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## ABSTRACT

News media hold significant power and responsibility in focusing public attention on child-related issues. This document summarizes a study of news coverage of children in national media in 1994 and reports on the follow-up conducted in 1998. The follow-up study was based on a sample of national news coverage collected throughout November 1998 from five major newspapers and three broadcast networks. Part 1 of the followup study replicated and updated the 1994 study. Part 2 added an additional month over-sample to determine whether the coverage contained a primary focus on minority children. The findings of the 1994 study led to the conclusion that although news coverage of children was substantial, it was not balanced. Among the key findings of the follow-up study were the following: (1) child-related newspaper stories increased 37 percent over 5 years while television coverage remained unchanged; (2) the proportion of child-related news stories involving crime/violence dropped considerably, the proportion involving cultural/health issues increased considerably, and family/economic issues continued to account for the smallest number of stories; (3) children's voices were twice as common on television news as in newspapers; (4) both media provided very little practical information for parents in child-related news stories; (6) about 20 percent of stories addressed public policy concerns, down slightly from 1993; (7) children of color received little coverage, with African-Americans receiving more coverage than all others combined; and (8) stories about children of color focused on education more than crime/violence. (KB)

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# The News Media's Picture of Children



A Five-Year Update and  
A Focus on Diversity

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## Introduction

Today, about 40% of American households are raising children. Much of America depends on the news media to shape their perception about the conditions of children. How we as a nation perceive children and how we devise policies and laws that affect them depends largely on how the news media covers children's issues.

Our children come in all shapes and sizes, many colors, and live in a wide range of conditions, from secure and sustained to homeless and hungry. How well does the news media do their job of covering children and children's issues? How do the media's words and pictures make the public aware of the conditions of all children and the solutions that can improve their lives?

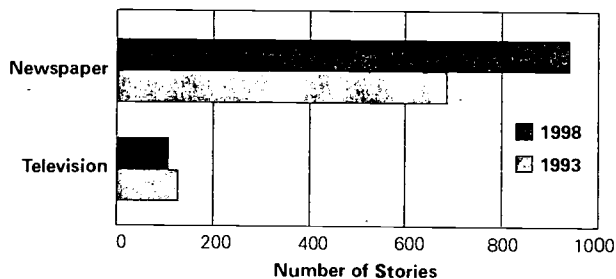
*The News Media's Picture of Children: A Five-Year Update* revisits the first major study of the national news media's coverage of children and child-related topics which was completed by Children Now in 1994. Given the nation's increasing ethnic and racial diversity, Children Now also commissioned Part II of this study entitled, *A Focus on Diversity*. Both studies examined the quantity and quality of TV and print stories whose primary focus was children in a selected representation of national media. For more details, please see Methodology.

## Frequency of Stories Concerning Children

- **Newspaper stories about children have increased 37% over the past five years.**

In 1998, the newspapers surveyed averaged 6.3 stories primarily focused on

**Frequency of Child-Related News Stories in Representative Newspapers and TV from 11/93 and 11/98**



children per edition, compared to a 4.6 average in 1993. In four of the five newspapers sampled, the number of child-related news stories increased approximately 50% or more during this period of time, with only one paper showing a decline. Newspaper editorial coverage of children, classified separately from direct news coverage, increased slightly

from an average of 1.0 per edition in 1993 to a 1.2 average in 1998.

- **Television news coverage about children is relatively unchanged.**

While there has been a decrease in the number of television news stories about children, there has been an increase in the length of these stories. Since 1993, the number of television news stories focusing on children decreased by 11%. However, the average time devoted to these stories increased 12% overall. Thus, the total on-air time devoted to children's stories remained about the same from 1993 to 1998.

## Story Topics

In 1993, Children Now categorized stories according to six primary topics: **Crime/Violence, Education, Cultural Issues, Family, Health, and Economics**. The 1998 study observed several significant changes in the topic distribution of child-related news stories including a dramatic drop in Crime/Violence, significant increases in Cultural Issues and Health, and steady proportions for Education, Family, and Economics.

