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An analysis of network evening news coverage of religion and politics in the 1984 presidential campaign

Smith, Henry Lewis, Ph.D.
The Ohio State University, 1987

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AN ANALYSIS OF NETWORK EVENING NEWS COVERAGE
OF RELIGION AND POLITICS
IN THE 1984 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Henry L. Smith, B.R.E., B.S., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University
1987

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Department of Communication
To my wife and children
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to my parents, the Reverends Lewis and Mildred Smith, who instilled in me the love for learning. I express sincere appreciation to Wayne Dunn who believed in me and encouraged me to pursue higher education; to Dr. Rudolph Verderber of the University of Cincinnati who provided the first opportunity to pursue graduate work; and to my advisor Dr. John J. Makay who gave encouragement and support during my years at The Ohio State University.

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To my wife, Teresa, and my children, Dale, David, and Derika, I love you and thank you for your support and acceptance of my frequent absences and constant preoccupation during this research project.
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September 4, 1984

Ted Koppel (ABC): Religion and politics, already one of this campaign's dominant themes, was center stage today.

Tom Brokaw (NBC): Tonight President Reagan has a softer line on religion and politics. When he tied religion directly to politics at a prayer meeting in Dallas, the president touched off a wave of criticism. . . . today the president had a different tone.

Dan Rather (CBS): It was campaign-trail combustion by long distance today for Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale both had high-octane rhetoric ready about who was mixing politics and religion improperly . . . .

These news leads bring into focus a major drama played out on television during the 1984 presidential election campaign -- religion and politics. The question of the proper relationship between church and state was brought to the public consciousness with renewed vigor and urgency. Three major cultural forces in American society are key actors in this drama: presidential political candidates, the New Christian Right, and network TV news. Rhetoric from the political candidates, spokespersons for the New Christian Right, and network news reporters abounded on this issue. CBS anchorman Dan Rather characterized the issue as
"a highly combustable election year mixture of politics and religion." This statement exemplifies not only the perceived tension between religion and politics, but also the role news rhetors played in the process.

The 1984 presidential election campaign saw the intersection of these three powerful institutions which combined to create what Walter Fisher calls "real-fictions . . . a generic term that incompasses in whole or in part persona, fantasy theme and rhetorical vision, social reality, political myth, and ideology." This study probes political mediated realities created on American network television news.

**Background**

**Television News and Politics:**

Mass media scholars are divided on the importance and impact television news has in our society. In "Network News Research in Perspective," William Adams aptly capsulizes this ambivalence. He states that:

- Television network news is praised for scrupulous neutrality . . . accused of promoting liberalism or radicalism . . . credited with reaching a vast audience of people who might otherwise not seek news . . . [and] blamed for providing those people with superficial, sensational stories. The networks are lauded for courageous, independent news coverage. They are also charged with succumbing to commercial and political pressures. Some
scholars maintain that television news has become a powerful force molding American society. Others say its impact is inconsequential.

It seems clear that despite mixed reviews on the effects of television network news in our society, during the past four presidential election campaigns politicians have tailored their campaigns for network television news. In the 1984 campaign "the single most important objective for a candidate was scoring well on the evening news." Campaigners closed shop early and tuned in each night "to watch what 'really' had happened that day. And if the event didn't happen on television, it didn't happen at all."\(^5\) Today's sophisticated political candidate believes that the "real-fictions" created in part by the media are what matters most in the arena of presidential elections.

The average American's understanding of what is real in American politics is derived from media interaction. "Social reality is constituted, recognized, and celebrated with media."\(^6\) As Dan Nimmo and James Combs develop in their book *Mediated Political Realities*, "mass-mediated politics" become our political realities representing what we know of the political world.\(^7\)

Consequently the drama of political elections is played out in the news media. The candidates attempt to use the media to get the "truth" out to the American voter, and the news media see their mission as broadcasting the
"reality" of the campaign. In essence, politicians and newscasters need and use each other to create a "mediated political reality." And, despite reservations concerning effects, most applaud research which attempts to understand this medium.

The New Christian Right and Politics:

Historically, "conservative fundamentalists oscillate between withdrawal and political combat." In the decade of the 1980's they appear to be in combat. The active political role of the New Christian Right in the 1984 presidential campaign is well documented. Indeed, the religious right's involvement in American politics during both the 1980 and 1984 election campaigns has prompted Samuel Hill and Dennis Owen to coin the phrase, "The New Religious/Political Right," in their book by the same name.

The New Christian Right have been defined in a variety of ways, but most feel "evangelical or born-again Christians are the basic mass constituency of the New Christian Right." This collectivity of conservative Christian evangelical/fundamentalists represent a social movement in our society. Evangelical leaders such as Jerry Falwell, Pat Robertson and James Robison have become visible
rhetors for the movement. The fact that the movement has chosen direct political intervention as a rhetorical strategy is especially interesting for this study.

This politically active, loosely connected array of fundamentalists believe it is both proper and mandatory for Christians to become actively involved in the political process. They are a politically mobilized collectivity who wish to change the status quo. The theological roots and mission of the New Christian Right may be characterized thus:

The evangelical Christian movement that emerged in the 1970s was theologically not much different from the predecessors of the 'sawdust trail.' [They are] fundamentalists, believing in the inerrancy of the Bible, active soul winning, and being born again, contemptuous of mainstream churches, the social gospel, and ecumenicalism.

The New Christian Right is further understood by examining its rhetorical vision. "The Christian Right views itself involved in a theological moral drama," in which "control of the State becomes crucial to the enforcement of morality and to the control of the unholy." The New Christian Right sees its political goal to Christianize America. If we will put "God back in to government" our country will again be blessed and prosper.

In the November, 1986 issue of Religious Broadcasting, Dr. James Kennedy writes concerning the role religion should play in politics. He says that "the
theological and religious foundations of this nation are vital to our well-being." Dr. Kennedy deplores those who "say that Christians should have no part in the running of this nation, and [that Christians] should not impose morality on others." Dr. Kennedy is heard regularly on both radio and television, and is one representative voice advocating the political involvement of Christians.

So, in 1984 the stage was set, the exigence was apparent. Many conservative Christians felt the need to become active in politics and did so. The media recognized the tension and reported the political activity of the Christian Right. Keith Blume writing in his book, The Presidential Election Show: Campaign '84 and Beyond on the Nightly News, writes:

The religion-and-politics issue had emerged as the most charged of the early stages of the campaign, because television and the media at large had made it so. It was an important issue that the candidates themselves, for various reasons, had brought up and become embroiled in.

With this brief look at the implied interactive role of politics, religion, and television news, I now turn to the research questions of concern in this study.
Statement of the Problem and Research Questions

This study begins its investigation by focusing its attention on the televised political/religious messages broadcast on network evening newscasts during late July and continuing through early November, 1984. It assumes that by examining these newscasts the researcher will be able to discover mediated messages and make dramatistic assessments based on such an analysis.

A call for studies which examine television news as creators of reality was made by Michael J. Robinson in his article "Future Television News Research: Beyond Edward Jay Epstein."16 Current scholars in the field of television news research suggest that studies need to be conducted to build "a systematic body of knowledge about the medium."17 This proposed study attempts to add to this body of knowledge by looking at how network television evening news portrayed the religion issue in the presidential campaign of 1984.

The questions in this study stem from a dramatistic perspective and revolve around the construct of mediated political reality and/or the reflection of a dominant American cultural ideology in network television news.
Therefore, the study is broadly characterized as an examination; 1) of television network news as constructors of social reality, and 2) of network news messages which create real-fictions about the role of religion and politics in American society.

How did the networks treat the issue of religion and politics in the 1984 election campaign? This is the fundamental question proposed in this study. The following questions stem from this key underlying concern:

1) What was the content of the three network newscasts that dealt with politics and religion in the 1984 presidential campaign?

The following framework illustrates the parallel between the quantitative and the qualitative perspectives.

a. ACTS:
   - How long were the individual reports?
   - What was the visual content of the reports?
   - What issues were depicted as religious/moral?

b. ACTORS:
   - Who were the reporters/anchors?

c. SCENE:
   - Where were the locations of the reports?

d. AGENCY:
   - What were the sources of the reports?
   - What spokespersons appeared or were quoted?
   - What were the newsgathering modes utilized --briefings, interviews, speeches, etc.

e. PURPOSE:
   - Were there any differences in "spin" or ideological tilt between network coverages?
2) From a dramatistic perspective, what symbolic reality was created by the three networks about religion and politics during the final months of Campaign '84?

   a. In what way does Burke's pentad, as applied by Nimmo and Combs in *Nightly Horrors*, reveal the dramatic elements in the portrayal of religion and politics in the 1984 campaign?

   b. What representative anecdote can be found in the newscasts concerning the issue of religion and politics, and do the different networks share a common representative anecdote or do they differ?

3) On the basis of the analysis in this study what theoretical claims can be drawn about presidential campaigns, the issue of religion, and the dramatic portrayal of both by the network television news? What does the network treatment suggest about the role of politics and religion in campaigns?

**Research Procedures and Methodology**

The research procedure for this study is eclectic in nature. An attempt will be made to blend content analytic and dramatistic methodologies. Television newscasts will be subjected to quantitative content analysis, and will also be examined from a dramatistic, qualitative rhetorical point of view. What follows is an examination of research which characterizes the essence of each perspective.

*Nightly Horrors: Crisis Coverage in Television Network News*, a study by Dan Nimmo and James Combs, has greatly influenced the methodological approach of this
study. In *Nightly Horrors* a method is applied which effectively utilizes quantitative and qualitative approaches to television news analysis.

Nimmo and Combs first conducted a quantitative content analysis of TV crisis coverage of: 1) the murders and mass suicides involving The People's Temple in Jonestown, 2) the Three Mile Island accident, 3) the crash of American Airlines Flight 191, 4) volcanic eruptions of Mount St. Helens, 5) the Iranian hostage crisis, and 6) the Tylenol poisonings of 1982.

They performed both "hard" and "soft" content analyses of video tapes retrieved from the Vanderbilt Television News Archive. The content analysis was described thus:

The "hard" approach examines discrete and quantifiable items of data, such as seconds of airtime, story placements, and frequency counts of words. The "soft" approach is more subjective and evaluates entire news segments, stories, and broadcasts in keeping with selected criteria.18

The "hard" and "soft" approaches to content analysis used by Nimmo and Combs in *Nightly Horrors* have been defined and utilized earlier by Robert Frank in *Message Dimensions of Television News*. Frank states that while the "hard" approach is useful for discrete concrete quantifiable bits of data, the "soft" approach "utilizes the judgment of
trained coders to evaluate the entire Gestalt package of the news story, the news segment, and/or even the entire news broadcast.¹⁹

William Adams has edited a collection of articles entitled, *Television Network News: Issues In Content Research*. Although dated (1978), the articles are still insightful. Adams summarizes content research stating that:

> Content research is concerned with the composition of broadcast news. Quantitative measures are derived from the formal techniques of content analysis. Content research asks:
> What are the patterns, textures, and substance of newscasts? What are the priorities of news stories and how are those stories portrayed?²⁰

William Adams pointed out that content research cannot answer the question of consequences or effects, nor can it shed light on who determines content which is the role of production research. However, content analysis can be credited with two primary concerns. What was the priority of the news coverage? And what was the nature of the news coverage?

