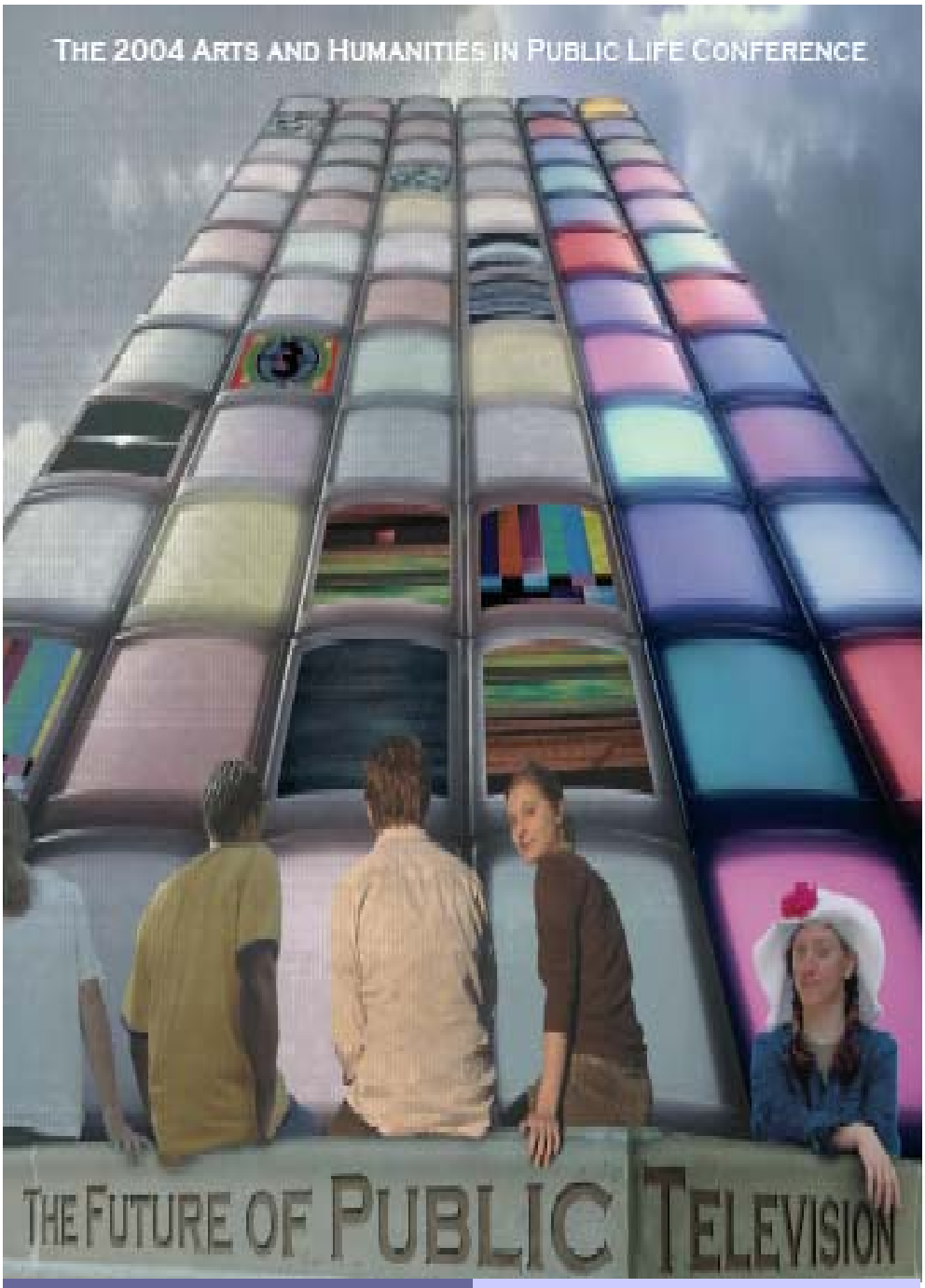

The Future of Public Television

Presented by:

Cultural Policy Center

The Harris School of Public Policy
The University of Chicago

Transcript
Day Two, Session Four:
Now Tell Us What Your Really Think
December 3, 2004

John Callaway -- the speakers and panelists who have stuck with us through this conference and are back here now. We appreciate very much your taking the time to listen to everything that you've listened to, and this is the session where we come back and ask our speakers and panelists to comment on what they've heard that they find interesting and that is worth commenting on, where they say that they've changed their mind about something after listening for a couple of days or thinking about it, or where they want to underscore something.

I know that our audience here is sparse. Thank you very much for staying with us to the end on this. All of the transcript of everything said here will be made available on our Web site, so look for that in the future. We're also seeking funding - if there are any foundation people here - we're seeking funding to do a more elaborate publication based on this program. Then of course as you know, C-SPAN was here the first morning, so we will be putting on our Web page and we'll hope to get newspaper attention to when that broadcast airs. So the end of the story is not here yet.

There are a couple of people, if you see a couple of the panelists go, it's because they have planes, etc. I'm going to introduce Cass Sunstein in a minute and talk about the context of his remarks here on this final panel, but I wanted before our commentators on children's programming issues go, I wanted to get them to answer a couple of questions.

Dale and Deborah, both of you can comment on this or maybe you can divvy it up. Maybe my question will be mispremised, but let me try it.

In some of the studies of early childhood education, we find that after a period of time, gains that appear to have been made start to fade later on, say in terms of reading comprehension, etc. That you thought somebody was really kind of coming along nicely in grades 1 through 3 and then because certain things happen in the system or disrupting their

lives, etc., there can be a fall-off on that. I wondered if that applied, if you can say, you know, this *Sesame Street* program, pretty darn good. And you have some nice graphs there, etc., but there is a fade-off after a while, or has much research been done on that?

Dale Kunkel Most of the research that's done to examine the impact of programming is done, as you suggest, in the short term. So you watch the program, you watch it for a period of weeks, you track whether it's vocabulary, analytical reasoning, whatever your dependent measure is, and you look at it in the short run. Although I think it would be unusual, there are cases, as you suggest, where that some gains might be lost over time.

The better approach to research, and this research has been pursued, although it's not typically linked to a particular program, but rather to patterns of viewing over time, is to do a longitudinal study. There have been at least two or three of those that I can think of where you look at the child's exposure to educational programming that includes *Sesame Street* and the types of material you typically see on PBS, and then you look at that impact ten years down the line, twenty years down the line, and it's actually like something you would want to take to Congress because it documents all sorts of prosocial outcomes, not so much in particular cognitive abilities that you're looking at in the near term, but in successful outcomes from school and into college and so forth. So what you do is you look for both types of research to complement one another.

John Callaway You were walking back down. Did you hear my question? Let me repeat it for you because I want your comment on it.

It was that in some of the early childhood development research that we see, you see kids doing pretty nicely, say in grades 1, 2, and 3, and then there is kind of a fade-off. People say should we really have invested all that work and head start. What do you say to the person who said, well, you had some nice

graphs there on *Sesame Street*, but does it fade?

