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Acknowledgments

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In Memoriam

COMMONWEALTH regrets to note the death on February 22, 2006 of one of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association's senior members, Dr. John "Jack" Hopkirk who was 79. Dr. Gordon Henderson of Widener University graciously provided the following reflections.

Jack earned his B.A. from Swarthmore College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from Princeton University. In 1960 he joined Widener University, then Pennsylvania Military College (PMC), as an assistant professor of political science specializing in American government and constitutional law. Before that he taught at Harper College and served as chief of the Personnel Training Section of the New York State Health Department in Albany.

As chair of Widener's Liberal Arts Division, Jack was instrumental in the creation of several new academic departments. He also helped in establishing the College of Nursing. He represented the college as a member of the Greater Chester Movement, and he ran a college-sponsored program to find housing for families displaced by urban renewal. He participated in an institute for race relations for teachers in Chester schools, and he directed an interdisciplinary institute on urban affairs. During his tenure as head of the Liberal Arts Division, the first African-American professor was hired at the college.

Jack served as President of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association and vice-president of the Northeastern Political Science Association. He was a long-time member of the board of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Society for Public Administration. In fact, he met his wife of 48 years, Priscilla, in 1954 at that body's annual meeting. They would both come to teach political science, Jack at PMC/Widener, and Priscilla at Villanova.

Jack had a passion for Supreme Court decisions. His constitutional law classes brought to life the intrigue behind seemingly mundane legal disputes. He believed that governmental decisions were the outcome of complex personal, political, and institutional interactions and that one must look beyond official and media explanations to find an accurate account. Jack carried this conviction into retirement when he and Priscilla devoted themselves to a study of the 60 year long political saga surrounding the planning and construction of the "Blue Route" linking the Pennsylvania Turnpike with Interstate 95.

Jack was an unrepentant story-teller. This came in handy when he and Priscilla, blissfully retired, began to tour the globe with trips to England, France, Egypt, India, China, Japan, and New Zealand as well as cruises of the Mediterranean and along the coasts of Africa and South America. The Hopkirks also allowed themselves plenty of time to indulge their other shared passion: ballroom dancing.

My colleagues and I knew Jack as a man with a heart of gold. His compassion for individuals, groups, and entire communities is reflected not only in his record of public service but also in the many kindnesses he did for so many of his friends, neighbors, and colleagues.

DENNIS M. O'BRIEN
THE SPEAKER
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA

I am very pleased to write a preface for this volume of **COMMONWEALTH: A JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**. While this is the thirteenth edition of the journal published by the Pennsylvania Political Science Association (PPSA), it represents the first joint venture between the PPSA and the Legislative Office for Research Liaison (LORL)—the non-partisan research liaison office of the House of Representatives.

I feel that the legislature will benefit from this venture in a number of ways. First, it will encourage more scholarly research on state and local government in Pennsylvania and the region. Second, this joint venture will help build stronger ties between the General Assembly and college and university faculty in the Commonwealth, many of whom assist the legislative process by responding to specific LORL inquiries, participating in policy seminars and committee meetings, and generally assisting with policy analysis on an informal basis.

It is my hope that this venture will lead to other cooperative endeavors as LORL expands its interaction with the university community in order to better serve this House and the people of Pennsylvania.

I send best wishes for future success of the journal to the editorial staff, authors and readers.

Dennis M. O'Brien

In the *COMMONWEALTH*
Gerard J. Fitzpatrick, Editor

No one has been more frustrated than I by the lapse of three years since the appearance of the last volume of *COMMONWEALTH*. A paucity of submissions continues to take its toll. Nonetheless, the journal has not relaxed its publication standards in an effort to accelerate its publication schedule. Indeed, I continue to be impressed by the care taken by our anonymous referees in reviewing manuscripts and by the exacting criteria they apply in evaluating the scholarly merits of submissions. As I have noted before, getting published in *COMMONWEALTH* is not easy; and if that means an occasional hiatus until we get quality articles, so be it.

I believe the content of this current volume shows that the wait has been worthwhile. As in the past, our usual contingent of five scholarly articles continues to reflect several subfields of political science: one article on political philosophy, one on international relations, and three on Pennsylvania politics or public policy. In addition, this issue of *COMMONWEALTH* marks the debut of our new book review section. Thanks go to associate editor Tom Baldino who proposed the idea and secured the reviews. All the books reviewed in this issue concern Pennsylvania government, politics, policy, and history—a focus likely to continue in the future.

In our lead article, Dr. Daniel DiLeo explores the link between 13th century Thomistic political philosophy and contemporary political liberalism. Finding that Aquinas' theologically grounded conception of "the good" is more compatible with political pluralism than modern liberals might think, Dr. DiLeo demonstrates that not only do classic political thinkers continue to speak to us from across the centuries, but that their teachings offer valuable insights into current political disputes. His article is particularly relevant to the debate between those who want to see more religion in public life and those advocating strict separation of church and state.

Perhaps the most contentious issue of George W. Bush's presidency has been the President's conduct of foreign policy, particularly his "war on terrorism." Nathan R. Shrader examines what he sees as a change in Mr. Bush's foreign policy rhetoric from "realism" to "liberal internationalism" in an effort to persuade the American public to accept his aggressive exercise of executive power on the world stage. Not only does Mr. Shrader make a valuable contribution to the literature on the

"rhetorical presidency," he also illuminates the realities of modern political marketing techniques in selling controversial public policies.

In the first of our three articles on Pennsylvania politics, Dr. Matthew Hale studies how the major local television networks in the Philadelphia media market, the nation's fourth largest, covered the 2004 elections. Focusing upon the size of the market and the competitiveness of the races within it, he finds that the networks largely ignored local and statewide races in order to focus upon the presidential contest. Moreover, while local television coverage emphasized the aspects of the "horse race" more than substantive issues, it did provide valuable information about the local electoral scene that could help voters in casting their ballots.

In a sequel to an article published in *COMMONWEALTH* four years ago, Dr. Jeffrey Kraus again portrays Philadelphia as having been really two cities with regard to the mayoral election of 2003. In a re-match of their 1999 encounter, Democratic incumbent John Street, an African-American, squared off against Sam Katz, his white Republican rival. While race again was a significant factor in the campaign, Dr. Kraus finds that partisan loyalty in this overwhelmingly Democratic city was the key to converting Street's narrow win in 1999 into a massive re-election victory four years later.

Shifting the focus from politics in the Keystone State to public policy, Drs. Marsha Weinraub, Anne B. Shlay, and Anita T. Kochanoff present a wealth of data on the demographic variations among families in the use of early childhood care and education in Pennsylvania. Regrettably, their findings show that our state has ranked low in the provision of such crucial programs. Improving the delivery of these services is imperative, particularly in the wake of the controversial *No Child Left Behind* law, which bases the allocation of federal education funds upon student performance on standardized tests.

Before closing, let me note that this is the first issue of *COMMONWEALTH* to be published under the auspices of Pennsylvania's Legislative Office for Research Liaison (LORL), the nonpartisan technical research arm of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives with which the Pennsylvania Political Science Association formed a mutually beneficial partnership in 2004. As a result of its association with LORL, *COMMONWEALTH* has widened its focus on Pennsylvania government and policy, expanded its distribution network, and reduced its operating costs. We also expect to publish more frequently than we have in recent years.

Two seasoned members of the support staff of the state legislature deserve special credit and recognition for arranging this new relationship: Michael Cassidy, Executive Director of the Office of the House Democratic Caucus Chairman and Michael King, Executive Director of LORL. Scholars as well as public servants, they not only facilitated the union of *COMMONWEALTH* and LORL but they also have provided invaluable assistance over the years toward the annual meetings of the Pennsylvania Political Science Association. Thanks to the indefatigable efforts of "the two Mikes," both PPSA and *COMMONWEALTH* have a bright future.

Thomas Aquinas and the Overlapping Consensus

Daniel DiLeo
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John Rawls claims that the belief that there is but one reasonable and rational conception of "the good" is incompatible with political liberalism. A close examination of the thought of Thomas Aquinas, however, reveals that commitment to a particular conception of "the good" need not imply a rejection of liberalism. In fact, Aquinas' notion of political virtue anticipates Rawls' overlapping consensus. In addition, a thorough exploration of Aquinas' work indicates that, for the most part, he accepts the underlying assumptions that William Galston finds at the core of political liberalism.

John Locke and others who provided the ideological foundations of liberalism presented themselves as believers applying the tenets of their faith to political questions. The liberal constraints upon the state are largely a product of monotheism's formulation of an absolute good that is beyond our comprehension.[1] Nevertheless, liberalism's refusal to privilege any particular fixed conception of the good seems to bring it into opposition with any faith that makes positive claims about the nature of the good life and the purpose of human existence. Max Weber (1958, 79–80) claimed that prior to Luther there was no such thing as the modern notion of "the calling," (*beruf*), which stands against the power of political or religious authorities to make the decisions that determine what individuals do with their lives. The tension between liberalism and religion would appear to be particularly acute when the positive claims about the nature of the good life are delivered as pronouncements of a hierarchical church leadership that claims to be the voice of God on earth, such as the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church. John Rawls places Thomas Aquinas within the "dominant tradition"[2] that holds that there is but one reasonable and rational conception of the good, a view Rawls (1996, 134–135) considers to be incompatible with political liberalism. I maintain, however, that Aquinas' understanding of virtue as a multi-tiered category allows his commitment to a single, comprehensive

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doctrine of the good to allow space for a considerable range of heterodox views as long as he does not see those views as a direct threat to the souls of the faithful. Aquinas may differ with liberal democracy on the desirability of widespread political participation and other matters, but his views on pluralism are remarkable for their similarity to those of Rawls.

The argument Aquinas makes on behalf of pluralism goes beyond providing reasons for accepting Rawls' "overlapping consensus" of disparate "reasonable comprehensive doctrines" once it has been instituted (Rawls 1985, 225–226; Rawls 1996, 134). Aquinas argues that the creation of an overlapping consensus is a positive good in itself. Nor is his support for an overlapping consensus an aberrant anomaly that is inconsistent with his general views. It is of a piece with his acceptance of a set of metaphysical assumptions that is remarkably similar to those William Galston (1988) identifies as the essential foundation of political liberalism. Aquinas' acceptance of these assumptions is evident in passages that are laced throughout his copious works. If the work of Aquinas is compatible with political pluralism, it is entirely possible that other apparently anti-liberal religious traditions that contain a similar multi-tiered conception of virtue and similar metaphysical assumptions about the human person may also have room for diverse political views.

This article shows how in the presence of certain beliefs about the human condition that are very similar to those at the core of modern liberalism, Aquinas' understanding of virtue as a multi-tiered category yields support for an overlapping consensus in the political arena. This is not to say that Aquinas is a supporter of the system of rights upon which modern liberal regimes are based. The right, *ius*, to which Aquinas refers, is part of a right order of things, of relations between individuals. It is not something that is held by individuals to use in whatever way they choose. Like Aristotle's *dikaion*, it is an objective right rather than a subjective one.[3] My claim, however, is that even if Aquinas does not establish rights in the modern, subjective sense,[4] he makes strong arguments for a society that permits multiple conceptions of the good.[5] My assessment of Aquinas in this respect stands in direct contrast to that of Rawls, and it raises the possibility that conceptions of the good that do not explicitly endorse democracy may nevertheless

tolerate multiple and divergent comprehensive doctrines of the good.

Aquinas' Links to Liberalism

Rawls (1996, 93) holds that a stable liberal democracy is made possible by a particular conception of justice. According to this conception, the application of our beliefs about the good to the problems that life presents to us (practical reason) will produce a diversity of views about the ideal human life and character (comprehensive doctrines) that possess features that make them "reasonable." Rawls (1996, 54, 58–59) maintains that in order to be reasonable, a comprehensive doctrine must be fairly consistent and coherent in the way it treats the major religious, philosophical and moral aspects of life, must prioritize values so that they can motivate real-life choices, and must rest upon an intellectual and doctrinal tradition. The conception of justice that makes political liberalism possible posits that no single comprehensive doctrine should exercise political hegemony by specifying which questions will be regarded as "constitutional," settled, and thus beyond the reach of ordinary political processes (Rawls 1966, 135). This is not because justice so understood denies the possibility that any single comprehensive doctrine may possess the truth about the ideal human good and character, but because adherents of many comprehensive doctrines can be sufficiently reasonable to rely on fundamental ideas of the public political culture rather than on ideas that are peculiar to their own comprehensive doctrines to settle constitutional questions (Rawls 1996, 150–151). Rawls calls the agreement of adherents of more than one reasonable comprehensive doctrine to establish a constitutional regime based only on ideas found in the public political culture the "overlapping consensus" (1996, 14). Its key feature is that none of the participants seek to place views that are distinctive to their own comprehensive doctrine beyond the reach of the ordinary political process.

Aquinas reaches a similar position through his discussion of the four cardinal virtues. They are "justice," which is giving each his due; "temperance," which is refraining from acts that are motivated by the passions against the judgment of the intellect; "fortitude,"

which is having the courage to act as the intellect tells us we should despite passions such as fear that would prevent us from right action; and "prudence," which directs the other virtues by reasoning correctly about the situations in which we find ourselves (Oesterle 1984, 110: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 2, response). Aquinas classifies these as "moral virtues" because they provide us with the will to act rightly. Other virtues, the intellectual virtues, provide us with the understanding that we need to act rightly (Oesterle 1984, 109: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 1, response). Aquinas believes that the virtues are multi-tiered. They can be possessed to various degrees of perfection, which determines the objects to which they are applied. When they are most perfectly possessed, they are "exemplar virtues." Only God possesses the virtues to this degree. Human beings are capable of possessing virtues at three lower degrees of perfection. The highest of the three is the "perfect" level of virtues. These are the virtues belonging to those who are "blessed or to those who are most perfect in this life."[6] At the next tier are the "purifying virtues," which are those virtues that move us away from the cares of the world and toward the perfect virtues.[7]

At the lowest tier are the "political virtues" (*virtutes politicas*). In his discussion of the virtues possessed at the level of the "political virtues," Aquinas advocates a political order based on a Rawlsian overlapping consensus. Accepting Aristotle's definition of man as a political animal, Aquinas argues that these virtues, by which "man comports himself rightly in human affairs," exist in man according to the condition of his nature" (Oesterle 1984, 116: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 5). This is to say that God endows all of us with these virtues at birth. They do not require any subsequent divine infusion, faith, knowledge of God, or even the virtue of charity. Aquinas maintains that pagans can possess these virtues in full measure.[8] In claiming that the virtues required for right action in human affairs are "natural" and not the exclusive possession of believers, Aquinas is justifying an "overlapping consensus" composed of believers and nonbelievers alike who possess the virtues of justice, temperance, fortitude and prudence to the degree of the political virtues.

Given Aquinas' preference for nondemocratic political institutions, how extensive is the scope of the decisions to be made by the politically virtuous members of Aquinas' overlapping

consensus? More specifically, does it include political activity? Aquinas strongly suggests that it does. The word that he uses to describe these virtues is *politicas*. The Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1947) translate the word as "social." But Oesterle (1984) translates it as "political." Oesterle's translation is better because it is the same word that Aquinas uses to paraphrase Aristotle's claim that "man is a political animal,"[9] and we know that Aristotle had in mind a range of activities that includes those that we call "political."[10] Moreover, in the same response (Oesterle 1984, 116: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 5), Aquinas states that the *virtutes politicas* are those virtues by which a person "comports himself rightly in human affairs" (*recte se habet in rebus humanis gerendis*). The people may not have been sovereign in Aquinas' ideal state, but the members of his overlapping consensus were clearly involved "in the conduct of human affairs." Although Aquinas does not discuss the implications of this claim for the constitutional regime, and although he makes a number of assertions that contradict it, it is clear that his justification of the overlapping consensus is part and parcel of a general understanding of the human condition that shares several key features with that which resides at the metaphysical core of contemporary liberalism.

There have been many attempts to identify the key assumptions that support liberalism. Perhaps the clearest and most concise effort has been that of William Galston (1988, 1285) who emphasizes three assumptions of contemporary liberal theory, each with its own implications for the conduct of political life. Galston claims that today's liberal theories rest on the assumption that our earthly existence is intrinsically valuable. He maintains that attributing value to our own earthly existence implies attributing value to the earthly existence of others, thereby obliging us to preserve the lives of others and prohibiting cruelty to them. Galston also contends that today's liberal theories assume that we value the achievement of human purposes. He believes that this implies tolerance because we must value the achievement of others' purposes if we value our own. Although Galston does not mention it, tolerance of the efforts of others to pursue the good life as they see fit in turn implies support for the right of others to decide for themselves what the good life consists of. In other words, valuing the achievement of human purposes ultimately implies support for freedom of

conscience. The third core belief that Galston identifies is that reason should constrain those of our actions that affect other people. He calls this the principle of "social rationality." It implies that reason must restrain our passions and that moderation should characterize our political agendas. Aquinas goes beyond mere agreement with all of the beliefs that Galston identifies as foundations of contemporary liberal theories. He argues forcefully on their behalf. When combined with a conception of virtue as a multi-tiered category, the value that Aquinas places on earthly existence, the achievement of human purposes, and reason as a constraint on social interactions implies a high degree of tolerance for multiple divergent conceptions of the good.

Value of Earthly Existence

Although Galston (1988, 1285) doubts that "otherworldliness" is compatible with affirming the value of our earthly existence, the otherworldly concerns of Aquinas do not prevent him from arguing strongly and consistently for it. The logical starting point of Aquinas' affirmation of the value of our earthly existence is his assertion that it is both *real* and *distinct* from divine existence. The universe and its contents have their own fully real existence that is fundamentally different from God's.[11] Our apparent existence as distinct individual human beings with distinct minds is also real.[12] Aquinas is thus prepared to see the mind of the other who holds ideas that are fundamentally different from his own as fully real and distinct, not as mere instances of false consciousness produced by forces exterior to and greater than themselves. The divergent views of others therefore deserve respect.

For Aquinas, our earthly existence is distinct from God's existence but it is not disconnected from the eternal. Aquinas makes this point by accepting Aristotle's notion of formal cause, which he illustrates by comparison of the relationship of soul to body with the relationship of shape to wax.[13] Our earthly existence takes on value because that which gives it its character and its purpose is eternal. Not only is the body the matter of which the soul is the form, but our "most important attributes" such as "sensation, memory, passion, appetite and desire in general, and, in addition, pleasure and pain" are "generated in the soul through the medium of the body."[14] It is through the body and its sensation, memory,

passion, appetite, desire, pleasure and pain that we become what we are meant to be.[15] Aquinas even goes so far as to rebut explicitly Plato's claim that the body is an instrument of the soul.[16] Aquinas strongly rejects the notion that the body and its movements are illusory, evil or unimportant.

In Aquinas' view, our earthly existence has both intrinsic and instrumental value. Its instrumental value lies in its function as moral and intellectual preparation for our ultimate purpose, the contemplation of God. It is by understanding the "divine effects," the tangible things that God has created, that we are led to the contemplation of God.[17] Aquinas also maintains that we come to understand God by learning what God is not. God is not anything that has been created. The more we know about God's creation, the more we can understand God by learning what God is not.[18] In these ways, earthly existence can enable us to move toward our ultimate purpose by providing a means by which our intellects can begin to comprehend the nature of God. Rather than contemplating God through an exclusive focus on the otherworldly, Aquinas sees us learning about God by learning about what is in this world, including the concerns and ideas of other citizens.

Aquinas believes that earthly existence has intrinsic value as well.[19] We can achieve an imperfect happiness in this life through our natural powers, that is to say, without faith or direct divine intervention.[20] This earthly happiness requires the body because it is through the body that we understand[21] and because a beautiful body contributes to our happiness by contributing to our well-being (McInerny 1998, 530–531: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 5, response). "Feebleness of the body" (*invalitudineum corporis*), on the other hand, impedes our efforts to develop virtue, thereby interfering with our prospects of happiness in this life (McInerny 1998, 533: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 6, response). Aquinas also affirms the value of our earthly existence by claiming that the perfect happiness of the next life cannot be complete without the pleasures of the body[22] and friendship (McInerny, 1998, 536: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 8, response to objection 3) as we have come to know them in this life. Aquinas respects the imperfect happiness that becomes available to us through natural reason and the body. By implication, he respects the efforts of people to attain imperfect happiness. They may or may not be adherents of the true faith.

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Galston contends that valuing our earthly existence implies a rejection of cruelty and acceptance of an obligation to preserve the lives of others. Aquinas also rejects cruelty (Finnis 1998, 126: *Summa Theologiae,* I–II, Question 100, article 3, response) and he recognizes an obligation to treat others as neighbors and brothers (Finnis 1998, 126, note 112: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 78, article 1, response to objection 2). The strength of Aquinas' rejection of cruelty and recognition of the obligation to preserve the lives of others is evident in his discussion of the virtues of the will. Aquinas believed that the will automatically desires the good as presented to it by the intellect.[23] Therefore, most good habits, or virtues, are responses to the intellect.[24] Yet, in the case of "charity, justice and the like," mere guidance by the intellect is not sufficient to bring about sufficiently strong desire by the will. The will needs its own virtue to make it more strongly committed to love of God and neighbor (McInerny 1998, 670: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 56, article 6, response). The centrality of treating others well in Aquinas' thought is manifested by his definition of virtue as "a good quality of mind whereby one lives rightly and *uses no one badly* and which God without our help works in us" (McInerny 1998, 658: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 55, article 4, response, to objection 1, italics added).

With regard to the treatment of others, the affinity between Aquinas and contemporary liberal theory does not end with his rejection of cruelty and recognition of the obligation to preserve the lives of others. He goes so far as to identify certain objective rights, which we owe to everyone, including "the right to have one's property respected by others" and "the right not to be falsely accused or defamed" (Finnis 1998, 136: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II Question 122, article 6, response). He provides a variety of justifications for these positions. One justification is very similar to a principle Galston (1988) offers: by the mere fact of their existence, all beings are good.[25] Another justification is his understanding of "eternal law," which structures the universe as a "complete community" of beings (Finnis 1998, 307: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II Question 91, article 1, response), each of whom can attain full perfection only by enabling others to do so.[26] As John Finnis recognizes, it is Aquinas' contention that to love one's neighbor as oneself is a moral precept that can be derived through our ordinary powers of reason.[27] Love of neighbor and respect for

property and reputation are qualities that are accessible to believers and nonbelievers alike, and they can provide essential psychological underpinnings for a functioning pluralist regime.

Fulfillment of Individual Purposes

Galston (1988, 1285) claims that all contemporary liberal theories value "the fulfillment of individual purposes." Aquinas agrees in a variety of senses, some of which differ from the sense in which a liberal democrat would understand the phrase.[28] He defines happiness as the attainment of our ultimate end (McInerny 1998, 496: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 2, prologue). Ultimate human ends are individual in the sense that they must be freely chosen by autonomous agents.[29] But they are not individual in the sense that the end that an individual chooses can be anything at all. In fact, the only final end that a free person will choose is perfect, eternal happiness, which is union with God.[30] The pursuit of ends by the "natural" (sub-rational) appetite undirected by the intellect is not free and, therefore, not characteristically human.[31] Only the selection of an end by the rational appetite can be individual in the sense of being chosen by a free individual, and the only ultimate end a free individual will choose is perfect and eternal happiness. Aquinas defends freedom on the grounds that only a free choice is a fully human choice. Yet, he does not take this position because he thinks all paths to the ultimate end are equally good.[32] His defense of freedom is based on his understanding of the divine will. It is one that has special appeal to his fellow believers.

Aquinas insists that we cannot attain our final end, union with God, in this life (McInerny 1998, 530: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 5, response). A healthy body (McInerny 1998, 533: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 6, response), a clear mind (McInerny 1998, 530: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 5, response), and the things that the body needs are necessary for the imperfect happiness that we can attain in this life because they make virtuous activity possible.[33] Activity is the essence of happiness in this life.[34] Moreover, Aquinas accepts Aristotle's contention[34] that it is only when "the necessities of life and amusement or pleasure" have been secured that we seek wisdom (McInerny 1998, 740: *Commentary on the Metaphysics*, Lesson 3). This is true for nonbelievers as well as believers. Thus,

Aquinas supports the fulfillment of individual purposes in the contemporary sense of acquiring "the necessities of life, amusement or pleasure" because it frees all of us to pursue higher goods. His position implies tolerance through valuing achievement of the individual purposes of all, the process that Galston identifies as key in promoting tolerance.

Rawls claims, however, that as an exponent of "the dominant tradition," Aquinas does not support "even a limited tolerance" (1971, 216). He bases this claim on a passage in which Aquinas says that heretics deserve to be handed over by the church to the state, which will put them to death.[36] Rawls does not realize that there is more than one path to limited tolerance. Finnis (1998, 279–284) argues that Aquinas fails to maintain a logically consistent position on capital punishment. Maria Fontana Magee (1999) suggests that Aquinas does not believe that the state should put people to death simply for their beliefs. She points to passages in which Aquinas says that the state should respect human freedom as God respects human freedom,[37] tolerating certain evils, including prostitution, because to do away with them would cause a greater evil than to tolerate them.[38] Aquinas insists that the state should respect customs[39] and not try to perfect the souls of men. Regarding unbelievers, pagans, and heretics, Aquinas rejects intolerance when it might hinder a gradual conversion to the faith.[40] Finnis (1998, 223–226) notes Aquinas' assertion that the state should restrict itself to the defense of the "common good"[41] (*bonum publicum*) by regulating only those acts that impinge directly upon the lives of others and not attempting to regulate the inner life, morality, or beliefs of individuals.[42] Mark Johnson (1992) cites another respect in which Aquinas supports tolerance of dissenting views: his claim that there legitimately can be divergent literal interpretations of scripture. Nevertheless, Aquinas did support the execution of heretics when they posed a serious threat to the souls of the faithful. This is a significant difference between the political order he advocated and liberal democracy.[43]

Yet, Aquinas supports the execution of heretics *solely* because of the threat they pose to the souls of the faithful. He rejects the exclusion of anyone from the realm of public affairs on the basis of their religious beliefs or disbelief. Of course, those executed for their religious beliefs are effectively excluded from participation in public affairs, to say the least. Political pluralism obviously cannot

be reconciled with religious intolerance. Aquinas never resolves this contradiction, but it is a genuine contradiction. He is a strong supporter of both political pluralism and the execution of heretics.

Aquinas' arguments for freedom of conscience further buttress the claim that despite his willingness to have heretics executed, he is, in many ways, an advocate of the tolerance necessary for an overlapping consensus.[44] He argues that conscience is our understanding of God's will (McInerny 1998, 233: *Disputed Questions on Truth,* Question 17, article 4, response) and that each person's understanding of that will is different (Pegis 1945, 701: *Summa Theologica,* I, Question 76, article 2, response). This is a key dimension of his well-known efforts to find a place for reason to exist along with philosophy by introducing the philosophy of Aristotle into the Church.

Aquinas believes that it is always a sin to violate conscience, even when conscience is in error[45] and even when it contradicts the command of a bishop.[46] This is because he sees conscience as our knowledge of God's will, and God is a higher authority than any bishop. It is ultimately our conscience that tells us God's will, not the bishop. To state that an individual has an absolute obligation to follow conscience, and that it is possible that conscience may be right while the bishop is wrong is to imply tolerance, especially in light of Aquinas' assertion that it is "better to err often by thinking well of bad people than to err even rarely by thinking badly of someone good. For the latter, not the former involves wronging someone" (Finnis 1998, 137: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 60, article 4).

Although Aquinas tells us that it is always wrong to violate the promptings of conscience, he is not saying that the truth is whatever an individual thinks it is. He speaks of correct consciences and erroneous consciences and states that to have an erroneous conscience when one should know better is also a sin (McInerny 1998, 235: *Disputed Question on Truth*, Question 17, article 4, response to objection 3), although not as grievous a sin as violating conscience (McInerny 1998, 233: *Disputed Question on Truth*, Question 17, article 4, response). So Aquinas is no relativist. Yet, he does accept the Millian argument that free competition of ideas leads us toward the truth. "For men help each other in coming to know the truth; by challenging each other, they lead each other to what is good and draw each other back from what is evil. As it is

said in Prov 27:17, 'iron sharpens iron, and a man sharpens the character of his friend.'"[47] This argument is consistent with the pluralism of the overlapping consensus.

Aquinas values the fulfillment of individual purposes in the contemporary sense of attaining the necessities of life, amusement, pleasure, and knowledge because it makes the search for higher goods possible. He also values it in the sense that he sees the fulfillment of our final individual purpose as the attainment of a freely chosen union with God. Galston contends that valuing the fulfillment of individual purposes necessarily implies tolerance for the purposes and means of others. Consistent with the ideal of tolerance, Aquinas believes that governments, like God, should let people be free to make their own decisions whenever the social cost of doing so is not prohibitive. Aquinas wants to restrict the authority of government to matters of the common good, regulating only those acts that impinge directly on others, generally leaving matters of conscience, private life, and private morality to the discretion of free individuals. Although he considers some ideas to be definitively right and others to be definitively wrong, Aquinas believes that we benefit when our ideas are challenged by people who disagree with us.

Social Rationality

According to Galston (1988, 1285–1286), the third assumption of contemporary theories of liberalism is that rationality should constrain our interactions with others. He claims that this principle implies the necessity of keeping the passions under reason's control, which results in moderation in private and public life. Aquinas shares these views. The need for reason to control the passions is one of the Aristotelian themes pervading his work.[48] In fact, two of the four "political" virtues, which we must have if we are to live well among other people are defined as the control of reason over the passions.[49] Temperance is the political virtue that restrains the passions when they incite us to do something contrary to reason, and fortitude is the political virtue that allows reason to prevail when passions such as fear prevent us from doing what we should.[50]

Aquinas' support for social rationality is implied by his conception of virtue as a multi-tiered category. He contrasts the

political virtues, which we possess because man is by nature a political animal, with the purifying and perfect virtues, which have god as their object (Oesterle 1984, 110: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 51, article 5, response). Unlike the purifying and perfect virtues, the political virtues are possessed by believers and nonbelievers alike through the exercise of natural reason. For Aquinas, the moderation that comes about through social rationality is possible in a community with multiple conceptions of the good.

Our capacity for political virtue means that citizens can be even-tempered, brave, and in control of their passions. Such citizens are clearly less susceptible to the lures of political extremism. Political virtue enables all citizens to be autonomous individuals whose acts are directed by their own knowledge of right and wrong. They deserve to be treated as such. As Aquinas states, "one who serves some community serves each of the people contained in it," serving them as individuals, not as a reified "society," "class," "folk," "community of believers," or "nation" amenable to extremist agendas of social control (Finnis 1998, 118: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 58, article 5, response). Like contemporary theorists of liberal democracy, Aquinas thus holds that control of the passions by reason results in a moderate approach to politics.

Conclusion

Aquinas shares many of the core beliefs of contemporary liberal theorists. He values our earthly existence and the fulfillment of our individual purposes, both as intrinsic goods and as instrumental goods. He also believes that we all possess natural reason, which enables us to restrain our passions in our dealings with others and to take a moderate approach to politics. Yet, Aquinas does not take the same path to these beliefs as contemporary liberal theorists do. Even when concluding that nonbelievers can be good citizens, Aquinas starts from the premise that their natural powers of reason are God-given and will not lead them astray. When Aquinas defends liberty it is not on the grounds that there is no conception of the good that merits preference, but on the grounds that we must be free if we are to choose to move toward God, which is His plan for us. Aquinas thus provides a path toward support for liberalism that can appeal to those who recoil at its apparent rejection of any good

higher than the appeasement of the passions. I do not deny that Aquinas' preferred regime is the system defined by Mosaic Law, a rule by judges, supported in many ways by Aristotle's arguments on behalf of the rule of the best. Still, Rawls' assessment of Aquinas is oversimplified.

It is not surprising that Rawls has this view of Aquinas. After all, on many occasions the Church has used Aquinas to support orthodox hierarchy and political conservatism. But the uses to which texts have been put may mislead us about what the texts may say to readers today, or even about what our best estimates tell us about the author's intent. For in the presence of certain core beliefs about human nature that he shares with liberalism, Aquinas' adoption of a multi-tiered conception of virtue leads to an acceptance of a degree of pluralism in the political realm that excludes only those who pose a dire threat the highest goods and final ends.

Notes

1. Like Aquinas, Botwinick (1997, 112–115 and 145–147) argues that monotheism implies that we can only say what God is not. Botwinick claims that this "generalized agnosticism" brings forth a liberal politics that emphasizes keeping options open for the future rather than achievement of maximalist agendas, the liberal emphasis on the form or process rather than the substance of politics, and the liberal state's support for tolerance, rights, and limited government.

2. Since the 16th century when, at the Council of Trent, his Summa Theologiae lay open on the altar beside the Bible, Aquinas' thought has defined orthodoxy for the Roman Catholic Church. See Sigmund (1988, xiii). I have used five translations of Aquinas' work: Finnis (1998), McInerny (1998), Oesterle (1984), Fathers of the English Dominican Province (1947), and Pegis (1945). I use the most recent of the five to translate the pertinent text, specifying the particular translation. In addition, I follow the standard method of citing Aquinas' work according to section, question, and article.