Note the parallel between agenda and hard, and between depiction and soft analyses: 1) *agenda* -- story emphasis, frequency, length, and order; a story's place on the network news agenda, and 2) *depiction* -- the nature of the coverage; direction or slant of the story, and thoroughness of coverage.²¹
In this dissertation, video tapes were retrieved from the Vanderbilt News Archive for content analysis. My first step in determining the data to be analyzed was to carefully examine the *Television News Index and Abstracts* for the dates of July 20 through November 6, 1984. These dates span the time period from the end of the Democratic Convention to election day. All news references to religion and politics or church and state, prayer in schools, abortion, Catholicism, the Christian Right, ethics in government, religious influence on selection of Supreme Court Justices, homosexuality, and pornography were selected for examination if any of these topics or issues were treated by the networks as related to the election campaign.

After a preliminary viewing of approximately thirty three hours of video tape taken on loan from Vanderbilt which covered all aspects of the 1984 election campaign, I narrowed my study to 59 reports by NBC, 43 reports by ABC, and 39 reports by CBS. These 141 reports total approximately two and one half hours.

The hard approach (the agenda) will basically quantify the data with frequency counts which include the number of reports, the seconds of airtime, the particular network, visual content, etc. The soft approach (the depiction) will utilize what researchers Maura Clancey and Michael J. Robinson call "'spin' or ideological tilt."
Clancey and Robinson refer to "spin" as "the way the correspondent interprets or embellishes the facts of the story. Spin involves tone, the part of the reporting that extends beyond hard news." Coders will judge reports as to balance, emotional content and style.

The unit of analysis is the report. The report is defined as a single packaged presentation by a news anchor, correspondent/reporter. A report is considered ended and complete when the topic clearly switches away from religion and politics or when one anchor or correspondent finishes a report and another begins. The story in all cases is politics in 1984. A particular newscast might have a report which deals in its totality with religion and politics, or the newscast may be primarily about the election with various issues and concerns, only one of which being religion and politics. Issues other than religion and politics will be edited out of the reports leaving only the references to religion politics for analysis. Care will be taken in all instances not to take the report out of context when editing the video tapes.

My intention, in the "soft" phases of the content analysis, is to score every report for its spin concerning religion and politics. What were the positive or negative implications contained in the news reporter's own words? To aid in this procedure, coders will be trained and standard
procedures followed to assure intercoder reliability. Two statistical devices, which were used by Nimmo and Combs in *Nightly Horrors*, will be utilized: Scott's pi, and $X^2$. Additionally, individual word counts will be conducted by computer from the written transcripts of the newcasts.

Not only did Nimmo and Combs employ a method of both "hard" and "soft" content analysis, they also conducted rhetorical criticism utilizing the dramatistic method of Kenneth Burke's pentad. In fact, the pentadic analysis is viewed as an analysis of content. Thus, a combination of the two methods is seen as a logical, natural combination. Nimmo and Combs have modified Burke's pentad illustrating how it might be applied to television news analysis. For each report they asked questions regarding each pentadic element. The following modification is reproduced from their book and will be the template for analysis in this dissertation. With additional minor modification these questions are appropriate to flesh out a dramatistic perspective of how the networks treated religion and politics in the 1984 presidential campaign.

1. Acts
   a. Who is reported doing what to whom?
   b. What general plot line organizes these acts—tragedy, comedy, epic, elegy, satire, quest, or what?
   c. Is there a pattern in reported events, i.e., a repetition of accounts?
   d. Is there a resolution to the problem posed by the narrative?
2. Actors
   a. Who are the dramatis personae?
   b. Are there role types in the drama?
   c. If so, what types emerge—heroes, villains, fools, victims, objects of desire, incorruptible people, supporting actors?
   d. Are there role reversals?
   e. Does an abstraction personified as a character play a role—"The People," "The Hostage Families," "The Experts," etc.?
   f. How concrete and detailed are the role portrayals?
   g. Are insiders praised, outsiders/enemies damned? For what?

3. Agencies
   a. What reported source justifies and promotes the acceptance and promulgation of the narrative?
   b. What acts are performed by sanctioning agents—"The People," "America," "God," "Militants," "Diplomats," etc.?
   c. Which acts are praised, censored?
   d. What lifestyles are exemplified, praiseworthy, condemned?
   e. What metaphors are invoked and repeated?

4. Scenes
   a. What is the scope of the setting?
   b. What are the reported features of the locale?
   c. What props exist?
   d. Where is the drama set—wilderness, rural areas, urban ghetto, enemy territory, supernatural place?

5. Purposes
   a. What meanings do reporters give the drama?
   b. How does the event fit into the great scheme of things; i.e., of what is this a case?
   c. What emotions dominate—hate, pity, love, patriotism, indignation, resignation, etc.?
   d. What motives do reports ascribe to actors?
   e. What judgment of the present and prophecy of the future does the report imply?

Nightly Horrors avoids the temptation to rigidly apply the pentad to every story. Instead, "efforts to answer these questions informed all stages of [the] analysis
An attempt to reconstruct network storytelling was made from what they found, but each question was not treated separately.26

A fruitful line of inquiry closely aligned with Burke's pentad is his "representative anecdote."27 Barry Brummett's essay, "Burke's Representative Anecdote as a Method in Media Criticism," in the June 1984 issue of Critical Studies in Mass Communication, argues that Burke's "representative anecdote is especially useful for media content criticism."28 This method of Burkean criticism asks these questions:

What aspects of media content should one look at, and how, if one wishes to discover ways in which that discourse equips people for living? What critical methods will allow the critic to take the pulse of a society, to link discourse it uses with situations it encounters?29

Kenneth Burke outlines the representative anecdote as follows:

Men seek vocabularies that will be faithful reflections of reality. To this end, they must develop vocabularies that are selections of reality. And any selection of reality must, in certain circumstances, function as a deflection of reality.30

Barry Brummett further clarifies the anecdote as a "macroscopic tool in the array of Burkean methods," and declares "that this is a method that represents well what happens in the media because the media are anecdotal."31
Brummett continues with his insightful analysis of the representative anecdote with these comments:

What is a representative anecdote; what does one look for? An anecdote is a dramatic form which underlies the content . . . of discourse. To identify an anecdote, one should ask, "If this discourse were based upon a story, an anecdote, what would the form, outline, or bare bones of that story be?"

The anecdote is a lens, filter or template through which the critic studies and reconstructs the discourse.

The critic in search of an anecdote must therefore exercise his or her powers of abstraction to detect a form or pattern which is a plot, a story line, immanent within the content of the discourse and able to represent the discourse.

... [it] is useful for studying widely used symbolic strategies in many different media, because it sifts out those discourses which offer the same formal symbolic equipment to an audience.32

In my view, Brummet's most meaningful statements for this dissertation is that "television . . . mediate[s] reality to people by recasting the chaotic, disjointed world . . . ." For the researcher "to identify a representative anecdote as immanent within a number of media discourses is to sum up the essence of a culture's values, concerns, and interests in regard to some real-life issues or problems."33

In sum, this dissertation employs the method used by Nimmo and Combs. The unique characteristic of Nightly Horrors is the manner in which the authors combine elements of both quantitative and qualitative methods to portray
television news. Each chapter of Nightly Horrors examines a different crisis and adheres to a format of description supported by content analysis followed by an analysis of the real-fictions from a rhetorical perspective.

The method in this study approaches TV news from a dramatistic perspective, seeing the news media as not only creators of reality but reflections of our society's dominant ideology. The Burkean tools of the pentad and the representative anecdote are utilized as well as a content analytic approach, to discover the content and nature of television news treatment of religion and politics in the 1984 presidential election campaign.

**Review of Pertinent Literature**

Four areas of literature seem pertinent to this study. They are 1) literature which presents a general understanding of the nature of television news, including findings on issues and events treated on network news, 2) works exploring the complexity of religion and politics in this country, especially the Christian Right, 3) research conducted involving the complex relationship between television news and politics, and 4) examinations of television network news in presidential campaigns,
particularly those treating the 1984 campaign. The review which follows divides the literature into these divisions and in that arbitrary order.

The Nature of Television News

The study of television news has its roots in a general concern for news which is illustrated by studies such as Walter Lippman's 1922, *Public Opinion*, investigation of newspapers and their influence in shaping reader opinion. Also, Daniel Boorstin's, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* which focuses on the news media's tendency to create news events is noteworthy.

Studies such as Richard Adler's collection of essays, *Understanding Television: Essays on Television as a Social and Cultural Force*, sponsored by the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies brought scholars together from a variety of disciplines to think seriously about television. Three essays from this collection are illustrative of television news' criticism from a traditionally informed perspective. Paul Weaver compares *TV News and Newspaper News* and concludes that TV news is the more subjective medium. Sharon Sperry makes a case for *Television News as Narrative* stating that stories on television newscasts can better be understood with narrative
Finally, Michael Robinson writes in Reflections on the Nightly News that network news creates political frustration in this country.  

David Altheide has written three books on media impact. Creating Reality dealt with the nature, process, and consequences of TV newswork. Media Logic looked at the influence major media perspectives had on social institutions. And Media Power examines the issue of media influence "by exploring how the mass media, and especially TV, provide formats, or templates for perception, expectation, and action."

As stated earlier, and developed in the methodology, a study of major influence on this dissertation is Dan Nimmo and James Combs' analysis of network news crisis coverage, reported in Nightly Horrors.

Researchers from the Media Institute in Washington, D.C. recently completed a quantitative content analysis of the three television networks news coverage of two issues: Social Security cost-of-living allowances and defense spending. Their conclusion:

The networks offered comprehensive coverage of the COLA and defense-spending debates less than half of the time. In addition, coverage was clearly imbalanced: It opposed freezing COLAs and it opposed increased defense spending, in both cases by margins of two to one. Over four-fifths of the coverage relied on journalists and government officials as sources of information.
Three recent studies from the journal *Critical Studies In Mass Communication* are noteworthy. First, Kyoon Hur's study, "A Critical Analysis of International News Flow Research," sought "to provide a critical review of theoretical and methodological issues in the current trends in international communication research." Second, "the amount and nature of Latin American news coverage on weeknight network television" was examined "to answer a series of important questions about the nature of news, its impact, and media policy," in "News of Latin America on Network Television, 1972-1981: A Northern Perspective on the Southern Hemisphere." Finally, Robert Hackett attacks the current paradigm in news media studies. He challenges major questions and assumptions governing much of the research to date in this area. The article, "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies," is especially noteworthy reading for this dissertation.

An extensive manual and computer search found the following dissertations representative of research being conducted in television news treatment of events or issues.