Deb Linebarger It doesn't fade. It shows up in other kinds of outcomes. In fact, there was a recent – did you talk about the Perry Preschool project findings? There was a recent release of findings from the Perry Preschool project, which was a project done in Ypsilanti, Michigan, with kids back, gosh, ages ago, because they are now 40. They've been following them over time, and there is always this concern that effects wash out when kids get into second, third grade. When you actually look at other kinds of life outcomes and cost-benefits analyses, you see that these kids are less likely to be incarcerated, more likely to be in stable marriages.

Male voice Kids who did what?

Deb Linebarger Kids who participated in a high-scope curriculum, intensive preschool intervention when they were three, four, and five, versus those who went to traditional preschool. So in that regard, those effects didn't wash out. Like I said, less likely to be incarcerated, stable marriages, make more money – - those kinds of things.

There are some violence studies that find that early violent viewing continues to impact people up until their 20s. Those studies are done by Huesmann and Eron at the University of Michigan.

John Callaway Another quick question for both of you. That is if somebody came to you and said I'm so happy that you have the data that you have on the success of *Sesame Street* and some other programs, etc., but what would you say to me if I said to you with all due respect, I would like and I have the capacity to see that my children don't get into the habit of watching television that early. Is that a good thing for them, or does it depend on from whence they come, what environment?

Dale Kunkel The American Academy of Pediatrics has issued a recommendation: children before the age of two should not be exposed to television. That's based upon a precautionary interpretation of some very limited data. I

defer to the pediatricians and the cognitive psychologists who are more familiar with the data in this area.

The counterpoint to that is that there are a whole lot of people, probably most people in this room, who had exposure at a very young age. It's a risk factor, so I don't think we have the evidence that says how great that risk is, and I think that you have to be pragmatic and recognize that it would take extraordinary efforts to keep a child from any exposure to television.

John Callaway I didn't want to get into that. Remember, my premise was I have the means to prevent that child from seeing television.

What's your response?

Deb Linebarger I would disagree. I don't agree with the recommendation not to allow children under two. I do agree that the evidence, there needs to be a lot more research in that area. However, in some research that I've done and some other research, if it's age-appropriate, meaning it's done well, that kind of narrative idea I talked about earlier, it can actually be helpful, especially for those most at risk who have very few opportunities in the home.

John Callaway What if you weren't at risk?

Deb Linebarger If you weren't at risk, as with every kind of educational tool activity, you do it in moderation.

John Callaway Okay. The last question I have for you, and I know, Dale, you have to go at some point, is as I was watching your presentation on the standards of research, preparation, etc., I was thinking why is this just for children's programming? I looked at that and I thought how about that as a standard for all public broadcasting. What do you think? Could those of us who are trying to program to all the other audiences look at that and say, hey, that's a standard worth looking at?

Deb Linebarger Well, good luck. (Laughter.)

I see children as an incredibly vulnerable audience, and adults are able to make their own choices, and although it

would be great to see that kind of model, because I'm an advocate for children, that's where my emphasis is going to be.

John Callaway I'm just kidding you a little bit with that question. It's just that I see other audiences with tremendous vulnerabilities.

Dale Kunkel It's a way of holding the programmer accountable, because in the absence of any research to document the educational outcomes and in the context of what, in my view, are many questionable claims of educational value of the programming directed to children, if you don't have that evidence then you get back -- I don't think Newt is here, but one of his colleagues on the FCC, Nicholas Johnson, has a very famous quote in the 1960s. "All television is educational. The only question is what is it teaching."

John Callaway What would you say to the standup comedian who said this is all really soft-headed, mushy-mushy, don't let them get exposed to commercials. They are going to be exposed to it. They are probably peeking around other programs. Train them early. They are going to be consumers. Make them good ones. Make them negotiate with their parents now. That will be a conversation they won't forget.

Deb Linebarger In some ways I agree with that from that standpoint that if you set up a dialogue with your child very early on and you teach them to be media-literate and critical viewers, you have to do less of that as they get older.

John Callaway Interesting.

Dale Kunkel But, the complement to that is that there are developmental differences in what children are capable of. One could make the argument that after you see so many commercials, you figure it all out, that's it's just a threshold. So you maybe let them watch a lot of commercial TV, let them be exposed to it so that they reach that point faster, and that argument doesn't hold up at all. In fact, the heavy consumers of television who see more ads are the most easily persuadable. They are the most

heavily influenced by television.

John Callaway Thus, making this economy grow.

Dale Kunkel Yes, presumably.

John Callaway I just want to talk about the tradeoff of values. Thank you both very much.

Let me ask the panel that is now assembled – I know that many of the people here know who you are, etc., but there may be some who aren't. So, Joe, would you begin by saying who you are and who you are with, and we'll just go down the line right quick.

Joe Bruns I'm Joe Bruns. I'm the executive vice president and chief operating officer for WETA, which is a joint licensee serving the Washington, D.C., area.

John Lawson I'm John Lawson, CEO of the Association of Public Television Stations in Washington, D.C., and we're the advocates for public television before the federal government.

Session-Robertson Hi. I'm Sandra Session-Robertson, general manager, WCEU-TV, licensed to Daytona Beach Community College in Daytona Beach, Florida.

Deb Linebarger Deb Linebarger. I'm an assistant professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

Sherri Hope Culver Hi. Sherri Hope Culver, general manager, WYBE, Philadelphia.

Andras Szanto I'm Andras Szanto, director of the National Arts Journalism Program at the Columbia University, which is a fellowship program and research center for arts journalists and arts issues.

Jerold Starr I'm Jerry Starr, executive director of Citizens for Independent Public Broadcasting.

Karen Bond I'm Karen Bond. My vocation is management consultant. My avocation is media activist, and I tend to specialize in the area of media justice.

Cass Sunstein I'm Cass Sunstein. I teach at the University of Chicago law school as well as in the department of political science.

Scott Sanders I'm Scott Sanders. I'm with

Chicago Media Action, and I'm a media reform activist.

Jim Pagliarini I'm Jim Pagliarini, the president of Twin Cities Public Television, Minneapolis-St. Paul.

John Callaway Thank you very much. Now, again, in this last session, what you want to underscore, what you've changed your mind about, what you've heard that you want to talk about. That's what we ask of these people.

In the other conferences that we have done, we have started with a professor from the University of Chicago who would be kind of listening in or who had done some writing that was related to what we were talking about, maybe not directly, and then kind of throw a couple of bombs in there for us to think about. Now, Cass Sunstein was supposed to be here yesterday, and in his next book there will probably be an entire chapter about that day and why he wasn't able to make it and maybe it will be made into a major motion picture.

But we're going to ask him to kind of start with some of the thoughts about what he would have said, and he was going to say it in the context following Ken Auletta's talk. Let me just give you a little more about Cass, and that is he is a graduate of Harvard College, and he's written so many articles and books about these issues. There is too many to name, but he is on the faculty of the law school at the University of Chicago, and we're just delighted that he's here.

Cass, tell us about some things on your mind.