- **The proportion of child-related news stories involving Crime/Violence has dropped considerably since 1993.**

In 1993, Crime/Violence stories accounted for 40% of newspaper and 48% of television news stories involving children. In 1998, the corresponding figures have dropped to 23% for newspapers and to 10% for television.

- **Correspondingly, the proportion of child-related news stories involving Cultural Issues and Health increased considerably since 1993.**

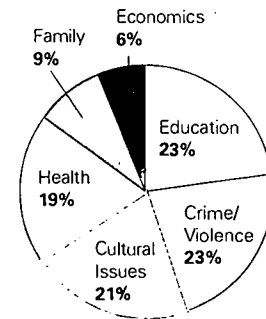
Two categories seem to have captured virtually all of the shift away from Crime/Violence. Cultural Issues, which includes topics such as social groups, media, and religion, nearly doubled its share of stories, increasing from 11% to 21% for newspapers, and from 12% to 24% for television. The category of Cultural Issues included stories such as "Keeping the Internet Safe for Young Chatters," (*New York Times*, 11/5/98) and "Camp Plan Fires Girl Scout Dispute" (*Chicago Tribune*, 11/16/98). Second, child-related stories involving Health increased dramatically, from 11% to 19% for newspapers, and from 11% to 40% for television. The Health category included stories such as "Childhood Obesity on Increase" (*Houston Chronicle*, 11/9/98).

- **The critical topics of Family and Economics as they affect children, continue to account for the smallest number of news stories.**

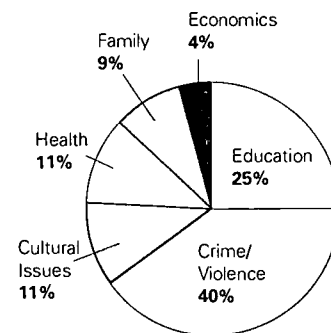
While the sizeable proportion of Education stories remained stable in 1998 (23% for newspapers and 11% for television), family-oriented topics and children's economic concerns remain at a surprisingly low frequency. Each of these subjects accounts for less than one out of every ten stories in either the newspaper or television news. Among the important stories included in the Family and Economics categories are teenage runaways, open adoptions, single parenthood, child poverty and homelessness, and major welfare cuts affecting children.

A related Children Now study of major newspaper coverage of welfare reform, *Children & Welfare Reform: High Stakes, Low Coverage* (1998), revealed that the news media infrequently covered children even during the height of the welfare reform debate. Given the significant increase in public policy attention to welfare reform, the unchanged proportion of coverage on economic issues is surprising.

**Overall Distribution of Child-Related Story Topics in Newspapers**

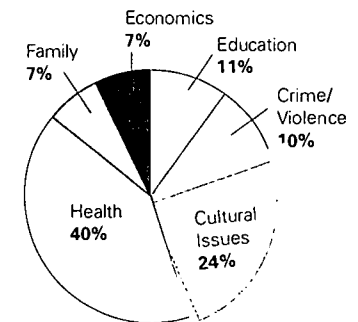


November 1998

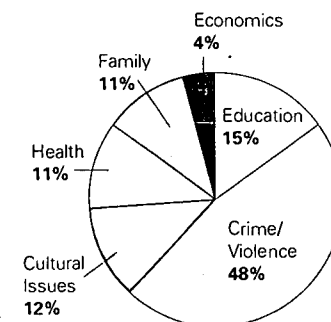


November 1993

**Overall Distribution of Child-Related Story Topics in Television**



November 1998



November 1993

## Characteristics of News Stories

The strategies and techniques used to convey information within a child-related news story (e.g., expert sources, statistics) were analyzed and compared. Two changes were noteworthy:

- **In 1998, children's voices are twice as likely to be heard on television news as in newspapers for any given report.**

Although television news uses first-hand accounts from children more often, newspapers are relying less on direct comments from youth. In 1993, television stories were slightly more likely (32%) to include such accounts than were newspaper stories (26%). In 1998, that gap has widened considerably as television quotes children in approximately 38% of its youth reporting compared to 19% for newspapers.