"The Vietnam War According to Chet, David, Walter, Harry, Peter, Bob, Howard, and Frank: A Content Analysis of Journalistic Performance by the Network Television Evening News Anchormen 1965-1975," by George Bailey is a
descriptive content analysis which counted the amount of Vietnam news on newscasts and searched for trends in coverage within a ten-year time span.

Robert Howard's dissertation, "Bias in Television News, A Content Analysis," used both qualitative and quantitative measures to determine bias on the three major networks in news stories involving the federal government.

"The Influence of Network Television News on Public Opinion," explores the question of why researchers have not been able to find significant evidence of media impact on public opinion. The author Harold Zucker concluded that impact should be looked at differently and research methodologies are to blame for underestimating the media's influence.

Dennis Oneal makes a case for television bias which ran contrary to studies to date in his 1979 dissertation, "The Treatment Of James Earl Carter and Gerald R. Ford during the 1976 Election Campaign by Television Network Commentators Eric Sevareid and Howard K. Smith: An Evaluative Assertion Analysis." He declared that little research to date had been conducted regarding commentators and news bias.

And NBC Reported the News Between 1970-1979, reported that the networks were similar in giving Israel more attention and more positive treatment in the evening newscasts. This study is especially useful since particulars concerning coding schemes, classification, and content definitions are borrowed from Asi.

"A Critical Analysis of The Rhetoric of CBS, ABC, And NBC Television News Coverage of The Nigerian Civil War," is a Burkean analysis concerned with cultural and rhetorical implications of TV news. Atutumama Okotie was interested in how a new reality or a different reality can be created by juxtaposing the visual and the auditory messages of television.

In 1982 Oscar Patterson at the University of Tennessee conducted a study entitled, "The Vietnam Veteran and The Media: A Comparative Content Analysis of Media Coverage Of The War And The Veteran 1978-1973." In sum, this dissertation applied content analysis to stratified random samples of television and news magazines and compared the coverage. Results reported Vietnam a dominant topic on television but not so in major weekly news magazines.

"An Analysis of The American Networks' Evening News Coverage of the 'Iran Crisis': Dateline Tehran, November 5, 1979 to January 15, 1980," is a qualitative content analysis dividing its data into to parts: oral and visual.
content. Christine Miller concluded that little difference appeared in the network coverage but dramatic action received attention over in-depth analysis.


Religion and Politics in America

The studies here attempt to explicate the unique relationship religion and politics have in America. *Time* magazine's cover story for the February 17, 1986 issue was "Gospel TV: Religion, Politics and Money." Feature writer, Richard Ostling wrote of, "Power, Glory -- And Politics," outlining the current status of the Christian right in America. Among other topics, this popular magazine developed the possibility of CBN's Pat Robertson and a presidential bid in 1988. *Time*’s attention to the Christian right and politics is evidence that the relationship between religion and politics is a serious topic of continuing interest in today's media.
Robert Zwier refers to the "New Christian Right" as a "loose coalition of groups grounded in religious fundamentalism," and attempts to document the coming together of religion and politics in America. His 1982 book chronicles the rise of representative participants of the "New Christian Right" such as the Moral Majority, and presents views on the proper political role Christians should have in a democratic society.

Hill and Owen's study, cited earlier in this chapter, follows a pattern similar to Zwier's in examining what Hill and Owen label as "The New Religious Political Right." These "two professional students of religion as a force in culture," (as they call themselves) are from the University of Florida and write of the what and why concerning the role fundamental Christians play in American political affairs.

"Determining the . . . role that religious values and beliefs play in the political system," properly characterizes Paul Lopatto's dissertation and subsequent book, Religion and the Presidential Election. The study concentrates on the six election campaigns between 1960 and 1980. In addition to a historical summary of the role of religion and politics from the founding days of our country, Lopatto attempts to explain how religious affiliation affects voting behavior. In a similar vein, John Hammond
looks at religion and voting behavior in *The Politics of Benevolence*. His most meaningful chapter for this study is "Religious Belief and Political Behavior." 63

Stephen Johnson and Joseph Tamney edited a collection of essays entitled, *The Political Role of Religion in the United States*. 64 Essays on background, the Christian Right, and religion and liberal issues are represented. This 1986 compilation has a sociological orientation and is useful due to the diversity of authorship represented and the recency of publication.

Two books with identical titles but different authors treat religious and political themes. Both Murray Stedman's 1964 treatise65 and Robert Fowler's investigation66 of *Religion and Politics in America* take a similar tact in tracing the patterns and growth of religion and politics from our country's beginning to present.

Furio Columbo addresses the issue of religion and politics in the 1984 election campaign and more generally delineates what he calls a "war of the churches" in his 1984 book, *God In America*. 67

*Religion in American Public Life*, 68 is a comprehensive study which approaches religion and politics from a historical and constitutional perspective. This 1985
study by James Reichley examines, among other things, the involvement of the Christian Right and their efforts to re-elect Reagan in 1984.

Religion and Politics in the Modern World, an essay by Raimundo Panikkar entitled, "Religion or Politics: The Western Dilemma," sheds light on the continuing controversy of the role of religion in politics. Panikkar outlines philosophical assumptions undergirding both religious and political concerns and provides a unique perspective to the relationship.

The Political Pulpit by Roderick Hart adds a rhetorical viewpoint to the phenomenon of American civic piety. This treatise develops American civil religion as a theoretical construct and is useful to this study providing additional background and a broader understanding of religion and politics from a rhetorical perspective.


Finally, two dissertations stand out as important to this study. First, Laurinda Porter used both content analysis and rhetorical criticism to examine excerpts from the speeches of Reagan, Kennedy, and Anderson in 1980. The
effort was to identify themes with regard to America and religion. Second, is a 1964 study which examines the religious issue in the campaigns of Alfred E. Smith in 1928 and John F. Kennedy in 1960. This dissertation by William Smith evaluated the two candidates attempts to persuasively deal with the religious issue, and examined how speeches given affected each candidate's career in politics.

**Television News and Politics**

The studies which follow offer a cross section of literature primarily interested in the special properties of mass mediated politics -- especially with regard to television and the news.

James Combs examines the dramatic role the media play in politics in *Dimensions of Political Drama.* Especially useful are chapters five and six which treat mass communication, politics and campaigns. This study is also noteworthy for its Burkean method.

James Combs teamed with Dan Nimmo in 1983 to produce the earlier cited work, *Mediated Political Realities.* In brief, this study's focus is fundamental to an understanding of the unique relationship politics and the media share. This study will draw from the theoretical ideas outlined there.
Gladys and Kurt Lang again bring insight to politics and television in their 1984 book, *Politics and Television Re-viewed*. The Langs review television and politics from the 1952 conventions to the 1984 presidential campaign. Their general conclusion calls for an interpretation of television which states that researchers need "to find some clues to . . . cumulative effects by looking at the way television transmits reality and affects imagery of politics and political figures."*

*Mass Media and American Politics* by Doris Graber treats the media/politics duality from many perspectives including: media impact on individual attitudes and behavior, the media as policymakers, and crisis coverage. Of particular interest to this study is her analysis of elections and television.

Robert Frank's content analysis referred to in the section on methodology is a good source of review for a politics/news study. The method employed as well as the discussion which followed is a good review of what was known about the topic in 1973.

Christopher Arterton, a political scientist from Yale, adopts in *Media Politics: The News Strategies of Presidential Campaigns* the perspective which examines in detail "the effects of organizationally determined imperatives . . . on the news."
In 1975 Edwin Diamond wrote a provocative book which examined both the form and the content of news. *The Tin Kazoo: Television, Politics, and the News*, developed from a series of lectures to undergraduates at M.I.T., takes off from the premise that as a bugle or a tin kazoo has only limited musical possibilities, so have the news media assumed they were so limited. This study presents background philosophy about "the currently accepted wisdom [that] television holds a major key to political power." Channels of Power has been widely publicized making the public aware of what researchers have known for some time. This book by Austin Ranney may not be a rigorous research endeavor, but the concepts, arguments and insights certainly summarize, in popular language, what is believed to be true about the power potential of television in politics.

In direct scholarly contrast to Ranney is Roderick Hart's article in *Critical Studies In Mass Communication*, September 1984. Here Hart, Jerome and McComb "detail the general verbal and visual characteristics of network news coverage of presidential speech making between 1969 and 1978." Of importance to my study is the quantitative and qualitative perspective used for analyzing newscasts which is similar in some ways to *Nightly Horrors*. 
Television News and Presidential Elections

David Swanson's monograph on television coverage in the 1976 presidential campaign appearing in The Quarterly Journal of Speech provides an excellent rhetorical perspective on the "important features of the world of national political campaigns as constructed by and presented in television network news." The study explores the way television assigns meaning to events, the unique frame of reference television brings to reporting, and questions the concern we have for the role television news plays in the political process.

Television Coverage of the 1980 Presidential Campaign, by William C. Adams, is an important book because it pulls together a variety of articles which examine the role of TV in the 1980 election campaign. Robert Sahr's consideration of issues in the news, as well as the first and last chapters by the editor, William Adams, which generally explore the subject are interesting.

Journalists Jack Germond and Jules Witcover write provocatively of the 1984 election campaign in their book, Wake Us When It's Over. Chapter eighteen, "Dallas: Winners and Losers," is especially germane to this study since it documents the religious issue in the campaign beginning with Reagan's declaration in August, 1984 that
"religion and politics are necessarily related." They present a useful viewpoint for an understanding of religion and politics within the context of the entire campaign.

Keith Blume presents an insightful viewpoint of what he calls *The Presidential Election Show: Campaign '84 and Beyond on the Nightly News*. Blume carefully describes his first hand impressions of news events and produces transcripts of network newscasts. The overall treatise of the subject as well as reflections on the religion/politics issue are useful.

A collection of articles from *Public Opinion* magazine offers insights and arguments important to this study. As mentioned earlier, these articles present theoretical and methodological propositions about the 1984 campaign and television news.

Finally, a paper by Makau, Makay and Golden which investigates network television coverage of the 1984 presidential debates sheds additional understanding of the scene. Although the study's focus is upon debates, it provides a good background to the present study as well as a methodology worthy of examination.
Organization of the Study

The remainder of this investigation is organized around the research questions generated in this introductory chapter.