Cass Sunstein I'll tell you one thing about yesterday that I didn't understand exactly why I had written down December 3 rather than December 2 is when I was appearing, but the previous panel explained it, which is there was children's television in Boston when I was growing up pre-*Sesame Street*, and they always confused the 2 and the 3. It has marked me to this day. This is a serious problem for which public television is responsible for middle-aged people from Boston.

John Callaway What a great segue. Thank you, Cass.

Cass Sunstein Okay, there is my reaction to what I've heard, which is that there are two conceptions of free speech, media markets, and democracy in the United States. They owe their origins to the two heroes of free speech in America; one, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the other, Louis Brandeis. Holmes and Brandeis frequently would descent together. They were the great celebrators of free expression when the stakes were pretty high. It was in the midst of war. But they had very different visions.

Holmes emphasized free trade and ideas. He gave a marketplace metaphor for free speech. He insisted the government should be absent so that free consumers can choose exactly what they want. You can trace a line from Holmes's marketplace conception of free speech to the head of the FCC under President Reagan who said, "Television is just another appliance. It's a toaster with pictures," to the repeal discussed earlier this morning of some of the obligations imposed on commercial broadcasters in the mid-'80s, to the continuing attack on public broadcasting in the United States, within Congress, and in some ways within the executive branch, to some of the pronouncements of FCC chair Michael Powell, who was endorsed at least on some of the concentration rules, a marketplace conception of media and free speech, which sees the goal as freeing things up for consumers to choose as they wish.

The Brandeis conception is captured in a passage in which he says, "The greatest menace to freedom is an inert people." Brandeis didn't speak at all about markets. He spoke in terms of Republican self-government. You can see echoes of Brandeis's view of free speech, which is a democratic view rather than a marketplace view. In the early pronouncements in favor of public broadcasting in some of Newton Minow's speeches about the trusteeship duties of public broadcasters, in Supreme Court decisions

in the 1960s which upheld the Fairness Doctrine on the ground that it is the right of listeners and viewers, that those are the rights that are paramount here, and most poignantly, I think, in the continued existence of a doctrine called the Public Forum Doctrine, which says that streets and parks have to be open for public access in order to ensure that speakers and dissidents have a right to reach a heterogeneous population and in order to impose something like an unenforced duty on each of us, if we're going to use the street and parks, to encounter once in a while people who have lives and complaints and issues that are very different from our own. The public forum notion, which is captured to some extent in media policy in the United States, rejects the market model in favor of democratic conception of what the system of free expression is all about.

Now, the Holmes idea and the notion that television is just another appliance, it's a toaster with pictures, I think is on the ascendancy, both within the Supreme Court of the United States and in the public generally. It's on the ascendancy partly because of powerful private interest and partly because of the sheer proliferation of options, which has made market thinking seem especially persuasive. That's what Chairman Powell often emphasizes.

Let's identify off-hand three problems with seeing information in media in purely market terms. The first, and most obvious has to do with children, emphasized well in the previous panel. The second has to do with a peculiar feature of information itself. If one person gets it, others are likely to benefit. It's not true for soap or cereal or cell phones, but with information, if one person obtains it, others are likely to benefit from what they know, because they are likely to tell them.

The most dramatic illustration is the startling fact that no society with freedom of expression and democratic elections has in the history of the world ever experienced a famine, which suggests that the proliferation of information ensures protection

against famines just because if some people know that that's about to happen, other people know it too. And governments, so long as there is free expression and democratic elections, are going to respond because famines are a product of not only a food scarcity, but of the response or not that's undertaken of that risk.

The third problem with the market conception is that people aren't just consumers. We're citizens. The market conception reduces us in our behavior to consumers making consumption choices, an idea of which is appropriate for many domains, but not domains in which public life is at stake. So if you believe in the citizenship ideal as Justice Brandeis did above all, you'll choose the democratic one as opposed to the marketplace one.

Now, to get it a little more concrete, how might this bear on the performance of public television. Let me suggest just a few simple points. The first and most obvious has to do with the promotion of education and citizenship for children, something that if you're lucky can come from market model, but you have to have a lot of luck for that to work out.

The second point which wasn't discussed, I don't believe, today or yesterday, although I just had a summary of yesterday -- remember the 2, 3 problem -- maybe you'll be confused about that too -- they look a lot alike. December 2, December 3.

Okay, the second point has to do with some of the downside of the proliferation of options, and here the idea is that if like-minded people are listening and talking mostly to one another, if it's possible under a kind of perfected system of media markets for people to sort themselves into echo chambers of their own devising, where some choose Fox News and Rush Limbaugh and others choose left- wing *Dissent* magazine and so forth, then what will happen is like-minded people will end up in a more extreme point in line with what they thought before they started to talk.

So one of the most robust

findings in modern social science, which I think bears directly on the public role of public broadcasting, is that if people sort themselves into communities of like-minded others, they end up thinking an extreme version of what they thought before. So if people think the Republicans are good, if they watch Fox News, chances are after a while they'll think the Republicans are very, very good. If they think that global warming is a serious problem, if they listen only to people who believe that, they'll end up thinking it's an exceedingly serious problem. It may be so. One or the other might be right, but it ought not to be the case that extremism comes about just through this process of self-sorting.

Public broadcasting can do a great deal to correct or help with this situation, partly by providing people with exposure to topics that they wouldn't have chosen in advance, that they wouldn't have selected if they had been acting purely as consumers, and partly by ensuring that people will be exposed to opinions that they wouldn't have chosen in advance, partly because they are disconcerting or bothersome or irritating.

So there can be an important role for public broadcasters, a democratic role, counteracting this tendency towards self-selection and to echo chambers of people's own devising.

The last point just has to do with shared experiences. One purpose of the old Public Forum doctrine, that is the idea that streets and parks will open for expressive activity, is not just to counteract the risk of self-sorting into gated communities. You can't really do that if you're using the public streets and parks, but it's also to ensure that at least some of the time people in a heterogeneous society have shared experiences rather than unshared ones.

I just happened to notice a paper to my right called "The Shared Separate Realities of Bush and Kerry Supporters," October

21, 2004. There is undoubtedly empirical basis for that supposition that Bush and Kerry supporters occupy separate realities. And in a nation that is, after all, one nation, that's a problem because it might make mutual understanding very difficult.

The streets and parks ensure at least a certain dimension of shared experiences, and the general interest intermediaries, the daily newspaper and national broadcasters, can do the same. Because of the segmentation of the market, the public broadcasters are limited in their power to ensure shared experiences, but they can do a lot to make the system better rather than worse. When they are working well, they really do that, by unifying pretty heterogeneous listenership around experiences, understandings that would otherwise separate them.

So my pitch in brief is that on the ascendancy is a conception of what media are for, that is a market conception which sees people as consumers and not citizens. It's taking over both public discussion and constitutional law. It's extremely damaging to the future of public broadcasting, and what's necessary for the next decade maybe is to recover the alternative view which has deeper roots in our constitutional tradition, the democratic view, and to bring it there pretty concretely on the performance of media institutions, maybe above all, public broadcasters.

John Callaway Cass, thank you very much. (Applause.)

I'm kind of glad you didn't make it yesterday. I'm glad you could start off today.