3. Strauss (1964, 45, 49) made this point by identifying modern right as a product of the dogma of "extreme skepticism" which produces a human self-awareness that "refuses to obey any law which it has not originated in its entirety or to dedicate itself to any 'value' of which it does not know that it is its own creation." He contrasted modern subjective right with objective right as Aristotle and Aquinas understood it, in which "[m]an transcends the city only by pursuing true happiness, not by pursuing happiness however understood." Tierney (1997, 14) also identifies Michel Villey as playing an important role in highlighting the differences between objective right of the ancients (including Aquinas) and modern subjective right.

4. Cornish (1998, 561) claims that Aquinas endorses a subjective right to marry. Nonetheless, the subjective rights that Cornish ascribes to Aquinas do not

play the foundational role that they do in liberal democracies. Finnis (1998, 133) argues that modern subjective right can be inferred from Aquinas. "General justice can be specified into the forms of *particular justice*" (*Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 58, article 7; Question 61, article 1), primarily fairness in the distribution of the benefits and burdens of social life, and proper respect for others {reverentia personae} in any conduct that affects them (*Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 62, articles 1 and 2). The object of particular justice (henceforth simply 'justice') is the other person's right(s) {ius} (*Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 57, article 1c; Question 60, Article 1c). It follows, therefore, that one cannot respect or promote common good without respecting and promoting rights." Tierney (2002, 394) disagrees, arguing that, although they are compatible, one cannot be derived from the other. Since this article is not arguing that Aquinas' defense of pluralism depended on or implied the subjective right of individuals, it does not address this question directly.

5. I agree with Maritain (1971, 20) that an understanding of the human person derived from Aristotle and Aquinas implies political pluralism. Maritain goes much further, however endorsing democracy as the term is currently understood (1971, 51–53). I concur with Hittinger (2002, 50–51) that Maritain's endorsement of democracy fails to take Aquinas' critique of democracy and his advocacy of nondemocratic regimes sufficiently seriously.

6. "Thus prudence now sees only divine things, temperance knows no earthly desires, fortitude is oblivious to the passions, and justice is united with the divine mind in an everlasting bond, by imitating it. These are the virtues we attribute to the blessed or to those who are most perfect in this life" (Oesterle 1984, 109: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 5).

7. "Thus prudence, by contemplating divine things, counts all worldly things as nothing and directs all thought of the soul only to what is divine; temperance puts aside the customary needs of the body so far as nature permits; fortitude prevents the soul from being afraid of withdrawing from bodily needs and rising to heavenly things; and justice brings the whole soul's accord to such a way of life" (Oesterle 1984, 109: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 5).

8. "As we have said, the moral virtues, inasmuch as they are productive of good works ordered to an end which does not surpass the natural capacity of man, can be acquired by human actions. And acquired in this way they can be without charity, as has happened with many pagans" (Oesterle 1984, 143: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 65, article 2).

9. Aquinas paraphrased Aristotle's *"kai ʽοτι ʽο ʽανθρωπος φυσει πολιτικον ζωον"* (*Politics,* 1253a3) as "Et quiam homo secundum suam naturam est animal *politicum"* (Oesterle 1984, 143: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 5, response).

10. Oesterle's translation of *politica* is also the one that is consistent with the standard usage of the word as reported by Webster's online Latin-English Dictionary, http://www.websters-online-dictionary.org/translation /Latin/ politicus.

11. "Though we say that God is existence alone, we ought not to fall into the error of those who say that God is that universal existence whereby each thing formally is. A characteristic of the existence of God is that nothing can be added to it, hence it is distinct from every other existence by its own purity" (McInerny 1998, 44: *On Being and Essence*, chapter 5). One clear implication of this claim is that we are distinct from God and thus fully responsible for our actions. In fact, the

claim that human beings are autonomous agents is one of the most pervasive themes running throughout Aquinas' work.

12. "It is absolutely impossible for one intellect to belong to all men. This is clear if, as Plato maintained, man is the intellect itself. For Socrates and Plato to have one intellect, it would follow that Socrates and Plato are one man, and that they are not distinct from each other, except by something outside the essence of each. The distinction between Socrates and Plato would then not be other than that of one man with a tunic and another with a cloak, which is quite absurd" (Pegis 1945, 701).

13. "'That is why we can wholly dismiss as unnecessary the question whether the soul and body are one.' We do not ask whether wax and its shape are one, nor generally matter and the form of matter" (McInerny 1998, 418: *On Aristotle's De Anima*, Lesson 1, chapter 234).

14. Aquinas is approvingly quoting Aristotle. McInerny 1998, 448: *Preface to the Commentary On Aristotle's On Sense and the Sensed Object.*

15. "For lower spiritual substances [as opposed to higher spiritual substances such as the angels and God], namely [human] souls, have an affinity with body insofar as they are the forms of bodies, and therefore by their very mode of existing it is fitting that they should attain intelligible perfection through bodies" (McInerny 1998, 379: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 55, article 2, response).

16. "It is clear that man is not only a soul, but something composed of soul and body—Plato, though supposing that sensation was proper to the soul, could maintain man to be a *soul making use of a body*" (Pegis 1945, 688: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 75, article 4, response).

17. "But we are led by the divine effects to the contemplation of God, according to Romans 1.20: 'For since the creation of the world his invisible attributes are clearly seen—his everlasting power also and divinity—being understood through the things that are made'" (McInerny 1998, 693: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 179, article 4, response).

18. "The divine substance exceeds by its immensity every form that our intellect can attain, and thus we cannot apprehend it by knowing what it is. But we have knowledge of a sort of it by knowing what it is not" (McInerny 1998, 256: *Summa Contra Gentiles* Book I, chapter 14).

19. The earthly goods to which prudence directs us are "goods intrinsically and without qualification, which are desired as ends for their own sake, even when they lead to something else" (Finnis 1998, 91, note 143: *Commentary on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, Book II, Distinction 21, Question 1, answer 3, response).

20. "It should be said that the imperfect happiness that can be had in this life is acquired by man with his natural powers as can be the virtue in which this activity consists…." (McInerny 1998, 544: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 5, article 5, response).

21. Happiness requires the body because "the activity of the intellect cannot take place without the phantasm, which exists only in the bodily organ…. Thus the happiness which can be had in this life depends in a certain way on the body" (McInerny 1998, 530: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 5, response).

22. "Thus the separation from body is said to retard the soul such that it does not with complete attention tend towards the vision of the divine essence. For the soul seeks so to enjoy God that the enjoyment redounds to the body to the degree

that this is possible. Therefore as long as it enjoys God without its body, its desire is quieted by what it has, which, however, it still wants its body to have by participation in it" (McInerny 1998, 531–532: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 6, response; *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 5, response to objection 4).

23. "The object of the will is the good of reason proportioned to will" (McInerny 1998, 670: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 56, response).

24. "Habits of moral virtue are caused in appetitive powers as they are moved by reason" (Oesterle 1984, 26: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 51, article 2, response).

25. "It should be said that every being, insofar as it is a being, is good. For every being, insofar as it is a being, is actual and in some way perfect, because every act is some sort of perfection" (McInerny 1998, 348: *Summa Theologiae* I, Question 3, article 5, response); "For in every person, even an evildoer, we ought to love the nature, which God made, which is destroyed by killing" (Finnis 1998, 141: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II Question 64, article 6, response).

26. "One can be directing both oneself and others to the good in question; and that "it is more perfect to have a perfection and convey it to others than merely to have it in and for oneself; a contemplator who helps others equally to contemplate is therefore more perfect than one who merely contemplates" (Finnis 1998, 318–319: IV *Sent*, Distinction 49, Question 1, article 1, solution 3, response to objections 1 and 2).

27. Finnis quotes the following passage: "The reason for loving is indicated in the word 'neighbor,' because the reason why we ought to love others out of charity is because they are nigh to us, both as to the natural image of God, and as to the capacity for glory" (Finnis 1998, *Summa Theologiae,* II, Question 44, article 7, response).

28. One source of that difference lies in the difference in meaning between Aquinas' *fines*, usually translated as "ends" and Galston's "purposes." *"Fines"* can exist independently of the intention of the agent, whereas "purposes" generally do not.

29. "Therefore, things that have reason move themselves to the end because they have dominion over their acts thanks to free will, which is a capacity of will and reason. Things that lack reason, tend to the end by natural inclination, as if moved by another, not themselves, since they do not grasp the notion of end and therefore can order nothing to an end, but are only ordered to an end by another" (McInerny 1998, 486: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 1, response).

30. "In men, according to the present state of life, it [happiness] is ultimate perfection according to an activity whereby man is joined with God" (McInerny 1998, 512–513: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 3, article 2, response to objection 4).

31. "For if the agent is not determined to some effect, it would not do this rather than that; in order for it to produce a definite effect, it must be determined to something certain, which has the note of end. This determination, which comes about in the rational agent through rational appetite, which is called the will, comes about in other things by natural inclination, which is called the natural appetite. However, it should be noted that a thing tends to the end by its own action or motion in two ways. In one way, as moving itself to the end, as man does; in another way, as moved to the end by another, as the arrow tends to a

definite end because it is moved by the archer, who directs its action to the end" (McInerny 1998, 486: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 1, article 2, response).

32. "But the judgment of human goods ought not to be taken from the stupid, but from the wise, just as judgment of taste is taken from those whose tongue is well disposed" (McInerny 1998, 497: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 2, article 1, response to objection 1).

33. "It should be said that external goods are required for the imperfect happiness that can be had in this life, not as being of its essence, but as instrumentally serving happiness which consists of virtuous activity" (McInerny 1998, 534: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 4, article 7, response).

34. "To live well consists of acting well" (McInerny 1998, 678: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 57, article 5, response).

35. Aristotle, *The Metaphysics* 1.2.

36. "With regard to heretics two points must be observed: the one, on their own side, the other, on the side of the Church. On their own side there is the sin, whereby they deserve not only to be separated from the Church by excommunication, but also to be severed from the world by death. For it is a much graver matter to corrupt the faith which quickens the soul, than to forge money, which supports temporal life. Wherefore if forgers of money and other evil-doers are forthwith condemned to death by the secular authority, much more reason is there for heretics, as soon as they are convicted of heresy to be not only excommunicated but even put to death…. For Jerome commenting on Gal. 5:9, "A little leaven," says: 'Cut off the decayed flesh, expel the mangy sheep from the fold, lest the whole … flock perish, rot, die. Arius was but one spark in Alexandria, but as that spark was not at once put out, the whole earth was laid waste by its flame'" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 11, article 3, response).

37. "Human government is derived from the Divine government, and should imitate it. Now although God is all-powerful and supremely good, nevertheless He allows certain evils to take place in the universe, which He might prevent, lest, without them, greater goods might be forfeited, or greater evils ensue" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 10, article 11, response).

38. "Accordingly, in human government also, those who are in authority, rightly tolerate certain evils, lest certain goods be lost, or certain greater goods might be forfeited, or greater evils be incurred: thus Augustine says (De Ordine ii, 4): "If you do away with harlots, the world will be convulsed with lust" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 10, article 11, response).

39. "Wherefore laws imposed on men should also be in keeping with their condition, for, as Isidore says (Etym. V, 21), law should be 'possible both according to nature, and according to the customs of the country'" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 96, article 2, response).

40. "On the other hand the rites of other unbelievers [besides the Jews, who are always to be tolerated], which are neither truthful nor profitable are by no means to be tolerated, except perchance in order to avoid an evil, e.g. the scandal or disturbance that might ensue, or some hindrance to the salvation of those who if they were unmolested might gradually be converted to the faith. For this reason the

Church, at times, has tolerated the rites even of heretics and pagans, when unbelievers were very numerous" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 10, article 11, response).

41. Aquinas' conception of the common good and his argument that the state should concern itself with the common good rather than private virtue is echoed, almost precisely by Downing and Thigpen (1993).

42. "Now human law is framed for a number of human beings, the majority of whom are not perfect in virtue. Wherefore human laws do not forbid all vices, from which the virtuous abstain, but only the more grievous vices, from which it is possible for the majority to abstain; and chiefly those that are to the hurt of others, without the prohibition of which human society could not be maintained: thus human law prohibits murder, theft and such like" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologica*, I–II, Question 96, article 2, response).

43. There are similarities too. Aquinas was willing to deploy violence against those who posed a threat to the legitimizing bedrock values of the regime, the faith of the community, and the souls of its members. Liberal democracies likewise deploy violence against those who threaten its legitimizing bedrock value, the physical security of their citizens.

44. Aquinas' discussion of conscience is strikingly similar to that of Amy McCready (1996). Both McCready and Aquinas argue that to follow conscience is to be truest to our most basic selves and at the same time to focus on a good outside of ourselves.

45. "Therefore conscience is not said to oblige us to do something because to follow it is good but because not to follow entails sin. But it does not seem possible that anyone could evade sin if his conscience in whatever way it might err judges something to be the precept of God, whether it be a matter of intrinsic evil or matters of indifference, and decides to the contrary while he still has that conscience. Taken as such, he wills not to observe the law of God, and thus sins mortally" (McInerny 1998, 233: *Disputed Questions on Truth,* Question 17, article 4, response).

46. "Conscience only bids because of the force of the divine command or because of the law of nature written within. Therefore, to compare the binding force of conscience and that of the command of the prelate is nothing other than to compare the binding force of the divine command with that of the prelate" (McInerny 1998, 237: *Disputed Questions on Truth,* Question 17, article 5, response). Although Aquinas has been embraced by the Roman Catholic church and largely rejected or ignored by the Protestant churches, his position on conscience, like his position on the need for faith and divine intervention for union with God, indicates that his thought is not incompatible with Protestant thinking.

47. *Summa Contra Gentiles*, Book III, chapter 12, *Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia* http://www.tacalumni.org/aquinas/engine.php?book-005, my translation.

48. Our ultimate happiness is contemplation. But the kind of happiness we can attain in this life "consists first and principally in contemplation, but secondarily in the activity of practical intellect ordering human actions and passions, as is said in *Ethics* 10.7" (McInerny 1998, 516: *Summa Theologiae*, I, Question 3, article 5, response). "The passions of the soul, in so far as they are contrary to the order of reason, incline us to sin: but in so far as they are controlled

by reason, they pertain to virtue" (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 24, article 2, response to objection 3).

49. Aquinas defines the political virtues as the virtues "whereby a man moderately uses the things of this world and lives among men" (McInerny 1998, 11: *Inaugural Sermons: The Division of Sacred Scripture*). They are the virtues by which "man comports himself rightly in human affairs" (Oesterle 1984, 116: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 51, article 5, response).

50. "For the need of the ordering of reason in the passions is seen when we consider the ways in which they may oppose reason, which is twofold. First, by the passions inciting to something contrary to reason, and then the passions need restraining, and *temperance* is denominated from this. Second, by the passions withdrawing us from what reason dictates – for example, the fear of dangers or of hardships – and then man has to be strengthened in regard to what reason requires, so that he will not turn back, and *fortitude* is denominated from this" (Oesterle 1984, 110: *Summa Theologiae*, I–II, Question 61, article 3, response)..

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From Realism to Liberalism:
George W. Bush's
Rhetorical Foreign Policy Transition,
1999–2004

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This article examines international relations rhetoric rather than foreign policy practice. Between the time of his acceptance of the Republican presidential nomination in August 2000 and his reelection in November 2004, George W. Bush changed his rhetorical focus from "realist" to "liberal internationalist" in an effort to sell his foreign policy agenda. This shift is identified through an analysis of nine presidential speeches and one excerpt from a book Bush wrote prior to becoming president. By exploring Bush's foreign policy pronouncements, the article reveals shifting patterns of presidential rhetoric and demonstrates the importance of studying presidential rhetoric in international relations theory.

Introduction

The election of Texas Governor George W. Bush to the White House in November of 2000 appeared to be the beginning of an administration that would focus primarily on domestic issues such as Social Security reform, improving education, and shrinking the size and cost of the federal government. It did not seem likely that foreign policy and international relations would ultimately become the focus of the incoming administration. The new president set out to pass his No Child Left Behind proposal as well as a series of tax cuts.

Only eight months after Bush's inauguration, however, he faced a situation that ended any notion that his would be a presidency devoted simply to addressing domestic concerns. The September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on American soil redirected the focus not just of the Bush presidency, but of the entire United States government. Domestic policy debates soon turned to foreign policy debates. The Bush administration was now faced with planning a

counter-attack to the deadly actions of the terrorists and developing a long-term strategy to combat terrorism.

Foreign policy and international relations were not completely forgotten at either the opening of the Bush presidential campaign or in the early days of his presidency. Candidate Bush gave a variety of speeches to military and party organizations during the course of the campaign, many peppered with typical American presidential election chestnuts proclaiming the need to maintain America's strength, to build a more powerful military, and to raise pay for military personnel. Because of the problem of terrorism, however, Bush's foreign policy rhetoric eventually changed dramatically.

This article examines the rhetorical aspects of Bush's key foreign policy speeches and writings between the time of his nomination in September 2000 and his reelection in November 2004.[1] These materials were chosen not because of the policies they promote, but because of the nature of their political rhetoric. The Bush administration's rhetorical focus shifted from "realist"[2] to "liberal internationalist"[3] during this period because it was engaged in a political marketing campaign to brand, package, and sell a foreign policy to the American people. Through the use of presidential rhetoric, the administration converted Bush from a Reaganesque realist to a neo-Wilsonian who relied upon the generalities of international institutions and the promotion of democracy to achieve a permission slip from the American people to expand the overall "War on Terror" to a separate battleground in Iraq under the guise of expanding democracy. The result was an internationalist liberal rhetorician in the White House and a new battle to make the Middle East a breeding ground for democracy. By tracing the transition from one school of international relations thought to another over a set period of time, the article highlights the modern realities of political marketing.

Framework

The Presidency and Political Rhetoric

The importance of presidential rhetoric in guiding and formulating public policy is immense. The verbal stimuli that come from the President of the United States are intriguing and significant to policy makers and rhetoricians solely because the

public responds when the president speaks about policy problems. This attention becomes increasingly important as technology advances, making access to the mass public even easier. Furthermore, the mass public, to a degree, is psychologically dependent upon the president, thus increasing the levels to which the public is receptive to a presidential message (Cohen 1995). Hence, an issue is elevated when it is on the president's agenda. His attention sends a signal to the public that the issue is of national importance.

Jeffrey Cohen (1995, 93) suggests that "people have been noted as being notoriously uninformed and uninterested in international affairs" unless a specific event has a tremendous impact on their lives. He believes that this lack of interest and attention is good news for a president, because he will be more likely to find success in framing a message in an area that is neither closely followed nor well understood by the public. Cohen also notes that presidential rhetoric is persuasive because of the prestige and position of the president. This means that scholars carefully watch the president's rhetoric because they are, according to rhetorician Mary Stuckey, "sensitive to the nuances of language and how it can be manipulated to produce certain results" (1996, 155).

In an era of instantaneous communication via the World Wide Web, 24 hour cable news, opinion polling, and around-the-clock attention to politics and politicians, the rhetorical process is accelerated tremendously (Gronbeck 1996). The lasting effect of this communication boom is that twentieth and 21st century presidents, unlike their 19th century counterparts, can go over the heads of Congress and take their appeals and policy rhetoric directly to the people. For example, Tulis (1996) cites Theodore Roosevelt's campaign to regulate the railroads, Woodrow Wilson's push to enter into the League of Nations, Franklin Roosevelt's fire-side chats, Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty, and Ronald Reagan's 1981 tax reform and Strategic Defense Initiative. The 20th century has taught us that the rhetorical process is more important than ever since presidents may choose to use the various and increasingly fast-paced mediums of communication to their advantage when promoting a policy or a message. As John Kingdon has observed, "no other single actor in the political system has quite the capability of the president to set agendas in given policy areas for all who deal with those policies (Andrade and Young 1996, 202).

Political Marketing: Selling Candidates and Policy

Politics often defies conventional wisdom because in the political world words can speak louder than actions. The growing number of ways of communicating with the American public has helped to make political rhetoric a more powerful tool for building consensus for political messages, selling a candidate, or marketing a policy choice. Legendary House Speaker Thomas A. ("Tip") O'Neill is credited for the aphorism that "All politics is local." In the 21st century, it may be possible to state that "all politics is marketing," and political rhetoric is the means by which political figures "sell" their political agendas. Lilleker and Lees-Marshment (2005, 1) suggest that the use of political marketing is a result of "qualitative and quantitative marketing research. Commercial techniques and strategy have permeated the political arena, in response to the rise of more critical, better educated and informed electorates."

Nicholas O'Shaughnessy believes that rhetoric and communication within the political arena today are maximized through an increasing attempt to sell public policies through political marketing strategies. These marketing strategies are typically seen as being most effective when "selling" a candidate to the voting public. "The marketing concept is distinguished, above all, by the emphasis that is placed on consumer focus. Identifying the needs and wants of customers and fashioning the products and communications shaped by that understanding is the core of the marketing task" (O'Shaughnessy 1999, 728).

O'Shaughnessy distinguishes political marketing from political propaganda, with propaganda being moralistic and marketing being consumer-driven and research-defined. In other words, the contemporary political system is driven by market-tested, result-oriented research that can effectively help to "sell" a candidate or a policy proposal. This political marketing tells people what they wish to hear in a pleasing way. Propaganda differs because it attempts to enlighten people with what they ought to know. Hence, modern rhetorical political communication closely mirrors the political marketing model.

Defining Liberalism and Realism

Before addressing the presidential rhetoric of George W. Bush, it is necessary to define the "realist" and "liberal" schools of international relations theory. Following the "War to End All Wars," international relations scholars saw a need to develop a theory to prescribe viable solutions to the international problems that lingered after the most brutal conflict the world had ever seen. The "utopian" school emerged to answer these concerns and dominated the landscape of international relations theory after World War I. Utopianism can best be described as a society with all good and no evil, perfect balance, complete knowledge, and the endless meeting of human needs without exertion (Will 2002). Utopian scholars and leaders concluded that war is not a part of human nature but an action based upon the mistakes and failures of politicians. Seeking a more perfect society, they made world peace and democracy their touchstone.

The realist school was founded as a reaction to ideas of the "utopians." Realism has its roots in ancient Greek political thought as well as in Machiavellian theories and politics. Realist scholars such as E.H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau agued that because utopians were overly idealistic, they could not address seriously issues of power, conflict, and human nature. According to realist scholar John J. Mearsheimer, realism takes a vision of the international system sharply different from the utopian view. Realists share Mearsheimer's view of survival as the primary motivational factor in international relations. Mearsheimer (1994–95, 9) states that the international arena is "a brutal area where states look for opportunities to take advantage of each other, and therefore have little reason to trust each other." Steven M. Walt (1997, 934) calls realism a "simple and powerful way to understand relations among political groups."

Realists believe that although most people wish for a more harmonious world of shared interests, it is not acceptable to use this vision as a basis for international relations theory. Carr suggests that the utopian appeal to a "harmony of interests" between states is actually designed to uphold the status quo and reaffirm the power of the dominant states (Burchill 2001). Morgenthau (1972) outlines several principles of political realism, the most fundamental being

that nations have little incentive to adopt a policy unless doing so enhances a nation's power position.

By contrast, liberalism in international relations theory emphasizes institutions, order, and commerce as the backbone of international politics. This school of thought seeks to advance the ideals of peace and freedom via popular enlightenment, democratic government, and free markets for trade. Liberalism's roots can be traced back to Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776 and to John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* in 1859. While Smith focused on economic freedom, Mill stressed democratic institutions and the freedoms of speech and press. In defending liberalism, Mill argued that "the struggle between liberty and authority is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are earliest familiar, particularly in that of Greece, Rome, and England. But in old times this contest was between subjects, or some classes of subjects, and the government. By liberty, was meant protection against the tyranny of political rulers" (Mill 1859, 5). Following in the footsteps of Smith and Mill, Michael W. Doyle (1986, 1152) argues that liberal states respect "individual freedom, political participation, private property, and equality of opportunity."

Another key element of liberal thought is institutionalism and the spread of democracy, as advocated by individuals such as Woodrow Wilson and personified by working bodies such as the League of Nations and the United Nations. Liberals believe that international institutions such as these can prevent the sort of death and devastation that occurred during the two World Wars. For example, Edward Morse (1970) contends that six characteristics befall modern societies: growth of knowledge, increased political centralization, politicization of the people, development of wealth, urbanization, and adaptation to change rather than the acceptance of the status quo. As a result, says John M. Owen (1994), the spread of liberal democracies promotes world peace because liberal democracies avoid conflict with one other and achieve a "harmony of interests" in the interest of self-preservation. Boyd A. Martin (1948, 295) sums up the essence of liberalism this way:

> Liberalism has had many different meanings under different circumstances. At different times it has sought, for example, to protect the right to acquire property, to shield the

individual against tyranny, to establish the
doctrine of inherent rights of men, to organize a
world market, or to create individualism. In
most instances, however, the needs of the time
determine the role of liberalism.

This article thus treats liberalism in the context of commitment
to institutionalism, an emphasis on free trade, the advance of
democratic ideals, the rejection of tyranny, political participation,
collective security, and the pursuit of a harmony of interests. It
defines realism in the context of the pursuit of power, the defense of
the national interest, focus on sovereignty and survival, and the
theory of balance of power politics.

Findings

The underpinnings of George W. Bush's early realist-leaning
viewpoints can be found in his 1999 book, *A Charge to Keep: My
Journey to the White House*, a typical introductory volume released
by a candidate prior to the start of a major campaign. Such books
are designed to raise a candidate's name identification with voters
well before the first round of party primaries and caucuses. *A
Charge to Keep* focuses on candidate Bush's personal history, his
family, and various initiatives that he developed as governor of
Texas, in addition to presenting his positions on both domestic and
international issues. The foreign policy section of the book contains
a discussion of Bush's view of America's role in the world and the
type of foreign policy that he would pursue if elected. Bush states
that the quest for peace "requires tough realism in our dealings with
China and Russia. It requires firmness with regimes like North
Korea and Iraq, regimes that hate our values and resent our success.
And the foundation of our peace is a strong, capable, and modern
American military (Bush 1999, 239).

Candidate Bush's admitted realism may be comparable to what
Hans Morgenthau (1972) refers to as a public official who discusses
foreign policy in a manner that will allow the official to appeal to
the popular opinions of the public in order to gain political support.
Morgenthau's reaction to a politician appealing to the opinions of
the voting public would likely prompt him to reject today's political

marketing model, a concept that will be discussed later in this article. The proposed Bush policy appears to advocate "peace through strength," a slogan that has helped candidates with the electorate since at least the time of Richard Nixon's landside defeat of Senator George McGovern in 1972. Political posturing aside, the candidate's rhetorical commitment to a realist foreign policy also reflects the realism advocated by John Mearsheimer, who argues that "great powers seek to maximize security by maximizing their relative power (Walt 1997, 993).

A second example of candidate Bush's foreign policy rhetoric further reveals his commitment to realist principles. In his presidential nomination acceptance speech, delivered in Philadelphia on August 3, 2000, Bush declares:

> We will give our military the means to keep the peace, and we will give it one thing more… a commander-in-chief who respects our men and women in uniform, and a commander-in-chief who earns their respect. . . . A generation shaped by Vietnam must remember the lessons of Vietnam. . . . When America uses force in the world, the cause must be just, the goal must be clear, and the victory must be overwhelming. . . . I will work to reduce nuclear weapons and nuclear tension in the world—to turn these years of influence into decades of peace. . . . And, at the earliest possible date, my administration will deploy missile defenses to guard against attack and blackmail. . . . Now is the time, not to defend outdated treaties, but to defend the American people. A time of prosperity is a test of vision. And our nation today needs vision." (Bush 2000)

Bush's attack on treaties, a vital component of the liberal institutionalism advanced by liberal scholars and post-World War I utopians, is very much in sync with the realist scholarship of thinkers like Charles Krauthammer. Krauthammer states that

treaties were the cornerstone of foreign policy during the Clinton years. Bush appears to echo Krauthammer's belief that treaties are nothing more than "parchment that is either useless or worse than useless" (1999, 24). Aside from using the opportunity to launch a political attack on the outgoing Clinton administration, Bush asserts his interest in developing a missile defense system and in ensuring an overwhelming victory if American force is deployed on his watch. Furthermore, his statements on defense and foreign policy cited above are among the few to be found in the acceptance speech, which consists mostly of partisan pronouncements on a plethora of social and economic issues, along with the patriotic swooning that is a typical part of such speeches.

Another aspect of this particular address reflecting a realist rhetorical position is the candidate's lack of specificity. For instance, which treaties does he deem to be outdated? What is an "overwhelming" victory? What vision is being tested? Realist scholars have a tendency to avoid using specific language, and they are often quick to see ordinary citizens are nonpolitical beings who view foreign policy as remote. Therefore, foreign policy realists who hold office and make policy are likely to address these issues ambiguously (see Harriot 1993).

A third example of realist international theory dominating Bush's rhetoric came in his Inaugural Address, given on January 20, 2001. Emphasizing his belief in a global balance of power favoring countries that share the vision of the United States, Bush said:

> Our national courage has been clear in times of depression and war, when defending common dangers defined our common good. Now we must choose if the example of our fathers and mothers will inspire us or condemn us. We must show courage in a time of blessing by confronting problems instead of passing them on to the future generations. (Bush 2001a)

He went on to say:

> We will build our defenses beyond challenge, lest weakness invite challenge. . . . We will

confront weapons of mass destruction, so that a new century is spared new horrors. . . The enemies of liberty and our country should make no mistake: America remains engaged in the world by history and by choice, shaping a balance of power that favors freedom. We will defend our allies and our interests. (Bush 2001a)

Bush's acknowledgement of a "balance of power that shapes freedom" is consistent with the most significant portions of realist doctrine as promoted by E.H. Carr who claimed that states pursue power vis-à-vis their own national interests and that disputes over national interests are unavoidable. Carr believed that the "only way to minimize such clashes, and therefore the incidence of war, was to ensure that a rough balance of power existed" within the international system (Burchill 2001, 75).

Charles Krauthammer's realist notion that treaties and international agreements are "useless or worse than useless" finds support in Bush's Oval Office. The President's realist rhetoric was clearly on display on May 1, 2001, in his "Remarks to Students and Faculty at National Defense University." Bush began the speech by focusing on the historical aspects of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union that shaped the Cold War. Bush then declared that the United States would soon seek the abrogation of the 1972 ABM Treaty. "We need a new framework that allows us to build missile defenses to counter the different threats of today's world," he said. "To do so, we must move beyond the constraints of the 30 year old ABM Treaty" (Bush 2001b). "This treaty does not recognize the present, or point us to the future," Bush continued. "It enshrines the past. No treaty that prevents us from addressing today's threats, that prohibits us from pursuing promising technology to defend ourselves, our friends, our allies is in our interests or the interests of world peace" (Bush 2001b). Realists like Morgenthau may not have agreed with a rhetorical policy statement of this nature. However, the realist school recognizes that Bush would be justified in cancellation the ABM Treaty if it hindered American interests. Morgenthau believed very strongly that "national interest should be the central concept of international relations theory" (Algosaibi 1965, 225.)

At this point, the overarching policy of the Bush administration turned away from realism and toward liberal institutionalism. This evolution in Bush's rhetoric can be seen in his first State of the Union Address delivered on January 29, 2002, one year after his inaugural pledge to "build defenses beyond challenge" and watch the balance of power. Rather than talking tough against other powers in the world, as he had done in his pre-election rhetoric, Bush called for unity against a common danger—terrorism—by erasing "old rivalries." In his 1999 book, Bush had cited the "tough realism" that would be needed to deal with China and Russia. Now, he indicated that "America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity" (Bush 2002b). He went on to say that "in every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom" (Bush 2002b).

Perhaps the most obvious sign that Bush's rhetoric had shifted away from realism and toward liberalism came during his "Graduation Speech at West Point," delivered on June 1, 2002. Bush discussed the concept of fighting for a "just peace," a cause that he claimed had always been central to America's belief system. In order to build this peace, Bush suggested that America build alliances with other "great powers" in order to allow for open societies across the globe (Bush 2002a). The West Point speech also contained a rejection of the realist principles of containment and deterrence. Bush claimed that "new threats also require new thinking. Deterrence—the promise of massive retaliation against nations—means nothing against shadowy terrorist networks with no nation or citizens to defend. Containment is not possible when unbalanced dictators with weapons of mass destruction can deliver those weapons on missiles" (Bush 2002a). He advocated preemptive action as a form of deterrence and also discussed transforming America's military into a leaner, more rapidly responsive instrument for striking at an enemy. With his discussion of preemptive military action, Bush seemed about to make a turn back to the realist rhetorical camp. Before this turn could be made, though, Bush veered sharply back into the liberal rhetorical camp by stating: "Some worry that it is somehow undiplomatic or

impolite to speak the language or right and wrong. I disagree. Different circumstances require different methods, but not different moralities" (Bush 2002a).

In continuing defiance of the realist camp, Bush picked up the theme of morality. "Moral truth is the same in every culture, in every time, and in every place. Targeting innocent civilians for murder is always and everywhere wrong. Brutality against women is always and everywhere wrong. There can be no neutrality between justice and cruelty, between the innocent and the guilty. We are in a conflict between good and evil, and America will call evil by its name" (Bush 2002a). Bush also lapsed into a neo-Wilsonianism that denies the inevitability of war and emphasizes the common values that unite "the great powers" of the world. He even called for the worldwide elimination of poverty and repression. Although Bush had cited earlier a need to strike preemptively at perceived threats, he certainly did not advocate a unilateral approach to striking at "evil" in the world. In fact, he rejected unilateralism and embraces coalition-building: "We must build strong and great power relations when times are good; to help manage crisis when times are bad. America needs partners to preserve the peace, and we will work with ever nation that shares this noble goal" (Bush 2002a).