Chapter Two will explore the historical and social context which provides an understanding of the relationship between religion and politics in the United States with particular regard to the mass media. Against this backdrop, chapter three will report the findings of the content analysis: length, number, and sources of reports; as well as location, newgathering modes, and network differences. In chapter four, the symbolic reality is examined from a dramatistic perspective with an application of the pentad. The fifth chapter also looks at the network coverage of religion and politics from a dramatistic viewpoint and will explicate the data with a special focus on the representative anecdote. The chapters using the dramatistic method will frequently utilize the findings of the content analysis reported in chapter three to support and enhance dramatistic claims. The sixth and final chapter will
attempt to draw theoretical claims about presidential campaigns, and the issue of religion and the dramatic portrayal of both by the network television news.
NOTES


11. Ibid., p. 128.

13. Ibid., p. 188.


24. Ibid., p. 28.


26. Ibid., p. 27.


29. Ibid., p. 162.


32. Ibid., p. 163.

33. Ibid., p. 164.


42. Altheide and Snow, Media Logic.

44. Nimmo and Combs, Nightly Horrors.


47. Ibid.


64. Johnson and Tamney, eds., Political Role of Religion in the United States.


75. Nimmo and Combs, Mediated Political Realities.


77. Ibid., p. 220.


79. Frank, Message Dimensions.


86. Germond and Witcover, Wake Us When It's Over.


88. Robinson and Ranney, eds., The Mass Media In Campaign '84.

CHAPTER TWO

Religion and Politics in the United States

The truth is, politics and morality are inseparable. And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related. We need religion as a guide. We need it because we are imperfect. And our government needs the church because only those humble enough to admit they're sinners can bring to democracy the tolerance it requires in order to survive. We established no religion in this country, nor will we ever. All are free to believe or not to believe. All are free to practice a faith or not. But those who believe must be free to speak of and act on their belief to apply moral teaching to public questions. Without God there is a coarsening of society. And without God, democracy will not and cannot long endure. If we ever forget that we're one nation under God, then we will be a nation gone under.  

Ronald Reagan

The President of the United States spoke these words at a prayer breakfast in Dallas on the morning of August 23, 1984. President Ronald Reagan's declaration that "religion and politics are necessarily related" drew cheers from the religious conservatives attending the prayer breakfast, but raised a furor in some other political and religious circles. These remarks made during the Republican
Convention brought to the forefront an issue rooted in the founding of our nation -- What should be the relationship between religion and politics?

Since the 1980 presidential election a considerable number of books and articles have appeared on the subject of religion and politics. The current movement of what has been called the "New Religious Political Right" can be credited in part for the renewed interest in the topic of religion and politics. Keith Blume's, The Presidential Election Show, is the only study I found which extensively examines how network news treated religion and politics in the 1984 election. But, several other current studies examine the issue of religion and politics without media analysis. The December, 1985 issue of Review of Religious Research is devoted entirely to "Religion and the 1984 Election," and is representative of recent reflections in journal publications.

In the November 1986 issue of Religious Broadcasting, D. James Kennedy, senior pastor of Coral Ridge Presbyterian Church in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, declared that "the whole biblical concept concerning the nature of man upon which our Constitution was founded is being eroded." He further explained the increased political involvement of the Christian Right as a reaction to a government which "has now included within the borders of its
own legislative and judicial enactments matters that for hundreds of years were considered to be merely in the realm of morality or spirituality." Kennedy was referring, of course, to governmental decisions regarding school prayer, abortion, and creationism. Kennedy's writing illustrates a common strategy utilized by conflicting camps to justify their actions by citing the original intention of this country's Founding Fathers.

From Thomas Jefferson and James Madison to Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale the debate over the proper relationship between church and state has continued. Because of strong sentiment and controversy surrounding religion and politics, debating the mixture seems to be a temptation neither politicians nor clergy can avoid -- especially when the President clearly articulates and supports a particular position.

The relationship between politics and religion is complex and raises important questions. For example, historically, what religious and political forces influenced the present shape of the American scene? What precipitating events led to the present rhetorical situation over religion and politics in America? What is the historical, social, and political context for the relationship between church and state in the United States?
With these overriding questions in mind, I chose five key questions to probe the religion and politics (or church and state) issue. The questions provide a necessary framework for this chapter.

1. What relationship was intended at the inception of this country, and what was practiced during the early years?

2. What is the constitutional position on the subject and how has the Supreme Court interpreted the Constitution?

3. What underlying theoretical and philosophical positions guide thinking on the issue?

4. In what particular presidential campaigns was the religion factor prominent?

5. What is known about the rise of conservative Christian involvement in politics during the past decade?

This chapter will summarize the historical implications which bear on the present as found in the writings of prominent scholars who have investigated this topic and reported their findings in clear and cogent terms. Always of interest is the manner in which media have characterized or reported the events spawned by the joining of these two cultural forces. This is a brief historical sketch of religion and politics in the United States. It is not comprehensive in scope but will place in context the current political/religious controversy in the United States.
An additional intention of this chapter is to aid in assessing the basis for the various and often conflicting claims and charges made by political candidates and members of the religious community during the 1984 campaign. There is considerable mythology surrounding the role religion played in politics during the early days of our country. Claims made by politicians and clerics alike are often speculative, and sometimes contradictory.

A goal of this chapter is to provide a historical basis by which to judge current claims. Armed with these findings, rhetorical criticism can be conducted in Chapters Four and Five applying the yardstick outlined here. Judgments can be made about the rhetoric of news anchors, correspondents and news sources placing them into ideological camps based on articulations of the role religion and politics have or should play in America.

The last decade has seen an increased interest in the "hypothetical relationship that exists between religion and politics." One leading sociologist exploring the subject is Robert Bellah who coined the phrase "civil religion." Bellah declares that although the church and the state are separate, there is still a religious dimension in the political sphere in the United States. He defines civil religion as "a genuine apprehension of universal and transcendent religious reality as seen in, or revealed
through, the experience of the American people." Bellah further concludes that civil religion provides a common frame of reference or starting point by which Americans make sense of their world. Several studies support Bellah's claim of civil religion. Civil religion or the mixture of religion and politics has a long historical precedent in the United States.

Religion and Politics in Early America

Religion has been intertwined with politics from the beginning of this country. The early colonists were concerned about religious tyranny and governmental intervention into areas of religion. History reveals many injustices done by governments in the name of God. Indeed, settlers in the New World often came to escape religious persecution and discrimination. Of the thirteen colonies, four were settled principally for religious reasons. These colonies clearly desired the separation of church and state and opposed an established state church. The other nine established churches where the secular and the sacred clearly mixed. In general, "religion in the colonies was an autocratic, orthodox force on men," and the notion that there was a clear separation of church and state in the Colonial era is erroneous.
Robert Fowler characterizes the religious and political culture of the early 18th century with five claims. First, "religion was often, though not always, established." Government gave support to various religious organizations in varying measure.

Second, "religion was notably pluralistic; no church was established over all the colonies." The degree of pluralism enjoyed today was not in evidence then, but groups other than numerically dominant protestants were tolerated. Catholics were in evidence along with a small Jewish contingent.

Third, "church membership was small, probably no more than 6 percent of the population belonged to a church in 1776." This can be explained in part by the high moral and religious standards required for membership.

Fourth, Puritanism was the dominant influence in both religious and political realms. Basic Puritan ideology encouraged individual liberty and viewed America as "the new Israel" and an example for the world to emulate.

Fifth, by the middle of the century, an important counterinfluence was felt -- religious rationalism. "This view affirmed a deistic belief in God, but rejected the rest of Christianity, including the divinity of Jesus." Those holding this belief were not many in number, but were powerful in position. Among its adherents were Thomas
Jefferson, James Madison and Benjamin Franklin. Fowler provides evidence that by the mid 1700's the Founding Fathers shared one important position. They were "encouraging a separation of Church and State at the national level, so that each group could proceed free from national interference."\(^{10}\) It was this belief in the separation of church and state that guided the early beginnings of the United States.

After the American revolution, James Madison led the committee preparing the wording of the clause establishing the free exercise of religion. Madison was the principal author of the First Amendment which contains the important clause: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ."\(^{11}\) Both Madison and Jefferson championed the concept to assure tolerance among religious groups. This early, landmark amendment will be examined more fully later in this chapter.

Paul Lopatto identifies, as does Robert Fowler, "disestabishment" as the first religious question of the new republic. Should individual states be permitted to declare a particular denomination as the official state church? The right of individual states to function free from national governmental intervention was of major concern in the early years of our country. At times individual
state rights were tested on the issue of state churches. The Bill of Rights prohibited a national church, but not until 1866 and the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment were the individual states under the same provision. However, it must be noted that by 1833 all states had voluntarily disestablished their churches.\(^\text{12}\)

As Lopatto and others point out, the religious factor was not just concerned with disestablishment, but also ventured into areas of "public morality and its inevitable tendency to conflict with personal liberty." The early Congress was a battleground for deciding, for example, whether the government "was the proper instrument for eradicating gambling and grog selling."\(^\text{13}\)

Lopatto lists several areas of public morality which he labels as "politicized religious conflict." The pre-Civil war years contained prohibition legislation, denominational realignment along political lines, and of course the issue of abolition; all of which took on distinctly political/religious dimensions. Also during this period the Know-Nothing and the Anti-Masonic movements began. The predominant sentiment of these groups was distinctly anti-Catholic in flavor and helped perpetuate "politicized religious conflict."\(^\text{14}\)
It seems clear that religion and politics were inextricably meshed in our country's early formative years. From questions of disestablishment and prohibition, to abolition and anti-Catholicism, the American political landscape was molded by religious concerns.

The next section examines the legal and constitutional ramifications of religion and politics.

The Constitution and Religion

The First Amendment of the United States Constitution states that: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, nor prohibiting the free exercise thereof; . . ." James Reichley articulates the constitutional influence thus:

The issue of religion in American public life includes much more than the constitutional relationship between church and state. But the constitutional framework does provide the legal structure which the larger interaction between religion and civil interests take place.  

Reichley points out that until 1940 the Supreme Court rarely made decisions on church state issues. Since the 1940 decision which upheld a Jehovah's Witnesses' right to proselytize in a dominate Catholic community, "the Court has gradually defined a broad right to free exercise of religion."
With the Constitution in mind, in what way should religious commitment relate to political matters or governmental operations? Does the constitution forbid religious involvement in politics? Many scholars declare that there is nothing in the Bill of Rights to prevent churches or any individual from playing an active role in politics. In fact, some feel "the most secure foundation for religious activism lies in the First Amendment." Paul Weber provides strong argument "not only that there is a firm constitutional basis for religious involvement in politics but also that encouraging such involvement is a sound and healthy component of the political process and does not lead to excessive entanglement."  

Weber explains that some have "argued that the freedom of speech and assembly clauses do not apply to religious groups or religiously motivated individuals because they are protected and limited by the religion clauses of the First Amendment." Weber states that separation is a generic term and may have various meanings. He then examines the foundation for separation of church and state by explicating four views on the meaning of separation. The position taken on separation will dictate the view regarding the role religion should play in politics.
Structural Separation severs "formal legal, and systemic ties between religion and polity." It is characterized by "independent clerical and civil offices, separate organizations, different personnel performing different functions, separate systems of law and independent ownership of property." It is the common structure of the Western culture and does not "exclude the special protections, privileges, and economic supports commonly included in the term 'established church'."\(^1\)

Absolute Separation is a more extreme view and has two perspectives. One view is derived from nineteenth-century jurist Jeremiah S. Black:

The manifest object of the men who framed the institutions of this country was to have a State without religion and a Church without politics -- that is to say, they meant that one should never be used as an engine for the purposes of the other . . . . For that reason they built a wall of complete and perfect partition between the two.