John Lawson, thank you for sticking through this. I know you have to get back to Washington. I know you've got a plane. We'll understand if you walk out of here 15 minutes early. What have you learned, what do you want to underscore, did you hear anything from Pat Mitchell? She made the papers today with the announcement of that committee that she's forming to try to really come to terms. I

think she is pretty clear. "I'm too busy to deal with the structural questions," you know, the United Nations General Assembly kind of question that I ask, but yes, we're going to jump on this funding thing at last.

Then of course we heard the tremendous complexity of all of the stuff that you're involved in with the new technology and its opportunities. But what are some of your summary thoughts, something you want to underline, underscore, or something you heard that was news to you?

John Lawson Well, I ran into my friend Dick Daly from Buffalo, who said this is a great meeting because we public broadcasters usually end up talking to each other. We meet a lot, it seems like.

This conference to me has been a reminder that people really care about public broadcasting in this country, people that aren't public broadcasters, people from different parts of the country, different walks of life. And to the extent that this may not be a completely representative sample of the American public, there is some fascinating audience research that CPB has commissioned, which I don't know to what extent it has been made available publicly yet, but I'm sure it will.

Audience research, how do Americans in different markets utilize or respond to or relate to public broadcasting, public television. They had hours and hours of focus groups, and it's just amazing to me knowing that we on a good night –- what, Joe, did we get a 2, 3 share? –- that so many people that may not watch us that often care about public television. So that's, I think, to the extent that we tend to get a little bit punch-drunk or cynical doing our jobs. It's refreshing to me and an indication of how serious this business really is.

Secondly, working in Washington these days, I'm used to hearing criticisms of public television from the right. Here we're hearing quite a bit from the left, or whatever you want to call it, but it's not the

right wing. So that's very interesting to me.

I guess this has reaffirmed my commitment to public television, and not that I needed convincing, but I guess it sort of reinforced that public television is something that is important to this country and is worth fighting for.

John Callaway Jerry Starr? You've been giving this a lot of thought over the years. You've been listening carefully during this conference. Do you have a couple of three summary points that you might be able to share with us?

Jerold Starr Well, I totally agree with Cass Sunstein's analysis of the situation and much of what's been said, and that's precisely why we've embarked on this effort. It's really now six years in the making, to promote this idea of a public broadcasting trust. But it's an exceedingly difficult endeavor precisely because this system is so oddly configured.

That was, in some respects, if we look at the history of public broadcasting, and television in particular, very deliberat,e and so you have partners like Corporation for Public Broadcasting, which is supposed to operate as a heat shield to project the national programming service from critics in Congress, but, in fact, the appointments are all political and frequently members of the CPB themselves are very vocal on programming on PBS they would like to see or not like to see.

There are a lot of stories circulating - in particular with the recent debacle about the cutting back of the Moyer show and the new Tucker Carlson show and the Paul Gigot show - as to where that impetus came from and who is responsible, and there is an effort to kind of put a public face on it.

By the same token, you have the stations themselves under the aegis of the APTS, the Association for Public Television Stations that John leads so ably, which is, as he said, a trade association. Stations do have conflicts of interest with the PBS national

programming service, and they've argued over the years about things like how much common carriage the member stations are required to have and their programming schedules or how big the dues should be for the PBS programming.

Over the years, sometimes the various partners have been characterized as a dysfunctional family. I know that John just stated that, in fact, the APTS is the organization in the mix that has the authority to negotiate with Congress, but sometimes PBS has taken that initiative and they've had to huddle and sort things out.

From our perspective of citizens who are committed to a stronger public broadcasting service, public interest groups that are willing to devote resources to that, the prospect of developing a good plan that comprehends all of these interests and vigorously promoting it with citizen input in a way that would be persuasive to Congress is formidable because we don't know who we are talking to half the time. Just look at the recent history there.

Over the, probably, early summer in an interview with broadcasting and cable, Pat Mitchell dropped into the interview a reference to wanting to turn back the analog spectrum for PBS member stations early in exchange for which they would get -- I believe the figure mentioned in that interview was five -- billion dollars that they would use as a programming fund.

I had several people calling me about that thinking it's news. I said I just read it. And APTS is not quoted. I said I wouldn't regard this as news until APTS is quoted. I suspect that they've taken a comment out of context and they made it a headline, and indeed that proved to be true. Immediately John stepped up and said this is really harmful to us, and this was all kind of put on display. I mean, all these letters and exchanges were printed in the trade papers, because we already have a plan that we're negotiated with Congress, and it was in larger perspective, a much more modest plan,

as John has acknowledged. It would be additional too, but it wouldn't substitute for the continuing dependence on Congress or the dependence on corporate underwriting.

So it gives us a lot of pause, and I think what I shared with Pat Mitchell in the meeting that we had with her staff last August, and what I would like to ask John about, is I know that you're doing a very able job representing the interests of these member stations. I know that the experience we've had over the years with respect to Congress hasn't been all that successful and that we're looking at a Congress that's dominated by Republicans at the present time.

On the other hand, we've demonstrated widespread support for public broadcasting. We've beaten back several initiatives to reduce its funding or stop its funding or to control its programming. We think that the time is really right for an initiative that would give public broadcasting the resources it needs to really fulfill its mission. What you've asked for is exceedingly modest. Now, I'm sure that when you meet with members of Congress, they will tell you this is a no-go, that this is dead on arrival because that's the way they talk. But it comes down to what Ken Auletta characterized in his speech as the kind of discussion between the realists and new realists.

How can we be sure that, in fact, if we don't amount a very broad-based and vigorous campaign to ask not just for what we already own, but for what we really think we deserve, that we're not going to have some success with Congress.

John Callaway Jerry, and then I want John to comment, would it be helpful if you armed John with testimony from the Red Cross or Little League Baseball or whatever it is -– in other words, the model that you use -- as a different way of financing. Somehow those organizations reached the point of a trust. If somebody said to me, "Callaway, tell us the story of how the Red Cross did that," I haven't seen it in any of

your writings. I know nothing about that. I don't know that anybody here does. Is there any instructive political saga to look at there? Did somebody say yeah, that's easy, we'll do it.

Jerold Starr No, it's not easy, and it did take years to accomplish.

John Callaway Would that be helpful to John, to trot the Red Cross up there?

Jerold Starr That's for John to say.

John Callaway What do you think, John? And respond to Jerry.

John Lawson We're always open to new models.

One of the other good things that happened to me here was I met Newt Minow for the first time. Newt and Jeff Davis, Larry Grossman, and Anne Murphy and I had lunch. It was actually a continuation of a conversation about a trust fund and how to if not develop a single bill that would combine the digital opportunity investment trust with the proposal that we've developed, at least to present one's story to Congress and how these two would work together.

I do think there is some synergy there. We have a spectrum play that we've never had. I believe a trust fund is a long shot, but this is the best shot we're ever going to have, and it's a shot we're going to take. If we can combine their coalition around education, libraries, schools, museums, with what I think we can do on the spectrum side, I think we can be stronger.

John Callaway That's news.