The West Point speech not only moved Bush's foreign policy rhetoric completely out of the realist school of thought, but it also drove the nails into the casket of realist-based rhetoric from his administration. Morgenthau says "the realist is not indifferent to morality. He believes, however, that universal moral principles cannot be realized, but at best approximated" (Algosaibi 1965, 227). Morgenthau also claims that realism "refuses to identify the moral aspirations of a particular nation with the moral laws that govern the universe" (Algosaibi 1965, 227). He argues further that "the fundamental error that has thwarted American foreign policy in thought and action is the antithesis of national interest and moral principles. The equation of political moralizing with morality and political realism is itself untenable" (Morgenthau 1951, 33).

Writing in the fall of 1946, Percy Bidwell of the Council for Foreign Relations attempted to place into perspective the new world that had been forged by the Second World War. He skeptically analyzed the competing schools of international relations theory: the realist school and what he deemed to be the "idealist" camp

(later revealed to be the liberal school). Bidwell noted that "idealists" speak in terms of Wilson and the Atlantic Charter and lean heavily on the future of the United Nations. Meanwhile, realists contend that "the only objective of American policy worth considering is national security" (Bidwell 1946, 480). He stated that President Truman, vis-à-vis the Atlantic Charter, spoke in terms of democracy being good for all citizens of the world. "If democracy is good for the United States, he [Truman] argues, it must be equally good for the Romanians and the Argentineans" (Bidwell 1946, 482). Bidwell rejected such thinking, which realists would contend was as applicable to Harry Truman in 1946 as it was to George W. Bush in 2002: "Americans who hold these views are rarely troubled by political difficulties. They do not stop to consider how much they themselves have profited from the traditions of self-government reaching back to the Magna Carta… nor do they remind themselves that democratic institutions in the United States, even after a hundred and fifty years of experience, are still far from perfect" (Bidwell 1946, 482).

Fast forward to eight months later and combine Bush's West Point statement with his "Address to the American Enterprise Institute," given on February 26, 2003. This message is peppered with references to a need to prevent citizens of the free world from living in fear, while rattling the saber against Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein. Bush invoked many benefits to a free Iraq, including stability in the region and freedom for those living under Hussein's tyranny. He also used the speech to advocate the expansion of democracy, stating:

> There was a time when many said that the cultures of Japan and Germany were incapable of sustaining democratic values. Well, they were wrong. Some say the same of Iraq today. They are mistaken. The nation of Iraq—with its proud heritage, abundant resources and skilled and educated people—is fully capable of moving toward democracy and living in freedom. (Bush 2003b)

Bush concluded that "the world has a clear interest in the spread of democratic values, because stable and free nations do not breed

the ideologies of murder. They encourage the peaceful pursuit of a better life" (Bush 2003b).

The rhetoric displayed by President Bush in these two speeches denotes a remarkable shift in policy, verbiage, and vision. The shift from rhetorical realism to adoption of the type of democratization policy that liberal scholar John M. Owen (1994) called the "third pillar" of Clinton foreign policy is essential to understanding the Bush administration's foreign policy. Owen asserts that democratization of nations throughout the world will lead to a democratic peace because of respect for the institutions, shared values, and ideology possessed by democratic states. His definition of liberalism is a recurring rhetorical point in several future Bush speeches. Owen defines liberal democracy as "a state that instantiates liberal ideas, one where liberalism is the dominant ideology, and citizens have leverage over war decisions (1994, 89)." He also links liberal democracy to freedom of speech, competitive elections, functional institutions, and the goal of preventing hostilities. These concepts echo throughout almost every policy speech given by Bush between September 11, 2001, and his reelection in November 2004.

The most illustrative example of Bush's liberal international political rhetoric came in his address at Whitehall Palace in London on November 19, 2003. The presidential rhetoric in this speech is clearly liberal and highly optimistic about achieving a democratic peace; for Bush endorsed Morse's understanding of modern society, and he embraced the core ideas of Owen and Mill. Throughout the speech, Bush rallied to the cause of promoting international institutions, vouching for the ability of free markets to achieve stability and provide encouragement for building democracy. Most significant, Bush openly attacked several important tenets of the realist school. Sounding like Mill and Smith, Bush said, "We believe in open societies ordered by moral conviction. We believe in private markets, humanized by compassionate government. We believe in economies that reward effort, communities to protect the weak, and the duty of nations to respect the dignity and the rights of all" (Bush 2003a).

The President emphasized the importance of institutions, another essential component of liberalism. "I believe in the international institutions and alliances that America helped to form and helps to lead," he said. "The United States and Great Britain

have labored hard to help make the United Nations what it is supposed to be—an effective instrument of our collective security" (Bush 2003a). According to liberal scholars such as Michael W. Doyle (1983), liberal states are bound by shared values reflected in certain institutions. Bush's endorsement of these institutions, which did not necessarily support the United States war effort in Iraq, is further confirmation of his shift from realist to liberal foreign policy rhetoric.

Bush also used the address to advance the idea of a democratic peace. The United States and Great Britain, he said, share a "commitment to the global expansion of democracy, and the hope and progress it brings, as the alternative to instability and hatred and terror" (Bush 2003a). Military power alone cannot bring about lasting security, he added, for "lasting peace is gained as justice and democracy advance" (Bush 2003a). Departing sharply from the realist rhetoric he invoked during his presidential campaign and in his Inaugural Address, Bush also argued that strengthening democratic institutions would not only increase the likelihood of peace, but would also help "fulfill moral duties" such as fighting disease, AIDS, and hunger (Bush 2003a).

Finally, the speech contained several outright jabs at the fundamental concepts of the realist school. In discussing the need to address the issues of famine, disease, and peace, Bush insisted that the United States and Great Britain "share a mission in the world beyond balance of power or the simple pursuit of interest" (Bush 2003a). Similarly, he justified the use of force by the democratic powers of the world to help dethrone tyrants. In yet anther rebuff of realist rhetoric, Bush warned that in "some cases, the measured use of force is all that protects us from a chaotic world ruled by force" (Bush 2003a). This statement is a far cry from realist giant Kenneth Waltz's theories of an anarchical world structure. (Waltz 1979) argues that the anarchical state of world affairs is natural, and that states must rely upon the doctrine of self-help to protect themselves. Bush's rhetoric seems to reject this anarchical view of the international system, for he chides the "old elites, who time and time again had put their own self-interest above the interest of the people they claim to serve" (Bush 2003a).

One final speech that clearly indicates a rhetorical shift from realism to liberalism in presidential rhetoric is Bush's "Address to the United Nations," given on September 21, 2004. Bush again

rejected the core ideas of realist scholars. Dismissing the "balance of power" concept on the grounds that today there is no way to isolate a nation or hide from terror networks, Bush said: "In this young century, our world needs a new definition of security. Our security is not merely found in spheres of influence or some balance of power, the security of our world is found in the advancing rights of mankind" (Bush 2004a). In place of spheres of influence or a balance of power, Bush contended that the new definition of security should be established by laying the "foundations of democracy by instituting the rule of law and independent courts, a free press, political parties and trade unions" (Bush 2004a). This is certainly not the sort of agenda that would surface in the scholarship of Morgenthau, Waltz, Mearsheimer, or Krauthammer.

Conclusion

The transition from realism to liberalism in the foreign policy rhetoric of President George W. Bush from the time of his candidacy to the present is plain. As a presidential candidate, and in the early stages of his administration, Bush used an array of realist rhetoric. Eschewing treaty-based diplomacy, Bush instead endorsed maintaining a balance of power and serving narrow national interests. Within several months of his inauguration, Bush switched from a realist-driven rhetorical approach to a liberal-based approach when discussing international relations and foreign affairs. His major speeches emphasized democratization, fighting tyranny, seeking democratic peace, and promoting free trade as an instrument of institutional reform rather than as a tool of national interest. All these points represent a clear rejection of the realist doctrine. Robert Jervis (2003) claims that Bush's focus is on the total remaking of international politics. He cites the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, as a very important period of change for Bush. At the six month anniversary of the tragedy, Bush remarked that the world can address the issues facing civilization with unity and courage, a remark that Jervis notes is fully in line with progressive liberalism.

This study shows that the post-September 11 President Bush is a very different foreign policy rhetorician than the pre-September 11 President Bush. The Bush administration no longer is adhering

to a realist approach in foreign policy rhetoric. Peggy Noonan, a former speechwriter for President Ronald Reagan and columnist for the *Wall Street Journal*, also sees a shift in the President's political rhetoric. Following Bush's second inaugural address in January 2005, Noonan, a pure conservative realist, commented that Bush's speech reflected his "evolving thoughts on freedom in the world" (2005, 8). She noted further that the foreign policy battle today is fought between realists and moralists, with Bush siding "strongly with the moralists, which was not a surprise," given current events (Noonan 2005, 8). There are only two potential rhetorical routes for Bush to take. He could continue to proclaim freedom via trade, democratization, and open societies. Alternatively, as we drift away from the defining moments of his presidency—the September 2001 terrorist attacks and the war in Iraq—the rhetoric could swing back toward the balance of power language that dominated his pre-September 11 speeches. In light of this study's findings, it is likely that the rhetorical liberalism of President George W. Bush will continue.

The political marketing model would also predict that the pattern of rhetorical liberalism will continue. President Bush's rhetorical shift from realism to liberalism occurred because in foreign policy liberalism is a more marketable rhetorical product than is realism, especially when "selling" a wartime agenda. O'Shaughnessy (1999) suggests that political marketing is done through consumer-based, market research-oriented strategies. An examination of public opinion shows that the Bush administration was simply "selling" back policies that the American people already appeared to desire. In an April 2002 CBS News poll, 73% of Americans approved of U.S. military attacks against nations in which it believes terrorists are hiding. A December 2001 Newsweek poll found 48% of Americans favoring increased U.S. pressure on Middle Eastern nations to expand democracy despite the possibility of Islamic fundamentalists rising to power. Finally, an October 2001 Pew Research Center poll determined that 61% of Americans believed the nation should be "very much involved in solving international problems" (www.pollingreport.com).

Public opinion polls also indicate the strength of the Bush administration at the time of this rhetorical transition from realism to a marketing-friendly liberalism. An October 2001 CBS News/New York Times poll found that 88% of Americans approved

of the administration's handling of the September 11 terrorist attacks. The same percentage of respondents in an April 2002 CBS News poll approved of the nation's military operation in Afghanistan. Most striking is an April 2002 NBC News / Wall Street Journal poll in which 94% of respondents said the nation's war on terrorism had been successful (www.pollingreport.com). Clearly, there was potential for the administration to market and sell its policies, for consumers were already open to the product. Selling the policy rested with substituting liberal rhetoric for realist rhetoric.

Interestingly, the marketing model and the use of political rhetoric to "sell" a foreign policy agenda seem tailor-made for liberalism. Morgenthau, realism's heaviest hitter, warned in 1951 that "the mistaken identification of press, radio, polls, and Congress with public opinion has had a distorting as well as paralyzing influence upon American foreign policy. It has induced the government to pursue mistaken policies, which might not have been pursued but for a mistaken notion of what public opinion demanded" (1951, 232).

Jeffrey W. Legro and Andrew Moravcsik (2001, 80) similarly suggest that "balance-of-power calculations are often trumped by imperatives rising from economic globalization, political democratization, particular belief systems, and the role of international law and institutions." This could be a direct result of the marketing approach to political rhetoric and policy. In emphasizing freedom, democracy, and institutions, liberalism is a more appealing product than the sometimes harsh and brutish realism, whose traits are more difficult to market to a public that, as Cohen (1995) suggests, is traditionally uninformed about and uninterested in foreign policy. From a marketing perspective, if people know little about a product, they are likely to buy it if it appeals to their emotions and values. Hence, liberalism is the more marketable product.

Legro and Moravcsik suggest that one reason the early Bush administration gravitated toward realism and not liberalism is that the administration "does indeed place a greater emphasis on accumulating and wielding military power. While the threat perception of the Bush team is based largely on ideology, it remains skeptical of strategy and tactics not closely linked to military dominance (2001, 81)." The attraction to realism is significant, they

argue, because of the two major pillars of early Bush administration policy: the Powell Doctrine and missile defense. After the events of September 11, the administration's rhetoric shifted from a realist emphasis upon accumulating military power to a liberal concern with moral truth, shared values, liberty, open societies, and achieving and preserving peace. As Bush said in his remarkably liberal speech at West Point, "When it comes to the common rights and needs of men and women, there is no clash of civilizations" (Bush 2002a).

The rhetorical record speaks for itself. President Bush the realist declared within the first five months of his administration that "I'm a straightforward person [and] represent my country's interests in a very straightforward way" (Legro, 2001, 81). He also spoke of backing out of international accords, ignoring treaties, adhering to the balance of power, and playing power politics. On the campaign trail three years later, Bush the realist was talking like Bush the liberal institutionalist:

> To win the war on terror, America must work with allies and lead the world with clarity. And that is exactly what we are doing. The flags of 64 nations fly at U.S. Central Command Headquarters in Tampa, Florida, representing coalition countries that are working openly with us in the war on terror. Dozens more are helping quietly in important ways. Today, all 26 NATO nations have personnel either in Iraq, Afghanistan, or both. America's allies are standing with us in the war on terror, and we are grateful. (Bush 2004b)

Realism is a power-based theory that recognizes an occasionally brutal, yet ongoing competition for power. Liberalism, on the other hand, can be marketed as a values-based approach to international relations reflective of American idealism and the spread of democratic peace. Perhaps Boyd Martin (1948, 295) put it best: liberalism "accepts the contention that progress lies in the free exercise, so far as such freedom does no injury to others, of individual energy. To increase personal, civil, social, and economic liberty of the individual has been a major tenet of liberalism."

Liberalism fits into O'Shaughnessy's political marketing concept of determining the customers "latent wants, the underlying desires that they cannot articulate fully (1999, 728)." Rhetoric is the vehicle for tapping into the "latent wants" of the public, and for the Bush administration, international relations liberalism is the product of choice.

Notes

1.   The speeches are: "Republican Party Nomination Acceptance Address" from August 3, 2000; "Inaugural Address" from January 20, 2001; "Remarks to Students and Faculty at National Defense University" from May 1, 2001; "State of the Union Address" from January 29, 2002; "Graduation Speech at West Point" from June 1, 2002; "Address to the American Enterprise Institute" from February 26, 2003; "Address on Iraq Policy at Whitehall Palace" in London from November 19, 2003; "Address to the United Nations" from September 19, 2004, and "Homeland Security and the Presidential Agenda" from October 18, 2004. The single writing is an excerpt from Bush (1999). No speeches were chosen from the time period directly after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 because they were based upon emotional appeals and rhetoric as opposed to political appeals and foreign policy rhetoric. Nonetheless, the significance of that tragedy will not be ignored in this study.

2.   The "realists" in international relations theory examined in this study are E.H. Carr, Charles Krauthammer, Hans Morgenthau, John J. Mearsheimer, Stephen M. Walt, and Kenneth Waltz.

3.   The "liberal internationalists" in international relations theory examined in this study are Michael Doyle, Boyd A. Martin, John Stuart Mill, Edward Morse, and John M. Owen.

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What's Local about Local Television News? An Analysis of 2004 Election Coverage by Philadelphia's Local Television Stations

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Because capturing and analyzing local television news broadcasts is difficult, most research on campaign coverage by local television stations centers on a single candidate race and a limited number of news broadcasts. This article expands existing research by examining all prime time election coverage by Philadelphia's four network affiliates in the final 30 days of the 2004 campaign. These stations virtually abandoned coverage of local and statewide races in favor of the presidential contest. Most coverage focused on campaign strategy rather than issues, but there is little evidence of direct bias favoring either Democrats or Republicans. Although stations generally ignored nonpresidential elections, they gave a fair amount of coverage to the mechanics of voting, which may provide voters with valuable locally based election information.

Political communication scholars are divided, often bitterly, over the potential effects of television news on citizen engagement, knowledge, turnout, and voting behavior. For many years, the groundbreaking work of Patterson and McClure (1976) held sway and the conventional wisdom was that television news had virtually no effect on voters. More recently, the strength of this minimal affects position has declined and a host of empirical studies have suggested that the media can influence citizen attitudes and behavior (Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1995; Entman, 1992; Finkel and Geer 1998; Gilliam and Iyengar, 2000; Goldstein and Freedman 2002; Graber 1997 and 2001; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Just, Crigler, Alger, Cook, Kern, and West 1996; Shaw 1999; Valentino 1999; Wattenberg and Brians 1999). Much of this work is based on studies of network news broadcasts. This focus is primarily one of expedience. Since network news airs once a night and can be captured in any part of the country, it is simply easier for scholars to analyze network news instead of local TV news.

Scholars are beginning to recognize the importance of local TV news. For example, Althaus, Nardulli, and Shaw (2002, 2) bluntly state, "Studies of the elite national news media ignore the simple fact that local news broadcasts are now the average citizen's primary source of information about presidential campaigns." This contention is supported by several surveys from the Pew Center indicating the centrality of local news as a trusted information source.[1] Snider (2000) highlights the importance of local news with his contention that an archive of local news would be a public good and, as such, Congress should mandate the creation of a national archive of local news programs similar to Vanderbilt University's archive of national news programs.

Since Congress has not done so, researchers interested in local news and campaigns are forced to limit what local news content they capture and analyze. This happens in at least three ways. First, researchers concentrate on a single, often presidential, election (Bartels 1988; Beck, Dalton, Greene, and Huckfeldt 2002; Finkel and Geer 1998; Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Shaw 1999, Just et al. 1996). Second, the few researchers (Carter, Fico, and McCabe, 2002; Just et al. 1999) who attempt to examine multiple races are forced to limit their research to single news broadcasts (e.g. the 5:00 p.m. broadcast but not the 11:00 p.m. broadcast). Third, researchers completely ignore stories that focus on the process of the election (e.g. voter registration deadlines and locations of polling places). These "voter information" stories are comparatively prevalent on local news broadcasts. All these strategies present methodological problems.

Over 40 years ago, Bernard Cohen argued that the media do not tell us what to think; they tell us what to think about. Following Cohen, it is reasonable to suggest that comparative balance or imbalance in the *quantity* of coverage about different elections signals voters about the comparative worth of those elections. For example, a lack of coverage about one U.S. House race tells voters that they do not need to think about it, just as blanket coverage of another U.S. House race signals voters to pay attention to this one. Research focusing on a single race cannot speak to this fundamental point.

In addition, focusing on a single race assumes that the qualitative aspects of news coverage, such as bias, are uniform across elections. Yet there is no reason to believe that a television

news organization will act with this type of consistency. It is clearly possible that a local television station may favor a Democrat in a U.S. Senate race and favor a Republican in the Presidential race. Again, research focusing on a single race can not address this point.

It is not surprising that research on local television news centers on candidates; that is, after all, what research on network news does. This focus, however, ignores stories about the process and mechanics of the election itself, stories that are in fact more likely to occur on local television stations than on network news (Kaplan, Goldstein, and Hale 2004). In addition to being more prevalent on local news than national news, these "voter information" stories often provide voters with information directly relevant to the situation they will face when they go to the polls. For example, local television stations can report on local voter registration deadlines, polling place locations, and the time and place of local events related to the upcoming election—stories that network news does not report. In addition, local news can report on specific and local instances of voting irregularities or potential difficulties in the local voting process in a way than network news cannot.

As a result, there is no reason to believe that these voter information stories are irrelevant and without influence on voters' perceptions of the election. In fact, it seems reasonable to suggest that a story highlighting a local nonpartisan voter information forum might leave voters with a generally positive view of the election and their ability to participate in it. Conversely, a story highlighting acrimonious lawsuits over the implementation of electronic voting machines might leave voters with a more negative impression. Just as the balance in the quantity of coverage about individual elections may signal voters about which elections are important, the balance in noncandidate stories may help signal voters about the value of participating in the election at all.

The first goal of this article is to provide a more complete picture of election news coverage by examining news coverage of all races and all election related stories across multiple news broadcasts. The key research questions include: *what is the quantitative balance of coverage across multiple races? Are there qualitative differences in coverage of different races? What types of noncandidate election stories exist, and how might these stories influence voter's opinions of the election?*

Obviously, the answers to these questions are largely descriptive. Even so, they are important because they further our understanding of how voters within a media market actually experience election news coverage. For example, it seems reasonable to suggest that voters watch entire (if not multiple) newscasts every night and not (as researchers generally do) single stories about one election. As a result, voters experience one part of election coverage (e.g. presidential election stories) not in a vacuum but in connection with other parts of election coverage (e.g. stories about other races and about the electoral process generally). By describing how the different "parts" of an election are covered in relation to each other, we are better able to understand how voters experience (and perhaps understand) both the parts of an election and the election as a whole.

The Philadelphia Media Market: Size and Competition

The Philadelphia media market provides an interesting case study because in 2004 it was an example of a large media market with many competitive elections. This combination is significant because the size of the Philadelphia market would suggest that presidential coverage would be much more prevalent than coverage of local elections. Yet, the number of competitive down-ballot races in the Philadelphia market would suggest that coverage between presidential and nonpresidential elections would be more balanced. Examining election coverage in Philadelphia helps inform our understanding of the relationship between these two variables.

The Size of the Philadelphia Media Market

The Philadelphia media market is the fourth largest media market in the country. It reaches across 18 counties and three states. Eight of the 18 counties are in New Jersey (Atlantic, Burlington, Camden, Cape May, Cumberland, Gloucester, Mercer, and Salem). Eight of the counties are in Pennsylvania (Berks, Bucks, Chester, Delaware, Lehigh, Montgomery, Northampton, and Philadelphia). Two of the counties are in Delaware (Kent and New Castle). Because of its size and cross state reach, the TV stations in Philadelphia generally have more elections to cover than almost any

market in the country.[3] In addition to the 2004 presidential race, voters in the Philadelphia DMA participated in more than 155 nonpresidential races. These included one U.S. Senate races, six other statewide offices, 15 Congressional races, 19 state senate races, and 113 state assembly races.[4] This total does not include the hundreds of local races for city councils, mayors, and law enforcement officers in the 18 counties.

Researchers have been unable to make comparisons between local news reports in multiple markets. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to speculate that larger media markets may provide less coverage of local elections than do smaller markets inasmuch as the percentage of a station's viewers that can vote in a particular race is higher in a small market than in a large market. However, ownership and operation of all the affiliate stations in large markets by the major media companies (ABC, CBS, FOX and NBC) may also contribute to a lack of coverage of local elections because reporters at these stations are more directly linked to, or perhaps identify more with, national journalists. Consequently, coverage of the presidential race and perhaps the U.S. Senate race can be expected to dominate election news coverage on Philadelphia's television stations.

Electoral Competitiveness in Philadelphia

Clearly market size is not the only factor in determining what gets covered. A second variable is the presence of competitive elections. Philadelphia is an interesting case study in 2004 because in comparison to most places in the country, a number of races in the Philadelphia area were thought to be competitive or at least interesting. Pennsylvania was considered to be a crucial swing state in the presidential election, and towards the end of the election there was indication that New Jersey too might be competitive in the presidential race. The Pennsylvania Senate race was characterized by the Cook Political Report[5] as "leaning Republican," indicating some degree of competitiveness. Voters in the Philadelphia DMA cast ballots in six other statewide races.[6] Of these, four were open seat races, which are generally characterized as less certain than elections with incumbents. In addition, three of the 15 U.S. House races[7] held in the DMA were thought to be at least somewhat competitive.[8] Given that a total of just 24 U.S. House races were characterized as even marginally competitive in 2004,[9] the

Philadelphia DMA accounted for 13% of all U.S. House races characterized as leaning Democratic or Republican in the country. While this may be a comment on the lack of competitiveness in U.S. House races in general, it does suggest that in comparison with other media markets, Philadelphia has its share of interesting U.S. House races. Given that local television station managers and news directors routinely argue that elections would receive more coverage if more of them were competitive, it would seem reasonable to expect that Philadelphia might provide a significant amount of coverage to nonpresidential elections.

In short, the Philadelphia media market is interesting because we have two competing hypotheses about how the city's stations might balance their election coverage between presidential and nonpresidential elections. Discovering which one is correct is the second goal of this article.

Methodology

This article is based on a larger study of 44 stations in 11 media markets[2] conducted by the Norman Lear Center at the University of Southern California and the NewsLab at the University of Wisconsin. While the 11 media markets in the full study were not randomly selected, they account for 23% of all television viewers in the country. In addition, the 11 markets are geographically diverse and somewhat politically diverse. There is also variation in the level of electoral competitiveness within the 11 markets at both the presidential and down-ballot levels. The full study examined over 8,000 hours of news coverage and almost 7,000 news stories, making it one of the largest studies of local television news ever conducted.

The ability to capture and analyze election coverage across multiple races and broadcasts is made possible by the unique media capture and management system created at Wisconsin's NewsLab. The process is divided into four distinct phases: capture, clipping, coding, and archiving. In each market, computer servers capture entire news broadcasts and transmit the content electronically to the University of Wisconsin. Once they arrive in Wisconsin, broadcasts are clipped into individual news stories and coded for primary focus (elections, crime, health, foreign policy, etc.). Election stories are then sent to individual computer work stations for coding. Highly

trained coders watch and code each election story directly on a computer screen. Specially designed software prevents errors in logical consistency. For example, if a coder says the story concerns *only* a gubernatorial race but enters the name of a U.S. Senate candidate into a soundbite field, the story is automatically returned to a supervisor to check and correct any errors. When coding is complete, the stories are automatically sent to a digital archive available at www.localnewsarchive.org. Users of the archive can search the video database on a host of items including keywords, story subject, station, market, and date aired.

This article is based on a detailed analysis of the 580 election news stories aired by the Philadelphia affiliates of the four major networks (CBS, NBC, ABC, and Fox). As in the larger study, all stories aired during prime time (5:00 p.m. to 11:30 p.m.) between October 4 and November 1, 2004. All stories in Philadelphia were examined by three trained coders. Intercoder reliability was measured using Cronbach's alpha (Cronbach 1951) and was greater than .83 on all but one variable; and in the case of primary story, focus was above .90. The one exception was the variable called the "average campaign manager score," which is described in a later section. The initial reliability measure indicated an intercoder agreement of .77. Although some scholars find this acceptable (Nunnally 1978), other argue that intercoder agreement should be greater than .80 (Krippendorff 1978, Tinsley and Weiss 2000). To err on the side of caution, a project supervisor reviewed all stories where the three coders were less than unanimous and made a final determination, thus insuring adequate reliability on all measures. Basic descriptive elements of each story—such as date aired, station, and story length—are automatically determined during the clipping process described above, so reliability measures are not necessary on these variables.

Comparing Philadelphia

The first step is to compare the Philadelphia media market with the 10 other markets in the larger Lear Center Study. The results show in most respects that the stations in Philadelphia covered the 2004 election somewhat differently than the other stations in the larger study. For example, the Philadelphia stations covered the election a bit more frequently than did the other 10 markets. Seven

out of 10 broadcasts captured in Philadelphia contained at least one election related story compared with slightly more than six out of 10 in the other markets studied.[10] One possible explanation for this difference is that stories in Philadelphia were on average 13 seconds shorter than stories in the other markets. The Philadelphia stations aired more stories about the presidential race and fewer stories about local races than did the other markets. In addition, Philadelphia stations gave significantly more attention to campaign strategy and the "horserace" and less attention to campaign issues than did the other markets. The stories on Philadelphia stations included a candidate soundbite somewhat less frequently than did the stations in the other markets, but the difference was not statistically significant. There was no difference between Philadelphia and the other markets in the average length of a candidate soundbite. Table 1 contains these results.

Table 1		
Overview of 2004 Election Coverage		
Study Sample (all newscasts at 5:00 p.m. and 11:30 p.m. aired between October 4 and November 1, 2004)	**10 Markets***	**Philadelphia**
Number of local television stations	40	4
Total hours of news programming	8,070	596
Total number of local news broadcasts	4,035	298
Total number of campaign stories	6,441	580

Variables	10 Markets*	Philadelphia	t test
Percentage of broadcasts with at least one campaign story	63%	70%	*T= 2.45 (347), p=.014*
Average length of a campaign story	87 seconds	75 seconds	*T= 4.48 (702), p=.000*
Percentage of stories about the presidential race	60%	76%	*T= 8.59 (722), p=.000*

*The 10 markets include New York, Los Angeles, Dallas, Miami, Tampa, Orlando, Denver, Seattle, Des Moines, and Dayton (Ohio)

Comparing Elections: Quantitative Disparities in Race Coverage

Given the importance of the office and the overall competitiveness of the race, it is not surprising that presidential coverage trumped coverage of local and even statewide races in all 11 markets studied in 2004. That Pennsylvania was considered a crucial swing state caused both presidential candidates to spend a great deal of time in the state, and specifically in Philadelphia, so it is not surprising that the presidential race received a great deal of coverage by Philadelphia's stations.

These facts, however, do not make the dominance of the presidential race in Philadelphia any less striking, especially given the presence of other competitive races in the market. For example, not only did the Philadelphia stations devote significantly more of their stories to the presidential race than did stations in the other 10 markets, but they also devoted significantly more of their election coverage to the presidential race than did stations in other presidential battleground states (Dayton, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; and Miami, Orlando, and Tampa in Florida). Presidential stories made up 59% of the stories in these five markets compared to 76% of the stories in Philadelphia.[11]

Overall, the Philadelphia stations aired a total of just 30 stories focused on nonpresidential candidates. Of these, 16 focused on the U.S. Senate race,[12] and just 11 stories focused exclusively on U.S.

House races.[13] The remaining stories focusing on nonpresidential candidates included a single story about the Attorney General race, one story about the Delaware gubernatorial race, and one story featuring a state senate candidate who was only marginally related to the election.

One way to put these results in perspective is to compare the total amount of news time captured with how much of it focused on these races. Out of almost 600 hours of news time captured, a total of slightly more than 13 minutes of coverage *focused* on the U.S. Senate race and just 12 and a half minutes focused on any U.S. House race. The total amount of air time devoted to all nonpresidential candidates was just 28 minutes and 24 seconds. In comparison, Philadelphia's stations devoted a total of nine hours and 45 minutes of election coverage to the presidential race. This means that presidential candidates received 95% of all the candidate centered air time on Philadelphia's stations.

In addition, presidential candidates received 90% of all candidate soundbite time aired by Philadelphia's stations. While this is still dominant, it is slightly less than the overall percentage of air time devoted to presidential candidates, suggesting a slight tendency on the part of Philadelphia's stations to show nonpresidential candidates speaking more often than presidential candidates. Even so, the difference in soundbite time remains staggering. Presidential candidates were given a total of one hour and 47 seconds of speaking time, compared to a total of seven minutes and nine seconds of speaking time for all nonpresidential candidates.

Overall, these results suggest that a typical voter would have to be fairly vigilant to see, let alone learn, anything about a nonpresidential election by watching Philadelphia's local television news. Clearly, one of the strongest signals sent to voters by Philadelphia television stations was that the presidential election was the only thing that mattered, or to paraphrase Cohen, the only candidates to "think about" were those running for president. Table 2A contains these results.

Table 2A Quantity of Presidential and Nonpresidential Coverage in Philadelphia		
	Presidential election stories (n=440)	**Nonpresidential election stories (n=30)**
Quantity of Coverage		
Total air time	9 hours, 45 minutes	28 minutes, 24 seconds
Percentage of candidate centered air time	95%	5%
Candidate Soundbites		
Total soundbite time	1 hour, 47 seconds	7 minutes, 9 seconds
Percentage of all candidate speaking time	90%	10%
Average length of a candidate soundbite	12 seconds	11 seconds

Comparing Elections: Qualitative Similarities
in Race Coverage

It is fairly clear from the previous section that Philadelphia
stations all but ignored nonpresidential races. The next section
compares how the stations covered presidential and nonpresidential
races. This is important in part because in our 11 market analysis
we found that stories about local races were longer, contained
longer soundbites, and were more likely to focus on issues than on
stories about presidential candidates.[14] Given that many media
reform advocates[15] argue that longer news stories featuring
candidates talking about issues are the qualitative improvements
necessary in news coverage, it is reasonable to suggest that stories
about nonpresidential races were qualitatively superior to stories
about presidential races.

In Philadelphia the comparison is at best mixed. The average
length of a presidential story in Philadelphia was 80 seconds while
the average length of a nonpresidential story was just 57 seconds.
While this appears to be a large difference, it was not statistically
significant ($p=.060$). The results, however, show no significant
differences between Philadelphia's presidential and nonpresidential
stories in terms of average soundbite length or percentage of stories

focusing on strategy or issues. These results, therefore, show that unlike other markets in the larger study, there is not a clear pattern of providing qualitatively superior coverage of nonpresidential elections in Philadelphia. Table 2B contains these results.

Table 2B "Quality" of Presidential and Nonpresidential Coverage in Philadelphia			
"Quality" of coverage	Presidential election stories (n=440)	Nonpresidential election stories (n=30)	Significance
Average length of a story	80 seconds	57 seconds	*t= 1.88 (468), p=.060*
Average length of a candidate soundbite	12 seconds	11 seconds	*t= 1.06(348), p=.287*
Percentage of stories about strategy or horserace	74%	70%	*t= .435 (468), p=.664*
Percentage of stories about issues	18%	23%	*t=.668 (468), p=.505*

Comparing Candidates: Visibility and Treatment of the Presidential Candidates

This section explores the data to see if there is an overall pattern of bias toward one party or individual candidate. We look at these bias questions from two perspectives: visibility and treatment of the candidates. These are explained below.