- **Practical information of use to parents continues to decline.**

Both newspapers and television news use very little practical information for parents in their child-related news stories. To qualify on this measure, stories must provide specific strategies for improving parents' child-rearing practices, such as indicating the age at which reading to children can initially become beneficial. Examples of such stories include "Parenting Help is Just a Click Away," (*New York Times*, 11/8/98) and "Help Children Avoid Pain, Injury Caused by Overstuffed Backpacks," (*Houston Chronicle*, 11/2/98). Figures reveal a consistent decline in providing such information, from 21% in 1993 to 6% in 1998 for television news, and from 13% to 10% respectively for newspapers.

**Both newspapers and television news use very little practical information for parents in their child-related news stories.**

## Public Policy & Identity Topics

When the news media covers children, they focus infrequently on public policy concerns. In 1993, few child-related stories reflected a primary focus on policy, and that number is slightly lower today.

- **Only about one out of five child-related stories focus on public policy issues.**

In 1998, 20% of newspapers and 23% of television news stories address public policy concerns, which represents a slight decrease from 1993 (22% and 25% respectively).

- **When public policy issues are addressed, the news coverage tends to be predominantly critical and negative.**

The majority of child-related public policy stories focus on the failures and flaws of policies as opposed to the solutions they provide. More than three-fourths are negative in tone, focusing on the problems with current policies (77% for both newspapers and television news). Less than a third of stories (25% of newspapers and 30% of television news) identify public policy successes.

- **Other important identity-related topics that are salient for understanding and improving the lives of children continue to receive very little news coverage.**

Gender-based issues, age-related developmental concerns, and racial/ethnic minority issues receive scant media attention, accounting for one to six percent of all stories. This dearth of coverage is similar to the 1993 findings in which these issues accounted for a very small percentage of child-focused stories. *For a detailed look at how ethnic minority issues are portrayed in the news media, see the second part of this study.*

## Methodology

Commissioned by Children Now, this two-part study was conducted by Dale Kunkel, Associate Professor of Communication at the University of California, Santa Barbara, with the assistance of Erica Biely and Emma Rollin. The studies are based on a sample of national news coverage collected throughout the entire month of November 1998 from eight leading daily news sources from around the nation. Data were collected from five major newspapers (*Atlanta Constitution*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *New York Times*) and three broadcast networks (ABC, CBS, and NBC).

The first part of the study replicates and updates Children Now's original 1994 report, *The News Media's Picture of Children*. Using the same measures, methods, news sources, and time period (the month of November) as the 1994 study, the research team was able to make valid comparisons for all of the findings reported. Overall, 150 newspaper editions and 86 national news broadcasts were analyzed systematically to identify whether their stories contained a primary focus on children and/or child-related issues. These stories were then categorized along a number of descriptive dimensions. The scientific integrity of the content analysis data for this study is established by careful statistical monitoring of the inter-coder reliability, which is presented in detail in the complete report.

The second part of the study, *A Focus on Diversity*, included not only the sample of national news gathered in November 1998, but an additional month over-sample to ensure an adequate base number of stories for analysis. The same eight news sources were sampled for an additional 30-day period, from December 1-15, 1998, and from January 6-20, 1999. (Researchers did not sample news stories from mid-December to early January due to atypical news coverage associated with the holiday season). An additional 150 newspaper editions and 89 television news broadcasts were analyzed in the over-sample. Stories were evaluated to determine whether they contained a primary focus on minority children and/or minority child-related issues. Stories that had an isolated passage addressing minority issues or inconsequential mention of a minority individual did not qualify. After a story was identified as minority child-related, it was categorized along all of the same descriptive dimensions as the first part of the study, as well as a number of additional dimensions relative to diversity.