John Lawson My concern about this enhanced funding initiative is that we were going to end up possibly with yet a third proposal out there, as happened, as Jerry has correctly pointed out, has happened in the trade press. I mean, days after I testified before the Senate commerce committee about our ideas, Pat, she said she was misquoted, but it was reported pretty widely enough that there was a different proposal out there. So I am concerned about that.

John Callaway You'll have to be a part of

that initiative.

John Lawson We will.

Newt also told me, reminded me, in fact, that he was the chairman of the PBS board in 1980 when Larry Grossman was the president of PBS, and it was their decision -- actually, '79 -- it was their decision to spin APTS out, what is now APTS, out of PBS to have a national policymaking apparatus and an advocacy apparatus different from the people making the programming decisions.

John Callaway So you could be out of a job?

John Lawson I'm not worried about getting a job.

John Callaway I'm just kidding.

John Lawson No, it's just a question of a division of labor and going to Congress with a unified message. The reality is our political support, and there are exceptions, and around the big idea, perhaps, we could mobilize more broadly than our base, but our base in terms of the practical day-to-day mobilization of congressional support is the boards of our stations. If the stations are behind a proposal, it ain't going to go anywhere. That's why we as a trade association representing about 84 percent of the stations work very, very carefully to bring our members along and to make sure, as I put it, there is no daylight between what they want and what we want.

It is a hyper-democratic system, but you know what? Democracies make decisions, and there are structures within public television, among the station community. We call these affinity groups, and they are a way to get feedback, to get buy-in, and to move the system forward, and that's something that I think that APTS does pretty well.

John Callaway Thank you very much.

Sherri, a lot of people have been talking about your station, now that they've heard your station is a model. That ought to be reassuring to you. But what do you take away from this conference? What are you final thoughts? If somebody stopped you on the street

and said you went to that conference.

Sherri Hope Culver Something that I valued about the conference was that there were many different voices, and I think what John said earlier is true. It's often public broadcasting, meeting with public broadcasting, and having educators and community folks and all different communities coming together. That was helpful and interesting.

However, I think when we bring the discussion and the voices together, it's daunting. It's a very complex issue. There is not an easy fix. I think in this country we don't deal with not easy fixes very well. I'm not sure what the answer will be.

There was some conversation yesterday after the conference, more informal conversation about what might be a next step. My reaction was I don't want there to be more discussion. I want there to be action.

John Callaway Give us an example of what you would like action on that you think is practical and possible.

Sherri Hope Culver I'll tell you the one I said at the time. I would love there to be a way for the stations that are part of the group that YBE is part of, the beta station group where the second stations in the markets across the country can come together with some R&D funding to be able to develop a differentiated program service. That's a way to provide another opportunity to build on the richness of public broadcasting. That was my example at the time.

John Callaway That's good. Thank you very much.

Scott Sanders, you've been at this media watching stuff for a long time, and you raised some questions in there. But what are some of your final thoughts as you leave here today?

Scott Sanders I mentioned earlier that I'd very much like to see democratic elements proceed forward along with the trust proposals that have been put together, and I love the idea of putting a much larger, broader cultural coalition

together to get some of this auction money and this frequency money.

John Callaway Will that have to kind of come city by city?

Scott Sanders You can do it two ways. You can do it on your own or you can be forced to, basically. Once I asked a previous president of PBS, I said, "Well, why don't you just say, 'Look, you'll get this amount of money if you have an elected board, and you'll get less, a little less, if you don't.'"

He just said, "Oh, that would make me a czar."

I told him, "No, that would make a functioning system."

John Callaway So you want some incentives in there for the democratization. I mean, these boards are put together. They've got all of these powerful people and so on and so forth. It's perceived that they can give money, give legal advice, all of that kind of stuff, and you're saying interlace this, go into your communities, trust your people who don't have all the fancy suits and high-priced ties.

Scott Sanders And the nice cars.

John Callaway And the nice cars, who are going to take the elevator to get to your board meeting, and listen to them and integrate them into your system.

Scott Sanders Empower them. Give them a vote. Give them a voice.

John Callaway You might even find that they will raise more money in the end because you'll have people that you didn't have before.

Scott Sanders We might even get a program hosted by African Americans, for instance.

John Callaway In a city that's 36 percent African American.

Scott Sanders I think I need to also mention a couple of other reasons why I think this type of approach, putting these wonderful ideas here that have come out at this conference together in that way. I know this is about the future, but I have to tell a little bit about the past of our organization here, especially as it

relates to WTTW.

We did come to the station with proposals, and I realized, as much as our children are at risk today, I also believe that our democracy and our world are at risk. We came to Channel 11 before the invasion of Iraq with specific worked-out proposals for live public forums featuring independent films. We came in with a coalition of community groups, I believe thirty community groups, before the attack. We were refused. In fact, I have still not located a single public television station that's done a live –- except there was Channel 20, I believe, did something before the attack.

But to me, this goes together with all the other information that we have about how horrible the mainstream was on that particular issue. I think it's reflective of the system. It's just the worst example. This whole situation over this last year and a half has proven to me that we need to completely start over. We need to make the for-profit organizations smaller and completely reorganize public broadcasting, and I actually have a way to get there, but you can ask more later.

John Callaway Jim, final thoughts? What do you take away? What do you want to underscore?

Jim Pagliarini A couple of sort of 50,000-foot-level thoughts. The first one is really to applaud the Cultural Policy Center for trying to tackle this question. It's a huge question. (Applause.)

John, I think you've done a great job. As somebody who has worked in public television for a number of years, it's been very interesting for me. I come away both discouraged and encouraged. Encouraged because even when we listen to dissension or points of frustration, there are underlying values that we all share in this room about the value or the need for public media in this country.

I think the frustration is whether it's about inclusion of different voices, of different people in our communities. Those are symptoms that stem from a root cause that has

to be solved though public policy, which is why the venue for this conversation I think is particularly apt. I'm encouraged by taking the step in trying to get this conversation going.

I'm discouraged because to the outsiders who have come to listen, you've got to think that this business is impenetrable. It is absolutely complex, and you must go away thinking even though we love public televisions, value it, possibly want to be a part of it, how the heck can we help solve this problem. So I'm a little bit frustrated that I don't have a good answer for that, except for one maybe that we as a system that we need to embrace and you as a university and other institutions like yours need to embrace.

The other takeaway for me is when I looked around, the panelists, what public television, I think is missing and maybe the real cure will come from an influx of a new generation.

John Callaway Sandra Session-Robertson, what are your thoughts, then, as you leave this place to go back to the warm climate of Florida? 76 degrees, thank you.

Session-Robertson Well, that is disheartening to me, to the point about the fact that there aren't enough young people. I would say there aren't enough. I wouldn't say that none of the young people are watching.

John Callaway But the point you're making is that your sympathetic. I mean, it resonates a little with you down there too.

Session-Robertson Sure. I would suggest that just as we have maybe not done as good of a job in involving and engaging some of the constituent groups that are already a part of our setup, that perhaps we haven't done that with students too. For example, we have a lot of buy-in a the college because we have a student program.