Both the American Humanist Association and the American Civil Liberties Union take a more radical position of absolute separation. In part their position has been articulated by Justice Hugo L. Black thusly:

The "establishment of religion" means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another . . . . Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate
in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa . . . . [emphasis added]

It is quite apparent that the structural and the absolute views on separation present a distinctly different role religion should play in American political life.

Transvaluing Separation rejects "the use of all religious symbols or the appeal to religious values and motivations in the political arena." This type of separation would not allow persons to meet and discuss religious matters or attempt to win others to their beliefs. In the extreme form it would deny legal existence and forbid religious groups from owning property, operating schools, and publishing religious materials. This position suppresses fundamental religious freedom and has never seriously been an option in American life.

Supportive Separation is the concept embodied in the term "accommodation of church and state." Basically, this position permits aid and privileges to all, provided none are discriminated against. It embraces structural separation with a "supportive" orientation. This position is the most generous and "accommodating" to religious groups. Its theoretical foundations have been characterized by Justice William O. Douglas:

We are a religious people whose intuitions presuppose a Supreme Being. We guarantee the freedom to worship as one chooses. We make room for as wide a variety of beliefs and
creeds as the spiritual needs of man deem necessary. We sponsor an attitude on the part of government that shows no partiality to any one group and that lets each flourish according to the zeal of its adherents and the appeals of its dogma. When the state encourages religious instruction or cooperates with religious authorities by adjusting the schedule of public events to sectarian needs, it follows the best of our traditions. For it then respects the religious nature of our people and accommodates the public service to their spiritual needs.23

**Equal Separation** denies all political or legal privilege based on religion, but guarantees protection given to other similar individuals or groups. In effect it provides protection without privilege. The unique aspect of this view is its rejection both by those who favor religion because they might lose privileges and by those who oppose religion because religion would keep its protections.24

Weber further develops a thesis which indicates that ones view of separation will dictate how he/she sees the intention of the founding fathers and interprets the Constitution. He carefully traces the Supreme Court rulings and concludes one can not assume "that religion can be separated from other issues . . . . The political process in its most significant moments has concerned itself with the great human issues, which, not surprisingly, have been entwined with great religious issues . . . ."25 He concludes his article with the assertion
that there are both a firm constitutional basis and sound policy reasons for allowing religious groups and individuals to compete equally with other groups and individuals in attempting to influence the formation of public policy.26

As will be developed in Chapter Four, 1984 political candidates Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale use the language and phrasing presented here which indicates their view on separation.

Philosophical Reflections on Religion and Politics

Scholars of religion and politics compare the two and point to a similarity of ultimate goals. "The chief thing that religion and politics have in common is that both are concerned with the pursuit of values -- personal, social, or transcendent," asserts James Reichley.

Raimundo Panikkar addresses this topic by defining the intent of both politics and religion. He defines "politics' to be the sum total of principles, symbols, means, and actions whereby Man endeavors to attain the common good of the polis." And Panikkar defines religion as "the sum total of principles, symbols, means and actions whereby Man expects to reach the summum bonum [realization of plenitude] of life."27 In Panikkar's opinion religion and politics cannot be totally separate. He declares that "politics and religion are not two independent activities, nor are they one indiscriminate thing. There is no politics separate from religion. There is no religious factor that
is not at the same time a political factor.\textsuperscript{28} Political and religious fulfillment comes in the working toward bettering the world we live in. The disagreement over their mixing often comes with regard to what is in the best interest of the country.

Panikkar further states that "to manipulate political factors to foster or combat religion . . . is self-destructive of both religion and politics."\textsuperscript{29} It seems appropriate to distinguish religious issues and moral issues. Is there a distinction between the moral and the religious? Does the fact that various religious groups want to outlaw abortion make it a religious issue? Or is abortion simply a question of what is best for the polis and truly a political issue? Is murder a moral or a religious issue? The obvious conclusion is that religious persons and institutions are always interested in questions of morality, and that a moral issue, though often neither theological nor ecclesiastical, will receive support and attention by the religious community. When this occurs the moral issue takes on distinctly religious overtones.

The next section traces the particular influence of religion on presidential election campaigns.
Religion in Presidential Campaigns

Peter Odegard, a political scientist with a life-long interest in politics and religion, writes that, "so firmly rooted in our political tradition is the idea of the secular state that any discussion of religious questions in political campaigns seems not merely irrelevant but improper. Yet in many ways religious issues are at stake in nearly every presidential campaign." 30

Paul Lopatto's study of religion and presidential elections found that the influence of religion on voting behavior was clear from the early party system. The conservative Federalists or Whigs were usually aligned with the Episcopalian and Congregationalist churches and the Jeffersonians or Jacksonians with the Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians. 31 Here we find the beginnings of political alignment based in part on religious grounds.

Other writers such as Berton Dulce and Edward J. Richter have been specifically interested in what they call the recurring American problem -- religion and the presidency. An important early congressional decision, even before the Bill of Rights, was the "religious-test" clause. At the Constitutional Convention in 1787 the clause was
passed, but not without opposition. It read, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the authority of the United States."^32

The religious-test clause was tested less than ten years after its passage. In the election years of 1796, 1800, and 1804, Thomas Jefferson was severely criticized by militant religionists. The attack was based in part upon Jefferson documents supporting religious freedom and disestablishment. He was labeled as a French Revolution sympathizer and anticleric. Federalists claimed Jefferson was outside of even liberal religion. Dulce and Richter say the 1800 election

was characterized in political cartoons of the period as one between the forces of law, order, and religion against the irreligion of Voltaire and his ilk. The fact that Jefferson had been a vestryman for some time in earlier years was lost in the turmoil. Jefferson's declaration in his 1801 inaugural address of intending "equal and exact justice to all men, whatever state of persuasion, religious or political,..." did little to assuage militant religionists. Again in the election of 1804 he was attacked as he had been in 1796 and 1800.^^

It is particularly interesting to note that the attacks stemmed from Jefferson's apparent lack of religious affiliation or purity and not from an excessive attachment to religious principles.

By the 1820s several states had laws "barring clergymen from holding public office."^34 So, even in those early elections religious moderation seemed to be the safest
political route for candidates. Politicians might avoid controversy by avoiding excessive religious involvement while showing evidence of some religious attachment.

Dulce and Richter make a strong claim for repeated involvement of religion into presidential elections. They assert that

For all the efforts to protect against it, the question of religion ... was to figure prominently in an average of one of every three campaigns for the Presidency through 1960.  

The basic premise of Dulce and Richter's book is religion as a force in presidential campaigns. They provide evidence that by the mid 1800s "the religion issue had become a full-fledged, double-edged device for political agitation." Their study documents Jefferson, Jackson, Polk, and Pierce as having to overcome challenges between 1796 and 1852 based on religious grounds.\(^6\)

In at least three presidential elections Catholicism has been a controversial religious factor. First was in the election of 1884 between James G. Blaine and Grover C. Cleveland; the second was the Alfred E. Smith vs. Herbert Hoover campaign; and finally, and most recently, the John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon struggle of 1960. According to Richard Pierard, in these elections can be found the most noteworthy examples of religion in presidential campaigns prior to 1980.\(^7\)
The religious/political overtones in the 1884 race between James G. Blaine and Grover C. Cleveland were based on intolerance for Catholics. Some historians believe a New York City preacher who claimed the Democrats were the party of "rum, Romanism, and rebellion," prompted Catholic Democrats to get out and vote for and elect Cleveland by a narrow margin. Although it is unlikely that one anti-Catholic speech could have swayed the election, a Catholic backlash to protestant rhetoric is a plausible explanation of the election outcome. Scholars such as Seymour Lipset and Earl Rabb confirm Dulce and Richter's contention that anti-Catholic sentiment has been exploited in several elections.

Again in 1928 religion factored in a presidential election campaign. In the 1920s two politicized religious issues were the anti-Catholic Ku Klux Klan, and prohibition. Fundamentalist sentiment was running high against Catholicism and legalized alcohol consumption. Alfred E. Smith, the Democratic choice for the presidency was a Catholic and an anti-prohibitionist. Protestant religious conservatives entered the fray that quickly took on an unpleasant character. Anti-Catholic publications appeared appealing to the protestant's worst fears; "a
professed Roman Catholic was actually trying to take over the Presidency." Dulce and Richter document the election controversy and describe the media coverage.

Tracts, handbills, leaflets, and posters . . . were entitled Crimes of the Popes, Roman Oaths, Covenant Life Unveiled, Convent Horrors, and Popery in the Public Schools. Up to one million of these found their way into circulation in one-week periods. In them, old issues were once again revived. One magazine, purporting to examine Smith's "un-American activities," advertised itself thusly: "Nothing like it in America . . . Turns the Light on Romanism . . . Makes War on the Liquor Machine." The author of this tract, a West Coast Methodist preacher maintained not only that Lincoln had died as a result of a "Romanish" plot but also that Garfield and McKinley had been murdered by "Romanists."

Studies have found that Smith lost primarily on the issue of prohibition. One survey indicated that the "wet issue was nearly three times as important as the religious one." However, churches were heavily involved in support of temperance groups such as the W.C.T.U. (Women's Christian Temperance Union) and the Anti-Saloon League. "Church support was forthcoming from scores of denominations" and "placard, broadcasts, advertisements, leaflets, posters, books, and handbills by the millions were thrown into its drive." Smith's religious affiliation may not have been the sole cause for his defeat, but clearly religious groups were mobilized and energized in the presidential politics in 1928.
The 1960 election found Catholicism again to be an issue. Although John F. Kennedy declared that he was "not the Catholic candidate," and that he was "not a legal subject of the Pope," strong opposition based on his religious affiliation erupted. The National Association of Evangelicals stated their concern with the claim that "Any county the Roman Catholic Church dominates suppresses the right of Evangelicals." The officers continued with, "For that reason, thinking Americans view with alarm the possible election of a Roman Catholic as President of the United States." Representatives from the Indiana Bible Fellowship, who today would be considered part of the conservative Christian right, challenged Kennedy to a debate: "Resolved that a Roman Catholic President cannot impartially defend the Constitution and advance the true welfare of the United States while remaining true to his religion." It is interesting to note that evangelicals who were in opposition to religion and politics in 1960, became actively involved in electing their candidate in the 1980s.

In the 1960 campaign not all protestant leaders opposed Kennedy on religious grounds. Many agreed with the sentiments of a Methodist Bishop in Indianapolis who said,
"Having seen Catholicism in thirty countries, I am convinced that Catholicism in the United States is the most spiritually wholesome and soundly alive in the world."  

Kennedy answered his critics with the following oft-quoted speech striking to the heart of the religious issue.

I believe in an America where the separation of church and state is absolute -- where no Catholic prelate would tell the President (should he be Catholic) how to act and no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote -- where no church or church school is granted any public funds or political preference -- and where no man is denied public office merely because his religion differs from the President who might appoint him or the people who might elect him.