Before turning to the results, however, some clarifications are important. First, because the presidential race dominated coverage, the focus is on comparing the major presidential and vice presidential candidates. The results generally hold for the U.S. Senate and all U.S. House races too. Appendix A contains an overview of the results for these down-ballot races. Second, the results do not include stories about third party presidential

candidate Ralph Nader because coverage of Nader was almost nonexistent. Appendix B contains comparisons between coverage of Nader and his major party counterparts, and they show significant differences in how Nader was covered by Philadelphia stations. Third, because the findings are remarkably consistent across individual stations, the results are presented at the market rather than the station level. Appendix C contains the results for the individual stations.

Comparing Candidates: Visibility of Candidates on the News

The first set of measures focus on the visibility of each candidate on the news in comparison to his counterpart(s). The rationale for these measures is similar to one used with paid campaign advertising, namely more is better. If, for example, John Kerry appears on the news much more often than George Bush, voters, at the very least, receive more exposure to Kerry than they do to Bush.

These "visibility" results are presented in two ways. First, Table 3 reports the total amount of air time and soundbite time each candidate received over the 30 day study period. The results show very few differences between the major party candidates on these aggregated totals. For example, out of more than eight hours of coverage focused on the two presidential candidates, the difference in air time was less than five minutes.

Table 3A Quantity of Coverage by Candidate				
Candidate	Total number of stories featuring candidate	Total time of stories	Total number of candidate soundbites	Total amount of soundbite time
George Bush (R)	357	4 hrs, 13 mins	135	27 mins, 23 secs
John Kerry (D)	351	4 hrs, 18 mins	111	22 mins, 12 secs
Dick Cheney (R)	60	28 mins	30	4 mins, 33 secs
John Edwards (D)	60	30 mins	31	6 mins, 15 secs

Next, the aggregated results are broken down to the story level, and we calculate the average percentage of each story that was devoted to each candidate and the average number of seconds each candidate appears in a story. As shown in Table 3B, there were no significant differences between major party candidates on either variable.

Table 3B Comparing Candidate Visibility in Stories				
Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate				
	N	Mean	S D	Significance
George Bush	357	.53	.239	t=1.35 (706), p=.177
John Kerry	351	.51	.238	
Dick Cheney	60	.33	.235	t=.846 (118), p=.399
John Edwards	60	.29	.210	
Average Number of Seconds Candidate Appeared in a Story				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	357	42.6	33.11	t= .550 (706), p=.583
John Kerry	351	44.1	39.61	
Average Number of Seconds Candidate Appeared in a Story				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
Dick Cheney	60	28.4	25.91	t= .223(118), p=.824
John Edwards	60	29.5	31.04	

Comparing Candidates: Treatment of Candidates

The previous tables indicate that the major party presidential candidates were given virtually the same amount of air time by Philadelphia stations. While the quantity of coverage given each candidate is one indication of bias, it does not address the possibility of other qualitative differences in candidate coverage. For example, it is possible that a candidate embroiled in a scandal might actually receive more coverage than his opponent even

though the quantitative advantage may actually hurt the candidate's chances. Two different measures are used to examine the "treatment" of the presidential candidates by the news in Philadelphia.

First, coders recorded how often a candidate was criticized by someone else in each story. For each story, coders recorded instances of a candidate being critiqued by a reporter, another candidate, a campaign staffer, an ordinary citizen, or some other person. By aggregating each criticism category, it is possible to discover the total number of times each candidate faced some form of criticism and the percentage of stories in which each candidate received some form of criticism. If one candidate faced significantly more criticism than another, it is possible some partisan bias exists.

Second, coders were asked to play the role of a campaign manager by saying for each story whether or not they would be unsatisfied, neutral or satisfied with how their candidate was portrayed. A score of one equals unsatisfied, two equals neutral, and three equals satisfied. Averaging these scores creates a composite measure of story satisfaction where the higher the score the more satisfied a hypothetical campaign manager would be with the story. If one candidate receives a higher overall satisfaction score than his opponent, it is possible some bias exists.

Although these two measures are related, they are actually designed to detect different aspects of candidate treatment. The campaign manager question looks at the story as a whole, while the criticism question looks for instances within a story where a candidate receives criticism. This means that it is possible for a story to be coded as favorable toward one candidate by a "campaign manager" even if it includes some criticism of the candidate in the story. For example, a story might focus almost entirely on the enthusiastic support George Bush received at a campaign rally, then at the very end the story it may show a single soundbite from someone representing the small group of protesters that also attended the rally. This story would be coded as favorable toward Bush, but it also would be counted as an instance of him receiving criticism. The reverse is also true; a story can be coded as unfavorable toward a candidate but not necessarily contain direct criticism. For instance, a story might simply report that John Kerry was slipping in the polls but do so without any direct criticism of

him or his campaign by a third party. This story would be coded as unfavorable toward Kerry but it would not be counted as an example of the story containing criticism.

The results of both measures are reported in Table 4. Once again they show little evidence of direct favoritism among the major party candidates. None of the comparisons indicate a statistically significant difference between the major party candidates on the campaign manager satisfaction question. The results do suggest, however, that Vice President Dick Cheney received more criticism than his rival, John Edwards. Vice President Cheney received some form of criticism in 15% of the stories he appeared in compared to just 5% of the stories that Edwards appeared in, although the difference was not statistically significant at the .05 level (*p=.069*).

Table 4: Comparing Candidate Treatment in Stories				
Percentage of stories where candidate faced criticism				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	357	28%	.448	*t=.133 (706), p=.910*
John Kerry	351	27%	.446	
Dick Cheney	60	15%	.360	*t=1.836 (118), p=.069*
John Edwards	60	5%	.219	
Average Campaign Manager Score				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	357	2.10	.555	*t= .774 (706), p=.439*
John Kerry	351	2.13	.581	
Dick Cheney	60	2.08	.497	*t=1.094 (118),p=.276*
John Edwards	60	2.18	.504	

Voting Issue Stories

To this point the focus has been on stories about candidates, particularly presidential candidates. Election coverage on local

television news, however, is not limited to candidate focused stories. For example, stories report on voter registration deadlines and provide information on various ways of voting, such as by absentee ballot. Other stories focus on the process of setting up the election and the mechanics of the voting process. Still others report on efforts by celebrities to get people to the polls. Many stories also focus on allegations of voting irregularities, fraud, or election scams.

In Philadelphia, a total of 99 stories (17% of all stories) were these types of "voter information" stories. This is actually a sizable amount, more than three times the number of stories about all of Philadelphia's nonpresidential candidates combined. Even so, Philadelphia actually aired these stories somewhat less frequently than the other 10 markets in the study.[16] That these stories appear to be quite prevalent is, by itself, an interesting finding. The key question, however, is how might these stories influence voters? Since there is no literature on this topic, the following section reports the results of a closer examination of the 99 voter information stories that was conducted by the author. The goal is to propose a categorization scheme for thinking about these stories in a systematic way and begin to address the effects question posed above.

For each story the three coders wrote a detailed headline about the main point of the story. The author reviewed these headlines and made an initial categorization of each coder's headlines. The initial categories were developed based on the review of the headlines. For instance, the presence of headlines containing the words "kids, children, schools and voting," led to the creation of a "kids and voting category." Similarly, headlines containing the words "fraud, scam, illegal, lawsuits," led to the creation of a "fraud category." If the initial categorization by the author "fit" for all three coders, the story was not reviewed. This occurred in 88 of the 99 stories. In the remaining 11 stories, the initial categorization by the author did not clearly fit with all of the coders or the author was unable to make a clear categorization based on the headlines. In these 11 cases, the story was reviewed by the author.

This review process led to the realization that a few of the initial categorizations were too broad because it seemed reasonable that stories within a single category might have different effects on voters. For example, stories about expectations of a record voter

turnout could have a positive influence on voters since they focused on the importance other people are placing on the election. By contrast, other stories about voter turnout focused on how people were likely to have to wait for hours in order to cast ballots. These might have a negative influence on voters since it is possible a voter might decide that voting was not worth the time and effort. For this reason, additional categories were created and all stories in each initial category were re-examined by the author.

With this process complete, all the story categories were then grouped into positive, neutral, and negative categories based on how the story might affect voters' perceptions of the election. For instance, positive stories generally cast the election process as valid, worthy of the viewer's attention, helpful to viewers in understanding the process of the election, or focused on the election as a "civic" function. The neutral category includes stories likely to have little impact on voters one way or another, such as those advertising a station's upcoming election night coverage or those about Election Day weather. The negative category contains stories that generally question the validity of the election process or focus primarily on difficulties or obstacles voters are likely to face should they attempt to vote. The neutral category also includes stories that focus on the efforts by nonprofit groups or election officials to help overcome potential problems in the election. These stories contain both positive (a group working to solve potential problems) and negative (the potential problem itself). These stories were the only consistent case of story category containing both positive and negative components. In the few cases (less than five stories) where a different story topic included both positive and negative aspects, the aspect that was presented first in the story was chosen.

Table 5 shows that the majority of these stories most likely provide voters with information helpful to voting and portray the election process in a positive light. Even so, 29 of the 99 stories focused on subjects that may cast some doubt on the validity of the election process and the value of participating in it.

Table 5: Voting Issue Stories	
Type of Voting Issue Story	**% of all voting issue stories (n=99)**
"Positive" stories	
Voter Registration	7
Celebrities to increase voter turnout	11
Absentee ballot positive	1
Voter Turnout positive	3
Kids and voting	3
Methods and Mechanics of voting	25
Total positive stories	50
"Neutral" stories	
"Advertisements" about a station's election coverage	10
Election day weather forecasts	2
Citizen group involvement with election	8
Total neutral stories	20
"Negative" Stories	
Absentee ballots negative	4
Voter Turnout negative	3
The potential for disruption of elections by terrorism	4
Fraud, Scams, pending lawsuits	18
Total negative stories	29

Conclusion

The first goal of this study was to expand existing research concerning local television and elections by focusing on multiple races across multiple stations and news broadcasts. The results show that in Philadelphia the only type of election story that received significant coverage were those about the Presidential race. It does not seem too much of an exaggeration to suggest that a typical voter would be hard pressed to learn anything about down-ballot races from watching local news in Philadelphia.

Furthermore, these results show that for candidates in Philadelphia's down-ballot races, getting publicity on local television news was not a viable option. As a result, these candidates would seem to have few alternatives but to turn to paid advertising or possibly other media venues like radio and local newspapers to garner publicity for their campaigns. Reliance on paid advertising requires candidates to raise enormous amount of money, which according to campaign finance reform advocates is a fundamental problem with American democracy. It is also important to remember that one of the cornerstones of FCC licensing of local television stations is a commitment to "localism," which at least in terms of election coverage seems defined by coverage of down-ballot races.

If Philadelphia's stations failed the "localism" test, they clearly passed another important measure of journalistic quality. This article shows that the stations were very balanced in the amount and type of coverage they gave to the major party candidates. While the results presented here focus on the presidential race, they generally held across all elections and even across individual stations. These results can be interpreted in different ways. First, perhaps a lack of overt bias is a conscious choice by news directors and reporters who work hard to provide fair and balanced coverage. Second, perhaps the lack of bias is driven by time and money constraints faced by news directors and reporters. It is certainly easier and cheaper to attend two candidate events and "roll tape" than it is to engage in hard-hitting investigative journalism of even one candidate. It is difficult (but not impossible) for the former to be bias, while it is likely that the latter would include some overtly positive or negative framing of candidates.

Third, perhaps the lack of bias actually has little to do with the stations themselves and more to do with the highly disciplined and to some extent programmed nature of political candidates today. Successful candidates often provide voters and television stations with little substantive information, preferring instead to speak in bland generalities. It is clearly more difficult for reporters to critique candidate statements that do not say anything than to critique even quasi-controversial statements from candidates. Finally, it is important to note that to some extent this article equates equality with lack of bias. The abilities or behaviors (past or

present) of the candidates are not factored into the bias equation, but perhaps future research should do so.

Clearly this work needs to be expanded to more media markets, a process currently underway by the author using data from the larger Lear Center study. Future research should also examine off-year elections to see how the lack of a presidential race changes the quantity and nature of election coverage on local television news.

A Closer Look at Election Competitiveness in Philadelphia

The second goal of this article was to compare two seemingly reasonable hypotheses about how Philadelphia's television stations might balance coverage between presidential and nonpresidential elections. One hypothesis was that the presence of competitive down-ballot races would in a sense balance the coverage Philadelphia's television stations provided to presidential and nonpresidential races. Obviously this hypothesis is not supported by the data.

In fact, a closer look at the competitiveness of elections *within the media market* actually shows how unimportant competitiveness was in what Philadelphia stations decided to cover. According to vote totals gathered from the Secretary of State in Pennsylvania and the Division of Elections in New Jersey and Delaware,[17] the eight Pennsylvania counties made up 66% of all the 2004 votes cast in the Philadelphia media market. President Bush lost these eight counties by a 21 point margin and lost the entire media market by an 18 point margin. This was driven in part by President Bush's loss of the most populous county in the market (Philadelphia) by a 60 point margin. In fact, only four counties in the market (Bucks, Chester, Lehigh, and Northampton) were decided by less than five percentage points. So while Pennsylvania as a whole was competitive in the presidential race, it is possible that Philadelphia as a media market was not.

At the same time, the opposite was true for other races in the Philadelphia market. Prior to the election, the Pennsylvania Senate race was characterized by the Cook Political Report[18] as "leaning Republican," indicating at least some degree of competitiveness. While statewide the election did not turn out to be close, it was fairly close in the counties making up the Philadelphia media market. Senator Arlen Specter beat Democrat Joe Hoeffel handily

statewide (52% to 43%), but in the Pennsylvania counties in the Philadelphia market, Hoeffel actually won the vote by three percentage points.[19] Despite the level of within market competitiveness, a total of just 16 stories focused on the U.S. Senate race.

In addition, three (PA 6th, 8th and 13th) of the 15 of U.S. House races[20] held within the market were thought to be at least somewhat competitive prior to the election.[21] It is true that only the 6th district contest remained competitive on Election Day with Republican Jim Gerlach winning over Democrat Lois Murphy by just three percentage points. Even so, that only 11 out of almost 600 election stories focused on a U.S. House race is a telling example of how unimportant these races were viewed by Philadelphia's local television stations. While the low number of stories about U.S. House races makes "more" or "less" a relative concept, it seems that electoral competitiveness did not drive coverage of U.S. House races. Candidates in the competitive 6th district appeared in just two stories while candidates in the 8th appeared in six stories and 13th district candidates appeared in nine stories even though those two contests were not competitive.

Obviously, additional research using more markets and in off-year elections is necessary before definitive conclusion can be made. Still, the finding that within-market electoral competitiveness was essentially unimportant in driving Philadelphia's stations to cover down-ballot races is important. This is especially true given the repeated claims by broadcasters that lack of competitive down-ballot elections is one reason stations fail to cover them.[22]

A Closer Look at Market Size and Ownership

This article's second hypothesis was that presidential coverage would dominate in Philadelphia because it is a large market (making coverage of local races difficult) and because all the stations in the sample are owned by one of the four major media conglomerates (making coverage of local races less interesting to nationally centered reporters). Clearly, presidential coverage dominated coverage in Philadelphia; and while far from definitive, the results suggest that perhaps market size and ownership may have played a role in this outcome.

We can see the pattern when we compare the balance in Philadelphia with the balance in the five markets in the larger Lear Center study that were also in what were considered to be presidential battleground states (Dayton, Ohio; Des Moines, Iowa; and Miami, Orlando, and Tampa in Florida). Fifty-nine percent of the stories in these five markets focused on the presidential race, an almost identical percentage to the breakdown in all 10 non-Philadelphia markets in the larger Lear Center study. In contrast, 76% of the stories in Philadelphia focused on the presidential race. Obviously, Philadelphia is significantly larger in size than these five markets, perhaps making coverage of any one local race more difficult. In addition, Philadelphia is the only one of these markets where all four stations are owned and operated by one of the big four media companies (ABC, CBS, FOX, and NBC). As a result, perhaps Philadelphia's reporters and anchors feel more pressure to appear that they are covering elections as network or national journalists might. This contention is supported by the fact the two other "large" markets in the Lear Center study (New York and Los Angeles) also devoted more than 70% of their stories to the presidential election.[23]

If larger markets are more likely to focus on top of the ticket races, this tendency might have been reinforced in Philadelphia by the demographic characteristics of four nearby counties where the presidential race was close (Bucks, Chester, Lehigh, and Northampton). All four counties have higher median family incomes and levels of education than more populous Philadelphia.[24] The demographic makeup of these counties is likely more attractive to advertisers and hence television stations than is the demographic makeup of Philadelphia. But because education and affluence are positively related to watching local television news,[25] it is also possible that more local news viewers may live in the four smaller counties where the presidential race was highly competitive than in the rest of the market where the race was not competitive. In either case, it possible that television stations target their election coverage not to their entire media market but to selected segments of it. Although more sophisticated analysis beyond a single market is needed, the results from Philadelphia reveal a rich avenue for future research.

What's Local about Local News?

Perhaps the only answer to the question posed in the title of this article is that while Philadelphia's local television stations ignore local candidates, they do provide a sizable number of local voter information stories. More stories aired in Philadelphia about the mechanics and procedures of voting (25) than about either the U.S. Senate race (16) or all U.S. House races combined (11). In addition, half of the voting issues stories were framed in ways that *might* signal voters that participating in elections has some intrinsic value. This suggests that Philadelphia's local television stations have not completely abandoned the media's role as facilitator or at least advertiser of civic life, even if they have discarded any interest in critiquing or assessing local candidates. The Philadelphia results, which were even more pronounced in the other markets in the larger Lear Center study, suggest that this may be a new and important area for future research. Examining these noncandidate stories across a larger number of markets is a necessary first step in determining whether other markets cover voter information stories in ways similar to Philadelphia. If the pattern recurs, the stories should be examined in more detail to discover how they may influence citizens' beliefs about the validity of the electoral process.

Appendix A:
Overview of Candidate Visibility in U.S. Senate and U.S House Races

The lack of stories about U.S. Senate and U.S. House candidates makes statistical comparisons problematic. As a result, Appendix A simply reports the aggregate totals for each race. They clearly show that the amount of time devoted to candidates running for the same office was virtually identical in all races.

Candidate	Total stories candidate appeared in	Total time stories focused on	Average percentage of story that focused on candidate	Total amount of soundbite time	Average length of candidate soundbite
U.S. Senate					
Arlen Specter (R)	24	7 mins, 36 secs	39%	93 secs	12 secs
Joseph Hoeffel (D)	22	6 mins, 38 secs	35%	94 secs	12 secs
James Clymer (I)	7	1 min	33%	20 secs	20 secs
Betsy Summers (I)	5	51 secs	17%	17 secs	17 secs
U.S. House (6th)					
Jim Gerlach (R)	2	1 min, 15 secs	63%	22 secs	7 secs
Lois Murphy (D)	2	1 min, 5 secs	38%	25 secs	8 secs
U.S. House (8th)					
Mike Fitzpatrick (R)	6	1 min, 48 secs	34%	14 secs	14 secs
Virginia Schrader (D)	5	2 mins, 55 secs	41%	38 secs	10 secs
U.S. House (13th)					
Allyson Schwartz (D)	9	1 min, 56 secs	26%	24 secs	8 secs
John McDermott (Con)	4	30 secs	24%	0	0
Chuck Moulton (Lib)	4	30 secs	24%	0	0
U.S. House (15th)					
Charles Dent (R)	1	1 min, 3 secs	50%	16 secs	8 secs
Joe Driscoll (D)	1	1 min, 3 secs	50%	16 secs	8 secs

Appendix B

Ralph Nader Comparisons

Ralph Nader did not appear on the Pennsylvania ballot in 2004. So it is not surprising that he received less coverage than the two major party candidates. The difference, however, is quite dramatic. Nader appeared in 34 stories compared with over 350 for both Bush and Kerry. Nader received a total of 17 minutes of air time

compared with over four hours for both Bush and Kerry. Nader spoke in three soundbites for a total of 24 secs. In comparison, both Bush and Kerry were shown speaking over 100 times for more than 20 minutes each.

In addition to these vast differences in the quantity of air time, Philadelphia's stations covered Nader in qualitatively different ways. Most of Nader's stories focused on his difficulties getting on the ballot. In many respects this explains the results. Stories about Nader's attempt to get on the ballot were much more likely to focus exclusively on Nader than were "regular" stories about Bush and Kerry. This helps explain why a higher percentage of the overall story time was on average higher for Nader (.61) than it was for either Bush (.53) or Kerry (.51). In addition, these stories were more likely to be shorter, consist of straight news reporting, and because Nader failed to get on the Pennsylvania ballot to be unfavorable toward Nader. This helps explain why Nader received less air time per story and less criticism but more unfavorable coverage than the other candidates.

Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
Ralph Nader	34	.61	.398	*t=1.714(389), p=.087*
George Bush	357	.53	.239	
Ralph Nader	34	.61	.398	*t=2.245(383),p=.025*
John Kerry	351	.51	.239	
Average Number of Secs Each Candidate Appeared in a Story				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
Ralph Nader	34	28.1	29.92	*t= -2.470(389),p=.014*
George Bush	357	42.6	33.11	
Ralph Nader	34	28.1	29.92	*t= -2.302(383),p=.022*
John Kerry	351	44.1	39.61	

Percentage of Stories Where Candidate Faced Criticism				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
Ralph Nader	34	.09	.287	*t= -2.411 (389), p=.016*
George Bush	357	.28	.448	
Ralph Nader	34	.09	.287	*t= -2.371 (383), p=.018*
John Kerry	351	.27	.446	
Average Campaign Manager Score				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
Ralph Nader	34	1.50	.615	*t=-5.948(389),p=.000*
George Bush	357	2.10	.555	
Ralph Nader	34	1.50	.615	*t=-6.020(383), p=.000*
John Kerry	351	2.13	.581	

Appendix C

Individual Station Comparisons

The limited difference in how stations covered the presidential race is by itself an interesting finding. The data below show the percentage of presidential candidate appearances that each station devoted to each candidate.

Station	Bush % (n)	Kerry % (n)	Nader % (n)	Cheney % (n)	Edwards % (n)
ABC (n=333)	40.2 (134)	40.2 (134)	6.0 (20)	6.9 (23)	6.6 (22)
CBS (n=206)	41.7 (86)	40.3 (83)	3.4 (7)	7.8 (16)	6.8 (14)
Fox (n=27)	40.7 (11)	37.0 (10)	0.0 (0)	11.1 (3)	11.1 (3)
NBC (n=296)	42.6 (126)	41.9 (124)	2.4 (7)	6.1 (18)	7.1 (21)

On the more qualitative variables, the results again show almost no differences in how each station treated each candidate. On the ABC station in Philadelphia none of the comparisons proved significant. On the CBS station, Dick Cheney had a significantly higher percentage of story time devoted to him than John Edwards did (*t=2.726 (28), p=.011*). None of the other CBS comparisons were significant. Because of the small number of stories aired by the Fox station, only presidential comparisons are possible. The only comparison that proved even marginally significant statistically was that George Bush had a *lower* campaign manager score than did John Kerry (*t= -1.832(19), p=.083)* on the Fox station. Similarly, the only even marginally significant difference on the NBC station was that John Edwards received a higher campaign manager score than did Dick Cheney (*t= -1.874 (37), p=.069*). Because of the small number of stories featuring Ralph Nader, comparisons are made only between the major party candidates.

ABC Stories

Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	134	.51	.228	*t=1.592 (266), p=.113*
John Kerry	134	.47	.222	
Dick Cheney	23	.29	.207	*t=-.388 (43), p=.700*
John Edwards	22	.31	.220	
Average Number of Secs Each Candidate Appeared in a Story				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	134	42.1	34.15	*t= -.053 (266), p=.958*
John Kerry	134	42.3	44.52	
Dick Cheney	23	32.2	31.75	*t= -.185 (43), p=.855*
John Edwards	22	34.1	39.44	
Percentage of Stories Where Candidate Faced Criticism				
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	134	.32	.468	*t= -.259 (266), p=.796*
John Kerry	134	.34	.474	
Dick Cheney	23	.26	.448	*t=1.495 (43), p=.142*
John Edwards	22	.09	.294	

Average Campaign Manager Score			
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	134	2.08	.476	t=-.122 (266), p=.903
John Kerry	134	2.09	.527	
Dick Cheney	23	2.00	.522	t= -.921(43), p=.362
John Edwards	22	2.14	.468	

CBS Stories

Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate			
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	86	.53	.263	t= -.346 (167), p=.729
John Kerry	83	.55	.241	
Dick Cheney	16	.48	.304	t=2.726 (28), p=.011
John Edwards	14	.24	.180	
Average Number of Secs Each Candidate Appeared in a Story				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	86	46.6	36.35	t= -.868(167), p=.387
John Kerry	83	51.9	42.11	
Dick Cheney	16	27.3	19.15	t=.261 (28), p=.796
John Edwards	14	24.7	33.93	
Percentage of Stories Where Candidate Faced Criticism				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	86	.28	.451	t=.203 (167), p=.839
John Kerry	83	.27	.444	
Dick Cheney	16	.06	.250	t= -.095 (28), p=.925
John Edwards	14	.07	.267	
Average Campaign Manager Score				
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	86	2.17	.723	t= -.275 (167), p=.783
John Kerry	83	2.20	.712	
Dick Cheney	16	2.38	.500	t=.396 (28), p=.796
John Edwards	14	2.29	.726	

FOX Stories[26]

Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate			
	N	Mean	SD	Significance
George Bush	11	.52	.260	t=.293 (19), p=.773
John Kerry	10	.49	.251	

Average Number of Secs Each Candidate Appeared in a Story			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	11	57.6	40.44	*t= -.099 (19),*
John Kerry	10	59.3	36.13	*p=.922*
Percentage of Stories Where Candidate Faced Criticism			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	11	.09	.301	*t= -.067 (19),*
John Kerry	10	.10	.316	*p=.947*
Average Campaign Manager Score			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	86	1.91	.302	*t= -1.832 (19),*
John Kerry	83	2.20	.422	*p=.083*

NBC stories

Average Percentage of a Story Devoted to Candidate			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	126	.55	.234	*t=.896 (248),*
John Kerry	124	.52	.249	*p=.371*
Dick Cheney	18	.26	.133	*t= -1.290 (37),*
John Edwards	21	.33	.220	*p=.205*
Average Number of Secs Each Candidate Appeared in a Story			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	126	39.19	28.45	*t= -.135 (248),*
John Kerry	124	39.70	31.00	*p=.893*
Dick Cheney	18	26.1	25.45	*t= -.335 (37),*
John Edwards	21	28.5	19.92	*p=.739*
Percentage of Stories Where Candidate Faced Criticism			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	126	.25	.432	*t=.375 (248),*
John Kerry	124	.23	.419	*p=.708*
Dick Cheney	18	.11	.323	*t=1.578 (37),*
John Edwards	21	.00	.000	*p=.123*
Average Campaign Manager Score			
	N	Mean	SD	*Significance*
George Bush	126	2.08	.515	*t= -.617 (248),*
John Kerry	124	2.12	.550	*p=.538*
Dick Cheney	18	1.94	.416	*t= -1.874 (37),*
John Edwards	21	2.19	.402	*p=.069*

Notes

1. Pew Center for the People and the Press Survey Reports, "News Audiences Increasingly Politicized: Online News Audience Larger, More Diverse" (June 8, 2004); "Public More Critical of Press, But Goodwill Persists" (June 26, 2005); "Voters Impressed with Campaign: But News Coverage Gets Lukewarm Ratings" (October 24, 2004). See http://people press.org.

2. The 11 markets studied were New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Dallas, Miami, Tampa, Orlando, Denver, Seattle, Des Moines, and Dayton (Ohio). The results of the full study are available at www.localnewsarchive.org.

3. The New York Media market also covers three states: New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.

4. The number of elections was calculated based on data from the Secretary of State in Pennsylvania (http://www.dos.state.pa.us/dos/site/default.asp) and the Division of Elections in New Jersey http://www.state.nj.us/lps/elections/electionshome.html and Delaware http://www.state.de.us/election/archive/elect04/2004_electionindex.shtml.

5. http://www.cookpolitical.com October 29, 2004.

6. Pennsylvania voters had races for Attorney General, Auditor, and State Treasurer. Delaware had races for Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Insurance Commissioner. The Attorney General, Auditor, and State Treasurer races in Pennsylvania and the Insurance Commissioner in Delaware were all open seats.

7. Philadelphia DMA voters participated in 16 federal legislative elections, 10 in Pennsylvania, five in New Jersey, and one in Delaware.

8. According to the Cook Political Report for October 26, 2004, the 6th and 8th Pennsylvania Congressional district were also classified as "leaning" Republican. The 13th district in Pennsylvania was classified as leaning Democratic.

9. Cook Political Report, October 29, 2004. http://www.cookpolitical.com

10. Much of this pattern was driven by the NBC and ABC affiliates in Philadelphia, which were both in the top 15 of the 44 station sample in terms of total number of stories aired. In comparison, the FOX affiliate aired a total of just 21 election stories, the lowest number among the 44 stations studied. The CBS affiliate was average in terms of the number of stories aired, in part because it airs an evening news program at 4:00 p.m. outside the time period captured.

11. t= 7.57(4029), *p=.000*

12. An additional nine stories included a U.S. Senate candidate with other candidates, so at best the four stations aired a total of 25 stories about the U.S. senate race. Of these 25 stories, 19 (or 76%) focused on strategy or horserace and four stories (16%) focused on issues. Sixteen of the 25 stories (60%) aired during the final week and eight (32%) aired on the day before the election.

13. An additional seven stories mentioned U.S. House candidates either with candidates for other offices or while discussing noncampaign-related activities. This means at best a total of 18 stories aired featuring a U.S. House candidate. Of these 18 stories, 14 focused on strategy/horserace, one focused on issues, and three were coded as "other." Fifty percent of these stories aired in the final week of the campaign.

14. In the larger report the comparisons described above did not include U.S. senate races or other statewide races. Because the number of nonpresidential

election stories in Philadelphia is so small, the U.S. Senate and statewide races are included together.

15. See http://freepress.net/conference/. Also see the recommendations of the so-called Gore Commission at http://www.ntia.doc.gov/pubintadvcom/pubint.htm.

16. Voting issue stories made up 22% of the stories in the other markets. The difference between Philadelphia and the other 10 markets in the quantity of voting issues stories was statistically significant (t= 2.547 (7019), *p=.011*.

17. For Pennsylvania see http://www.electionreturns.state.pa.us/ElectionReturns. For New Jersey see http://www.state.nj.us/lps/elections/electionshome.html. For Delaware see http://www.state.de.us/election/archive/elect04/2004_election_index.shtml.

18. http://www.cookpolitical.com October 29, 2004.

19. See http://www.electionreturns.state.pa.us/ElectionReturns.

20. Philadelphia DMA voters participated in 15 U.S. House elections, nine in Pennsylvania, five in New Jersey and one in Delaware.

21. According to the October 26, 2004, Cook Political Report, the 6th and 8th Pennsylvania Congressional district were classified as "leaning" Republican. The 13th district in Pennsylvania was classified as leaning Democratic.

22. See the National Association of Broadcaster's "Free Air Time" newsletter available at http://www.nab.org.

23. As in Philadelphia, all the stations in New York and Los Angeles are owned and operated by one of the four major media companies. In the New York market 76% of the stories were about the presidential race, and in Los Angeles 74% of the stories were about the presidential race.

24. According to the 2000 U.S. Census, the median family income in these counties was: Bucks $68,727; Chester $76,916; Lehigh $53,147; Northampton $53,955; and Philadelphia $37,036. The percentage of people with at least a B.A. degree was: Bucks 31.2%; Chester 42.5%; Lehigh 23.3%; Northampton 21.2%, and Philadelphia 17.9%.

25. See http://www.stateofthenewsmedia.org/2006/.

26. The FOX station only aired three stories on the vice presidential candidates making statistical comparisons meaningless. The low number of stories about presidential candidates requires that even these results be viewed with caution.

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A Tale of Two Cities Revisited:
The Philadelphia Mayoral Election of 2003

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This article examines the Philadelphia Mayoral Election of 2003, which was a re-match of the 1999 contest. The author contends that while Philadelphia remained a divided city, partisanship rather than race best explains the election's outcome. By "nationalizing" the election, Democratic Mayor John Street tied his moderate Republican challenger, Sam Katz, to the unpopular Republican administration in Washington, D.C. The revelation of a recording device in Mayor Street's office, rather than damaging Street, galvanized his African-American base while bringing a number of white Democrats back into the Street camp. These factors, along with a massive voter registration drive by Democratic Party operatives, transformed the party's narrow victory of 1999 into a landslide four years later.

Introduction

The 2003 Philadelphia Mayoral election was a re-match of the contentious and polarizing contest of 1999. Democrat John Street, the African-American who had been narrowly elected mayor of this overwhelmingly Democratic city four years earlier, once again faced Republican Sam Katz. In 1999, Street became Philadelphia's 122nd mayor by narrowly defeating Katz, winning by fewer than 9,500 votes out of more than 439,000 votes cast, making it the closest election since 1911.[1] Such a narrow margin would not be expected in a city where Democrats, Street's party, constitute 75% of the electorate. Race, however, race was a significant factor in the outcome as white Democrats voted for Katz, creating a "Tale of Two Cities," where white voters, regardless of party identification, voted for Katz while African-Americans and other minorities supported Street (Kraus 2002a).