This is a two-year degree program for students who are trying to learn a little bit about our business, so by virtue of them being in the building every day and helping to contribute to pledge production and other

production, they are getting something that most people that age don't get exposed to. And that's something else unique public television stations can bring to the local community.

So to that extent, I say some of it is our own fault for not finding ways to engage those youngsters in deciding that perhaps they are too expensive to go after because they are looking for a certain kind of program.

John Callaway We've all heard a pretty complex narrative coming through this conference. Actually, it's more complex. Those of us who put it together tried to do our homework, and I've been in the business a long time. By the time I finished listening to John Lawson, it was more complex than ever. Complex in a good way in terms of all of the opportunities afforded by the new technologies, if we can get a handle on that. How do you leave this conference? Are you depressed? Are you encouraged? What are you taking back with you?

Session-Robertson Well, I think nothing worth having, I think that saying, if it's worth having, it's worth working for. I think that's why all of us on this panel are here and are involved in this business, first and foremost. There's no two ways about it. It's complex. Sherri used the word "daunting." I think she hits the nail on the head.

Every time I heard someone make a comment about independent, I thought, gee, what is it going to take, what kind of language is going to take even from a trust fund to ensure that we truly are able to be independent. I mean, we do have masters. It would be great to have a trust fund, but we don't have one today. So how in the world do we achieve this editorial integrity and control and independence when, in fact, there are strings attached.

John Callaway By the way, talking about independence, I can't resist telling you the story. When I left CBS after 17 years in 1974 to go over to public, people would come up to me and say, "God, you must be relieved to be away from commercial broadcasting and all the commercial

pressures." We would have this discussion. I'm talking about a discussion we would have later on also.

I would say, as a matter of fact, in all of my years at CBS, I worked for radio and television when they just dropped in the spots. Nobody called up from United Airlines and said, "You know, you were kind of hard on the mayor during the news conference there." Or, "Lay off of the governor." Nobody ever did that.

The minute I got to public broadcasting, however, you'd get a call from a board member, "John, Izaak Perlman is in town, and you've got to interview him." Don't tell me I have to interview him. I want to interview him. He was on my list. "John, you've got to do a piece on the American Indian Center." Don't tell me I have to do that. I want to do that piece. So you had all these do-gooders with all their ideas.

I mean, there is the tyranny of do-gooding. At CBS, hell, there wasn't any time. United Airlines was too busy running the business into the ground. We were too busy reporting the news. Nobody had time for this. I'm always interested in the commercial info. I'm not saying it never happens, but I'm just saying most of us are too busy to deal with that.

Joe, what are you final thoughts here? What do you want to underscore or what do you want us to takeaway?

Joe Bruns A couple of things. First of all, I think we're at a better place now than we were before, talking about the complexity of public broadcasting. We also heard earlier a description of public broadcasting being a dysfunctional family. I think that's a big mistake. I don't think we're dysfunctional at all. I think it's messy. I think it is complex. I think we have a lot of daunting problems. But I don't think it's dysfunctional at all. I don't think it can be dysfunctional because first of all, I think we still are all united by a common sense and mission about what public broadcasting is all about.

Secondly, our frustrations are that we can't do more. I'd hate to work –- this is my second career, in public broadcasting –-

John Callaway What was your first?

Joe Bruns Well, I worked for the United States government for 25 years, 12 years of that in international broadcasting, Voice of America. Actually, Kevin was my successor. Kevin Klose was my successor in international broadcasting.

Our frustrations are that we can't do more. I'd hate to work in an industry where we felt well, we've done everything. What can we do now? That's certainly not the case in public broadcasting. We're looking for ways to carry out our mission better, more effectively, more fully, to bring better and more educational programs and better public affairs and more independent voices and more diverse voices to the American Public. We're struggling with the ways and the means to bring that about.

I think when we talk about the future of public broadcasting, solving those problems that enable us to carry out that mission I think is both what make it really rewarding and not at all dysfunctional but challenging and really are the value of conversations like this one.

It's my nature to be critical. I said to John Lawson a few minutes ago that it's really great that one of our national leadership presidents stayed here for the entire conference, to actually hear what people had to say and not just deliver. (Applause.)

John Callaway By the way, I just want to follow on that. John, by the way, thank you for all of your help in putting this conference together, particularly the stations people. I mean, there are so many choices to make, and you were very helpful.

I remember when we were at lunch and I said to you, John, and I did this kind of in the spirit of academic inquiry –- in other words, just have the courage to be naïve,

because so much of what I had done with Carroll Joynes was to pick at the system and say I'm Dr. Phil, are you really happy with this marriage that you all have cooked up, etc., etc. But remember I asked you, I said, John, is it possible, acknowledging all of its faults, that the present system, with its checks and balances and balances and checks and checks and balances, is a pretty good system, even though we like to beat the hell out of it.

John Lawson That was the point of it. One of the points I tried to make yesterday, okay, we're underfunded, but would we in public broadcasting trade places with our colleagues at RAI in Italy? I mean, RAI is a well-regarded public broadcaster, but you have a government which is headed by a man who owns a lot of commercial media, and he's pulling because they have one source of funding, which is a lot of money from the Italian national government, he's pulling strings, affecting their editorial independence.

We have to be close to our communities. That's where most of the money comes from. We're totally decentralized. I think it was deliberate to do it that way. In some ways it does work. Like Joe said, we all get frustrated, because we know it could work better, but there is a lot in place here.

Just one more point I'd like to make here, if I could, on the trust fund. We are talking about a strategy for a trust fund, but it would be a mistake to assume that we are limiting ourselves or this is somehow too modest or we're not swinging high enough. We talk about a strategy to get this done. We talk about dedicating the money to education, but there's no ceiling. We're not putting a ceiling on this trust fund. We're just saying we don't know what the spectrums were.

John Callaway You're treading carefully.

John Lawson I tell you, the minute you position this thing as a way to, quote, eliminate the need for federal funding, that's when they start cutting your funding. So you have to be

very tactical and strategic about how you go forward with this thing.

John Callaway Very good.

Karen, I think you've made it clear by now with your questions and your comments and reinforced by Scott Sanders about the basic kind of input of the community that you want, that you perceive is not there. You want, for example, on TTW, you want an African American host, etc., etc. I think you've been clear on that.

I was thinking about your basic point, and I was thinking, you've got 45 million uninsured people in this country in terms of health insurance, and yet we can't make a polity out of them. They are without insurance over here in Idaho and without insurance over there. We can't bring them together the way we did, say, the great civil rights revolution of the 1960s. Then I think about the three million letters that you and others were able to generate on the deregulation, the so-called deregulation stuff. I'm thinking, boy, that's an interesting exercise, and we talked about the complexity of that.

Tell us just a little about what your thought is, because you've been thinking about this for a long time, on how you can begin to more effectively organize –- you're at TTW's throat all the time, fine, but how can you make that a national thing that can help us on the trust fund issues.