I believe in an America that is officially neither Catholic, Protestant nor Jewish -- where no public official either requests or accepts instructions on public policy from the Pope, the National Council of Churches or any other ecclesiastical source -- where no religious body seeks to impose its will directly or indirectly upon the general populace or the public acts of its officials -- and where religious liberty is so indivisible that an act against one church is treated as an act against all.

For while this year it may be a Catholic against whom the finger of suspicion is pointed, in other years it has been, and may someday be again, a Jew -- or a Quaker -- or a Unitarian -- or a Baptist.

The triumph of Kennedy over religious prejudice provided hope for some that Americans were at last coming to a religious maturity or tolerance. But in part as backlash to the turbulent 60s, the 1980 Presidential election
"brought forth a more unusual phenomenon: aggressive political activity in the name of fundamentalist Christianity." This new force emerged in the late 70s and has been instrumental and visible in the past two presidential election campaigns.

The Christian Right and Recent Elections

In this chapter's final section, I will explore the role conservative Christians have had in politics during the past decade. These questions will be addressed:

1. Who are the "Christian Right"?
2. What do they hope to achieve politically?
3. How effective were they in the 1980 and 1984 elections?

The "New Christian Right" is the most common term for the latest religious/political factor in this country. Some additional descriptive appellations include: "The New Religious Political Right," "The Christian Right Movement," "the religious right," and various references to "religious fundamentalism" or "evangelicals."

Trying to assess who the New Christian Right are is much like trying to determine the identity of the Women's Liberation Movement. It is difficult to establish the identity of the New Christian Right since the movement can be linked with so many different religious organizations, and yet is not solely nor clearly identified with any.
Three basic methods have been used to determine who the movement includes. First, identification based on membership with fundamentalist groups such as Southern Baptists. Second, classification gleaned from surveys that have identified respondents' views. A final method has been derived from "self-professed affinity with evangelical groups." The problem stems from an inability to determine a form of religiosity that is politically significant. Three factors have been used for identification: "an individual's religious denomination, belief in the importance of religion and the Bible, and feeling of closeness to evangelical groups."

The New Christian Right has been contrasted with mainline religion. Samuel Hill and Dennis Owen identify what they call the "New Religious Political Right" by association with certain positions or principles. They assert that the NRPR is apt to subscribe to most or all of the following:

1. American society is decadent and plummeting toward destruction;
2. While all have a legal right to a great diversity of position, some are clearly out of step with the divine intention and the American tradition;
3. The nation's health and survival are directly correlated with the morality of its behavior;
4. Positions are [clearly] divisible into right and wrong . . . ;
5. The right way is obtained from divinely revealed authority in Scripture and the faithful interpretations of it;
6. Wrong religious interpretations may be more harmful than the vision of unreligious people;
7. The priority list of the crucial
values may be, and has been, ascertained by a certain group of conservative Protestants; 
. . . (8) general culture is fallen and hence may not be trusted as a source of the true and right . . . .

Mainline religion is criticized as "being at home in the culture," accepting pluralism, practicing compromise and negotiation, a tolerance of change, and

a disinclination to divide the human race into the good and the bad, Christians and non-Christians, with an allied concern for the total good of all, rather than the salvation of each and the defense of the Christian faith.

The New Christian Right is most visibly identified with three major organizations: Christian Voice, the Roundtable (sometimes referred to as the Religious Roundtable or the Christian Roundtable), and the Moral Majority, Inc. However, Hill and Owen document the NRPR as organizationally "a virtual labyrinth of political action committees, lobbies, educational and research foundations, publications, television programs, and churches." Indeed, Family and Freedom Digest lists over ninety organizations loosely linked to the New Christian Right.

Christian Voice began in California in 1978 as a voice in government to fight homosexuality. Its budget and membership is uncertain, but the issues it supports are not. It concentrates on pressuring Washington on social issues concerning family and schools, such as homosexual teachers
and prayer in schools. It is most noted for the Christian "morality" index for members of Congress in 1980 and its "Biblical Scorecard" of 1984.\(^5\)

In brief, the Religious Roundtable is an organization of religious leaders who act in part as a clearing house for conservative educational material. Reverend James Robison is vice president and Roundtable's principal spokesperson. The organization is not as well known as is the Moral Majority nor are its aims identical. Undoubtedly, it has an influence serving the conservative position in Christian politics.\(^6\)

The most nationally visible and vocal organization during the past two elections was the Moral Majority, Inc. led by its founder and chief voice the Reverend Jerry Falwell. An articulate spokesperson, Falwell has repeatedly outlined the religious and political positions, strategies and goals of the Moral Majority. The following are illustrative.

We are not a political party. We are committed to work within the two-party system in this nation . . . . We are not attempting to elect "born-again" candidates. We are committed to pluralism.

Moral Majority, Inc., is not a religious organization attempting to control the government . . . . We simply desire to influence government -- not control government. This, of course, is the right of every American, and Moral Majority, Inc., would vigorously oppose any Ayatollah-type person rising to power in this country.
We do not believe that individuals or organizations which disagree with Moral Majority, Inc., belong to an immoral minority. However, we do feel that our position represents a consensus of the majority of Americans. This belief in no way reflects on the morality of those who disagree with us.

Moral Majority, Inc., is a political organization providing a platform for religious and nonreligious Americans, who share moral values, to address their concerns in these areas. Members of Moral Majority, Inc., have no common theological premise. 61

These statements represent the Moral Majority as an interest group with designs on capturing the support of like-minded Americans. The organization's strength should be neither exaggerated nor dismissed. Its major contribution to the political landscape has been convincing politicians and competing groups to take note of a portion (majority or not) of the electorate who say they "have had enough, [we] are joining hands together for the changing, the rejuvenating of a nation." 62

In January of 1986 the Reverend Fawell spoke to the National Press Club in Washington, D.C. and officially announced that "the Moral Majority name and charter are not broad enough to cover" many of the issues it confronts. He said a new organization, "The Liberty Federation with a very broad charter will be our parent organization." Further clarification indicated that "Moral Majority will be a subsidiary and will continue functioning in the 'strictly
moral' areas where we have labored in earlier years. 63

People for the United Way applauded the decision but chairman John Buchanan noted in criticism that

Now that he admits that he is in the political arena . . . he should stop suggesting that to disagree with Jerry Falwell is to side with Satan against God. 64

James Reichley begins his recent book with an excellent summation of religion in the past election.

"The role of religion in the 1984 national election campaign was unusually intense and visible. President Reagan rarely missed a chance to invoke religious themes in his appeals for support from cultural conservatives. Former Vice-President Walter Mondale, his Democratic opponent, charged that the Reagan administration was undermining the constitutional barrier between church and state and argued that the president was "out to lunch" on the "part of a Christian's responsibility" that called for social justice. Leaders of the Roman Catholic church, the nation's largest denomination, accused Representative Geraldine Ferraro, the Democratic nominee for vice-president and herself a Catholic, of misrepresenting the church's teaching of abortion. And the Reverend Jesse Jackson, the first ordained minister to be a serious candidate for president, campaigned pulpits of black churches across the nation in his pursuit of the Democratic nomination. 65

How effective have these organizations or the New Christian Right been in recent elections? The reviews are not conclusive in part because assessments are difficult to determine as is true in all effects research. What follows is a brief sketch of research attempts to measure impact.
Robert Zwier reported in his 1982 assessment that the New Christian Right does not represent the views of the entire evangelical community, but gains adherents from smaller more conservative conclaves within the larger body. He concludes that since one aim of the New Christian Right is to convert society, "it cannot achieve its objectives only through politics . . . ." nor can "the opponents of the New Christian Right achieve their objectives by restricting entry to the political arena, because moral standards transcend that arena."66

The political views of the coming generation of evangelicals were measured in James Hunter's 1984 study of students attending Evangelical colleges and seminaries. He concluded that "it would appear that Evangelicals generally, but the coming generation particularly, are firmly committed to the liberal traditions of social and political tolerance." Hunter further states that

One could hypothesize that commentators [TV news] over-interpret the phenomenon. In this case, the political extremism of a minority of religious elites has been projected on the whole population of conservative Protestants. If this is true, then it may represent a certain gullibility on the part of these commentators in believing those who claim to represent forty million or so Evangelical Christians. In addition, most of those who are commenting on the emergence of the New Christian Right tend to share a liberal bias against theologically conservative Protestants.67
Hunter concludes with the claim that "Quite possibly, contemporary Evangelical political activism, generally tolerant and civil, may adumbrate the political future of all religious orthodoxies."

Stephen Johnson and Joseph Tamney sampled the population to investigate the impact the Christian Right had in the 1980 election. They tested the assumption that most members of the Christian Right would vote for Reagan. Johnson and Tamney conclude that the New Christian Right had very little, if any, effect on people's vote for the President in the 1980 election. They point out, however, that in a closer election, their overwhelming support could have been decisive -- or if they had opposed Reagan as overwhelmingly, they might not have won the election.

Jeffrey Brudney and Gary Copeland identified the New Christian Right as only 10 percent of the population and concluded that since Reagan won by a wide margin, their votes failed to tip the scale. They further stated that in a closer election, "their overwhelming support could have been decisive, or if they had opposed Reagan as overwhelmingly, they might not have won the election." What impact can be determined in 1984? It will take some time to make a reliable assessment, but some of the early results support either no effect or a negative effect. What impact can be determined in 1984? It will take some time to make a reliable assessment, but some of the early results support either no effect or a negative effect.

The impact of the New Christian Right on election results is still not clear. Stephen Johnson assessed the impact of the New Christian Right on election results and concluded:

"What impact can be determined in 1984? It will take some time to make a reliable assessment, but some of the early results support either no effect or a negative effect. What impact can be determined in 1984? It will take some time to make a reliable assessment, but some of the early results support either no effect or a negative effect."

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As for the political impact of the Christian Right and the Moral Majority, our data indicated that the latter which is a specific political action group, did have some impact in 1984, but the more general Christian Right movement had little political impact at the presidential level in 1980 and 1984. Furthermore, even though the mobilization efforts of the Moral Majority through direct mail and religious television brought some votes over to Reagan in 1984, the nature of these mobilization efforts at this point seem to have been more negative than positive, because there were more anti-Moral Majority who voted for Mondale than pro-Moral Majority voting for Reagan.

Richard Pierard summarizes religion and the 1984 election with these conclusions:

Although the moral dimensions of public policy had been made into a major campaign issue, poll results from the latter stages of the contest already were showing that religion was not as decisive an element in the electorate's decision-making as many had thought.

It was a great personal victory for President Reagan but not for the New Christian Right.

Despite these conclusions, one fact seems clear. Americans remain, in the words of Justice Douglas, "a religious people." Over 90 percent of all Americans report some kind of religious attachment. Polls show that 56 percent regard religion as "very important" and 30 percent regard it as "fairly important."

Reichley sums up this chapter well when he says

From the beginning of American history, religion and the practice of democracy have been closely intertwined. This relationship,
despite changes in structure and recurring tensions, shows no sign of breaking. "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity," George Washington said in his farewell address, "religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens." Most Americans continue to believe that Washington was right.