The framework employed by the study for analyzing ethnic minorities was based upon the policies of the Federal Communications Commission, which define ethnic minorities as the following: Black, Hispanic, American Eskimo, American Indian, and Asian American. We recognize that these five are certainly not the only minorities found in the United States, but for the purposes of this study we have limited our focus solely to these groups. As race terminology is constantly evolving, this report uses terms most likely to be used by each particular racial group.



## Part II | A Focus on Diversity

In 1998, Children Now and Professor Dale Kunkel of the University of California, Santa Barbara expanded their analysis of children and the

Ethnic Minority Youth Population (1998)	
African-American	14.6%
Asian Pacific American	4.0%
Latino	15.4%
Native American	1.0%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau

news to focus directly on issues of multi-cultural diversity. How well do the news media cover children of color and their concerns? What messages about minority youth are we likely to encounter from watching network news or reading newspapers? Given this nation's growing ethnic and racial diversity, these questions take on increasing significance. Highlights of *A Focus on Diversity* include:

- **Children of color receive little coverage.**

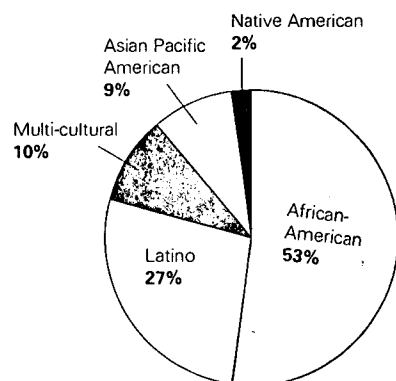
Newspapers and network news pay very little attention to issues of diversity and people of color within their child-related news coverage.

- While youth of color represent approximately 35% of the overall youth population, they account for *only 10% of coverage related to children in the newspaper and 11% on television news.*
- Each edition of the newspapers sampled averages less than *1 story per day* about children of color, compared to 6.3 stories per day for all children. Further, only 1 out of every 50 front-page newspaper stories involving children is primarily focused on ethnic minority group topics.
- Each broadcast television network averages *less than 1 story per week* on their nightly newscast about children of color, compared to 1.1 per day for all children.

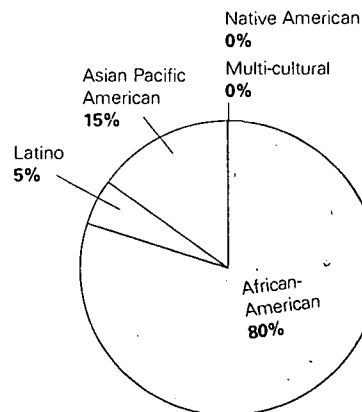
- **When the news media cover minority youth, they focus more on African-American children than all other children of color combined.**

Over half of all newspaper stories and more than three-fourths of all television news stories about minority youth highlight African-American children. Latino and Asian Pacific American children receive considerably less news coverage. Native American children are practically invisible in the news.

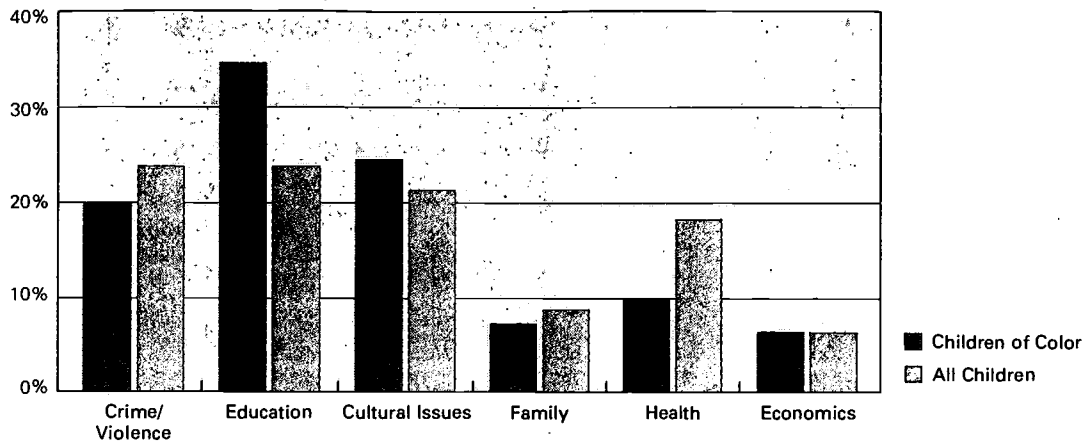
**Distribution by Race of Minority Child-Related Newspaper Coverage (1998)**