Since Philadelphia adopted its present Home Rule Charter in 1951, every incumbent Mayor who has sought re-election has prevailed. Only two of Street's predecessors faced serious

challenges. In 1987, Wilson Goode, the city's first African-American mayor, coming off the MOVE debacle, defeated former Mayor (and Democrat turned Republican) Frank Rizzo by 17,000 votes.[2] In 1967, Mayor James Tate defeated District Attorney (and future United States Senator) Arlen Specter by 10,748 votes.

Given Street's incumbency and the overwhelming Democratic registration advantage, Street should have been an overwhelming favorite to win re-election. However, there was still the issue of race. Would a Katz-Street re-match lead to yet another competitive and racially divisive contest?

The race issue is not confined to Philadelphia. Throughout the United States the question persists as to whether race still matters in elections. In New York City, the David Dinkins–Rudolph Giuliani contests of 1989 and 1993 demonstrated that race was an issue in the nation's largest and most diverse city.[3] In 1993, the perception that Mayor Dinkins had been "soft on crime" and had been ineffective in dealing with a number of racial controversies cost him significant support among white Democratic voters, who opted to support Giuliani (Barrett 2000, Kirtzman 2000, Mollenkopf 2002). The 2001 contest in the same city saw the Democratic Party's alliance of liberal whites, African-Americans, and Latinos unravel as the result of a racially divisive primary campaign, allowing a neophyte billionaire Republican to win (Kraus 2002b).

New York was not alone. During the 1980s and 1990s a number of cities with elected African-American mayors saw those mayors succeeded by whites who often subscribed to more conservative policies than did their African-American predecessors. In the same year that Giuliani was elected in New York, Republican Richard Riordan became mayor of Los Angeles. In 1992, Bret Schundler became the first Republican mayor elected in Jersey City in 75 years. In Chicago, Richard M. Daley, the son of Richard J. Daley, was elected mayor following the death of Chicago's first African-American mayor, Harold Washington. Edward Rendell succeeded Wilson Goode, and in Baltimore Martin O'Malley replaced Kurt Schmoke. Like Giuliani, all stressed crime reduction, economic development, and fiscal discipline as prescriptions for urban revitalization (Judd and Swanstrom 2004, 397–401).

In some cities where African-American mayors have sought re-election their white support has actually increased as those voters found that their fears about a city administration led by an African-American mayor had not come to pass.[4] In fact, a 1983 study found that African-American mayors expressed attitudes and followed policies that were not different from white mayors regarding fiscal policy (Clark and Ferguson 1983, 144–148). As Levy (2000, 65) observed, in many large American cities "leadership has swung back and forth between Blacks and Whites."

Did race still matter to the Philadelphia electorate in 2003? To answer this question, the political landscape, the candidates and their messages, and the election campaign will be reviewed. Particular attention will be paid to the voting behavior of Philadelphians in the general election.

Philadelphia's Political Landscape in 2003

Philadelphia is one of the nation's most heavily Democratic cities. In the years following Street's narrow victory, white Democrats returned to the fold. In 2000, Philadelphians overwhelmingly cast their ballots for Vice President Al Gore and Senator Joe Lieberman, giving them nearly 80% of the vote in the city and paving the way for Gore to carry the state's 23 electoral votes.[5] In 2001, Democratic District Attorney Lynne Abraham was re-elected with more than 65% of the vote and Jonathan Saidel was re-elected City Controller with more than 80% of the vote.[6] In the 2002 gubernatorial election, Democrat (and former Philadelphia Mayor) Ed Rendell would outpoll his Republican opponent, State Attorney General Mike Fisher, by more than 280,000 votes in Philadelphia.[7]

While the City remained a Democratic bastion, there had been other changes in the political landscape since Street's narrow victory four years earlier. A Republican President was elected in the closest election in American history in November 2000, depriving the City's Democratic Mayor of an ally in the White House. In 2002, Rendell was elected Governor, becoming the first Philadelphian to hold the office since Martin Grove Brumbaugh was elected in 1914. In 2003, one of Philadelphia's few Republican elected officials, John Michael Perzel, would become Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. The presence of

Rendell and Perzel at the highest levels of state government should have given the City more influence in Harrisburg than at any time in recent history.

Another factor to consider was that in the four years since the last municipal election the number of white non-Hispanic residents declined. According to United States Census Bureau estimates, the number of whites living in Philadelphia dropped from 644,395 in April 2000 to 615,453 (Committee of Seventy, 2003b). If the electorate was as racially polarized as it had been in 1999, Katz's task would have been more difficult. Yet Philadelphia is also a city where no racial or ethnic group constitutes a majority. According to the census estimate, 43% of the population is African-American and 41% is white. There are approximately 75,000 Asian residents (4.5%) and 135,000 Latinos (8.5%).

While there were fewer whites, there were also fewer Democrats. Following the 2002 elections, the Board of City Commissioners conducted the first purge of inactive voters permitted under the National Voter Registration Act (Motor Voter) of 1993.[8]

Table 1
Registered Voters in Philadelphia, 1999 and 2003

Voters	November 1999	April 2003	Change
All Registered	986,366	906,684	-79,682
Republicans	191,416	160,344	-31,072
Democrats	735,423	685,432	-49,991
Others	59,527	60,908	+1,381

Source: Board of City Commissioners Registration Data.

While both parties experienced declines in registration due to the purge, 19,000 more Democrats than Republicans were dropped

from the rolls. Considering that Street's first victory had come by slightly more than 9,000 votes, the loss of more Democratic voters could be a factor in another close election.

The Candidates and Their Messages

Street portrayed himself as the "Neighborhood Mayor" who had worked to improve the quality of life and quality of city services in every city neighborhood. Of particular importance, according to the Mayor, were his Operation Safe Streets crime prevention and neighborhood blight removal programs (known as the Neighborhood Transformation Initiative). These programs boarded up abandoned houses, removed 175,000 abandoned cars from the city's streets, cleaned up 31,000 vacant lots, and placed more than 45,000 children in after school programs (Athans 2003, 2A). Here Street differed from his predecessor, Ed Rendell, who in his eight years in office emphasized restoring Center City and improving the city's finances.[9] Street took credit for balancing the city's budget and negotiating agreements for new stadiums for the Philadelphia Phillies and Philadelphia Eagles while cutting taxes by about $200 million. He also cited his successful effort to have automobile insurance premiums lowered for city residents. However, during Street's first term the state took control of the city's troubled school district, the Pennsylvania Convention Center, and the Philadelphia Parking Authority.[10]

Following his narrow loss to Street in 1999, Katz became CEO of Greater Philadelphia First, a regional business association of chief executives of the area's largest employers.[11] In his third run for the Mayoralty (he had also lost to Rendell in 1991), Katz argued that Street had failed to address adequately Philadelphia's problems, and he insisted that "we can do better" (Fleming 2003, 1). The major theme that Katz hoped to emphasize was that the Street Administration operated in a culture that was corrupt, incompetent, and rampant with cronyism. In making this claim, Katz could point to Street's own words from 1999: "The people who support me in the general election have a greater chance of getting business from my administration than the people who support Sam Katz" (Associated Press 2003 A8).

A Democrat turned moderate Republican (he switched parties in 1990), Katz was pro-choice on abortion, supported employment

opportunities for gays and lesbians, and supported increased funding for AIDS victims.[13] He proposed to jump-start Philadelphia's economy by cutting the wage tax from 4.4% to 3.5%, with the shortfall in revenue being made up by a $750 million bond issue that would be re-paid over ten years.

Citing the continuing loss of population and jobs, Katz contended that under Street the city had lost the momentum of the Rendell era. According to Katz, Philadelphia faced three problems: a high crime rate and low quality of life, the exodus of the young and college-educated, and tax policies that create an unfavorable business climate. Katz said that one of his goals as mayor would be to attract 250,000 residents into the city over a 15 year period. By cutting business taxes, Philadelphia would retain businesses. As Katz explained it, "our tax structure created Cherry Hill and King of Prussia" (Siegel 2003, 13). As far as Street's crime control policies were concerned, Katz contended that crime was not going down, but moving to neighborhoods with less of a police presence. Katz's anti-crime proposals included deploying additional police during time periods when gun crimes most often occur and creating a "gun court" with jurisdiction over gun cases.

Katz may have best articulated how the election ultimately would be decided: "The extent that I can get African American, Latino and Asian votes, and the extent that John Street can get white votes, will decide the election" (Caruso 2003, A14). A March 2003 Keystone Poll showed Katz with a 44% to 40% lead over Street. This poll found that race mattered in that African-Americans and Whites had divergent views about the direction of the city, Street's performance, and the success of his policies. African-American voters were more likely than whites to think that the city was headed in the right direction, that things were better in Philadelphia than they were four years earlier, and that Mayor Street was doing an excellent or good job (Millersville University 2003).

The General Election Campaign

While the 1999 campaign was a polite, issues-oriented contest in which the candidates and their organizations avoided personal attacks, the 2003 campaign was far more contentious. Among the campaign "issues" was a photograph of Street with a convicted drug

dealer, allegations that Katz was a friend of a former City Council aide who had been convicted of extortion, charges that Katz had once been implicated in a sexual harassment suit (the accuser later recanted), and claims that Street accepted $125,000 in campaign contributions that Katz said were illegal.

In addition to the personal attacks, the campaign became ugly in other ways. In August, an unlit Molotov cocktail was tossed through the window of a Katz campaign office in North Philadelphia. Katz suggested that the Street campaign was behind the vandalism, a charge denied by the Mayor's campaign staff. Two members of Street's Administration were charged with making terroristic threats to the building's owner on the day before the incident.[14] A confrontation earlier on the day of the vandalism between the Mayor's son, Sharif, an assistant city manager, and the building's landlord, Lewis Harris, was videotaped and aired on local television newscasts.

The Street campaign's strategy was to mobilize Democrats by asserting that a Katz victory would mean a city controlled by President George W. Bush and a loss of patronage jobs. To reinforce the message, the campaign brought in Democratic heavyweights including Bill Clinton, Al Gore, Jesse Jackson, and Governor Rendell to make the case that a Street victory would improve the Democratic Party's chances of carrying Pennsylvania in the 2004 presidential election. Street also tried linking Katz to President Bush. At a campaign rally, Street said:

> My opponent has a tax plan that looks so much like the George Bush tax plan that I sometimes say that Sam Katz wants to do for Philadelphia what George Bush is doing for the country. And if that makes you nervous, you ought to be out there voting Democrat and working for all of our Democratic candidates. (NPR 2003)

The Street campaign was the beneficiary of a massive voter registration drive conducted by Congressman Chaka Fattah's political operation.[15] More than 86,000 new Democratic voters were added to the rolls between April 2003 and the general election (Meyerson 2003, A23). By comparison, 7,636 new Republican voters registered during the same period (Committee of Seventy

2003c). This gave Street a tremendous advantage. By expanding the electorate to this extent, Fattah's operation virtually guaranteed a Street victory unless these new voters stayed home. Since Fattah's operatives had registered them, it stands to reason that they would have found most of them on Election Day and brought them to the polls. Later events would make such a "pull" unnecessary.

As he had in 1999, Katz downplayed his Republican label in this Democratic city, going so far as to skip a number of events when President Bush visited the Philadelphia area. Instead, Katz emphasized Street's failings as a leader. According to Katz, the city faced a fiscal crisis, suffered a mismanaged convention center, and had a poor relationship with the state government in Harrisburg. Even Street's vaunted neighborhood blight program was, in Katz's words, "stuck in the mud" (Bulletin's Frontrunner 2002).

This was also a campaign where race, an unspoken issue in 1999, would break into the open. Street was criticized for a 2002 speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) where, noting that Philadelphia had a black mayor, a black managing director, a black fire commissioner, and a black police commissioner, he boasted that "the brothers and sisters are running the city, we are in charge." Katz was attacked for a Republican City Committee mailing that urged white voters to help Katz "take back Philly" (Getlin 2003, A20). Despite Katz's claim that he had not authorized the mailing, Street supporters accused him of "race baiting."

Labor unions, which had almost unanimously backed Street in 1999, were divided in this contest. While most unions remained with Street, about a dozen endorsed Katz. Among those backing Katz were the Teamsters; Gas Workers Employee Union Local 686; Philadelphia Firefighters Union Local 22; Communications Workers of America Local 13000; the Fraternal Order of Housing Police; the Philadelphia Regional Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America; and District Council 33 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

While Katz questioned the Street Administration's shortcomings with a television commercial using the phrase "when a mayor fails," Street's campaign responded by touting the Mayor's accomplishments. A spot featuring actor Bill Cosby acknowledged the Mayor's reputation for personal aloofness with Cosby saying

that "some politicians, they hug people and kiss babies….Mayor Street – his way of kissing and hugging is to put more policemen on the streets." Accompanying Cosby's voice-over were images of police officers on patrol, abandoned cars being removed from city streets, and children at computers. The positive tone of the Cosby spot contrasted with the negative tone of Katz's advertisements.

Street, already ahead in the polls, opened up a huge lead after it was revealed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had bugged the Mayor's City Hall office. The listening device was discovered in the ceiling of the office during a routine check by the Philadelphia Police Department.[16] FBI officials then acknowledged that the device belonged to them, but declined to discuss what they characterized as an ongoing investigation. Newspaper reports suggested that the device was part of a federal investigation into possible corruption in the awarding of contracts, including $13 million in maintenance contracts awarded for the Philadelphia International Airport.[17] Some of those contracts were awarded to a company that had a relationship with the Mayor's brother, T. Milton Street, Sr.[18]

After his lawyer had conferred with the United States Attorney's office, Mayor Street said he was not a "target" of the investigation. He would admit later that "target" was a specific legal term used by the Justice Department when a person was likely to be indicted, and that he might still be the "subject" or "focus" of an investigation. Federal officials, speaking on the condition of anonymity, confirmed that the Mayor was the "subject" of an investigation (which meant that he was being investigated, although he might not be suspected of breaking the law). Asked if he understood the difference between a target and subject, Street replied, "I understand the target is the really, really bad one" (Schamberg 2003, 11). Street also confirmed that he had turned over his "Blackberry" to the FBI Katz called upon Street to make public exactly what he had been told regarding his status in the investigation.[19] Street assured his supporters that he had engaged in no wrongdoing, stating that those listening to the conservations recorded on the listening devices would hear "no corruption, no sex, and no profanity. Not one word" (Loviglio 2003, A3).

While federal authorities denied that their surveillance of Street's office had anything to do with the election, Democrats portrayed it as a Republican plot to defeat Street and help President

Bush carry Pennsylvania in 2004. Nancy Pelosi, the Democratic Leader in the United States House of Representatives, questioned the timing of the investigation, stating, "That they would announce it's not campaign-related raises even more questions about whether it's campaign-related" (Associate Press 2003b, A13).[20] Democratic National Committee Chairman Terry McAuliffe said, "serious questions arise when the Democratic mayor of the fifth-largest city in the country discovers, just before a close election, that senior Bush administration officials approved a plan to bug his office" (Getlin 2003, A20).

Street suggested that party politics might be related to the bugging: "I believe that people are very, very concerned about this, and I think they have a right to be concerned….The timing of all this is very suspicious" (Gibbons 2003, A1). For Street's supporters, the probe was perceived as yet another Republican dirty trick, reminiscent of the 2000 election debacle in Florida when thousands of black voters were allegedly disenfranchised.

Katz tried to downplay the allegations of political and racial bias. In an interview on the Fox News Channel, Katz said:

> I don't know anything about the timing. I do know that we've learned that this has been going on for two years. And there is an attempt being made now to create a certain victimization of the focus of these investigations. The real victims here are Philadelphians, the people who pay the taxes, the people who need help from the city government, the people who are the employees of the city, city workers who can't get health care, senior citizens who can't get police on their streets, children in a public school—in a charter school who are shivering in the cold while the head of that school, who received a four million dollar grant, is riding around in a Mercedes. (Gibson 2003)

Katz's effort to deflect the dirty tricks charge while focusing on his campaign-long theme that Street ran a corrupt and patronage-filled administration failed. Joining Democratic partisans in the

attack were the NAACP, the Urban League, and black clergy, who echoed the Democrats, likening the investigation of Street to J. Edgar Hoover's probe of Martin Luther King, Jr.[21] U.S. Attorney Patrick Meehan defended the inquiry, stating that "Federal law enforcement in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania has a very long history of doing its work without regard to partisan politics" (Einhorn 2003, 8).

The Street campaign also responded by attacking Katz's integrity, bringing attention to a lawsuit brought by some of Katz's former business partners who were accusing him of embezzlement. The lawsuit developed from a criminal investigation in which Katz was cleared of any criminal involvement while some of his associates were convicted.[22] In television commercials aired by the Street campaign, the Katz embezzlement case was equated with the FBI investigation of the Mayor. In a radio debate between the candidates, Street challenged Katz to open up the files related to the criminal investigation and civil action. When Katz replied that he might ask to have the files opened, his lawyers filed a motion to keep the documents sealed (National Public Radio 2003).

The effect of the bugging on the election was significant. In September 2003, a Temple University/CBS 3/KYW poll showed Mayor Street had the backing of 74% of African-American voters. Overall, Katz held a 46% to 40% lead (Smith 2003, 15). In early October, Street had taken a lead, with a Philadelphia Daily News/Keystone Poll having him ahead by eight percentage points, 42% to 34% (Center for Opinion Research 2003, 1). By late October, after the surveillance had been disclosed, Street continued to lead Katz, 48% to 41%. The bug appeared to galvanize Street's support in the African-American community, as 93% of African-American respondents indicated that they planned to vote for the Mayor (Goldenberg 2003, 22). Professor Randall M. Miller, of St. Joseph's University, explained the effect of the bugging on African-American voters: "To many blacks, this seems like another example of someone coming after one of our own…. Even if they don't like Street, there is a sense of collective violation that works to the mayor's advantage" (Dao 2003, 14).

As Election Day neared, each side accused the other of planning to intimidate voters. Both campaigns used the newly-opened National Constitution Center for their media event. Local Democratic Party Chair Brady and DNC Chair McAuliffe warned

that Republicans would attempt to keep African-Americans from voting, as they allegedly had done in other states. Katz supporters, who had crashed the Democratic press conference, charged that union members backing Street would intimidate Katz voters and Republican poll watchers. Carl Singley, a one-time Street partisan who now supported Katz, said that "the last thing these men you just heard from want is a fair election" (Bulletin's Frontrunner, 2003).

On Election Day, Katz supporters claimed that supporters of Street beat up or intimidated Katz campaign workers on at least half a dozen occasions. They also claimed that Street supporters had tampered with voting machines. Street's organization counter-charged that the Katz campaign had intimidated African-American voters outside of several polling places by illegally demanding that they produce identification. The District Attorney's office reported 171 serious complaints, quadruple the number reported four years earlier (Benson 2003, A20). The Philadelphia Police Department received 110 complaints (Daughen 2003,11).

The Outcome

Unlike their first contest, the 2003 contest ended with a decisive Street victory.

Table 2			
Philadelphia Mayoral Election Official Results			
Candidate	**Party**	**Vote**	**Percent**
John F. Street	Democrat	267,276	58.35
Sam Katz	Republican	189,357	41.34
John Staggs	Socialist Workers	1,292	0.28
Write-In		164	0.04

Source: Philadelphia City Commissioners.

A City Still Divided By Race and A Little Bit More By Partisanship

The 2003 results revealed that Philadelphia was still two cities, with a majority of white (and normally Democratic) Philadelphians casting ballots for the Republican while members of Philadelphia's minority communities voted overwhelmingly for Street. On election

night, Street said, "Frankly speaking, I think the election here today belies some of the speculation that this city is as racially divided as some people say…. I got more votes out in areas of the city that people traditionally don't expect" (Fleming 2003, 1).

There was some truth to Street's comment. While losing in the city's white neighborhoods, Street's electoral performance there improved, as he picked up greater percentages of the vote in all of the city's white neighborhoods. In 1999, Katz's margin over Street in the city's white neighborhoods had been 134,145. His margin in those same neighborhoods, four years later, was 96,366, a difference of nearly 38,000 votes. Some white Democrats, who had deserted Street four years earlier, returned to the Democratic fold. For example, Street's vote in South Philadelphia increased from 22.73% to 31.35%. In the Far Northeast (Philadelphia's only solidly Republican neighborhood), Street's vote inched up from 11.75% to 15.20% (Committee of Seventy 2003d).

Table 3
Philadelphia Mayoral Vote by Neighborhood, 1999 and 2003
(in percents)

Neighborhood	1999 Katz	2003 Katz	1999 Street	2003 Street
South Philadelphia	76.67	68.21	22.73	31.35
Roxborough, Chestnut Hill, Manayunk	75.39	68.44	24.16	31.01
Center City, Fairmount, University City	68.16	60.69	31.20	38.54
Southwest, Grays Ferry, Point Breeze	32.37	23.00	67.15	76.73
Overbrook, Wynnefield, East Falls	26.45	17.02	73.39	82.73
West Philadelphia	8.10	4.97	91.55	94.73
Kensington, Fairhill, Juniata Park	29.04	18.07	70.27	81.68
North Philadelphia	5.43	3.31	94.05	96.56

Mt. Airy, Germantown, Logan	13.89	7.32	85.82	92.31
Oak Lane, Cedarbrook	13.72	8.42	85.91	91.39
Port Richmond, Kensington, Bridesburg	76.12	63.53	23.20	36.15
Mayfair, Frankford, Holmesburg	84.32	78.83	14.32	20.88
Lawncrest, Rhawnhurst, Oxford Circle	78.19	64.05	21.20	35.69
Far Northeast	87.16	84.75	11.75	15.02

Source: The Committee of Seventy.

Street's dominance among minority voters was even greater than it had been four years earlier. In 1999, Street's margin of 143,226 in the city's minority neighborhoods gave him a narrow victory over Katz. Four years later, Street attained a plurality of 173,502 votes in Philadelphia's heavily Democratic minority neighborhoods, resulting in a comfortable citywide victory for the incumbent. In West Philadelphia, Street's vote increased from 91.5% to 94.7%. In North Philadelphia, his share went from 94% in 1999 to 96.5% in 2003 (Committee of Seventy 2003d).[23] Another factor favoring Street was that turnout in the neighborhoods where he did well increased (13,358) by more than the increase in his opponent's strongholds (5,848). The Fattah voter registration effort was probably a significant factor here.

The Dramatic Impact of the Investigation

There is no question that the disclosure of the electronic listening device in the Mayor's office had a dramatic impact on the campaign. While the revelation of the investigation was consistent with Katz's characterization of Street's administration as sleazy, this "October Surprise" worked against the challenger. Public opinion polls already indicated that Street had taken the lead, and the news of the bugging of the Mayor's Office insured that the race would become a blowout. It curtailed any serious discussion of issues in the campaign. Katz had contended that the measures taken by Street to deal with the problems of the city's neighborhoods had

failed. He also had argued that the Mayor's contentious relationship with politicians in Harrisburg had hurt the city. For Katz to win, he needed to convince Philadelphians that Street had failed as mayor. The controversy over the investigation meant that Katz's message was being overshadowed by the question of whether the probe was politically motivated.

The investigation also gave Street the opportunity to energize his base. The timing of the investigation, and the federal authorities' reluctance to discuss its scope, caused many African-Americans and partisan Democrats to question the government's motives. Invoking the Florida ballot debacle of 2000, the California recall effort, and Michael Bloomberg's plan to bring nonpartisan elections to New York City, Street's supporters spread the message that the Republicans would stop at nothing to win elections, and defeating Mayor Street was part of a Republican plan to re-elect President Bush in 2004. The African-American electorate, which Street needed to win, turned out in larger numbers than four years earlier. It also gave him a 98% plurality, up from 94% four years earlier (Fitzgerald 2003, A1). In the city's white neighborhoods, more Democratic voters stayed with the Mayor than four years earlier, insuring a comfortable margin for Street. This is a reflection of the intense partisanship that has gripped the national electorate since the 2000 presidential election.[24] By "nationalizing" the contest, the Mayor was able to win. Katz may have summed up the turn of events best when, in his concession speech, he said, "This is a very strange business, and the ball bounces in very strange ways" (Fleming 2003, 5).

Postscript

On May 20, 2004, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* and *Philadelphia Daily News* reported that a Delaware state court had ruled that Sam Katz had "fraudulently" misrepresented key information used to attract investment in a failed skating rink development project and ordered Katz to repay $2.1 million to his partners. Katz has appealed. On June 3, 2004, a federal grand jury returned indictments against six people for defrauding the Community College of Philadelphia of $224,000 in public funds by setting up an adult education program with nonexistent teachers and students, and claiming to offer classes that never took place. Indicted on

conspiracy, mail fraud and wire fraud were Faridah Ali; Delores Weaver, Director of the Adult Basic Education Program at the Community College of Philadelphia (CCP); Weaver's son, Eugene D. Weaver, III; and Ali's children, Azheem Spicer and Lakiha Spicer. A sixth person, Zaynah Rasool (Ali's sister), was charged with making false statements to a grand jury. That charge was dismissed by a federal judge a month later.[25]

On June 29, 2004, Street fundraiser, Ronald White and former City Treasurer Corey Kemp were among 12 people indicted in a 150 page indictment detailing a "pay-to-play tradition" in which campaign donors received favorable treatment on city contracts.[26] Street, who was not charged in the indictment, denied an assertion that he had instructed his staff to provide White with advance information about government contracts and to award contracts to firms White recommended if those firms were qualified. At the press conference announcing the June 3 indictments, U.S. Attorney Meehan stated, "We have a very developed, continuing investigation" (KYW 2004). Kemp's lawyer, Michael McGovern, suggested that "indications are that the government has not closed the door on higher targets" (Lounsberry, 2004).

On October 27, 2004, Ali, her two children, and Eugene Weaver III were found guilty of all 26 counts of defrauding CCP of $224,000 in public monies for adult basic education. On November 4, 2004, Ronald White, died of pancreatic cancer. A day earlier, the United States Justice Department had released a revised indictment in which it alleged that White had convinced Commerce Bank to approve loans for White and his friends without standard underwriting review. Kemp's attorney, L. George Parry, responded to the revised indictment by asserting his client's innocence, stating "my defense of Corey Kemp is going to sound like a prosecution of Mayor Street" (Lounsberry, Fleming, and Gelbart 2004).

On May 9, 2005, Kemp was convicted on 27 charges, including extortion, fraud, and filing false tax returns. Four others were convicted with Kemp: Commerce Bank executives Glenn Holck and Stephen Umbrell, who were found guilty of conspiracy and wire fraud; LaVan Hawkins was convicted for wire fraud and lying to a grand jury; and Janice Knight, who was found to have lied to a grand jury and to the FBI Mayor Street has not been implicated in any of these cases.

Notes

1. In 1911, Rudolph Blankenburg, Keystone-Democratic candidate, defeated Republican George H. Earle, 134,680 to 130,185.

2. On May 13, 1985, Goode ordered the Police and Fire Departments to bomb the headquarters of a radical group known as MOVE. The action destroyed not just MOVE's building but also 61 neighboring homes in Philadelphia. For more on the bombing of the MOVE headquarters, see Philadelphia Special Investigation Commission (1986), Anderson and Hevenor (1987), Harry (1987), Bowser (1989), Boyette (1989), Assefa (1990), and Wagner-Pacifici (1994).

3. The CBS News/New York Times New York City Mayoral Election Exit Poll from November 1989 offers data on the effect of race on that election. See CBS News/New York Times (1989).

4. Los Angeles, Atlanta, and New Orleans are all cities where white support for black incumbents increased. For a discussion of Tom Bradley in Los Angeles, see Sonenshein (1993). For Atlanta, see Stone (1989).

5. The Philadelphia vote for President in 2000 was as follows:

George W. Bush/Dick Cheney (Republican)	99,234
Al Gore/Joe Lieberman (Democrat)	441,834
Howard Phillips/J. Curtis Frazier (Constitution)	1,859
Harry Browne/Art Olivier (Libertarian)	1,221
Ralph Nader/Winona LaDuke (Green)	8,514
Patrick J. Buchanan/Ezola Foster (Reform)	782

Source: City Commissioners of Philadelphia.

6. The 2001 citywide election results were as follows:

District Attorney

Lynne M. Abraham (Democrat)	124,823
Joseph N. Bongiovanni III (Republican)	27,155
Richard A. Ash (Green)	11,341
Leon Williams (Education)	21,941

City Controller

Jonathan A. Saidel (Democrat)	133,274
Joseph A. Gembaia (Republican)	23,941

Source: City Commissioners of Philadelphia.

7. In Philadelphia, Rendell received 339,697 votes; Fisher received 59,223. Source: City Commissioners of Philadelphia.

8. 42 U.S.C. 1973gg-5 (a), (b).

9. While Rendell was considered to have been successful in revitalizing Center City, not all of his plans were achieved. Notable failures included Penn's Landing and Disney Quest. For an account of Rendell's tenure as Mayor, see Bissinger (1997).

10. Street and Governor Mark Schweiker agreed to a plan whereby the nine-member Board of Education appointed by the Mayor in March 2000 would be replaced by a School Reform Commission. This new commission included three appointees of the Governor and two by the Mayor. In April 2002, the Commission decided to turn over management of the district's 70 lowest performing schools to a number of Education Management Organizations (EMOs), including Edison Schools and community groups. In June 2002, the Commission appointed Paul Vallas, highly regarded for his reforms in the Chicago Public School system

(where he was the School District's Chief Executive Officer from 1995 to 2001), as the School District's Chief Executive Officer.

The Parking Authority, created by a local ordinance in 1950, operates off-street parking facilities, maintains on-street parking meters, and enforces parking regulations. It had long been a patronage mill for the Democratic Party, although Republicans held a small percentage of the jobs even before the takeover. In 2001, the Speaker of the State House of Representatives, John Perzel, orchestrated a state takeover of the Agency, whereby a majority of the Board of Directors would be appointed by the Governor. Republicans now control the Authority. Between the time of the takeover and December 2002, the Authority's staff increased by more than 200 employees, most of whom were assumed to be Republicans (Barg 2002).

The Convention Center, opened in June 1993, was plagued by mismanagement, union problems, and high labor costs that were driving convention business out of Philadelphia. In 2001, Perzel, with the help of Representative Dwight Evans (an African-American Democrat from Philadelphia) pushed Senate Bill 1100 through the legislature changing the composition of the Pennsylvania Convention Center Authority Board from one balanced between the two parties and between the State, the City, and the suburbs, none of which had a majority, to one controlled by Republican political appointees. Mayor Street filed suit, claiming that the bill overhauling the Authority's management violated the state Constitution because it covered more than one subject (the Constitution stipulates that legislation cover one subject). In November 2003, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court ruled against the General Assembly, and ordered it to revise the legislation by February of 2004 or restore control of the Authority to the previously constituted board. In February 2004, legislation was enacted (House Bill 1733) turning the convention center over to a 15-member board: two Philadelphia mayoral appointees (one of whom must be recommended by the hospitality industry); four appointed by the General Assembly; four appointees from the Philadelphia suburbs (one from each of the suburban counties: Bucks, Chester, Delaware, and Montgomery); an appointee of the Philadelphia City Council President; one appointee by the minority leader of the Philadelphia City Council; two appointed by the Governor (who must be confirmed by the State Senate), and a Chair selected by the other fourteen members.

11. Shortly before Katz announced his candidacy, the group agreed to a merger with the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce. Governor Mark Schweiker, who had not sought election after replacing Homeland Security Secretary Tom Ridge as Governor, was named to head the merged organization.

12. Katz's supporters raised the nepotism charge when Street's wife, Naomi Post, an attorney who had worked on children's services and juvenile delinquency issues, was briefly appointed to the position of deputy managing director in the City's Social Services Department. After the charge was raised, Post withdrew her candidacy for the position. His brother Milton, a former state legislator, was consultant to a company responsible for maintenance at City Hall and had made an unsuccessful attempt to take over the city's animal control service. He later became involved with a company that successfully bid on the maintenance contract at the Philadelphia International Airport.

13. By contrast, Street was perceived in some quarters of Philadelphia's gay and lesbian community as anti-gay. In June 1996, while City Council President, Street filed a court challenge against then-Mayor Rendell's executive order that

granted domestic partnership benefits to municipal employees. At the time, Street said that "taxpayer dollars should not be used to support relationships such as these that mimic traditional family relationships" (Duffy 2003, 1). In 1997, Street opposed gay marriage in a debate sponsored by the Gay and Lesbian Lawyers of Philadelphia. By 2003, Street had become a supporter of domestic partnerships and had appointed gays and lesbians to high-ranking positions in his administration, notably Alba Martinez as the Commissioner of the Department of Human Services in 2000.

14. Assistant City Manager Tumar Alexander and Joey Temple, an employee with the Recreation Department, were charged with misdemeanors. Alexander was suspended from his position for a week without pay for violating a Philadelphia Home Rule Charter provision that prohibits municipal employees from engaging in any political activity on behalf of a candidate. Temple resigned from his position in the Recreation Department. In May 2004, Temple was convicted of misdemeanor harassment and making terroristic threats and sentenced to two years of probation. In June 2004, Alexander entered a program for first-time offenders where, following six months of unsupervised probation, his record was cleared.