Can the apparent ineffectiveness of the New Christian Right be in any way attributed to the manner in which they were portrayed in the media? The remainder of this dissertation examines treatment of the religion and politics conflict as portrayed on the network evening news during the 1984 Presidential campaign.
NOTES


8. Ibid., pp. 168-192.


13. Ibid., p. 2.


16. Ibid.


18. Ibid.

19. Ibid., p. 18.


25. Ibid., p. 34.


28. Ibid., p. 50.

29. Ibid., p. 59.

31. Lopatto, Religion and the Presidential Election, p. 3.

32. Dulce and Richter, Religion and the Presidency, p. 8.

33. Ibid., p. 11.

34. Ibid., p. 16.

35. Ibid., p. 11.

36. Ibid., p. 39.


38. Ibid.


41. Dulce and Richter, Religion and the Presidency, p. 87.

42. Ibid.


44. Dulce and Richter, Religion and the Presidency, p. 95.

45. Ibid., p. 130.

46. Ibid., p. 134.

47. Ibid., p. 131.

48. Ibid., pp. 174-75.

50. This is the most common label given and can be found in most books and articles on the subject.


54. Ibid., pp. 1073-1074.


56. Ibid., pp. 19-20.

57. Fowler, Religion and Politics, p. 205.


59. Fowler, Religion and Politics, p. 207.

60. Ibid., pp. 217-218.


64. John Buchanan, quoted in "Falwell Forms Liberty Federation To Carry Flag," The Columbus Dispatch 4 January 1986, p. 9A.


68. Ibid., p. 377.


74. Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE

Findings of the Content Analysis

As outlined in Chapter One, this dissertation employs a methodology which blends both quantitative and qualitative content analyses. This chapter deals particularly with the quantitative content analysis and describes in detail how the method was implemented and reports the findings. Of central concern are network differences in coverage of religion as a political issue in the 1984 presidential campaign.

Two objectives guide the content analysis. First, efforts are directed at measurement. How much time and other descriptive data can be attributed to each network? The second objective seeks to determine the nature or direction of the coverage. The first objective correlates with the "hard" analysis or "agenda" approach and the second with the "soft" analysis or "depiction" approach; both of which are developed in detail in Chapter One.

All three primary American television news networks -- NBC Nightly News, ABC World News Tonight, and the CBS Evening News -- reported religion as a primary political issue during the 1984 campaign. Why did they report
religion as an issue? Was religion and politics problematic because the candidates said it was? Or, was its potential for sensationalism exploited by the networks? Why and when did religion and politics merit network coverage? Why would one network play the story for more minutes over a longer period of time than another? What events caused the networks to drop the religion and politics issue?

Questions like these may not be answerable. And it is not the intent of this dissertation to assume the networks caused religion to affect the elections. However, investigation explicating the apparent differences among the three TV networks can lead to a better understanding of how network television performs when confronted with a controversial issue at a time when the stakes are considerable and the fight for ratings is unquestioned.

**Agenda Approach**

Research revealing the timing, report locale, issues covered, selection of sources, etc., tells us more about network news than about religion and politics. This content analysis looks for numerical patterns of TV news coverage and examines the substance of the reports. It is a first step toward understanding the role network television played in reporting the issues in the 1984 election campaign.
The following categories are modified but originate from the Nimmo and Combs study, *Nightly Horrors*. They are used for the agenda or "hard" content research completed in this study.

1. Number of reports by network.

2. Length of the reports.

3. Identity of the anchors, correspondents, and commentary.

4. Locale of the report:
   a. Network studio
   b. Government office
   c. Private home or office
   d. Church or religious site

5. Issues mentioned and principal issue.
   a. Separation of church and state
   b. Linkage of religion and politics
   c. Linkage of morality and politics
   d. Abortion as a political issue
   e. Hecklers at Ferraro's rallies
   f. Catholic church and abortion
   g. Influence of Christian Right on Supreme court appointments
   h. Voter registration drives
   i. Prayer in schools
   j. Ethics in politics
   k. God and politics

   a. In prayer
      Reagan
      Mondale
      Bush
      Ferraro
      Christian Right clergy
      Catholic clergy
      Average citizen
      Christian Right citizen
b. Near or in church
   Reagan
   Mondale
   Bush
   Ferraro
   Reporter

c. Signs/banners/posters
   anti-abortion
   pro-abortion

d. Network generated graphics

e. Film showing homosexuals

f. None of the above

7. Sources appearing and quoted.
a. Christian Right clergy
   Jerry Falwell
   Jimmy Swaggart
   Jim Bakker
   James Robison
   Other Christian Right clergy

b. Catholic clergy
   John O'Connor
   Pope

c. Candidates
   Reagan
   Mondale
   Bush
   Ferraro

d. Political figures
   Mario Cuomo
   Jesse Jackson
   Other political figures

e. Jewish leader
f. Jewish Rabbi

g. Main-line Protestant clergy

h. Scholar/expert

i. Interest group leader

j. Average citizen

k. Religious group not in the Jewish or Christian tradition

l. None of the above

**Depiction Approach**

The depiction perspective is subjective and requires that content be analyzed in a manner labeled as "soft" by Robert Frank. The purpose is to determine how the networks
characterized the religion issue in the campaign. In essence, the question here goes beyond what was said and examines how it was said? Did the networks slant the issue of religion in a particular direction? Were the reports presented in such a way as to indicate a negative or positive implication? These questions lead to assessments of bias or direction in coverage.

In a broad sense the questions originate from *Nightly Horrors* and attempt to discover the "spin" or tone of the report. Maura Clancey and Michael J. Robinson examined the network's coverage of the presidential and vice-presidential candidates in the 1984 election and "used "spin" as their first and most important test of good and bad press."4 Clancey and Robinson judged the reporter along lines coded as positive and negative with regard to subjective comments.5 This dissertation uses the codes, reassuring, alarming, and neutral which were employed by both Nimmo and Combs in *Nightly Horrors* and also by researchers commissioned by the President who studied news coverage of the Three Mile Island accident.6

Additional depiction measures were used to determine "spin." First, Nimmo and Combs develop "a fourfold category of what [they] treat as real-fictions of TV news."7 These four patterns suggest ways the networks might stylize news
accounts. Coders rated each report in reference to these
categories. Note that the categories are linked to
traditional styles of journalism. The categories are:

**Sensationalist** accounts threaten the viewer. This report style frightens and saddens,
angers and provokes, or even "tugs at the
heartstrings" of the viewer. The human
emotions of fear and pathos are often
emphasized. The accounts are sensational in
their efforts to evoke emotional responses.

**Factual** accounts attempt to render the awful
manageable. They are factual in their wire
service-like, empirically-laden content.
The accounts are distinctive for their high
percentage of information which usually
comes from verified sources and is presented
by serious responsible journalists.

**Didactic** accounts demystify the awesome. The
accounts assume the audience is ignorant of
all, or most, of the events -- not stupid,
just uneducated. So, the journalist
teaches. The impression is given of
journalists talking down to the audience.
Accounts attempt to reduce the situation to
basics through didactic instruction so
events are no longer threatening.

**Feature** accounts blend sagacity with
resignation. They are features in that they
attribute a multitude of causes for reported
events and are more comprehensive in subject
treatment.

Morad Asi, in his study of network coverage of Arabs
and Israelis, had coders use a semantic differential scale
to determine news balance and tone. The instrument used in
this dissertation asks coders to determine both news balance
and then reporter tone or a seven point semantic
differential scale. On news balance the extremes were "very balanced" and "very unbalanced." On reporter tone the diverse choices were "very positive" and "very negative."

The measure of news balance asked the coders assess balance based on the report's attempts to include a balance of opposing points of view. A report would be very unbalanced if no attempt was made to include other viewpoints or give equal time to opposing arguments on a controversial issue. Conversely, a report would be very balanced if attempts were made to present equally articulate spokespersons including opposing points of view. A seven-point scale was used.

The final spin measure in this study restates the question of reporter tone. The following three questions were posed. The coder chose the statement which best characterized the reporter.

1. The reporter presented the issue as a more negative than positive influence or factor.
2. The reporter presented the issue as a more positive than negative influence or factor.
3. The reporter presented the issue without a clear negative or positive view.

This measure aimed at assessing the negative or positive implications contained within the reporter's own words. The intention was to determine the spin or ideological bias the reporter seemed to have toward the general issue of religion and politics.
Coding and Coders

Although the selection and supervision of coders can be problematic, it is suggested that as many coders be used as possible. In this study seven were used. Six upper classmen from the Communication Department of Mount Vernon Nazarene College, Mount Vernon, Ohio were recruited for participation. I also coded all reports. Independent Study credit was given to the students which helped to assure a degree of commitment and conscientiousness. Of the seven coders used four were male and three were female. All seven coders evaluated the depiction questions determining spin. For the agenda approach which quantified the discrete data, three coders were used -- two students and myself. This procedure closely follows that of Nimmo and Combs in Nightly Horrors, and Morad Asi's dissertation examining news coverage of Arabs and Israelis.

Coders were subjected to an initial two hour training session to improve reliability. This session included all coders and was spent in clarification of procedure. A dozen sample reports which covered the Geraldine Ferraro tax story from the 1984 election were coded and results compared. Due to the subjective nature of depiction analysis, special care was given to that area. Evaluation and instruction continued until a level of common
agreement was established among the coders. As the session progressed the agreement among coders rose as each understood category distinctions.

Video tapes were placed on reserve in the Instructional Resource Center in the Library at Mount Vernon Nazarene College. All coding was done independently. To avoid confusion when identifying reports, each report was preceded with a five second computer generated graphic: NBC1, NBC2, ABC1, CBS1, etc.

During the two week coding period, coders were instructed to continue to ask questions as necessary. In two instances both letters of further instruction and clarification were sent to the coders. Additionally, coders were in contact with me in the case of questions. I made efforts to share any information given a particular coder to the entire group. The procedure of instruction allowed for category clarification, but I would not confirm or deny an interpretation of the report.

**Unit of Analysis**

The unit of analysis was the report. A report was defined as a single presentation by an anchor, correspondent, or commentator/analyst. In this study the overall story was that of religion and politics in the 1984 presidential campaign. Contained within the broader concept
of story were discrete reports. A report was determined to begin and end with a single anchor or correspondent. To illustrate, Tom Brokaw might introduce the story of religion and politics in an anchor report, which was followed by two reports from correspondents, and return for a wrap-up. The story of religion and politics in this instance would be comprised of four reports -- the introduction, the two individual correspondent reports, and the studio wrap at the end.

Nimmo and Combs follow this unitization except their basic unit of analysis was the story. They determined how many reports were in a particular story. Holsti points out problems with using stories and reports as units of analysis. Stories and reports can fall into more than one category. Careful supervision and instruction of coders is necessary to guard against this problem. However, as Lichty and Bailey state most studies use the story as the unit of analysis and classify as stories the reports of the anchors and correspondents. In this study the data are counted in the quantitative analysis by report, while in the qualitative analysis the distinction between report and story is less important and becomes necessarily less distinct.
I have defined the unit of analysis as the report because references to religion and politics are quite often only a brief segment of the overall story of politics. For example, when the anchor's introduction or wrap-up fails to mention the religious issue under examination, and the correspondent's report does, then the issue is best examined within the framework of the individual report. The overall story of politics in the campaign is meaningful to this study only if it contains elements referring to religion.