Karen Bond First of all, I'll say that just as a point of information, I started talking with Carroll and with John about this conference a while ago. Carroll was like, okay, "I'm calling you from Switzerland." And you were like, okay, "I'm calling you from Alaska." And I said, "Well, okay, I'm in Antarctica." We were all in basically cold climes in terms of where we were and what our positions were.

But the process that we went through of discussion and negotiation, I don't think everybody got everything they wanted, but it's the process that I'm pointing to. I think

it was a very healthy process, and that is something that I would like to see mirrored, because it was involving grass-roots ideology into a basic, I'd guess you'd call it, a corporate framework and making those concessions and making the result more user-friendly for the community. So I just wanted to make that comment. That process was a good one.

How can we organize! I think that, again referring back to Sherri's organization, she sets a very good role model for what is possible in terms of community involvement. I don't think it's necessarily a good thing, but one of the things I saw that wasn't so good was yesterday when James was talking about the WTTW study and there was the commentary that, well, it wasn't statistically accurate or what have you, when, in fact, multiple Ph.D.s had reviewed it, etc. But the point being, when the public speaks, most especially public stations have to be geared and motivated to listen.

Going back to what was mentioned before about the Iraq videos and the town hall sessions, the first time that I ever interfaced with any of these media activist groups was that meeting. I was asked to come to that meeting. That process was not a productive process, and it should have been. After the war -- after I think it was April --

John Callaway After the invasion stage of the war.

Karen Bond After the invasion stage and then there was the scene on the boat, etc., etc., "Mission Accomplished," I was still interfacing with the executive VP at WTTW and said, "Well, we still need to do these videos and town hall sessions."

I was told, "Karen, the war is over. It is no longer in the public consciousness," etc.

John Callaway My question to you was, how can you make this national or do you not know?

Karen Bond The final point to that is that there was no avenue to say "I think you're

incorrect on that, and the public needs to speak."

John Callaway Here's what I'm getting at. You've talked about the resistance from stations. Fine. Can you do Ronald Reagan and go over the media and go to the people. That's all I'm saying. Do you see any model? What I guess I'm asking is, is the Martin Luther King, Jr., model, is there any model of considerable action, for those of you who are kind of street oriented and let's get on the case, that you see as useable here?

Karen Bond I think the most usable model is in activism you do choose what gets the public's attention. Right now I think the most usable model –- well, there are two very good models. One is as Jerry was talking about, the children's issue. Commercialization of children, using children as targeted consumers. That will get the public's attention.

John Callaway Everybody is interested in that.

Karen Bond Everybody is interesting in that. I think the future of media activism in terms of the national, the possibility of national involvement.

John Callaway Jerry, you wanted to get back in.

Jerold Starr Yes, I wanted to respond to that. First of all, it was not my characterization of public broadcasting as a dysfunctional family. It's a clinical metaphor. I would never use it. It was the conclusion of a study that the service itself commissioned many years ago. I agree with Joe that that's not a fair characterization. It is a complex organization with lots of conflicts of interest.

We have on our Web site, Citizens for Independent Public Broadcasting -- the Web site is CIPBonline.org -- a 40-page manual that's called "How to make Public Broadcasting Accountable to your Community." It explains very simply how the service is organized, how program decisions are made, how community people can organize to approach the

station, to make requests, what kinds of negotiations are typical in such situations, what your rights are, what their rights are and so forth that we hope it would be of service to community groups who want to have more participation in programming decision-making or in governance of local stations.

As a sociologist, I find this a really fascinating challenge. A lot of my work has been done over the years in organizational development. When I came here, I heard from Karen, Scott. I had a long talk with Dan Schmidt, and Ken Leiderman and the two people from Chicago's Citizens Advisory Board. It was a very Rashoman experience.

What I take from this to a great extent, and Dan, I'm not going to quote him much because he's not here to defend himself, but he agreed with me that this tyranny of good deeds thing is a real problem insofar as you want to balance citizen input that may be linked to constituencies that could lead to fruitful partnerships that could meet resources and viewers but also protect the professional autonomy of staff. They are, after all, paid to do a job.

We don't have any good models for how to do that. I mean, I have talked to organizational development people about if we could raise the money, would you be willing to tackle this issue of the way the community stations are organized on how to balance citizen input with professional staff autonomy that would lead to positive relations and good consequences both financially and program-wise. That's a challenge.

John Callaway Carroll Joynes gave me permission to express an opinion or two, and before we go on, Andras, I want to get back to you.

If I were to leave a crusade that would somehow have a spillover positive effect on the possibility of trust funds for public broadcasting, I would avoid public broadcasting entirely. I would lead that

crusade. I would try to tap into what I think once the American people were truly –- and I think the three million letters on the deregulation is a helpful sign -– I would try to tap into what I think their natural outrage would be if they were the least bit informed about the fact that these commercial stations have these airwaves and they don't pay a penny for it in a day when we auction everything.

Male Voice Shame on them.

John Callaway Hell, we can't get up in the morning without auctioning whether we are going to brush our teeth or not. e-bay; "I'll give you ten cents for that toothbrush." We're auction crazy.

And if the American people understood, particularly when the networks say, "No, we're not going to cover the conventions. There's no news." If they can't get outraged about this free ride -– and everybody agrees, with all the reality programming and so on and so forth, the commercial television -– and I love many things about commercial television, but it is at its worst. If you thought it was a vast wasteland then, what do we call it now?

You'd have your auctions and we'd rise up. I'd find me a Bull Connor. I'd find me a real bad guy in commercial broadcasting. I would catch him spraying people with a hose. I'm saying that's how you'd get your auction, and then you folks, if you got any pull at all –- where the hell is Lawson now that I need him.

Female voice We'll tell him.

John Callaway We'll get some of this money. That is a scandal. I say that with all affection for commercial television when they are at their best. It is simply not fair in an age where if Ronald Reagan could be here today, if Milton Freidman -– Milton Friedman walked into our studios 25 years ago and shocked everybody and said these stations should be auctioned. He was right. Far right.

Karen Bond Quick comment. What you said just reminded me that I was interviewed about

this conference on radio last week. Interestingly enough, I did a small narrative on the public owning the airwaves. The station was flooded with calls. The comments were, "We didn't know we owned the airwaves." People were flabbergasted. So, point well taken.

John Callaway Thank you. There is an educational program. I mean, really, if you could get some money together. Any final thoughts, Deborah?

Deb Linebarger I guess for me it's been very useful and informative to come to this. I'm an advocate for kids and quality programming, and the primary place I see that happening and the primary responsibility for it, I think, falls on the shoulders of public television. I think if they could just start to take back the models that were originally used for programs like *Sesame Street* and expand them, you could win some of the ratings wars that these other places have, like Nickelodeon. You could become a safe place.

I really am excited about their initiative to keep kids beyond age 6. So when you look at kids, they say, "Oh, PBS, that's a baby station. I don't want to watch that anymore." They are really starting a new initiative to keep kids. The hope would be that if you continue this and are successful, then you can keep them as they age up, and we wouldn't have this sense that young adults don't go to PBS for information. We could keep them all throughout. That's sort of my idealistic, pie-in-the-sky idea.

John Callaway Thank you.