15. The drive was a pilot project of the Partnership for America's Families, a voter outreach organization formed following passage of the McCain-Feingold campaign finance law, which prohibits the national party committees from funding voter registration campaigns. The Partnership's $12 million budget was underwritten by a number of labor unions. It had similar projects in Cleveland and St. Louis, cities, like Philadelphia, located in what would be "battleground" states in the 2004 presidential election.

16. The sweeps were conducted every three or four months by the Department's Impac Unit, a division of the Internal Affairs Bureau. One of the FBI agents who would be sent to retrieve the listening device was Mark Johnson, son of Philadelphia Police Commissioner Sylvester Johnson.

17. During the summer of 2003, the FBI had subpoenaed records from the Philadelphia School District concerning the Liberty Academy Charter School, which had received $4 million for courses taught at the Community College of Philadelphia even though the school was not scheduled to open until 2004. The school had been founded by Faridah Ali, whose husband, Shamsud-din Ali, is a prominent Muslim leader in Philadelphia and an ally of Mayor Street. The FBI raided Keystone Information and Financial Services, a tax collection business with ties to Ali that had received a no-bid contract from the city to collect delinquent real estate taxes.

18. In 2001, Philadelphia Airport Services (a subsidiary of Enron) hired Street as a consultant. The firm successfully bid on a $13.6 million airport maintenance contract for Philadelphia International Airport, beating out Elliott-Lewis Corporation, which had performed maintenance at the airport for eleven years. Shortly after winning the bid, Street became the CEO of Philadelphia Airport Services. In June 2003, T. Milton Street, Jr. resigned as CEO of Philadelphia Airport Services to form Notlim Service Management Company. Notlim was then given a $1 million a year contract to make repairs and maintain baggage conveyor systems, passenger bridges, and airport buses at the Airport. Notlim had been designated as a disadvantaged, minority-owned company by the City's Minority Business Enterprise Council, and Philadelphia Airport Services

defended the awarding of the contract to the firm as part of their commitment to expanding minority participation. Following public criticism, Mayor Street revoked the contract.

19. The FBI subpoenaed the financial records of Mayor Street, his wife, their oldest son Sharif, and Ronald A. White, a Street advisor and fundraiser. Documents were also subpoenaed from the City Finance Department, the City Treasurer's Office, the Minority Business and Enterprise Council, the Municipal Board of Pensions and Retirement, and the Philadelphia Housing Authority.

20. While publicly supporting Street, some Democrats were considering replacing him if he had been the target. Among those considered potential replacement candidates were State Representative Dwight Evans, City Councilman Michael Nutter, and John Dougherty, president of Local 98 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

21. Among the African-American Mayors who have been subjected to federal investigations are Bill Campbell of Atlanta, Coleman Young of Detroit, and Marion Barry of Washington, D.C. In the early 1980s, during an investigation of municipal contract fixing, the FBI bugged Young's home. While Young was not convicted, a close friend, Darralyn Bowers (the owner of Vista Disposal, Incorporated, the successful bidder on a sludge hauling contract) and the City Water Department Director, Charles Beckham, were convicted on fraud and bribery charges. In 1992, Detroit's Police Chief was convicted of embezzling. Young's reaction was that "the Chief was indicted because he got caught in a trap that was set for me" (Swickard 1997, 1). In 2000, Atlanta Mayor Bill Campbell announced that he was being investigated as part of a corruption probe in Atlanta and Fulton County. A county commissioner, a county administrator, and a contractor had already pled guilty to taking or offering bribes. Federal authorities refused to comment on Campbell's statement. In 1990, Marion Barry was convicted of drug possession. His arrest had been videotaped as part of a sting operation undertaken by federal authorities.

22. Katz would eventually lose this lawsuit.

23. Based on 2000 census data, I have identified the following Philadelphia neighborhoods as "white" (having majority-white populations): Bridesburg, Center City, Chestnut Hill, Fairmount, Far Northeast, Frankford, Holmesburg, Lawncrest, Manayunk, Mayfair, Oxford Circle, Port Richmond, Roxborough, South Philadelphia, and University City. "Minority" neighborhoods (more than 50% of the population is nonwhite) included: Cedarbrook, East Falls, Fairhill, Germantown, Grays Ferry, Juniata Park, Logan, Mt. Airy, North Philadelphia, Oak Lane, Overbrook, Point Breeze, Southwest Philadelphia, West Philadelphia, and Wynnefield.

24. For a discussion of the polarized electorate, see Ceaser and Bush (2005), Nelson (2005), and Abramson, Aldrich, and Rohde (2005).

25. U.S. District Court Judge John P. Fullam dismissed the perjury charges against Rasool, concluding that it was impossible to determine whether she had intentionally lied to the grand jury or was simply confused by the prosecutor's questions (Caruso 2004).

26. The others indicted were Denis Carlson, an investment banker who was eventually acquitted; Rhonda Anderson, an attorney; the Reverend Frank D. McCracken, pastor of the St. James Chapel Church of God in Reading, Pennsylvania; Janice Renee Knight, described in the indictment as White's

"paramour"; Glenn K. Holck, the President of Commerce Bank Pennsylvania; Commerce Bank Regional Vice President Stephen M. Umbrell; Detroit businessman La-Van Hawkins; Charles LeCroy and Anthony C. Snell, former officials of the J.P. Morgan Bank; and Jose Mendoza, an employee of McCracken. McCracken agreed to plead guilty to fraud charges and a charge of tax evasion in November 2004.

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Demographic and Family Differences in Use of Early Childhood Care and Education in Pennsylvania: A 2002 Baseline

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Studies show that Pennsylvania ranks below the national average in the percentage of preschool children enrolled in center-based programs. This is important because center-based care has been shown to better prepare children for entry into school. In 2002, we examined demographic and family influences in the use of early childhood care and education (ECCE) in a statewide random sample of 1005 Pennsylvania families with children under 6 years of age, providing a baseline of ECCE in Pennsylvania during a time when the state offered no public funding specifically for preschool. Our findings suggest that Pennsylvania children, particularly those from less educated and lower income families, may not have been well prepared to enter school in 2002. Policy changes since 2002 are described, and the likelihood of these policies to better prepare Pennsylvania's children to enter school ready to learn are considered.

In the era of the *No Child Left Behind Act of 2001,* when students' scores on standardized tests are used to determine schools' eligibility for federal support, it has become critical that children enter school prepared to learn. Yet, many children are not prepared to learn when they arrive at school. Nationally representative samples indicate that 20% of all kindergartners lag behind in cognitive skills and 31% of all kindergartners are behind in social and emotional development (Coley 2002; Lee and Burkham 2002).

Many of the children lagging behind are from poor and minority families (Wertheimer, Croan, Moore, and Hair 2003). While no specific data are available on the school readiness of Pennsylvania children, there is reason to believe that they confront similar difficulties.

Research shows that the best means for addressing the problem of differential preparedness is center-based educational intervention programs (Lee, Brooks-Gunn, Schnur, and Liaw 1990; Ramey and Campbell 1992; Ramey and Campbell 2002; Ramey and Ramey 1992). Even common child care/preschool experiences have been shown to help prepare children for school (National Research Council 2001). In many cases, the effects of center-based care on school readiness measures are more important than the effects of child characteristics such as age and temperament (Clarke-Stewart and Fein 1983) and family demographics such as ethnicity or family income (NICHD ECCRN and Duncan 2003). More specifically, children who have experienced center care or preschool demonstrate better verbal ability and academic skills, and in some cases, social skills, compared with children who experience child care with home-based providers, sitters, or their parents (Clarke-Stewart 1991; Magnuson, Meyers, Ruhm, and Waldfogel 2004; NICHD ECCRN 2004). These are the skills that contribute to children's ability to begin school ready to learn.

How prepared are Pennsylvania children to begin school ready to learn? In Pennsylvania, there are no public data available for school readiness per se, but the extent of center-based care or preschool use provides a barometer for the extent of school readiness among Pennsylvania's young children. Kids Count Census data show that in 2002, Pennsylvania had 251,000 children between the ages of 3 and 5 enrolled in nursery school, preschool, or kindergarten; in 2004, there were 252,000 enrolled. In 2004, this was 55% of the entire population of children in this age range. The national rate in 2004 was 57%, putting Pennsylvania slightly below the national average and well behind New Jersey, which had 72% of its children in this age range in nursery school, preschool, or kindergarten in 2004 (Kids Count Census 2005).

With only about half the population of Pennsylvania children in center care, it is important to examine the factors that predict which children are more likely to be in center care than other types of care. Data from the 1999 National Household Education Survey show

that among children whose mothers were employed outside the home, children from single parent families and children with more educated mothers were more likely to be enrolled in preschool or center-based education (NHES, Pew 2005). One wonders whether the situation in Pennsylvania mirrors these national statistics. Information on the characteristics of families benefiting most from the use of ECCE can be useful to Pennsylvania policy makers debating how and to what extent state policy should support the needs of its youngest citizens.

In this article, we analyze the influence of family and demographic characteristics on the type and amount of children's ECCE in a random sample of 1005 Pennsylvania families. In addition, because the Pennsylvania policy debate is currently focusing on providing center-based ECCE to preschoolers, we pay particular attention to the use of center care in preschool-aged children. We examine ECCE not only for children with employed mothers but for children from all families. Understanding state-level patterns of ECCE usage is vital to policymakers charged with forming ECCE policy and examining the impact of that policy. This study serves as a baseline against which future changes in Pennsylvania can be measured.

In the following sections, we review what is known about differences in the types of care provided to children, and we examine developmental differences in children's experiences of these different types of care.

Types of Early Childhood Care and Education

Children can be prepared for school entrance in a variety of ways. Parents can help children prepare for school, but many parents do not have the experience or knowledge to prepare children for literacy, numeracy, or social relations necessary for academic performance. For many children, much learning occurs during some type of nonparental experience.

Different ECCE settings offer distinctly different experiences. Children in center-based types of ECCE spend more time in structured, adult-directed activities and are more likely to experience planned, curricular-based activities than children in family or home based types of arrangements (Kisker, Hofferth, Phillips, and Farquhar 1991). Center-based settings tend to provide

more space and materials for the larger groups of children than do other settings, but often fewer adults are available in these settings to attend to individual children (Huston, Chang, and Gennetian 2002). By contrast, home-based types of ECCE, such as "family care" or "group home care," provide a familiar home environment in which free play is the most common activity (Kisker et al. 1991). Although home-based settings often lack the larger variety of toys and activities found in center-based ECCE facilities, children in home-based ECCE tend to receive more individual attention from adults (Clarke-Stewart, Gruber, and Fitzgerald 1994).

Relative care is a specific type of home-based ECCE. "Relative care" refers to care provided by grandparents, siblings, or other persons related to the child's family (Huston et al. 2002). Children who are cared for by relatives have the benefit of experiencing their family's culture and values full-time, and many parents feel more comfortable entrusting their children to relatives. However, grandmothers and other relatives are more likely to let children watch television and are less likely to provide them with learning activities, as opposed to caregivers in other ECCE types who consider themselves early childhood professionals (Kontos, Howes, Shinn, and Galinsky 1995, 1997). For this reason, relative care, often the least expensive nonparental care, may also be the least likely to prepare children for school.

National studies have shown that most families use home-based ECCE when their children are less than 3 years old (Burchinal, Ramey, Reid, and Jaccard 1995; Huston et al. 2002) and then transition to center-based arrangements for preschool-aged children (Erdwins and Buffardi 1994; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network 1997a).

Developmental Differences: Infants and Toddlers versus Preschoolers

Policy makers and parents both agree that differences are warranted in the use of nonparental child care settings before and after children are 3 years old. Before age 3, most ECCE is perceived as supporting maternal employment; after age 3, ECCE is viewed as preparing children for school. During the infant and toddler periods, many parents and policy makers are concerned that children receive too much nonparental care (Chira, 1998). After 3

years of age, during the preschool period, more and more parents and educators are eager to have children experience center-based types of learning settings away from their parents to help them develop academic and social skills in preparation for first grade. Hence, it is important to examine family and demographic differences in child care experiences as a function of child age.

Infants and Toddlers

The largest increase in ECCE over the last few decades in the U.S. has been with infants and toddlers, those children 3 years of age or younger. Phillips and Adams (2001) estimate that 56% of infants younger than 1 year with employed mothers regularly spend time in weekly nonparental care settings. One large nationwide study found that the majority of infants started using ECCE regularly before the age of 4 months and on average were enrolled for close to 30 hours per week (NICHD ECCRN 1997a). The increase in use of ECCE since 1975 for infants and toddlers can probably be attributed to increased maternal employment, changing economic conditions, changes in family structure, and new federal welfare regulations (Weinraub, Hill, and Hirsh-Pasek 2001). Across the country, children under 3 years of age are more likely to be in some type of ECCE arrangement if they have single, employed, and less educated mothers, and if they come from African-American families. Infants and toddlers are also are more likely to experience ECCE when there are fewer siblings in the family and when no other adults live in the home (NICHD ECCRN 1997b).

The rising incidence of nonparental care in infancy has alarmed some researchers and policy makers. One common concern has garnered support from data in the National Longitudinal Study of Youth, which showed that entry into any type of ECCE during infancy was related to increased aggressive behavior during the preschool period (Bayar and Brooks-Gunn 1991). Also, Hofferth (1999) reported elevated behavior problems for preschoolers who had entered an ECCE arrangement during the first year of their life, as well as for those who started an ECCE arrangement during their second year. Still, early entry into nonmaternal child care has not been shown to affect young children's attachment to their mothers, another common concern, except when low quality or unstable care

is also paired with insensitive mothering at home (NICHD ECCRN 1997c).

Preschoolers

Although parents and policy makers are concerned about the rising numbers of infants and toddlers in nonparental care, they are eager to provide *more* center-based experiences for preschool-aged children, especially for those from poor families. This is because the evidence suggests that quality early care and education can help counteract the deleterious effects of poverty on children's development (Caughy, DiPietro, and Strobino 1994; NICHD ECRN 1997b; Phillips 1991).

Compared to upper-income families, lower-income families are more likely to use relative care or group home care (Burchinal and Nelson 2000; Capizzano and Adams 2003; Kontos et al. 1997; NICHD ECCRN 1997a). Use of relative care is higher than use of other types of ECCE in families when mothers have low levels of education or are from ethnic minority groups (Kontos et al. 1995; 1997). Children living in rural areas are also more likely to be cared for by relatives than are children in urban areas (Lehrer 1983). The quality of home-based settings used by low income families is often much lower than the quality of home-based settings used by higher-income families (Coley, Li-Grining, and Chase-Lansdale 2003; Kisker et al. 1991; Kontos 1994; Kontos et al. 1997; Phillips 1995).

Not only are center-based settings related to increased cognitive and social outcomes, but also the quality of center-based settings experienced by children in lower and higher income families is more similar (NICHD ECCRN 1997a). Children are more likely to have center based ECCE experiences before kindergarten if their mothers are more educated (Hofferth and Wissorker 1992; NICHD ECCRN 1997a; Zaslow, Oldham, Moore, and Magenheim 1998), if they are not from an ethnic minority family (Kontos et al. 1995), if they live in urban areas (Atkinson 1994; Shoffner 1986), and if they come from smaller families (Hofferth, Brayfield, Deich, and Holcomb 1991; NICHD ECCRN 1997a).

Several states have sponsored programs to increase the participation of preschool aged children in center-based learning situations. Florida, Oklahoma, Massachusetts, and New York have attempted to design programs that provide quality programming for

children (Fiene 2005). Gormley (2005) has documented that the Oklahoma program for universal preschool programming has produced significant increases in preschoolers' school readiness.

Although center-based care is desirable for children, especially those from poorer backgrounds, some researchers and educators are concerned about having preschool children in *too many hours* in center care during the preschool period. Investigators from the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development reported that spending more time in ECCE arrangements over the first four years of life, particularly more time in center care, was related to more externalizing problems and conflict in kindergarten (NICHD ECCRN 2003). Thus, while some center-based educational experience in ECCE may be desirable for preschool aged children, too many hours of care during this period may be detrimental.

Pennsylvania's Support for Early Childhood Care and Education

In the several years prior to 2002, many governors and state legislators worked to bring additional funding to early childhood educational services (General Accounting Office 1999). Hoping to bring Pennsylvania into line with most other states, then Governor Schweiker launched an Early Childhood Initiative in 2001 with the stated goal of "ensuring that Pennsylvania's children are healthy, safe and ready for school." By executive order in 2002, the Governor convened an Early Care and Education Task Force to prepare a comprehensive menu of evidence-based, cost effective strategies that would lay the foundation for the future of Pennsylvania's early care and education system. Several statewide studies were commissioned to aid in the Task Force's work, each focusing on different aspects of the existing early care and education services in the state. This article began as one of those commissioned studies.

From 2002 to 2003, Pennsylvania invested $1.85 billion on 65 programs designed to support children and families. Regulations allowed these funds to supplement all types of care: relative, family day care, in-home care, or center care. Thirty of Pennsylvania's 501 school districts provided K-4 (kindergarten for 4-year-olds), but the state did not fund any efforts beyond allowing the use of basic

education allocations (Governor's Task Force on Early Childhood Care and Education 2002).

This article provides a baseline that can help policy makers to compare enrollment in different types of child care before and after 2002, and to examine the extent to which those families most in need—low income and less educated families—are served.

The Current Study

This article describes the family and demographic predictors of different types of ECCE experiences in infants/toddlers and in preschoolers in Pennsylvania in 2002. From telephone surveys, we collected detailed family and demographic information that related to the amount of time young children spent in ECCE arrangements, focusing on family and demographic characteristics associated with ECCE usage. More specifically, we examined the family and demographic characteristics associated with the use of center-based ECCE, including center-based child care, preschool, nursery school, and Head Start versus home-based ECCE–care such as group home care and sitters. Enrollment in relative care, a type of home-based ECCE, was also examined because evidence suggests that children in relative care may be least likely to be prepared for school (Kontos et al. 1995, 1997; NICHD ECCRN 2001b).

Family characteristics that we examined included family income, maternal education, ethnicity, family size, single parent status, geographic location (urban vs. rural), and parents' availability at home. The variable indicating a parent's availability at home (both mothers and fathers) was based largely on the employment status of the parent or parents living in the home. We wanted to know whether there might be at least one nonworking parent who would be available to care for the child. Examining parent availability, rather than simply maternal employment, addressed the increases in many modern families of more neutral gender roles for parents and increasingly shared responsibilities in parenting. Therefore, we focused on whether either parent was free from employment obligations such that he or she would be available to be responsible during daytime hours for the care of the child. We consider this an innovative approach to the more traditional investigation of parent employment by past researchers.

In these analyses, we compare the incidence and amount of ECCE separately for infants and toddlers (0 to 3 years) and for preschool aged children (3 through 5 years) because the effects and desirability of ECCE may vary based on the age of the child and because state regulations differ for children at these different ages.

Method

The data for this study were collected in 2002 from a random sample of 1005 Pennsylvania households with children under 6 years of age. Respondents completed telephone interviews pertaining to their youngest child.

Table 1: Sample Characteristics Compared to Pennsylvania Families with Children under the Age of Six Years			
Characteristics	**Number of Respondents/Mean**	**Percent of Respondents/Range**	**Percent of PA Population**
Child's Age			
Up to 3 years	531	53%	48%
3 to 5 years	474	47%	52%
Child's Ethnicity			
African-American	149	15%	13%
Caucasian	736	73%	79%
Bi-racial/Multi-racial	45	5%	3%
Latino/Hispanic	42	4%	6%
Other	28	3%	3%
Refused	5	< 1%	n/a
Respondent's Relationship with Child			
Mother	731	73%	n/a
Father	175	17%	
Grandmother	55	6%	
Other	44	4%	
Geographic Location			
Large Cities	520	52%	52%
Small Cities	360	36%	38%
Rural Areas	118	12%	10%

Respondent's Education			
Some high school	57	6%	Data not available specifically for families with children under the age of 6 years.
High school graduate/GED	311	31%	
Some college/vocational/2-year degree	257	26%	
College graduate	232	23%	
Post graduate	136	11%	
Other	7	< 1%	
Refused	5	< 1%	
Family Income (n=801)	$\underline{M}$ = 53,810 ($\underline{SD}$ = 39,908)	7,000 – 200,000	
Under 25,000	184	18%	16% of families are below the poverty level.
25,001 to 50,000	285	28%	
50,001 to 100,000	256	26%	
100,001 +	69	7%	
Refused to answer	81	8%	
Don't know	123	12%	

Sampling Design and Procedures

Households were selected using a list-assisted Random Digit Dialing (RDD) sampling procedure. Through a commercial database maintenance/retrieval system, 23,500 randomly selected telephone numbers throughout Pennsylvania were obtained.[1] Slightly fewer than 16,000 households were identified and 68% completed an eligibility screener (n = 10,760). Twelve percent of those contacted were eligible for the survey (n = 1,292) because they had decision-making responsibility for a child under 6 years of age living in their household. Seventy-eight percent of those agreed to be interviewed, resulting in 1,005 completed interviews. Non-English-speaking families were contacted a second time by a Spanish-speaking interviewer, resulting in a total of 13 Spanish-speaking respondents.[2]

The sampling method yielded a sample that accurately represented Pennsylvania's population according to 2000 census data. Table 1 shows the distribution of families across ethnic groups, geographic location, child's age, family size, and poverty level. The percentage of Pennsylvania families below the federal poverty level in our sample (13%) was slightly lower than the percentage in the census (16%). Like the state population, the sample included mostly Caucasian families (73%) who lived in large cities (52%).

Within the sample were 531 families with children less than 3 years old and 474 families with children older than 3 but under 6. Survey respondents were mostly mothers (73%); the others were either fathers (17%) or grandmothers (6%). Because respondents were often the child's parents, the word "parent" is used in reporting the results.

About three-fourths of the sample was composed of two-parent (or two-partner) households with an average family size of four. Forty percent of the sample had dual incomes, and the mean family income (before taxes) was $53,810 (*SD* =39,908). The highest level of education achieved by the greatest number of respondents was a high school degree (31%), with slightly fewer having some years of college (26%) or a four-year college degree (23%).

Survey Measure and Procedures

Trained, reliable interviewers contracted and supervised by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University used computer-assisted telephone interviewing techniques (CATI) to conduct the interviews from May through July 2002. The telephone interview took approximately 25 minutes, and families were offered $20 for participating. If more than one child younger than 6 lived in the household, one was randomly selected to be the target child for the survey.

Families reporting any type of ECCE arrangement on a regular weekly basis were asked about the type of ECCE arrangement, the number of hours their child typically spent in this setting, the hourly cost, and the mode of transportation to the ECCE arrangement. If

the child was in more than one type of ECCE, the survey questions were focused on the one in which the child spent the most time.[3]

Family and Demographic Variables

Measures of family composition included the number of siblings and a binary variable of parents' marital/partner status (single = 1). "Partnered" was defined as two adults living in the home; single parents were separated, divorced, or widowed.

Geographic area was coded as a dichotomous variable (urban or nonurban), with the nonurban category including small cities, suburbs, and rural areas (urban = 1). Household location was geo-coded based on place definitions (e.g. rural, central city, suburb, etc.) from the U.S. Census Bureau.

Respondents reported their level of education: having some high school education, graduated from a high school, having some college or vocational experience, graduated from a four-year college, and having post-graduate education. This variable is referred to as maternal education because almost all the correspondents were mothers. Parents' minority status was measured as a binary variable (minority = 1). Minorities included all families that did not identify as white or Caucasian (see Table 1).

Parent availability was measured using a dichotomous variable that indicated whether or not there was a nonworking parent in the family available to care for the child on a full time basis (available = 1). Our measure of family income was total family income before taxes.

Definitions of Types of Early Childhood Care and Education

Terms used to describe ECCE settings were selected for the survey because they are terms that are meaningful to parents in describing their child's primary, or most used, arrangement. Based on the terms the parents used, children were placed into one of four mutually exclusive groups. Group 1 was composed of families not using ECCE. These children were not cared for by anyone other than their parents on a regular weekly basis, nor were they attending educational programming on a regular basis (*n* = 315). In Group 2 were children cared for by a relative (n = 240) or families in which

the mother was a family home care provider (n=44).[4] In Group 3 were the families using nonrelative, home-based ECCE. These children were cared for in their own home by someone other than a relative, or they were cared for in another home with or without other children such as a group or family home child care (*n* = 123). In Group 4 were the children in center-based ECCE (*n* = 283). This group included all arrangements for which parents provided the following terms: child care centers, day care, nursery school, preschool, Head Start, Early Head Start, pre-kindergarten, and kindergarten.[5]

Results

Analysis Plan

The analysis was designed to describe the use of child care more generally and the types of child care used by Pennsylvania families and to examine what family and demographic characteristics predict child care use (type of care used and number of hours in care). These analyses are presented separately for each of the two age groups: the infant/toddler group and the preschool-aged group.

We employed a logistic regression model to predict child care use because the dependent variable is dichotomous. We estimated three different equations to examine the incidence of differences in the types of ECCE use: (1) no use of ECCE (parental care only) versus any use of ECCE, (2) the use of relative care versus all other types of ECCE, and (3) the use of center-based ECCE versus all other types of ECCE. The independent variables in these analyses were respondents' education level, family income, number of siblings in the family, ethnicity, geographic area, single parent status, and parent availability (i.e., have a nonworking parent available at home). For the first equation, all subjects were included in the analyses. For the second two equations, only children in some form of ECCE were included. Thus, we are able to predict use of any type of ECCE, and, if any, use of relative care versus all other types of care, and use of center care versus all other types of care.

We employed ordinary least squares regression techniques to look at the effects of family characteristics on the number of hours of ECCE used. We estimated four different equations to look at the

effects of family characteristics on the number of hours per week children spent in any type of ECCE, the number of house spent in relative care only, the number of hours spent in any type of home-based care (including relative care), and the number of hours spent in center-based care, respectively. The independent variables were identical to those used in the logistic analysis.

Relations among Family and Demographic Variables

As could be expected, family and demographic variables were highly intercorrelated. These correlations are presented separately for infants/toddlers and preschoolers in Tables 2a and 2b. For both age groups, ethnic minority families were more likely than other families to be living in urban settings, headed by a single parent, and earning lower total incomes. For preschoolers, being from an ethnic minority was also associated with having lower maternal education. Infants who lived in urban areas were more likely to have single parents, higher family incomes, and more educated mothers than those living in rural settings. Parent availability was correlated with a greater number of siblings at both ages and with lower family income and lower maternal education for infants and toddlers. For preschoolers, having a single parent was associated with having fewer siblings. At both ages, single parents earned lower incomes and had less education than other parents. Family income and maternal education were highly correlated for both age groups.

Table 2a: Relations among the Characteristics of Families of Infants and Toddlers						
Characteristics	Minority Status	Urban Setting	Parent Availability	Number of Sibs.	Single Parent Status	Family Income
Minority Status						
Urban Setting	.291**					
Parent Availability	.054	-.027				
Number of Siblings	.086	.055	.163**			
Single Parent Status	.353**	.165**	-.092	.044		
Family Income	-.251**	.120**	-.139**	-.027	-.358**	
Maternal Education	-.071	.100*	-.104*	-.083	-.186**	.416**

Listwise Pearson Correlations (n = 419); * p < .05, two-tailed; ** p < .01, two-tailed

Table 2b: Relations among the Characteristics of Families of Preschool-age Children						
Characteristics	Minority Status	Urban Setting	Parent Availability	Number of Sibs.	Single Parent Status	Family Income
Minority Status						
Urban Setting	.181**					
Parent Availability	.018	-.020				
Number of Siblings	.088	.011	.145**			
Single Parent Status	.278**	.017	-.191**	-.146**		
Family Income	-.226**	.098	-.066	.076	-.393**	
Maternal Education	-.191**	.099	-.095	.022	-.174**	383**

Listwise Person Correlations (n = 374); * p < .05, two-tailed;** p < .01, two-tailed

Rates of Early Childhood Care and Education Usage

Table 3 describes the number of children under the age of 6 who were not in ECCE, the number in ECCE overall, and the number of children in the three specific types of ECCE. Many infants (61%) were in some form of ECCE, and this care was primarily home-based (relative and home-based care, 45%) rather than center-based (17%). Almost a quarter of preschool-aged children (23%) were not in any type of ECCE, and only 41% of preschoolers were in center-based ECCE. Of the families who used some type of ECCE, relative care was used more for the younger children (168 out of 327, or 51%), but the number of preschool-aged children in relative care was also relatively high (116 out of 363, or 32%).

Table 3: Use of Early Care and Education (ECCE) for Total Sample and by Age					
Type of ECCE:	**No ECCE**	**Home-based Relative care**	**Home-based nonrelative ECCE**	**Center-based ECCE**	**Total in any ECCE**
Total sample (n = 1005)	315 (32%)	284 (28%)	123 (12%)	283 (28%)	690 (69%)
Infants & Toddlers (n = 531)	204 (38%)	168 (32%)	71 (13%)	88 (17%)	327 (61%)
Preschool-aged (n = 474)	111 (23%)	116 (24%)	52 (11%)	195 (41%)	363 (76%)

Note: These figures represent only the ECCE arrangement in which the child spent the most time (i.e., "Main Arrangement"). Supplemental types of arrangements are not represented and are excluded from this count. All groups are mutually exclusive.

Use of Early Childhood Care and Education by Family and Demographic Characteristics

Table 4 shows the percentages of ECCE usage based on family and demographic characteristics for each age group. For this table, relative and other types of home-based care are grouped together. Table 5 shows the percentages of ECCE usage across family and demographic characteristics grouping children into three groups: no ECCE, relative care, and all other home-based and center-based types of ECCE.

Table 4: Types of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) Used for Each Age Group by Family and Demographic Characteristics (Shown are the percentage in each group with N's in parentheses)

Characteristics	Infants and Toddlers			Preschoolers		
	No ECCE	Home-based ECCE	Center-based ECCE	No ECCE	Home-based ECCE	Center-based ECCE
Geographic Location						
Urban Area	38% (102)	39% (106)	23% (62)	25% (62)	30% (76)	45% (112)
Rural & Small Cities	39% (100)	51% (130)	10% (26)	23% (51)	40% (89)	37% (82)
Household Income						
Under 25,000	36% (35)	50% (49)	14% (14)	23% (20)	41% (35)	36% (31)
Household Income						
25,001 to 50,000	37% (56)	53% (81)	10% (15)	28% (37)	40% (54)	32% (42)
50,001 to 100,000	36% (49)	42% (57)	22% (30)	18% (22)	28% (34)	53% (64)
100,000+	44% (15)	24% (8)	32% (11)	9% (3)	34% (12)	57% (20)
Child's Ethnicity						
Minority	29% (44)	44% (67)	27% (41)	14% (17)	42% (49)	44% (51)
Non-Minority	43% (162)	45% (170)	12% (47)	27% (96)	33% (117)	40% (144)
Family Composition						
Two-parent family	45% (185)	41% (172)	14% (58)	26% (94)	33% (123)	41% (150)
Single-parent family	18% (21)	56% (65)	26% (30)	18% (19)	40% (43)	42% (45)

Parent Availability						
Parent available at home	61% (151)	33% (80)	6% (14)	40% (84)	23% (48)	37% (77)
Parent not available	19% (52)	55% (155)	26% (74)	11% (29)	45% (117)	44% (116)
Respondent's Education						
Some high school	42% (15)	47% (17)	11% (4)	33% (7)	38% (8)	29% (6)
High school grad/GED	41% (65)	47% (75)	12% (19)	28% (43)	40% (61)	32% (48)
Some college	31% (43)	54% (73)	15% (20)	20% (24)	41% (50)	39% (47)
College graduate	41% (47)	41% (48)	18% (21)	23% (27)	22% (26)	55% (63)
Post graduate	42% (32)	29% (22)	30% (23)	20% (12)	31% (18)	49% (29)

Table 5: Use of Relative Care Compared to No Use of ECCE and All Other Types of ECCE by Family and Demographic Characteristics
(Shown are the percentage in each group with N's in parentheses)

Characteristics	Infants & Toddlers			Preschoolers		
	No ECCE	Relative Care	Non-relative ECCE	No ECCE	Relative Care	Non-relative ECCE
Geographic Location						
Urban Area	38% (102)	28% (75)	34% (93)	24% (62)	21% (52)	55% (136)
Rural & Small Cities	39% (100)	36% (92)	25% (64)	23% (51)	29% (63)	49% (108)
Family Income						
Under 25,000	36% (35)	44% (43)	20% (20)	21% (20)	34% (29)	44% (37)
25,001 to 50,000	37% (56)	38% (57)	26% (39)	28% (37)	33% (44)	39% (52)
50,001 to 100,000	36% (49)	26% (35)	39% (52)	18% (22)	16% (19)	66% (79)
100,000+	44% (15)	6% (2)	50% (17)	9% (3)	9% (3)	83% (29)
Child's Ethnicity						
Minority	29% (44)	38% (57)	34% (51)	14% (17)	33% (38)	53% (62)
Non-Minority	43% (162)	29% (111)	28% (106)	27% (96)	22% (78)	52% (183)
Family Composition						
Two-parent family	44% (185)	29% (120)	27% (110)	25% (94)	22% (80)	53% (193)
Single-parent family	18% (21)	41% (48)	41% (47)	16% (19)	34% (36)	50% (52)
Parent Availability						
Parent available at home	62% (151)	28% (68)	11% (26)	40% (84)	18% (38)	42% (87)
Parent not available	18% (52)	35% (99)	46% (130)	10% (29)	30% (77)	60% (156)
Respondent's Education						
Some high school	42% (15)	44% (16)	14% (5)	33% (7)	29% (6)	38% (8)
High school grad/GED	41% (65)	37% (59)	22% (35)	28% (43)	33% (50)	39% (59)
Some college	31% (42)	36% (48)	33% (45)	20% (24)	32% (39)	48% (58)
College graduate	41% (47)	27% (31)	33% (38)	22% (25)	11% (13)	67% (76)
Post graduate	42% (32)	16% (12)	43% (33)	20% (12)	10% (6)	70% (41)

Child age was related to type of ECCE used. Infants/toddlers were more likely than preschool-aged children to be cared for by a relative. Preschool-aged children were more likely than infants/toddlers to be in ECCE in general and in center-based ECCE in particular.[6] The remainder of the findings focuses on the use of ECCE for the two separate age groups.