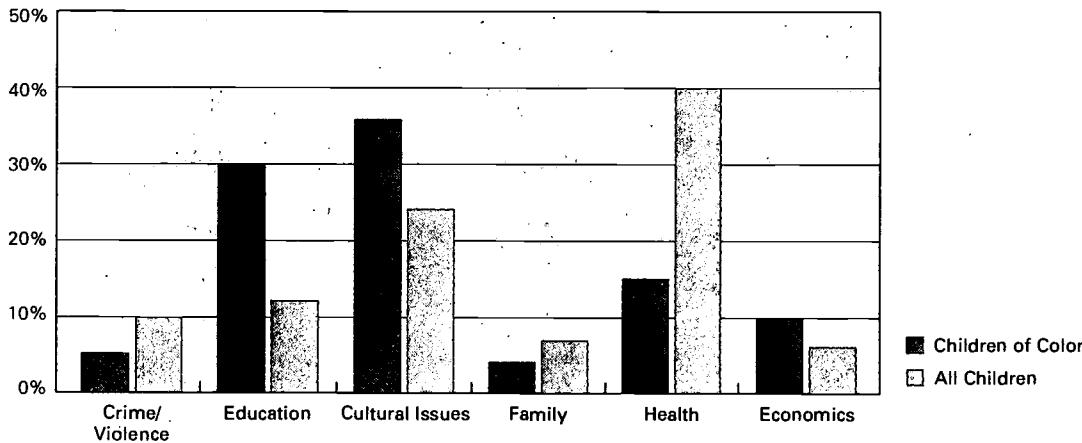
**Distribution by Race of Minority Child-Related Television Coverage (1998)**



**Comparative Distribution of Minority and Overall Newspaper Coverage (1998)**



**Comparative Distribution of Minority and Overall Television Coverage (1998)**



- **Stories about children of color are much more likely to focus on Education than any other topic.**

About one third of all news coverage about children of color (34% of newspaper stories and 30% of television news stories) focuses on Education. These percentages are considerably higher than the percentages of all child-related newspaper and television news stories about Education (23% and 11% respectively).

- **The proportion of minority child-related news stories focused on Crime/Violence is slightly lower than that for all child-related news stories.**

In 1998, Crime/Violence accounted for 20% of minority child-related newspaper stories and 5% on television. The corresponding proportions for all child-related stories were 23% for newspapers and 10% for television.

- **While Health issues account for a substantial number of all child-related stories in 1998, they account for considerably less of the minority child-related stories.**

Health issues represent 19% of all child-related stories in newspapers and 40% on television. However, Health issues account for only 10% of minority child-related stories in newspapers and only 15% on television.



## Conclusion

Over the past five years, the news media's picture of children has grown in both size and scope in major newspapers, while holding steady in national television news. The number of newspaper stories is up more than one-third, and the stories involving children in both media have shifted from a focus on Crime/ Violence to a much greater emphasis on Health and Cultural Issues. This trend reflects a welcome diversification of the news stories about children conveyed to the American public. However, two critical topic areas—those of Family issues and Economic concerns such as child poverty and welfare—remain largely neglected by the news media.

According to our 1998 national poll, *A Different World: Children's Perceptions of Race and Class in the Media*, children are deeply influenced by images and messages about race on television news as well as the absence thereof. Thus, the findings of *A Focus on Diversity* raise concerns. The coverage devoted to minority children and the issues they face can only be characterized as meager. Only one out of 50 front-page newspaper stories about children is primarily focused on ethnic minority group topics, while each broadcast network presents less than one minority story per week. On the positive side, stories involving children of color emphasize topics such as Education and Cultural Issues, rather than Crime/Violence.