Andras, I was pleased to -- because Carroll Joynes had asked me to kind of summarize this conference, etc., but I thought that you did it very ably with your very short commentary on the kind of two streams that you saw that had evolved. For those who may have missed it, could you kind of take us back through that, and then comment on anything else with respect to what you've heard or seen at this conference that mediates that somehow, that

split.

Andras Szanto Sure. Well, first of all, it's very dangerous being the last person on the panel like this because, number one, all the good thoughts are taken. Number two, you have a lot of time to think of what you are going to say.

But very quickly, the duality that I saw, which I still don't see being resolved, is are we at a fork in the road where one direction to go is a kind of centrist, mainstream orientation where public broadcasting is going to chase audiences, move to the center, hire Tucker Carlson, etc., or return to a component of public broadcasting which has been lauded in this conference, although I don't know how integral it's always been, which is a kind of service to progressive values, programming audiences that are otherwise not spoken for.

I'm still not sure if these two roads can be pursued separately, but I think that this conference went a long way to addressing the problem and some possible solutions.

As for my own thoughts, a couple of things. Number one, I think for me, who is actually not a public broadcasting person, my number one thought is that the way it exists today in this country, regardless of its problems, is a miracle. You have public broadcasting system that is, you know, relatively independent. I grew up in Eastern Europe. I grew up in a state-run media regime.

John Callaway Specifically?

Andras Szanto Specifically in Hungary, in Budapest.

So one of the things I was surprised about is that, in fact, in the discussion about loss of independence, it was always vis-à-vis commercial interests, not vis-à-vis government control. I think that that speaks to tremendous amount of confidence about the autonomy of this system, even at a time when such concerns could be thought of as being quite valid.

My second thought is that I

have a tremendous amount of respect for the public broadcasters that I've heard from today, because I think they are fighting a valiant struggle on very choppy seas. 2003 was an interesting year in media history, especially noteworthy for newsprint journalists. It was the first year in which Americans started to spend more time on the Internet than reading newspapers. But the trend lines are also declining heavily for traditional broadcast media, and obviously public broadcasting as well. Under these circumstances, I'm amazed at the dexterity that people in this system are showing, to have to maintain their commitment to what they do.

So, with all that, I did want to make one other comment, which is whoever chose this location for a conference did a very brilliant thing because Cass talks about public squares, he often talks about another institution. I think there are, in fact, two institutions you can talk about in terms of the public square. One of them is the media. But the other institution that likes to think of itself as a public square is a museum.

John Callaway Or libraries.

Andras Szanto Well, libraries, but the museum, there is a lot of discussion today in the museum world about we are the new public square. So since I'm determined to sneak the arts back into this conference, even in the last thirty seconds, my thought was I do think that public broadcasting has a lot to learn from museums, because look at museums. Complicated, difficult, formerly elitist, an inaccessible art form, visual art, which has among all the art forms, in this age of fragmentation and public disinterest and whatever symptoms you diagnose, has succeeded in attracting audiences in large numbers, especially compared to other traditional art forms.

So what is it that they have done, I was thinking here, in all my time while I was waiting, what is it that they have done that maybe would be interesting for public

broadcasting to think about. Now, I can think about just a few things. One, they are unafraid of innovation and unapologetic about having quality content. They didn't dumb down. There's been a little bit of that, but on the whole, they have been unafraid of it. I think that's an important lesson.

Two, they have never been afraid of mixing public and private financing, and they have been extremely adept at summoning private resources behind their missions, which has given them a considerable amount of autonomy. Yes, there are discussions about some loss of autonomy as well, but on the whole, they've been able to do what they want to do very well.

Third, they've been extremely good at bringing education into the picture and through education channeling a lot of public and especially private foundation dollars to the mission.

Fourth, most importantly, they've grown with the times. You can see that in the demographics, both of their audiences and in terms of their shows. If you go upstairs today, you will see a show about China. You will see a show about a European artist. You'll see a show about minorities who are in prison and so forth. You see their willingness to go the times of their architecture, with their openness to technology, with their global and globalized programming.

So I guess what I'm trying to say is the lessons that I see from in the museum world is a tremendous amount of flexibility. If you look at a museum today and compare to a museum 25 years ago, you're talking about a very different place. I don't think you can say that about public broadcasting. So I think that the message is you have to become far more flexible and innovative than you've been in the past.

John Callaway Thank you.

I just wanted to make a couple of further comments in conclusion. This is actually a subject that I would love to have further discussion on with everybody. I think it

was interesting when John Lawson said within Washington, public broadcasting is usually getting all the heat from the right, and he notices it getting heat from the left or however you would characterize people from Chicago Media Action or other activists who have been here. They would, I think, say that was an oversimplification and that they are essentially trying to reach, represent communities of various kinds, which may be left or right or center or whatever. But I get the impression sometimes that people resist our friends from Chicago Media Action because they think they are going to socialize every 7-11 if they can get control of this society.

I similarly think about people who state rhetoric against corporations: if Cass could get some of his colleagues from The University of Chicago to talk about corporations and all of the hundreds of thousands of vendors who supply those big, bad corporations with all the stuff that they need, all the supplies, they are the vendors that you would find your people, people that you think aren't represented, are in those corporations, and they are in that stream of activity.

Frankly, after having 45 years of experience in broadcasting in Chicago, as I walk around this town and as I have and I see the ratings that the station has had, I think there is a broader audience than that kind of North Shore, white male, suit-and-tie kind of thing. So that I think that there are kind of labels that we throw at each other that if we can get beyond, we'll start to do some work.

The other thing I want to say in conclusion before I turn it back to Carroll is that when I introduced John Lawson yesterday, I said that I felt guilty in inviting him here because he was too busy working on the future of public television for me to try and interrupt him to come and talk to us about it.

I think about all of the producers and all of the people who work in public television trying to reach communities,

etc, and they are too busy doing it and working on the future and the present to even be here. I think a lot of you took time away from your very vital responsibilities to come here and share your ideas with us, and for that, we are very grateful. Thank you all very much.

Carroll Joynes Thank you, John, and thanks to all the members of the panel who had the stamina to stay through the two days.

On behalf of the Cultural Policy Center, Larry Rothfield, Diane Grams, and I would like to thank you for taking the time to come, participate in this, and we want you to keep your eye on the Web site. We're doing to keep the open forum up and running for some time.

We will put the transcripts of this conference on as soon as we get them. We have some interesting issues even on copyright for some of the remarks that have been made of the conference. So that brings up another issue in arts policy about intellectual property and copyright. So one way or the other we are going to get everything on the Web site, and we hope that you will continue to watch it, and we will continue to communicate with you as we move to our next step of this.

Did you have a question?

Female voice I have one last question. Agreeing that we are at a crossroads, at a fork in the road, what will it take to determine the direction that the future will be, and is that direction going to be a consensus of the member stations, and if so, is that consensus leaning towards the marketplace idea or the democratic idea, and what are the implications of that tendency.

John Callaway I think that would be an excellent subject for our next conference. I really do. Thank you very much.

Carroll Joynes Until the next conference. (Applause.)

(End of conference.)