Table 6 displays the results of three logistic regression equations conducted for each of the two age groups. B coefficients with standard errors are presented for each of the family and demographic characteristics thought to predict the use of ECCE in general (as compared to no ECCE), the use of relative care (as compared to other ECCE types), and the use of center-based ECCE (as compared to all other ECCE), respectively.

Table 6: The Effects of Family Characteristics on Child Care Use and Type of Child Care Used: Logit Analysis						
	Infants & Toddlers			**Preschoolers**		
Characteristics	**All types of ECCE vs. no ECCE**	**Relative Care vs. all other types of care**	**Center-based ECCE vs. all other types of care**	**All types of ECCE vs. no ECCE**	**Relative Care vs. all other types of care**	**Center-based ECCE vs. all other types of care**
Family Income (In $10,000's)	-.005 (.37)	-.143* (.55)	.096* (.46)	.099* (.44)	-.163** (.57)	.071[+] (.40)
Maternal Education	-.02 (.11)	-.19 (.14)	.26[+] (.15)	.11 (.14)	-.42** (.15)	.26[*] (.13)
Minority Status Minority = 1 Non-Minority = 0	.73* (.31)	-.02 (.34)	.82* (.36)	1.50** (.42)	-.003 (.33)	-.07 (.30)
Number of Siblings	-.10 (.11)	-.02 (.13)	-.04 (.14)	-.27* (.12)	-.07 (.13)	-.09 (.11)
Parent Availability	-2.19** (.25)	1.17** (.33)	-.90* (.40)	-1.74** (.31)	-.34 (.30)	.61* (.28)
Single Parent Status	.96* (.38)	-.68[+] (.35)	.54 (.38)	.38 (.44)	-.27 (.36)	.45 (.34)
Urban Setting	-.20 (.25)	-.17 (.30)	.49 (.33)	-.46 (.29)	-.47 (.28)	.53* (.25)

B coefficients are shown with corresponding standard errors in parentheses.

  * $p < .05$, two-tailed; ** $p < .01$, two-tailed; [+] $p < .10$, two-tailed

Note: Analyses for Relative Care and Center-based ECCE are based on the subset of children who are using some type of early care and education arrangement.

Infants and toddlers

The first column in Table 6 illustrates that infants and toddlers were more likely to be in ECCE if they were of minority status, if they did not have a parent(s) available at home, and if they were living with a single parent.

The analysis for relative care included only children who were in some type of care (i.e., excluded the "Not using ECCE" group) and is shown in the second column of Table 6. For infants and toddlers, coming from a low-income family and having a nonemployed parent available at home made it more likely that they would be in relative care as opposed to other types of ECCE.

The third column in Table 6 presents the results examining the use of center-based ECCE for infants and toddlers. During the infancy/toddlerhood period, children from higher income and ethnic minority families were more likely than other children to use center-based ECCE over other forms of care. In addition, working parents (i.e., no parent available at home) were more likely to place their infants and toddlers in a center-based ECCE arrangement than were families with a parent at home.

Preschoolers

For older children, the right side of Table 6 shows the characteristics relating to use of ECCE. Compared to other preschool-aged children, preschoolers from higher income families, from ethnic minority families, from families with fewer children, and from families with no parent available at home were more likely to be in some form of ECCE rather than no ECCE.

Preschool-aged children from families with lower incomes and less educated mothers were more likely than other families to be in relative care.

Preschoolers with more educated mothers, from families with an available parent at home, and from urban settings were more likely to be in center-based ECCE than other types of ECCE settings.

Table 7 presents the number of hours spent in each type of ECCE. Infants and toddlers who were in nonparental care spent significantly more time in center-based ECCE than in home-based

ECCE (F (1, 323) = 15.0, $p < .001$). They spent less time in relative care (M = 24.05 hours) compared with other types of ECCE (F (1, 323) = 15.45, $p < .001$).

Table 7: Mean Number of Hours per Week in Each Type of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECCE) Arrangement by Child's Age

Type of ECCE	Infants & Toddlers				Preschoolers			
	N	**M**	**SD**	**Range**	**N**	**M**	**SD**	**Range**
Home-based ECCE (relative care included)	239	25.32	16.71	2-60	168	28.34	16.52	1-60
Center-based ECCE	88	32.89	13.22	4-55	195	23.12	13.94	1-50
Relative care only	168	24.05	17.50	2-60	116	29.26	17.40	1-60

Note: These figures represent only the arrangement in which the child spent the most time (i.e., "Main Arrangement"). Supplemental types of arrangements are not represented and are excluded from this count.

Preschoolers spent more time in some form of home-based ECCE compared with center-based ECCE (F (1, 359) = 10.58, $p < .01$). They spent more time in relative care (M = 29.26 hours) than other types of ECCE combined (F (1, 359) = 10.35, $p < .01$).

Table 8 shows the ordinary least squares (OLS) regression analyses that were conducted to examine family and demographic characteristics associated with more time spent in ECCE for the subset of children who were using some type of ECCE arrangement (n = 558). These analyses examine the effects of family characteristics on time spent in ECCE in general, time spent in relative care only, time spent in any type of home-based ECCE (including relative care), and time spent in center-based ECCE only.[7]

Table 8: The Effects of Family Characteristics on Hours of ECCE by Type of Care: Ordinary Least Squares Analysis

Characteristics	Infants & Toddlers				Infants & Toddlers			
	General ECCE n=266	Relative Care Only n=137	All Home-based1 n=195	Center-based n=71	General Use n=292	Relative Care n=94	All Home-based1 n=135	Center-based n=157
Family Income (in $10,000's)	.07	-.102	-.027	.226	.03	.205	.120	-.043
Maternal Education	-.13*	-.087	-.138	-.213	-.06	.038	.051	-.156*
Minority Status	.11	.010	.089	.074	.29**	.368**	.376**	.181**
Number of Siblings	-.05	-.060	-.070	.043	-.13*	-.041	-.062	-.156*
Parent Availability	-.25**	-.120	-.194**	-.446**	-.31**	-.007	-.112	-.486**
Single Parent Status	.23**	.280**	.209**	.264*	.15*	.341**	.207*	.110
Urban Setting	.01	.069	.007	-.036	.03	-.046	-.064	.124
F statistic (df)	6.25** (7,258)	3.26** (7,129)	3.94** (7,187)	3.29** (7,63)	14.09** (7,284)	3.93** (7,86)	4.57** (7,127)	16.11** (7,149)
Adjusted R^2	.122	.104	.096	.186	.239	.181	.157	.404

1. All home based ECCE includes home based ECCE of any type, including relative care.
Standardized beta coefficients are show expect where otherwise noted. * p < .05, two-tailed; ** p < .01, two-tailed

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Infant and toddlers

As shown on the left side of Table 8, infants and toddlers spent more time in ECCE if their mothers had lower levels of education. Not having a parent available predicted spending more time in any ECCE arrangement and more time in home-based and center-based ECCE specifically. Infants with single parents spent more time in ECCE no matter what the type. Infants and toddlers spent more time in center-based settings when there was no parent available at home and if they lived with a single parent.

Preschoolers

As displayed in the four columns on the right side of Table 8, preschoolers with less educated mothers spent more time in center-based ECCE settings. Minority status was predictive of spending more time in ECCE in general, as well as the other three types of ECCE specifically. Preschoolers without a parent available at home spent more hours in ECCE in general and more hours in center-based ECCE. Preschoolers with single parents spent more time in all types of ECCE, with the exception of center-based ECCE. A closer look at the use of *center-based* ECCE shows that preschoolers spent less time in center-based settings if their mothers were more educated, if they were not ethnic minority, if they had more siblings, and if they had a parent available at home.

Conclusion

These data provide a baseline of ECCE in Pennsylvania in 2002 during a time when the state offered no public funding specifically for preschool. These data show that a substantial number of children under 5 years of age in Pennsylvania in 2002 were in some kind of nonparental care for a substantial amount of time each week: 61% of infants and toddlers and 75% of preschoolers were in some type of nonparental care on a regular weekly basis. For infants and toddlers, 51% of the children in care were supervised by relatives. For preschoolers, 32% of the children were in care with relatives. Only 41% of Pennsylvania preschoolers were in center-based

programs, the type of early childhood education that has been associated with school readiness.

This article documents geographic and social class differences between those children in center-based preschool programs and those who were not. Preschool aged children were more likely to be in center-based care if they were from families in urban areas with educated parents and one nonemployed parent at home with the child on a regular basis. Because they were in this type of center-based care for substantially fewer hours than infants and toddlers, and because many children were children of educated parents with one parent at home on a regular basis, it is likely that the type of care that they experienced may have been mostly part-time care of the type often referred to as *nursery school*. In contrast, preschool-aged children with less educated and low-income parents were more likely to experience relative care.

Researchers have shown that Pennsylvania home-based settings are of lesser quality than center-based settings such as Head Start, preschool programs, and child care centers (Fiene et al. 2002). These home-based settings are also less likely to prepare children for school (Kontos et al. 1995; 1997). So many researchers have shown that center-based center care for preschool-aged children fosters school readiness (Lee, Brooks-Gunn, Schnur, and Liaw 1990; Ramey and Campbell 1992; Ramey et al. 2002; Ramey and Ramey 1992; Head Start Report 2005; National Research Council 2001; NICHD ECCRN and Duncan 2003; Clarke-Stewart 1991, Magnuson, Meyers, Ruhm, and Waldfogel 2004; NICHD ECCRN 2004) that center-based center care for preschoolers is currently considered "best practice" education. Thus, more center-based ECCE is considered desirable because it helps prepare youngsters for kindergarten.

Children from families with more educated mothers and with a parent at home and from families in urban settings were more likely to experience center-based types of ECCE considered to prepare children for school readiness, while children from poorer families with less educated mothers were more likely to be in relative care, which is less likely to prepare children for school. These findings replicate those from national reports based on administrative data (NHES 2005) showing that children with more educated and higher income employed mothers were more likely than other children to

experience preschool programs aimed at increasing school readiness.

According to a 2005 report from the Pennsylvania Partnerships for Children, Pennsylvania currently ranks below the national average in the percentage of preschool children enrolled in center-based programs. In that report, which was based on state administrative records, the percentage of Pennsylvania children enrolled in nursery school, preschool, or kindergarten in 2004 was 56%, ranking Pennsylvania 30th in the nation. The national average was 57%, with New Jersey leading the nation at 74% of children in this age range enrolled in center-based ECCE in 2004. Although today Pennsylvania is still below average nationally, the percentage of the preschool population in child care may nevertheless be higher today than it was in 2002 when only 41% of such children were in center-based programs.

In 2004–05, the Office of Child Development was established to oversee Commonwealth efforts regarding ECCE. A prime goal of this office (Dichter 2005; OCD 2005) was to increase the availability and quality of ECCE to all children less than 5 years old. Specific initiatives in 2004–05 included (1) state investment in preschool through state funds to Head Start programs, (2) expansion of early childhood services using Education Accountability Block Grants to establish new or to expand existing pre-kindergarten services and increase full day kindergarten availability, (3) establishment of Early Learning Standards for pre-kindergarten children across all ECCE settings, (4) creation of Keystone STARS, a quality rating system aiming to improve the quality of ECCE programs, (5) introduction of reforms to increase ECCE teacher preparation, and (6) increases in the availability of child care subsidies to parents.

Administered by the Department of Public Welfare (DPW), Keystone STARS worked to boost quality by identifying standards and providing financial and technical assistance to programs participating in the Keystone STARS program. DPW simplified eligibility requirements and procedures for low income families to obtain and maintain child care subsidies. More state funds were budgeted for licensing and inspection of child care programs, professional credentialing and child care provider education and training, quality supports for home-based programs, and community-based training for practitioners. With these changes,

one might expect that Pennsylvania children should have greater access to the type of ECCE more likely to stimulate school readiness in 2006 than in 2002. Some administrative data suggests that this is the case.

This study can serve as a benchmark for the effectiveness of the current administration's efforts to increase school readiness of all Pennsylvania children. Is it true that the state's children are more likely to be in center-based ECCE settings and less likely to be in relative care in 2006 than in 2002? Are more children from low income families and families with less educated parents or families from small cities and rural areas more likely to be in center-based types of ECCE in 2006 than in 2002? Continued monitoring of families, examination of differential access to ECCE as a function of family income, and consideration of parental education and geographic location are warranted to answer these questions and to demonstrate the effectiveness of these public policy changes in Pennsylvania.

Notes

1.   We were not overly concerned about biases due to telephone ownership because the number of families with accessible telephone numbers in Pennsylvania was nearly 98% according to Census figures.

2.   During the second contact, the Spanish-speaking interviewers were able to identify households in which no English and no Spanish were spoken. Families who did not speak either English or Spanish were not able to be interviewed. The number of these families was less than 1% of the sub-sample contacted.

3.   If the respondents reported that their use of ECCE for the target child differed in summer compared with other months, parents provided information about usage for the month of April, a month selected because it was part of the "academic" year.

4.   Forty-four mothers in the sample worked in their homes as family/group home providers while also caring for their own child. These children were classified as Relative Care (total $n = 284$). Because the parent is considered employed and at their work place as a family/group home ECCE provider, we believed that this situation is disparate enough from that of a child being cared for exclusively (or with siblings) by a parent. Thus, it was decided to classify these children as being in a care arrangement with a relative, rather than in the "Not using ECCE" group.

5.   Because the survey relied on parental report, we were unable to identify the extent to which a specific curriculum was utilized or if structured educational activities took place in any of the ECCE types.

6.   To test for the significance of age effects, analyses described were conducted with the two age groups combined and included a dichotomous child age variable as an additional predictor.

7.   These OLS regression analyses were also run using the two age groups together and included a dichotomous age variable as an additional predictor. A significant age difference was found only for the use of formal ECCE. Although preschoolers were more commonly in formal ECCE than were infants/toddlers, they spent *less* time in these formal educational settings than infants and toddlers did.

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Book Reviews

Comments from the Book Review Editor

This is the first issue of *COMMONWEALTH* to include book reviews. Our readers expressed a desire for a book review section, and though it may have taken longer than some might have hoped, the editorial staff responded to our readers' request. In selecting books to review, we decided to give preference to titles dealing with Pennsylvania government, politics, policy, and history. We hope that our readers enjoy this new feature, and that they will recommend new or classic titles for review. Readers interested in reviewing books for *COMMONWEALTH* should send their names, contact information, areas of scholarly interest, and brief curriculum vitae to Dr. Thomas J. Baldino, *COMMONWEALTH* Book Review Editor, Department of Political Science, Wilkes University, Wilkes-Barre, PA 18766.

A Prayer for the City. By H.G. (Buzz) Bissinger. New York: Random House, 1997. 448 pp., $25.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-679-4219-8-X; $15.00 paper, ISBN: 0-679-74494-0

In 1996, I interviewed for a job with the Washington, D.C. Housing Authority, which oversees a substantial public housing operation serving the needs of lower-income residents of our nation's Capitol. I was terribly under-qualified for the position, but the challenge excited me. The Housing Authority was entering receivership, which typically means that the administration responsible for running the authority into the ground would soon be removed. I felt quite confident about how I did during the interview, how I could be an asset, how young, bright minds like mine were just what was needed to right this ship!

In the hot August afternoon, I walked three blocks to where I had parked my vehicle. En route, I saw a resident walk out of her public house and fling empty soda bottles on her front lawn. I walked over used condoms and drug needles. In all, I saw ten littering violations to an already disgusting landscape, and my confidence and positive outlook fell quickly. One thought hit me concerning my chosen vocation of helping communities rebound: can one person make any difference in a culture where failure and poverty are so rampant?

Almost ten years later, the question remains open for debate. Many politicians take great credit for gentrified neighborhoods, which is a valid claim if one's goal was to chase lower-income residents out of one's backyard-shifting failure and poverty, not eliminating it. Others build arenas, malls, and stadiums with public dollars and claim that the city's crumbling schools and houses will "come back" because 500 ushers will be employed at minimum wages for eight football games over the span of one calendar year. The hopefulness of newly elected officials and expectant residents is quickly tempered by what appears to be the hopelessness of the American City: residents flee because there are better places to live, and cities either cannot or will not fight hard enough to retain these residents. And the cycle continues…

I must confess to absolutely loving *A Prayer for the City*. I read it for the first time while taking an Urban Studies class at the University of Rochester, where the local community foundation gave me a chance to witness how its modest grants were working to

revitalize a slumping city. I've since read the book at least thirty times, and each time I am struck by the completeness and totality of Bissinger's work. His holistic approach to studying the Rendell administration not only makes for enjoyable reading, but also guarantees that the reader will be aware of the time and place of the policies of the administration. Ed Rendell can welcome all the beauty contestants he likes, but the gritty reality is that Philadelphia was barely breathing when he arrived and had improved little over his first four years. That Bissinger is able to portray this result accurately while painting the mayor as a charismatic, can-do figure tells this reader that he understands community development and neighborhood revitalization in the 1990s.

Just as the reader fully grasps the predicament of Philadelphia, Bissinger answers the question "how did we get here?" before the reader can ask it. On page 203, Bissinger uncovers the Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC) Map, drawn in 1937 and now stored at the National Archives in a very inconspicuous place. In this map, assessors determined the viability of neighborhoods based solely on the ethnicity of their residents. Today we would call that discrimination; in 1937 it was sound fiscal policy and helped set the stage for the U.S. mortgage market, the single largest wealth-creating force in this country, unless, of course, one happens to live in the "do-not-lend" neighborhoods.

This map, and the 10 pages of analysis that discuss it, should be required reading for every policymaker in the United States. All community development policy since 1937 is, in my humble opinion, a direct result of this map and analysis. The fate of poor neighborhoods was sealed when lenders determined that lending to residents in poor areas was far too risky for their business. In the 1970s, more than 30 years after HOLC drew their maps, the Community Reinvestment Act mandated that lenders return capital to the neighborhoods from which they receive deposits. But lenders were one step ahead; in the late 1980s, risk-based pricing and subprime loans proliferated in neighborhoods the HOLC would have cautioned against entering. From a dearth of capital to unreasonably priced capital, minorities and lower-income persons continue to pay for the 1937 map.

Bissinger takes the reader into the neighborhoods where the lower-income residents fight for survival; where middle-income city lovers must choose between better housing, better school, safer

streets, lower taxes, or staying in the city; where public servants take small pleasure in courtroom victories as a way to "strike back" at the element they see as destroying their beloved city; and where shipyard workers ponder an uncertain future as manufacturing flees the scene of the crime with a swiftness matched only by the Industrial Revolution that precipitated it.

A book typically is only as good as the access its author had to the stories contained within, and Bissinger's continuous access to the mayor makes for compelling reading. But the residents tell the real story of Philadelphia. Those who could move out, in most cases, did; while those who could not remained behind to observe the decay firsthand.

Working as a community development advocate, I believe that one person can make a difference in this field, but not without knowing the real story of America's struggling communities. There is no better source than *A Prayer for the City*.

<div align="right">Michael Butchko
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Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation</div>

Pennsylvania Constitutional Development. By Rosalind Branning. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1960. 166 pp., $24.95 paper, ISBN: 0-8229-5818-X

One of the drawbacks of so much scholarly attention given to the U.S. Constitution is a lack of appreciation and respect for the lineage of state constitutions. In this reissue of *Pennsylvania Constitutional Development* (original published in 1960), Branning traces the history of Pennsylvania's constitution, from its framing in 1776 to calls for change in the late 1950s. Along the way, she considers how well the constitution was able to address the challenges facing the commonwealth and foresee the problems and issues that might lie ahead. In Branning's view, Pennsylvania's constitutional development has not been one that would make its citizens proud. Because Pennsylvania's constitution has not kept up with the "needs of an increasingly complex society" (5), we are left with "[t]he imposition of the will of a past generation upon the present," which Branning argues, "is not only unwise but undemocratic" (6).

Pennsylvania Constitutional Development contains three major themes. First, Branning asserts that Pennsylvania's constitution is in need of wholesale revision at the hands of a constitutional convention. Since the constitutional convention of 1874, Pennsylvania has opted for the piecemeal approach of amendments when, in fact, a constitutional convention "makeover" is in order. Second, though Branning calls on Pennsylvanians to revise their constitution through a convention, she faults the product of the last convention, held in1874, stating that that constitution "so hampered the legislature that it cannot act efficiently or effectively" (2). Branning's criticism of the 1874 constitution and her plea for a constitutional convention stems from her third and final theme: good constitutional draftsmanship is marked by broad, general wording that allows the constitution to breathe and expand over time.

Branning chooses to tell the story of Pennsylvania's constitutional development using three different time periods. Part I examines Pennsylvania's constitutions of 1776, 1790, and 1838. Drafted in the shadow of the American Revolution, Pennsylvania's original constitution (1776) reflected the radicalism of its time. It provided for a unicameral legislature that met annually and whose proceedings were open to the public and published weekly. Executive distrust resulted in an Executive Council, rather than a governor. While the judges on the Supreme Court were appointed by the Executive Council for seven-year terms, they could be dismissed by the legislature for "misbehavior." The constitution of 1790 replaced the plural executive and unicameral legislature with a governor and bicameral legislature, respectively, while judges were given greater independence by being allowed to serve for "good behavior." At the behest of "liberal reformers," a constitutional convention was assembled in 1837, which produced the constitution of 1838. A divided convention discussed the length of the governor's term, voting, and public education, among other topics, but the deep divisions largely resulted in maintaining the basic structure of the 1790 constitution.

Part II, the longest segment of the book, is reserved for the most detailed constitution in Pennsylvania history, the constitution of 1874. Legislative reform was the aim of the 1874 convention because of the prior legislative practice of passing private legislation, which benefited narrow interests. For example, prior to

the 1874 constitution, railroad companies held enormous sway over the legislature and reaped the benefits of that influence. Recognizing this problem, the convention forbade the General Assembly from passing special legislation on 27 different subjects. Branning points out, however, that despite the needed reforms the convention restrained the legislature in ways that hampered its efficiency and effectiveness. These restrictions included shifting from annual to biennial sessions and securing regularity in the legislative process (bills can cover only one subject, must have a clear title, and must be read on three separate days in each house). The convention also limited the representation of Philadelphia in the state house.

Part III examines 20th century development through 1959. Branning laments the fact that amendments, not wholesale revision, marked the change in Pennsylvania's constitution in the 20th century. Because this is a reissue, and not a new edition of the book, the reader is left to speculate about what Branning would say regarding all of the changes made since the book's publication. The long list of amendments called for in 1959 by the Commission on Constitutional Revision, along with the unlikelihood of ratifying so many of them, caused Branning again to urge the creation of a constitutional convention. Though many of Branning's ideas—and the Commission's formal recommendations—were ratified (e.g. allowing the governor to serve two terms and annual legislative sessions), others were not. Though many amendments to the constitution were ratified throughout the 1980s and 1990s, a constitutional convention to address the long-term ills of the constitution has yet to be called. When "[t]he need for constitutional revision is urgent" (156) but the demand for revision is not, it is no wonder we are still addressing the shortcomings of our constitution in piecemeal fashion.

In sum, *Pennsylvania Constitutional Development* is a story worthy of being read by those interested in Pennsylvania history and state constitutional development. Though it does not provide a comparative perspective whereby the reader can evaluate Pennsylvania's constitutional development in the context of surrounding states' constitutional development, it does present an indictment worthy of discussion and serious thought. Readers interested in learning how to reconcile a constitution with democratic principles, however, will be disappointed. Branning

fails to deliver on her promise to show why the "imposition of the will of a past generation upon the present is not only unwise but undemocratic" (6). Branning might be one of many who find fault with the 1874 document but it constrains us—if it does at all—only if we allow it to. An undemocratic constitution is one that governs a society that cannot amend it, not a society that has chosen not to amend it.

Kyle L. Kreider
Wilkes University

A Capitol Journey: Reflections on the Press, Politics, and the Making of Public Policy in Pennsylvania. By Vincent P. Carocci. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005. 298 pp., $39.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-271-02546-8

A Capitol Journey is an intriguing book written by an equally intriguing observer of, and player in, Pennsylvania politics from 1961 to 1995. It is not a political history as such, a point which the author makes in the preface. It is a memoir of a man who began his career in Harrisburg as a news reporter, became a staff member for the Senate Democrats, and finished a senior staffer for Governor Robert Casey.

The result is an episodic book. Initially, we learn perhaps more than we might want to know about his family history, although it provides interesting insights into the process by which an immigrant family entered the political system. Next, we are given insights into the manner in which the Capitol press corps operated in the 1960s.

Carocci's shift from reporting the game to becoming a player in it provides the reader with insights on the operations of the Senate. However, the House of Representatives is ignored. Even in the Senate, the focus is on the Democrats. Carocci's entry into the executive branch of the government under Casey shifts the focus again. This is to be expected in a personal memoir.

Carocci does not hesitate to render his opinions of those with whom he worked and the various legislators with whom he interacted. Some of the legislators whom he names—not always in complimentary terms—are still active in Harrisburg. His detailed descriptions of some of the manipulators that he observed and the

scandals surrounding four Senators in the 1970s should be read by every Pennsylvania voter before going to the polls.

Each governor from David Lawrence to Richard Thornburgh has his own chapter. Casey is given an entire section. Carocci's views of the governors do not appear to be influenced by his Democratic Party connections. In assessing the governors he knew and covered, he ranks William Scranton with Casey.

Despite the uneven coverage, this is a book worth reading by anyone trying to understand the operation of Pennsylvania's state government in the latter part of the 20th century.

<div align="right">Harold Cox
Wilkes University</div>

Front-Page Pittsburgh: Two Hundred Years of the Post-Gazette. By Clarke M. Thomas. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. 332 pp., $34.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-8229-42488

In a famous letter to Colonel Edward Carrington written in 1787, Thomas Jefferson offered perhaps one of the most compelling statements for the intrinsic value of a free press to a democratic society. "Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers or newspapers without government," he observed, "I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

That Jefferson advocated civic engagement and discussion through a free press, despite enormous criticism leveled at him by newspaper editors and contributors for his anti-Federalist political stance, shows just how democratic the notion was.

Among Jefferson's early detractors was John Scull, printer and original editor of the *Pittsburgh Gazette,* the city's first newspaper established just a year before Jefferson's famous comment. The young nation's early political tensions were often played out in the press, and they mirrored the challenges American journalists have faced ever since in their frequently unpopular role as "watchdogs over the government."

Clarke M. Thomas, retired senior editor of the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, expertly chronicles the nuanced, often complex life of the nearly 220-year old newspaper that emerged when the country was but a "howling wilderness." As Thomas illustrates, the newspaper's

initial tendencies, "a serious nature, a friendly attitude toward business, involvement in community affairs and open to varying opinions—within limits" (6), carried the publication through a myriad of social, political, and economic challenges and sustained it when so many other newspapers collapsed or merged. In many ways, the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* defied the odds and survived when it probably should not have, making Thomas's historical account an occasionally surprising and dramatic book.

Thomas's account underscores the notion that journalists not only chronicle history but frequently shape it. His focus in the first chapter of the book on Scull's political advocacy establishes what would become a truism for over two centuries: that the newspaper and its leadership clearly shaped much of Pittsburgh's, and even the nation's, political awareness and identity. Drawing heavily from numerous historical accounts, such as J. Cutler Andrews' *Pittsburgh's Post-Gazette,* as well as original news stories and editorials from the newspaper, Thomas navigates readers through wars, economic boom and decline, uncomfortable race issues from slavery to civil rights, changes in editorial identity from conservative to liberal, and the murky waters of media competition and business mergers.

Indeed, it is in Thomas's examination of mergers that the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* takes on a somewhat mythic character, surviving when so many newspapers across the nation collapsed under the weight of competition, bad management, ethical challenges, or simply the changing political tide. Almost at its very inception, the *Pittsburgh Gazette* faced local competition, mostly, according to Thomas, because of the political factions that emerged at the same time across the new country. But the *Gazette* staved off that competition until, almost inexplicably, it merged with the *Pittsburgh Post* in 1927. Thomas's description that opens the chapter on the merger emphasizes the event as a turning point in the newspaper's staying power, though he certainly does not suggest that it answers all questions on that front.

> The 1927 transaction that resulted in the union of the *Gazette* and the *Post* was one of the most mysterious in the history of Pittsburgh and, indeed, of national journalism. Without any warning to the staffs involved, four newspapers

> were combined into two, and then, within minutes, reconfigured to form completely different combinations. (148)

Thomas narrates an extraordinary deal of bait-and-switch between two media moguls, William Randolph Hearst and Paul Block, Sr. After behind-closed-doors meetings and a rapid-fire business exchange before the ink on the acquisition papers was dry, the newspaper that would become the modern *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* was born and the newspaper competition in the city was reduced from five to three.

Post-merger, the newspaper's story became the nation's story—wrestling with the realities of the Civil Rights movement, Dr. Martin Luther King's assassination, public outcry over political stances of its editorial pages, and frequently controversial coverage of education and abortion issues. But the book's description of the 1992 Teamster's strike at a rival newspaper offers impressive, particularized detail to an issue especially poignant in the northeast: the tensions between corporate and family ownership.

Perhaps what makes this book most noteworthy is that the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette's* history spans over two centuries—nearly the life of the city in which it was born. Thus, it is a story not just of a single publication, but rather of a growing and changing city and nation. While the *Hartford Courant* is widely regarded as the nation's oldest continuous newspaper, and the drama of the *New York Times* and the *Chicago Tribune* certainly garners those publications more time in the public spotlight, Thomas shows that the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette's* narrative may be more fundamental to understanding the evolution of American print media.

Thomas's account moves at a journalistic pace, which makes it eminently readable, and archival photographs offer fascinating visual support and detail. The book recommends just as easily to the casual Barnes and Noble bestseller reader as it does to a student in an advanced media history course.

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Andrea Breemer Frantz
Wilkes University

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The WPA History of the Negro in Pittsburgh. Edited by Laurence A Glasco. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. 432 pp., $39.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-8229-4232-1

One does not often have the opportunity to review a book that was truly seven decades in the making, so obviously the first question to confront is, was it worth the wait? Although it is painful to realize that this valuable resource has existed in obscurity for so long, the only possible answer is an emphatic yes. This work has great value not just to those interested in the history of Pittsburgh but also to scholars of African-American, New Deal, and urban studies as well.

The genesis of this book was in the American Guide Series, which was part of the New Deal's Federal Writer's Project. Created in 1935, the Project was terminated by a conservative Congress in 1939, making this but one of many works that was never completed. The manuscripts (there are multiple drafts and conflicting outlines and indices) have been in the Pennsylvania State Library in Harrisburg since the 1940s. Few scholars have used this outstanding resource on African-American urban life, even though it was microfilmed in 1970.

Laurence A. Glasco, an associate professor of history at the University of Pittsburgh, has edited the manuscripts to create a very coherent and usable volume. He has also written a complete yet brief introduction that provides an excellent framework for understanding the work itself. In just 15 pages, he not only explains how he edited the text and gives the all important background of this New Deal project, but also nicely explores the original book's strengths and weaknesses. This introduction greatly expands the potential audience for the volume, as now undergraduates and others can access the work easily. To make full use of the microfilm, users formerly had to bring this information with them; in the published volume, Glasco nicely packages the needed contextual background.

The book consists of 14 chapters, six appendices (most were part of the original project but one is a guide to what was microfilmed), four maps (all added), and a newly created index. Because this was a work in progress with multiple authors, the chapters vary greatly in scope and focus. They are arranged in roughly chronological order and provide as a whole an interesting

1930s popular history of blacks in the Pittsburgh area from the colonial period to the Great Depression. To an urban historian, Chapters 12 and 13, "Folkways" and "Arts and Culture," are likely to be the most interesting ones. They provide many insights into everyday African-American life in Pittsburgh during the first third of the 20th century. This work can be coupled with W. E. B. DuBois' masterful *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; rev. ed., Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995) to provide students with an excellent introduction to the details of the late 19th and early 20th century black northern urban experience.

Any work like this has its limitations, and Glasco acknowledges them in his introduction. For the scholar, it is quite frustrating that few of the original sources have been noted and that women, although present, are under-represented in many of the chapters. Most of these shortcomings are simply inherent in a volume that was never meant for an academic audience and the rest are likely the result of its incomplete nature or the period in which it was created. Thanks to Glasco's thorough introduction, none of these limitations seriously affect the value of the book.