As the American population grows increasingly diverse, it is essential that the news media report stories that reflect this diversity. All children deserve greater visibility in the news to inform the nation about their lives and concerns.

**Children Now** is a nonpartisan, independent voice for America's children. Using innovative research and communications strategies, Children Now promotes pioneering solutions to problems facing America's children. Recognized nationally for its policy expertise, up-to-date information on the status of children, and leading work with the media, Children Now focuses particular attention on the needs of children who are poor or at risk while working to improve conditions for all children by making them a top priority across the nation.

The **Children & the Media Program** works to improve the quality of news and entertainment media for children and about children's issues. We seek to accomplish that goal through independent research, public policy development and outreach to leaders in the media industry.

### Acknowledgement to Funders

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# The News Media's Picture of Children



by Dale Kunkel  
Associate Professor of Communication  
University of California, Santa Barbara

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A Children Now Executive Summary  
Leadership and Local Action for Children

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# Overview

by James P. Steyer

founder and president of Children Now

FOCUSING PUBLIC ATTENTION and concern on issues regarding children is vital to social and political progress on these issues. The news media holds significant power and responsibility in making this happen. *Yet, how well does the news media cover children's issues, and how do their words and pictures alert the public to the conditions of children and to positive solutions that can improve all of our lives?*

In 1922, Walter Lippmann described the press as being "like the beam of a searchlight, bringing one episode and then another out of the darkness into vision." It is not enough, therefore, that only policymakers and advocates know that more than one-quarter of the nation's children live in poverty and that less than half of our two-year-olds are properly immunized for preventable childhood diseases. This study underscores that there is a tremendous need for coverage of all the broad issues that concern children. Members of the "fourth estate" must bring to light the nature of child care, youth unemployment, and prenatal health in America with the same vigor as they report on the whereabouts of pop music stars and the daily Dow Jones Industrial average. They must also help shine the spotlight on meaningful solutions.

THE NEWS MEDIA'S PICTURE OF CHILDREN is the first major analysis of national news content devoted to child-related topics to be reported from the academic community. Children Now commissioned this study from Professor Dale Kunkel as part of a body of work to be presented at Children Now's "Children and the News Media" conference at Stanford University, March 3-5, 1994.

# Key Findings

## CRIME AND VIOLENCE

### DOMINATE COVERAGE OF CHILDREN

THE MOST COMPELLING finding produced by this study is that the news media's coverage of children most frequently involves reports of crime and violence. For television, such coverage accounted for nearly half (48%) of all stories, with only slightly less representation (40%) in the newspapers. Stories in this category were skewed heavily toward reports of crimes just occurred or their subsequent investigation and prosecution.

- There was also substantial treatment of stories about education, with newspapers (25% of all stories) far exceeding television (15% of all stories) in such coverage.
- Coverage of crime/violence and education accounted for nearly two-thirds of all child-related stories covered by the press.
- The most neglected area, economic concerns, includes such topics as child poverty, child care and welfare, accounted for just 4% of all newspaper and television news stories about children.

*Distribution of Stories by General Topic Areas*

	television	newspaper news
CRIME/VIOLENCE	48%	40%
EDUCATION	15%	25%
FAMILY	11%	9%
CULTURAL ISSUES	12%	11%
HEALTH	11%	11%
ECONOMICS	4%	4%

### ONLY ONE IN THREE STORIES ADDRESS ANY PUBLIC POLICY CONCERNS

In contrast, the news media provided less overall coverage for *all* public policy issues combined than they gave to their reports of crime and violence alone; both newspapers and television devoted only 35% of their stories to any policy-related content. An even smaller proportion of stories (23%) reflected a *primary* focus on policy.