For graduate students and other scholars, this work serves as an outstanding introduction to the microfilmed documents. By reading this book before exploring the manuscript, it should be much easier to make sense of original documents. For most teachers and students at the secondary and undergraduate levels, this volume can substitute for the microfilm in providing a primary source from seven decades ago on still unresolved issues of race and class in urban America. For anyone interested in Pittsburgh or the African-American urban experience in the early twentieth century, this work is a must. Both Glasco and the University of Pittsburgh Press should be congratulated for making this valuable volume widely available.

John H. Hepp, IV
Wilkes University

Harry, Tom, and Father Rice: Accusation and Betrayal in America's Cold War. By John Hoerr. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005. 344 pp., $29.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-8229-4265-8

This book is an illuminating examination of the effects of the Red Scare on a congressman, a labor union leader, and a Catholic

priest who lived in the Pittsburgh area during the height of McCarthyism. The primary strength of Hoerr's book is the richly detailed biographical information that he draws upon to create a highly nuanced look at the decision-making processes of those who found themselves to have the misfortune of appearing before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Another important strength of this book is the insight it provides on the interplay between labor unions and anti-Communist fervor during the late 1940s and 1950s. The book tells the story of Representative Harry Davenport, labor union leader Tom Quinn, and Father Charles Owen Rice. Hoerr can personalize each story because of his personal ties with each man, most especially his uncle, Harry Davenport. The book is also aided by a number of personal interviews that provide a great deal of information that otherwise would have been lost to history. The preservation of this story is important to understanding how the Red Scare affected the lives of regular, working-class Americans. The author's intimate knowledge of the characters and his informal writing style make for vivid reading.

Hoerr presents many interesting themes in the course of the book. Foremost among them is the ideological evolution of Harry and Father Rice. Harry was elected to Congress in 1948 as a champion of workers' rights and a Progressive determined to help the "little guy." Almost immediately upon his arrival in Washington he learned that things would not be easy because of the prevailing political situation engendered by the Red Scare, which made it very difficult for Harry to maintain his leftist ideology. However, the most surprising aspect of Harry's story is the speed with which his ideals evaporated.

Harry's evolution is especially noteworthy because the ultimate betrayal of his most closely held values was caused not by real change from within, but by political expediency. The book thus contains a cautionary tale of the compromises sometimes necessary for public service. The clash between Harry's values and his pragmatism underscores the conflict between idealism and political necessity. Harry's story is tragic, as he is forced to betray his core beliefs when confronted by forces beyond his control.

Father Rice experienced an important ideological evolution from anti-Communist activist to radical reformer marching with Dr. Martin Luther King. Some books present people as ideological

monoliths that never deviate from their life paths; Hoerr succeeds in presenting a more nuanced, and therefore more accurate, description of the ways in which politics can change a person's views. These changes can be both positive and negative, a point brought home in each case portrayed here.

Another important theme is the power of guilt by association and the effect it can have on civil liberties. Tom's story shows the effects of being associated with a Communist organization and the pall it can cast over one's life for years. In many ways, Tom's is the most sympathetic story in the book because he deserved his fate the least. Tom's story was also the most intimate because Hoerr was able to conduct several interviews with him.

Hoerr's book will interest anyone curious about labor movements, McCarthyism, or the local history of Pittsburgh. The author's focus on the city is particularly strong, for the book provides a unique insight into politics and union activism in Pittsburgh in the post-World War II years.

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Andrew P. Miller
Wilkes University

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Pennsylvania Elections: Statewide Contests From 1950–2004. By John J. Kennedy. New York: University Press of America, 2006. 214 pp., $31.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-7618-3278-5

For many years, the best (only?) book on contemporary Pennsylvania politics was Paul Beers' *Pennsylvania Politics Today and Yesterday,* which was published in 1980. But over the last two years several fine books have appeared to fill the gap in this important field, and among them is this book. Kennedy, an associate professor of political science at West Chester University and the author of *The Contemporary Pennsylvania Legislature*, has assembled election statistics for all state-wide general elections in Pennsylvania from 1950 to 2004 (N.B. primary election data are not included). The electoral contests include senatorial, gubernatorial, state row offices (lieutenant governor and internal affairs—both of which were removed from direct election by the constitutional changes of 1968—treasurer, auditor general, and attorney general), and presidential.

Each office is presented in its own chapter with the exception of the row offices, which are discussed in a single chapter. There is

also an introductory chapter that discusses Pennsylvania's political history and geography. Within the chapters, the author discusses each election separately, providing information about the major parties' candidates (the author chose not to include any third or minor party candidates in his analysis), their personal and political backgrounds, the major issues in the race, significant issues that were addressed, and any important event that influenced the outcome of the race. Election descriptions vary in length from a paragraph or two to several pages. Most are informative at a basic level while several are fairly detailed, e.g. the 1980 Specter–Flaherty and 1991 Wofford–Thornburgh Senatorial races, and the 1962 Scranton–Dillworth gubernatorial election.

While there is much useful information contained in its pages, the book lacks an overarching central thesis. The author appears to have chosen to present the data and to allow it to speak for itself, the individual election analyses notwithstanding. Since the author never presents the research as theoretically driven, it is perhaps unfair to criticize it this way; however, the work would have been stronger had the author identified a general trend or explanatory factor that would have tied many of the elections together.

I also question the author's decision to present the electoral data as a percentage of the two-party vote as opposed to each party's percentage of the total vote cast in an election. The author reasoned that because third parties had not generally received significant numbers of votes, it was easier to understand an election's outcome by contrasting just the two-party vote. Though individual third parties may indeed frequently receive few votes, removing all third party totals in an election inflates, however so slightly, the totals for the two major parties, which distorts whatever trend analysis a person may want to undertake.

Finally, the author's choices in locating some counties in geographic clusters—southeastern, southwestern, northeastern, and central—raised a few questions in my mind. Of greatest concern was the placement of Bradford, Susquehanna, Wayne, Pike, Sullivan, Wyoming, and Schuylkill counties into the central region rather than the northeastern region. Most residents of those counties would likely consider themselves residents of the northeast. In addition, the geographic division would have benefited from a fifth region: a northwestern cluster that would have made the central region more homogeneous. One of the interesting things about a

geographically based presentation of electoral politics in the state is that the regional divisions of the last half of the 20th century may be losing whatever explanatory power they may have had. With the change in voting behavior in the southeastern suburban counties, the changing character of the populations in the Pocono counties and the transition in the south central counties as they fast become bedroom communities for the Baltimore–Washington area, a new set of regions may be necessary.

Despite my reservations, Kennedy's work contributes to our understanding of electoral politics in Pennsylvania. Along with Jack M. Treadway's *Elections in Pennsylvania*, students and scholars alike have two fine resources.

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Thomas J. Baldino
Wilkes University

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The People of this Generation: The Rise and Fall of the New Left in Philadelphia. By Paul Lyons. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003. 288 pp., $42.50 cloth, ISBN: 0-8122-3715-3

This book is must reading for anyone interested in understanding the rise, accomplishments, challenges, and demise of the New Left. It is also a highly instructive book for social scientists and activists who want to understand the nature of coalition building, political movements, and social and political activism. Finally, Philadelphia history buffs should not miss this important contribution to local folklore and legend.

Of course, one could always ask the question, why the need for yet another book on the New Left and 1960s student activism? After all, the shelves are already filled with books by Todd Gitlin, James Miller, Allen Matusow, Jack Whalen and Richard Flacks, and Edward Quinn and Paul Dolan, to name a few. Lyons pre-empts that question almost immediately when he asserts on page 2 that "one must examine the social and political movements of the 1960s—what participants call 'the movement'—in the context of their geographic, political and cultural environments." It is this local contextual analysis that distinguishes Lyons' book from those that preceded its publication.

Lyons, a Professor of Social Work at Richard Stockton College in New Jersey, has amassed a wealth of archival information supplemented by in-depth interviews of former student activists, filtering both through his own insightful understandings of what transpired in the 1960s. The result is a richly detailed history of how the New Left developed in Philadelphia on eight different college campuses and how it interacted, or failed to interact, with other, non-student activist organizations such as the American Friends Service Committee. Thus, the contextual rooting is conducted on two levels. The macro level is the city of Philadelphia, an older, de-industrializing city that was losing population and jobs, undergoing racial change, and coming under the political reign of Frank Rizzo, police chief turned mayor who epitomized the conservative white backlash movement that gripped many cities and, ultimately, the nation's politics in the mid-to-late 1960s. While these themes ring familiar for many cities, Philadelphia was distinguished by its Quaker heritage, which has influenced organizational development and race relations in the city. On the micro level, Lyons introduces a contextual examination by focusing on four different types of college campus—Catholic (LaSalle, Villanova, and St. Joseph's Universities), Quaker (Bryn Mawr, Swarthmore, and Haverford Colleges), elite private (University of Pennsylvania), and working class public (Temple University).

Rising from the ashes of the U.S. Communist Party's collapse and the subsequent Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956, the New Left was heavily influenced, in its early stages, by the black-led civil rights movement in the American South. Initially anti-ideological and heavily participatory, the New Left would eventually encounter severe fissures that prematurely ended this once vibrant, promise-filled movement. The increasing militancy of the civil rights movement, which, in part, shifted from a pro-integrationist, non-violent stance to a Black Power, pro-nationalist, "by any means necessary" position; the urban riots and the subsequent hard line police response; the rise of identity politics (e.g. Black Power, feminism); and the cultural revolution of "drugs, sex, and rock and roll" that swept young Americans, all chipped away at the foundations of the New Left in Philadelphia as it did elsewhere.

Lyons attempts to highlight these struggles by focusing primarily on two organizations: Philadelphia Resistance, the anti-war organization; and People for Human Rights, the anti-racist organization. In many ways, these two organizations epitomize the early hopeful years of the New Left and its later, more seriously troubled years. They also underscore the difficulties of political mobilization on any large scale.

After taking the reader on a tour of the eight college campuses and the New Left organizations they spawned (e.g. SDS Economic Research and Action Project at Swarthmore; Penn Rights Council and Students Opposed to Germ Warfare-STOP-at University of Pennsylvania; and Conscience at Temple University), Lyons shifts his focus to the two pivotal organizations, the Philadelphia Resistance (PR) and People for Human Rights (PHR), to demonstrate the impact of the tumultuous 1960s on the New Left. Growing out of the combined anti-war efforts at the various college campuses and aided by the Quaker organizational infrastructure, PR emerged in 1967, focusing its energies largely around anti-war activities such as draft counseling and demonstrations. PHR, on the other hand, emerged from the growing militancy of the Civil Rights Movement, taking as its mantra a heavy anti-racist position. According to Lyons, both organizations flirted with third world and Maoist ideologies, a growing trend within some New Left circles. Adopting the rhetoric of liberation strategies and, in some cases, their tactics, this development alienated many potential supporters. PR, however, because of its reliance on and influence by the Quaker infrastructure and its focus on anti-war activities, was less culpable, maintaining a "moral high ground" (224). Despite this more palatable stance, PR, like PHR, eventually imploded, mimicking the experience of the New Left in general.

Lyons touches upon many interesting themes in the book such as the a-historicity of the New Left; the influence of the Quaker tradition on New Left organizing; the role of class and spiritual context and mission in shaping students' world views and approach to activism and organizing; and the impact of identity politics, black nationalism, and the cultural revolution on the New Left. However, these themes are left largely undeveloped. For example, the comparison between PR and PHR, which contains many of these themes, never attains a satisfactory resolution. Lyons suggests that both organizations were attracted by Third World revolutionary

struggles but he does not really explain why PR did not go as far in embracing them as did PHR and other New Left organizations. The Quaker influence and the focus on anti-war activities that characterized PR are surface reasons that need much more exploration. Lyons attempts to give the reader a thick description of New Left activities while also exploring numerous themes. This is not an easy task and, as is often the case, the details tend to crowd out larger analysis. Nonetheless, through the excavation of such rich details, Lyons has brought the reader into the day, the moment, and the experience of the 1960s New Left, which is a rare treat.

<div style="text-align: right">

Barbara Ferman
Temple University

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Ruling Suburbia: John J. McClure and the Republican Machine in Delaware County, Pennsylvania. By John M. McLarnon III. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2003. 352 pp., $60.00 cloth, ISBN: 0-87413-814-0

In 2006, the politics in suburban Philadelphia counties are changing as Democrats challenge Republicans for control of elective offices representing those areas. Recent Democratic candidates for president, Congress, governor, the state legislature, and county and municipal governments have won the majority of votes or at least competed in close elections with Republican winners. Voting and voter registration document the shifting identities of the suburban voters.

Current Democratic success in the suburbs is remarkable because of the firm grip Republicans historically have had on voter loyalties there. Southeastern Pennsylvania's five counties (Bucks, Montgomery, Chester, Delaware, and Philadelphia) were solid Republican areas from the late 1800s through World War II. Philadelphia broke Republican control during the reform movement in the late 1940s and early 1950s and became home to a powerful Democratic organization, but the suburban counties remained under the control of the county Republican political machines.

John McLarnon's *Ruling Suburbia* provides a fair, clear-eyed, and colorful view of the power of the McClure family in Delaware County. William McClure and his son, John, were the "bosses" controlling the Republican machine from 1875 until 1965.

McLarnon's focus is on the life and times of John McClure who ran the County from 1907 to 1965. McLarnon portrait and analysis of John McClure as "boss" in the suburbs expands our understanding of this type of political leadership beyond what we know from studies of large cities.

McClarnon is a talented story teller who weaves details about places, people and events into an entertaining account of a political master at work. While presenting the history, he also provides the needed connections to theories of machine success and decline, as well as comparisons to other political bosses featured in studies of large central cities. For example, McClarnon writes, "McClure was never involved in the crimes on the order of the police beatings and kidnappings in Tom Pendergast's Kansas City. He used but never allied himself with organized crime the way that Pat Nash and Ed Kelly had done with the Capone mob in Chicago" (240).

Like George Washington Plunkitt of New York's Tammany Hall machine, McClure's long tenure as boss was founded on his keen ability to "read and react to the needs of the electorate" (12) as well as to his willingness to use "loyalty, patronage, macing, bigotry, greed and innate political savvy to maintain his power" (239). And like the Philadelphia electorate that Lincoln Steffens described in his *The Shame of Cities*, the voters of Delaware County did not care so much "for honest, democratic government" (12), and so they repeatedly returned McClure's Republicans to office.

Ruling Suburbia is an excellent work of political history with an expansive list of references and extensive notes. Readers interested in Pennsylvania politics, especially in the southeastern region of the state, and in the practice of machine politics suburban-style will find McClarnon's *Ruling Suburbia* most useful.

<div align="right">Craig M. Wheeland
Villanova University</div>

A City Transformed: Redevelopment, Race, and Suburbanization in Lancaster, Pennsylvania 1940–1980. By David Schuyler. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004. 288 pp., $74.00 cloth, ISBN: 0-271-02207-8; $20.95 paper, ISBN: 0-27102208-6

The story of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is the story of most medium-sized cities from the Atlantic Ocean to the great Midwest. Born of necessary density, these pedestrian cities thrived prior to the automobile and then struggled to remain relevant throughout the 20th century. However, if this were the sole dilemma confronting community development policy in the Eastern United States since 1940, cities most likely would have found the elixir that guaranteed survival and shared it amongst themselves.

But the struggle for survival that Lancaster and other cities of its kind faced was the result of multiple aggravating factors: consumers' desire for a plot of land with a home, increasing racial tension and the white flight that accompanied it, an abundance of roads to complement the abundance of vehicles, and the general sense that living in the city was not where one's future would shine brightest. At the conclusion of World War II, those Americans who had failed to heed the credo, "Go West," made their own mantra: Move Out of the City.

As cities began to decline, governments at every level intervened. What Schuyler fails to emphasize, however, is that the field of community development is closely tied to community organizing: citizens, feeling disenfranchised, rally together to make their needs known. Ignoring this (and other) key components of a broader neighborhood revitalization strategy make for a weak, one-dimensional analysis of even the most stimulating topic.

Lancaster, Pennsylvania, is not particularly interesting as a subject; and David Schuyler's *A City Transformed* paints a shallow picture of what might have been a lively discussion of future plans for Lancaster in 1940. Schuyler's over-reliance on newspaper accounts and overemphasis on the mayor's platforms for neighborhood revitalization make for dry, why-should-I-care reading. Why would someone living outside of the city of Lancaster care if the greater Lancaster metropolitan area decays into a modern-day Pompeii?

Communities are more than bricks and mortar, shopping centers and freeways, politicians and town hall meetings. People make choices every day that affect a city's sustainability: where to live, work, eat, shop; where to educate their children; and most important, whether to become involved in the dialogue that shapes their hometowns. Schuyler makes no attempt to interview Lancaster's residents from that time, to understand the reasons for

suburban flight, or to determine if the pre-1940s sense of Lancaster's future was rosy or expectant of inevitable decline. Little attention is paid to the sociology of returning veterans of World War II or how their choices affected Lancaster. By contrast, entirely too much time is devoted to local forms of government. The policy decisions made by the federal and state governments regarding urban areas from 1930-1960 guaranteed the fate of the vast majority of America's older cities, and a council meeting with the newly elected mayor of Lancaster in 1962 could do little to alter that force.

Schuyler missed a prime opportunity to make his book moderately interesting by not interviewing descendants of the residents of Barney Google Row. What had become of these families? Had the strong social bonds they built in what policy-makers referred to as "a ghetto" been more significant than a newer dwelling place? Or did their displacement not fundamentally alter the patterns of their lives, which would then justify the city's decisions not only on moral grounds (helping those in need), but also on economic ones (higher tax base, more opportunity for infrastructure)? Did these people merely show up at the town hall meetings, dutifully reported by the *Lancaster Intelligencer Journal*? Schuyler also commits another grave sin of omission by focusing his analysis too narrowly. He fails to compare Lancaster with similar Pennsylvania cities (Wilkes-Barre, York, and Harrisburg come to mind) or cities in upstate New York that might offer clues as to why Lancaster was "less transformed."

Based on Schuyler's book, *A City Transformed* ultimately is a misnomer for Lancaster. It never underwent a transformation, but rather was tinkered with by a revolving door of elected officials, to the interest of the local press alone.

<div align="right">Michael Butchko
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Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region. Edited by Joel A. Tarr. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. 296 pp., $32.00 cloth, ISBN 0-8229-4156-2; $24.95 paper, ISBN 0-8229-5892-9

In the late 1960s, I was a graduate student at the University of Pittsburgh and lived in the Squirrel Hill neighborhood adjacent to beautiful Schenley Park. The drive each morning through the park to Oakland, the university's neighborhood, was idyllic. As a transplanted Philadelphian, I often reflected during the short drive on the dire warnings from family and friends about the inhospitable milieu of the city "out west." Although I quickly came to admire this gritty city, the warnings were not without foundation. Some mornings, when the wind blew across Squirrel Hill from the Jones and Laughlin plant, there would be a thin veneer of red dust on the car. I wondered what its color was in my lungs. Each year, after the snow thaw and spring rains, my wife and I would develop severe intestinal discomfort, which we would attribute to the drinking water. We joked that it gave new meaning to the concept "spring cleaning."

I mention these recollections because many Allegheny County citizens tell similar personal stories. For these citizens, *Devastation and Renewal: An Environmental History of Pittsburgh and Its Region* is required reading, for it places in an historical context the individual experiences of urbanites living in a compromised environment. For policy makers and academics, Joel A. Tarr, the Richard S. Caliguiri Professor of Urban and Environmental Policy at Carnegie Mellon University, and his colleagues have chronicled the impact on air, water, and land when urban regimes confront the conflicting demands of commercial, industrial, and recreational uses of an ecosystem. In doing so, the authors both reinforce and question conclusions found in the policy literature on identifying and implementing the elusive public interest.

The introductory chapter by Tarr and Edward K. Muller traces the abuse of the natural landscape by the increasing scale and rapacity of industrial capitalism. The advantages of Pittsburgh's environment were discovered early in the nation's history: the confluence of three navigable rivers, nearby rich veins of coal, and awe-inspiring hills and valleys. The rivers, especially the westward flowing Ohio, made the city an early commercial gateway to an undeveloped continent. Coal, and its derivative coke, fueled the city's transformation to an industrial titan. The hills, too steep for farming, became precarious residential locations above the rivers' floodplains to house the expanding population. Eventually the rivers became polluted, the air smoky, and the valleys slag disposal

sites. At the same time, other forces were at work to improve these deleterious environmental consequences and eventually to plan a Renaissance city. The story of how this was accomplished, including who benefited and who bore the costs, is the focus of this work.

Much of this conflict focused on the city's most commanding natural landmark, its three rivers and their tributaries. So it is appropriate that a trilogy of articles explores the use and abuse of the Allegheny, the Monongahela and the Ohio rivers. In his article "River City," Muller provides an overview of the symbiotic relationship between Pittsburghers and their rivers over time. Rivers sustained the commercial, residential, and industrial activity, yet were acted upon when flows were altered, the aquatic composition degraded, and the banks developed. Results were sometimes catastrophic. The rivers' pollution drove the death toll from typhoid fever to the highest in the nation.

Tarr and Terry Yosie examine the political conflicts over this critical problem of the city's water supply and sewage treatment. They explain that the urban regime provided high quality drinking water in the first decade of the twentieth century, which reduced the typhoid fever rate to the national average, but the treatment of wastewater was not completed for another half-century. The delay was caused in part by the political rivalry of local governments and in part by the professional competition between public health physicians and sanitary engineers.

The typhoid bacterium was not the only pollutant in the water. Nicholas Casner documents in his article that during the 1920s acid mine drainage resulted in 2.5 million tons of sulfuric acid being dumped annually into the Ohio River at Pittsburgh. This pollution, originally accepted as a cost for economic prosperity, soon created unacceptable trade offs such as acidic tasting water, corroded locomotive boilers, and leaky home plumbing. The political conflict among interested parties resulted in highly controversial court decisions supporting the polluters. While water treatment was eventually used to neutralize the acids, mine drainage remains a problem throughout Pennsylvania.

The second triad of articles examines the most visible of the city's previous pollution problems: its smoky air. Angela Gugliotta offers a cultural history of smoke as a prosperity symbol to the masses, physical nuisance to the middle class, and costly

impediment to post-war economic diversification for the financial elite. Some cataclysmic events, such as the deadly Donora air pollution disaster in 1948, explored in an article by Lynne Page Snyder, made public the connection between pollution, in this case from a zinc plant, and public health. The symbolic use of this event by pollution control advocates helped initiate limited federal proposals. However, the most enduring conflicts over smoke control took place at the city and county levels, as reported in the article by Tarr and Sherie R. Mershon. Their analysis makes clear that the antismoke coalition pressure for policy reform was a necessary but not sufficient condition for clean air. Equally important were the transition from coal to gas in domestic furnaces, the change from steam to diesel locomotives, and eventually the deindustrialization of the region.

Both the urban regime and community groups could find some common ground to support remedial action on water and air pollution since contaminants ignored, for the most part, class and political divisions. This was not the case with landscape desecration, as explained in a study by Andrew S. McElwaine. Elites disagreed over the control and use of the land and tensions between the urban regime and neighborhood organizations were never resolved because of a lack of direct communication between well-meaning civic reformers and local-oriented ward politicians. Consequently, urban plans, such as the one for the Nine Mile Run Valley by Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., were never implemented. Nine Mile Run Valley became a slagheap instead of a park.

The anthology ends with an analysis by Samuel P. Hays that is both a reminiscence of his personal participation in local environmental action and a comparative cultural analysis of regional environmental values. He concludes that there is little support for an environmental culture in a region of "rustbelt" standards emphasizing economic development. Environmental concerns lack a local voice because citizen organizations are disorganized, rely on business contributions, and have ceded initiative to the federal government. The mass media report on the rehabilitated environment as a crucial recreational attraction for professionals in the "new economy" rather than as an intrinsic value to preserve. Educational institutions have not developed adequate environmental programs for a variety of reasons specific to their missions and resources. Hays' analysis is an appropriate ending, for

he questions past achievements while at the same time calling for a renewed commitment to an environmental ethic.

Thomas C. Brogan
Albright College

Breaking the Backcountry: The Seven Years' War in Virginia and Pennsylvania, 1754–1765. By Matthew C. Ward. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003. 360 pp., $34.95 cloth, ISBN: 0-8229-4214-3; $21.95 paper, ISBN: 0-8229-5865-1

Standard studies of the Seven Years' War tend to focus on its effect on New England or on the dramatic struggle for Canada, but the war's impact on the Virginia– Pennsylvania backcountry and on Native Americans has largely been overlooked. In this clearly written and logically organized book, Matthew C. Ward, a lecturer in the Department of History at the University of Dundee, Scotland, addresses this gap.

When France and Britain entered what would become a global war over the Ohio Valley fur trade, the French had little trouble persuading Native American trading partners to join them and mount raids on civilian targets because the natives had many grievances. Eastern Delawares resented the advance of settlement and the loss of their lands in the infamous Walking Purchase, and the Ohio Valley tribes feared that their lands would be next. Beginning in 1754, Native American raids emptied the backcountry of settlement in some areas; destroyed plantations, livestock, and crops; and disrupted the regional economy because city merchants could not collect debts from rural customers who had lost everything. Casualties were substantial; 1% of the total population of both colonies (4% of the backcountry population) was killed or captured, figures comparable to losses in America's Revolutionary and Civil wars.

Ward argues that the Seven Years' War changed the nature of colonial life in four ways. It increased the power and activities of colonial governments that, for the first time, were compelled to raise and provision an army. In addition, it demonstrated the individualistic nature of the backcountry and its separation, geographically and mentally, from eastern politics and society. It also altered irrevocably the relationship between Great Britain and

the colonists. Britain resented the latter's reluctance to fight; colonists observed the blunders of inept leaders such as Edward Braddock and Sir John St. Clair and took on new confidence in their own abilities. Resentment against the British, who did not seem to appreciate the colonists' war contributions, and who tried to protect Native Americans by banning white settlement beyond the Appalachians, would smolder until the Imperial Crisis, when it pushed Virginia and Pennsylvania to join their New England brethren in rebellion. Finally, the war left colonists with permanent feelings of hatred toward all Native Americans, as shown by the Paxton Boys' massacre of a group of peaceful Conestoga in Pennsylvania and a similar but lesser-known assault by the "Augusta Boys" in Virginia.

The war also changed the way Native Americans fought. Besides traditional methods of seizing captives and booty, they added European-style tactics, attacking military outposts and disrupting supply and communication lines. Most horrifying to colonists and soldiers alike was their adoption of psychological warfare. Raiders left behind mutilated women's and children's bodies, heads of decapitated victims displayed on posts, and body parts roasting over fires to demoralize and terrify their enemies.

Backcountry residents were fiercely individualistic with little deference toward the local elite, whom they considered merely their equals. There were no community institutions, other than taverns, where people came together. Thus, justices of the peace, in order to retain power, shielded locals and bowed to their wishes rather than enforce unpopular laws in support of the war. Most backcountry men were reluctant soldiers, and military records show that they lacked both firearms and the ability to use them. When their homes were threatened, they preferred to protect their personal property rather than join an army out of a larger sense of duty. Not that there was much of an army to join; in 1754 Virginia militias were social organizations, and in Quaker-dominated Pennsylvania, militias did not exist. Raising troops was even more problematic because of squabbling among the governors and assemblies, especially in Pennsylvania where political leaders fell into fiercely pro and anti-proprietor factions. The only way to inspire men to join the army was to offer substantial bounties, and the results were not felicitous. In Virginia, provincial forces mainly consisted of convicts and vagrants; in Pennsylvania, indentured servants. Early on, desertion

and insubordination were common. Officers were unskilled, elected by popularity rather than ability, and discipline was lax. By 1757, colonial forces had improved dramatically, though British regulars "still balked at their disorder when serving alongside them" (121).

British policies following the expulsion of the French from Canada and the Ohio Valley in 1760 drove Native Americans to resume hostilities just a few years later. Weary of pouring money into North America, the British adopted a parsimonious attitude, refusing to give Native Americans the traditional gifts and trade goods they expected from their new trading partners. They also reneged on pledges to abandon their Ohio Valley forts after the French defeat. Despite a royal proclamation banning European settlement west of the Alleghenies, colonists saw the region as up for grabs—a just reward for wartime service. The result was the so-called Pontiac's Rebellion (1763–1765), in which incensed natives hit the backcountry with the same intensity as in the earlier conflict. To the Native Americans, this response was perfectly reasonable since the British had not behaved honorably, but backcountry residents understandably did not share this view.

I found much to praise and little to quarrel with in this book. I would have appreciated some additional detail in the maps, and I would like to know more about the frontiersmen's lack of firearms. Ward cites Michael Bellesille's controversial work on gun ownership uncritically, and he does not address the common perception that backcountry people needed firearms to survive. On the other hand, Ward ably explains life in the backcountry, the demographics of provincial armies (including a comparison of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts soldiers), the intricacies of Native American diplomacy, the politics of colonial government, and military actions in the Ohio Valley. Scholars interested in rural life, military and social history, and Native American studies should welcome this book.

<div style="text-align: right">

Diane Wenger
Wilkes University

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COMMONWEALTH:
A Journal of Political Science

COMMONWEALTH: A Journal of Political Science is a peer-reviewed journal that publishes original research in all subfields of political science along with interdisciplinary articles. Open to a variety of approaches and methodologies, *COMMONWEALTH* seeks manuscripts that are based on theoretical perspectives (empirical or normative) as well as those that employ an historical approach. *COMMONWEALTH* solicits manuscripts for a general issue and one or more policy options issues. An important part of the journal's mission is to encourage research on topics of Pennsylvania and regional importance (northeastern and mid-Atlantic United States). Manuscripts on state and local government, politics, and policy are especially desired. Book reviews are generally limited to essays on recently published works with a Pennsylvania or regional focus. The journal's policy options issues are devoted exclusively to dispassionate academic discourse on state and regional public policy issues and options.

COMMONWEALTH was founded by the Pennsylvania Political Science Association (PPSA) in 1987. In 2004, the Legislative Office for Research Liaison (LORL) of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives agreed to jointly publish and expand the journal. The journal's editorial staff, Editorial Review Board, and anonymous referees maintain the highest peer-review and publication standards. Public policy research emanating from academic fields other than political science is processed by the University Committee for Research Liaison, which advises LORL.

Copies of *COMMONWEALTH* are sent to all PPSA members—individual, departmental, and institutional. Mailing to PPSA members is generously assisted by the School of Pubic Affairs of Penn State-Harrisburg. LORL provides copies to members of both chambers of the Pennsylvania General Assembly, to key legislative staff, and to the presidents of each of the 102 Pennsylvania colleges and universities that belong to the LORL Academic Network. In addition, LORL provides copies to the National Conference of State Legislatures, the Council of State Governments, the National Governors' Association, various other national associations of state and local officials, and to all Pennsylvania state depository libraries. For subscription and membership rates, see the separate announcements in this issue.

Legislative Office for Research Liaison
Pennsylvania House of Representatives

With initial funding from the National Science Foundation, the Pennsylvania House of Representatives established the Legislative Office for Research Liaison (LORL) in 1976 as the General Assembly's science and technology staff. LORL continues as a nonpartisan research office that enables legislators, committees, and staff to access the expertise of faculty in the LORL University Network, which includes most of Pennsylvania's institutions of higher education (Drexel University, Lincoln University, The Pennsylvania State University, Temple University, the University of Pennsylvania, the University of Pittsburgh, the 14 universities in The Pennsylvania State System of Higher Education, and the member institutions of the Association of Independent Colleges and Universities of Pennsylvania).

The universities in the LORL Network fund the services of two faculty members each year to serve as University Visiting Scholars in Harrisburg throughout the legislative session. The Visiting Scholars and one to three undergraduate or graduate student interns complement LORL's full-time staff of seven. LORL handles more than 1,000 legislative inquiries annually, from both the House and Senate, including about 200 a year that require university assistance. Inquiry topics vary widely, ranging from agriculture to worker's compensation. In addition, the LORL Committee has commissioned major academic studies on topics such as telemedicine and state medical licensure, land-use policy, school curriculum reform, workforce development, and the policy implications of genetic research. LORL and its Network have also sponsored a range of policy workshops, seminars, and major conferences for legislators and staff. LORL agreed to join with the PPSA to publish *COMMONWEALTH: A Journal of Political Science* in 2004.

The Pennsylvania Political Science Association

Founded in 1939, the Pennsylvania Political Science Association (PPSA) is the nation's oldest state political science association. Its mission has always been to promote scholarship, research, and the exchange of ideas within the Pennsylvania community of political scientists. PPSA draws its membership principally from the political science and public administration faculties of Pennsylvania's public and private colleges and universities but also includes government professionals and faculty members from surrounding states.

PPSA's annual conference includes dozens of panelists covering a wide variety of subject areas. While university faculty comprise the vast majority of participants, legislators, legislative staff, executive officials, and undergraduates also have been participants. The PPSA began publishing *COMMONWEALTH: A Journal of Political Science* in 1987.

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Dr. Gerard J. Fitzpatrick
Department of Politics
Ursinus College
Collegeville, PA 19426
Telephone: (610) 489-4111, ext. 2200
E-mail: gfitzpatrick@ursinus.edu

Guidelines for Submitting Book Reviews

COMMONWEALTH will consider proposals for book reviews of texts currently in print, with an emphasis on Pennsylvania or the mid-Atlantic and northeast region, in any subfield of political science or political history. Reviews should not be undertaken until the book review editor has accepted a proposal. Submit proposals to:

Dr. Thomas J. Baldino
Department of Political Science
Wilkes College
Wilkes-Barre, PA 18766
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