*Average Amount of Child-Related Stories Per Edition of News*

	# of news stories	# of editions	average per edition	# of editorials commentaries	# of editions	average per edition
NEWSPAPERS	690	150	4.6	150	150	1.0
TELEVISION	109	84	1.3	—	—	—

- Of the policy topics addressed by the news media, education received the most attention, followed by crime and violence policy concerns.
- Almost entirely overlooked were many important public policy issues *and meaningful solutions* that fall in the areas of family, health, and economic concerns; each of these three areas accounted for no more than 2% of the overall news coverage examined in the study. Other important topics that received relatively little attention from the press included ethnic minority group issues, gender-based concerns, and age-related, developmental differences among the child population.

**CHILDREN RECEIVE FREQUENT COVERAGE**

The news media surveyed seem to provide a substantial number of stories addressing child-related topics. Newspapers naturally are more thorough in this regard, offering an average of 4.6 stories per issue, although even television devoted more than one story per edition of the network news. Many would assume that newspapers tend to convey a greater amount of information per story than television, yet the findings of this study suggest that issue may warrant closer examination. With the average television story running a full two minutes, and the comparable mean for newspaper story length observed to be only 850 words, there may not be as great a disparity between the two media as one might expect.

- The newspaper which ranked highest in the combined number of news stories and editorials/commentaries, the *Chicago Tribune*, has declared an emphasis on coverage of children.
- Children accounted for only 11% of front page stories across all newspapers.

- Children's news is conveyed with some brevity. For newspapers, nearly three-quarters of all stories contained less than 1000 words (roughly the equivalent of four double-spaced typewritten pages).

**NO SINGLE AGE GROUP OF CHILDREN IS EMPHASIZED**

Stories were evaluated for any focus on particular age ranges of children. The most striking finding was that the majority of all news stories involving children offers no primary focus on any particular age group, but rather tends to encompass a broader perspective that references children as a wider range of unspecified ages.

- Overall, adolescents receive considerably more coverage than other children.

**TELEVISION AND NEWSPAPERS LOOK SIMILAR IN CHARACTERISTICS OF COVERAGE**

There is a high degree of consistency in the approaches employed for reporting the news about children.

- Both newspapers and television rely extensively on expert sources (87% for newspapers; 76% for television).
- Both newspapers and television report statistical information and present some historical context in nearly half of their stories.
- Children or parents are cited as sources in just one-quarter of news stories involving children.

# Conclusion:

*News coverage of children is not balanced and little emphasis is placed on solutions.*

While there may be substantial coverage of children in the news, it would be difficult to characterize that coverage as balanced. The emphasis placed on reports of crime, with children portrayed as both victims and perpetrators of violence, seems to skew the information the press provides to the public, which may in turn diminish the public's perception of the relative importance of other child-related concerns. This report underscores the need for greater breadth and balance in the news media's coverage of child-related issues.

## Methodology

This study was conducted by Dale Kunkel, Associate Professor of Communication at the University of California, Santa Barbara. It is based on a significant sample of news coverage collected from eight of the nation's most important sources of news. Data were gathered throughout the entire month of November, 1993. Each edition of five major newspapers (*Atlanta Constitution*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Houston Chronicle*, *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Times*) was analyzed, as well as the nightly newscasts delivered by each of the three major television networks (ABC, CBS and NBC).

This sample was subjected to a systematic analysis used to identify stories with a primary focus on children and/or child-related issues and then to categorize these stories along a number of descriptive dimensions. (Stories were included in the analysis if their headline included a child-related term, if any of their first three paragraphs made mention of child-related issues, or if their overall content was judged to be primarily devoted to children or child-related issues.)

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Children Now is a nonpartisan policy and advocacy organization for children.

Children Now acts as a strong and independent voice for the millions of children who cannot speak for themselves—in the public policy arena, in the mass media and in the community. We focus particular attention on children who are poor or at-risk.

### Children Now:

- Educates the public and decision makers about the needs of children;
- Develops and promotes effective strategies to improve their lives;
- Generates new resources for cost-effective programs that benefit children and families;
- Reaches out to parents and children to inform them of opportunities to help themselves.

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