It is important that the entire report be viewed as intact as possible so as not to take the report out of the story context. However, editing for analysis has been done in several instances. The report was then isolated, without taking it out of context, and the coder's attention was more clearly focused on the question for evaluation through careful editing. Editing the beginning or end of a report to exclude extraneous, distracting material, sometimes accounts for the occurrence of very short reports. Calculations were drawn from the edited portion and the coder's attention was not clouded by peripheral issues. At times the story could not be successfully edited. In these instances the report so intertwined the issue of religion with other political issues that an edit would have been awkward and taken the report out of context. Reports of
this kind were left unedited. However, in the total time calculations, only the time spent in reference to religion and politics was counted.

**Intercoder Reliability**

How reliable are the reported results? Testing the intercoder reliability of any content analysis is standard procedure. Krippendorff writes that reliability tests are important because they

assess the extent to which any research design . . . represent variations in real phenomena rather than the extraneous circumstances of measurement, the hidden idiosyncrasies of individual analysts, and surreptitious biases of a procedure.16

Reliability data require at least two coders working independently to describe or judge the data. A minimum of three coders and a maximum of seven coders independently examined all portions of the videotaped newscasts. Intercoder reliability was calculated using two different reliability methods or formulas. For the quantitative measures where three coders were used, a reliability method William Scott devised in 1955 was employed.17 For the qualitative measures where seven coders were used, a method outlined by Klaus Krippendorff was applied.18
Scott's pi was calculated between the two student coders -- A and B; then between student coder A and me, and student coder B and me. This gave three pi scores to compare. Note the results in Table 1. Krippendorff's formula is reported in Table 2.

How high of a level of agreement must be reached for the data to warrant analysis? Krippendorff suggests that only variables whose reliability is above .8 should be admitted for strong conclusions. But, Krippendorff recommends admitting "variables with reliability between .67 and .8 only for drawing highly tentative and cautious conclusions." These standards are noted but for reasons outlined below, the general guideline in this study will be to allow tentative conclusions to be drawn from variables above .6.

I offer this explanation in defense of the above agreement levels decisions. There are several very low and some negative values which can be attributed to the sheer number of choices available (many decisions occurring quickly for the coders), inexperienced student coders, and in one documented case category confusion. As Krippendorff points out, individual reliability can vary due to coder care and understanding of the material. Lack of understanding can be illustrated by a closer examination of the coding done by the most deviant coder; the coder with
Table 1
Intercoder Reliability — Results of Scott's pi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item #</th>
<th>Betw/coders</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/1</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anchor/Corres/Analyst</td>
<td>.67 A/B</td>
<td>.74 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Locales</td>
<td>.45 A/B</td>
<td>.62 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Any Issues</td>
<td>.18 C/D</td>
<td>.14 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Principal Issue</td>
<td>.09 E/F</td>
<td>.15 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Visuals</td>
<td>.11 E/D</td>
<td>.14 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Source-appearing</td>
<td>.78 C/B</td>
<td>.76 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Source-quoted</td>
<td>.52 C/F</td>
<td>.52 C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item #</th>
<th>Betw/coders</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/1</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anchor/Corres/Analyst</td>
<td>.91 A/B</td>
<td>.96 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Locales</td>
<td>.43 A/B</td>
<td>.53 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Any Issues</td>
<td>.21 C/D</td>
<td>.26 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Principal Issue</td>
<td>-.22 E/F</td>
<td>-.22 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Visuals</td>
<td>-.09 E/D</td>
<td>.09 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Source-appearing</td>
<td>.94 C/B</td>
<td>.85 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Source-quoted</td>
<td>.69 C/F</td>
<td>.38 C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item #</th>
<th>Betw/coders</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/1</th>
<th>&quot;R&quot; w/2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anchor/Corres/Analyst</td>
<td>.81 A/B</td>
<td>.81 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Locales</td>
<td>.60 A/B</td>
<td>.64 A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Any Issues</td>
<td>.27 C/D</td>
<td>.27 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Principal Issue</td>
<td>.15 E/F</td>
<td>.19 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Visuals</td>
<td>-.05 E/D</td>
<td>.23 E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Source-appearing</td>
<td>.88 C/B</td>
<td>.84 C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Source-quoted</td>
<td>.82 C/F</td>
<td>.41 C</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A through F = student coders; R = the researcher.
consistently low and negative scores. Two facts about this coder are noteworthy: the person was very ill at the initial training session, and completed a great number of the reports near the deadline for reports to be returned. A check of the coder's answers show consistent category distinction errors. For example, the coder repeatedly wrote in visuals which had been asked and answered in the locale variable coded by others. I believe the low scores can be contributed to what Krippendorff calls systematic errors -- when one coder consistently and without bad intention places concepts into the wrong category. Krippendorff says that when agreement is negative it "is always a sign of systematic errors."\(^{20}\)

If the deviant coder's scores are eliminated from Table 1 (they range from -.22 to .19 when calculated with various other coders) the reliability measure improves considerably. Krippendorff states that "the performance of one individual must be compared with the remaining individuals taken as a group."\(^{21}\) Removal or recoding is suggested by Krippendorff; I recommend disregarding the deviant coder's Scott's pi scores. Obviously this does not dispense with reliability problems. As noted by other researchers, use of student coders is generally not as reliable as coding done by experienced, veteran researchers.
Table 2
Intercoder Reliability
Results of Krippendorff's formula

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Report Spin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotional Content</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>.32</td>
<td>.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Report Style</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>News Balance</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter Spin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter Tone I</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter Tone II</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>.08</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following explanation is offered regarding the findings presented in this chapter. The content analysis reported here is exploratory in nature attempting to provide support for the rhetorical analysis to follow. Krippendorff allows that in a case such as this "the level may be relaxed considerably," but not to the level where the findings will not be taken seriously. Additionally, when the unreliabilities encountered do not affect the subsequent rhetorical analysis, additional probing and explanation will not be attempted. However, in reporting the findings, I will identify the measured reliability of the variables.

Krippendorff offers two procedures for salvaging a subset within a broad category. First, he suggests what he terms "decision reliability" where the probability of the subcategory is determined within the variable.
additional procedure is to collapse categories to improve reliability where the "researcher can afford loosing the distinction by lumping the two categories into one."

**Comparative Coverage of the Quantitative Measures**

With this background information in mind, I now turn to a comparison of networks coverage. What differences can be noted? To begin with, the number of reports, the time devoted and the breakdown between anchors, correspondents, and analysts should be considered. The findings of this portion of the content analysis rely on quantitative analysis of the network news stories. In Table 3 the comparative differences in the number of reports is shown. As indicated, NBC had the most reports with 59 and CBS the least with 39. As the data in the table also reveal, all three networks had more correspondent reports overall, but ABC and CBS relied considerably more on reports from correspondents than did NBC. On September 10, anchor Peter Jennings announced ABC was adding commentary on a regular basis for the first time since *ABC World News Tonight* began. ABC added more commentary than either of the other two networks. Another interpretation of the data in Table 3 reveals NBC to be more inclined to have anchor reports than was ABC or CBS. Scott's pi ranged from .65 to .96 on this variable well within the acceptable limits.
Table 3
Number of Reports:
by Networks, Anchor, Correspondent, Commentary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reports</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total number</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchors</td>
<td>28 (47%)</td>
<td>15 (35%)</td>
<td>15 (39%)</td>
<td>58 (41%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondents</td>
<td>29 (49%)</td>
<td>25 (58%)</td>
<td>23 (58%)</td>
<td>77 (55%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentary/analysis</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>3 (7%)</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>6 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 3.4\] with 4 df; not significant

Table 4
Time Length of Reports:
by Network in Minute and Second Increments

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time (in minutes)</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total time</td>
<td>59:02</td>
<td>37:21</td>
<td>39:55</td>
<td>136:19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Longest report</td>
<td>4:50</td>
<td>4:49</td>
<td>3:51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average story length</td>
<td>:59</td>
<td>:52</td>
<td>1:12</td>
<td>:58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time breakdown (by number of reports)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>under 20 seconds</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-60 seconds</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-120 seconds</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-240 seconds</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>over 240 seconds</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
Locales Appearing in the Reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locales</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Network studio</td>
<td>28 (40%)</td>
<td>17 (29%)</td>
<td>17 (35%)</td>
<td>62 (35%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government office</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>6 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private home/office</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>2 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
<td>8 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church or religious</td>
<td>6 (9%)</td>
<td>8 (10%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>20 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentifiable</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>14 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other identified</td>
<td>24 (34%)</td>
<td>19 (39%)</td>
<td>24 (41%)</td>
<td>64 (36%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[X^2 = 6.06\] with 10 df; not significant
Additionally, the following analysis quantifies questions raised in Chapter One regarding the acts, agents, scenes, and agency. How long and how many network stories were there? Who were the actors in this drama? Where were the locales or scenes in which the action took place? And what sources or agencies were selected for newscasts?

In the tabular material presented in Table 4 the following observations can be made. NBC not only had the most "religion and politics" reports, but spent the most time in coverage. NBC also had the longest report, and the most short reports (under 20 seconds). More reports for all networks fell into the 20-60 second time division. NBC differs in time measures by having the most stories over 60 seconds. NBC had 21 such stories, compared to 11 for ABC and 12 for CBS. The networks treated the story of religion and politics with more than passing regard. A network gives indication of a story's importance in part by length of single reports. These longer report times indicate the extensive degree of coverage given by all three networks. All coders agreed within two seconds of one another.

The networks differ little on where the reports originate. Table 5 presents the resulting data of report locale. Since this measure was coded particularly to discover how often the locale was associated with religious sites such as churches, it is noteworthy that in about 10
### Table 6
Issues: any mentioned in the reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues mentioned</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep church/state</td>
<td>7 (7%)</td>
<td>10 (12%)</td>
<td>6 (8%)</td>
<td>23 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage of rel/pol</td>
<td>32 (33%)</td>
<td>20 (25%)</td>
<td>21 (30%)</td>
<td>73 (29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage of mor/pol</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>7 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion as political</td>
<td>17 (18%)</td>
<td>15 (19%)</td>
<td>14 (20%)</td>
<td>46 (18%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro's hecklers</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>11 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic church/abort</td>
<td>12 (12%)</td>
<td>7 (9%)</td>
<td>8 (11%)</td>
<td>27 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR &amp; sup/ct apptmts</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>7 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR role in politics</td>
<td>5 (5%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>11 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter reg drives</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>8 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer in schools</td>
<td>9 (9%)</td>
<td>7 (9%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>20 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics in politics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God and politics</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (4%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Issue</td>
<td>4 (4%)</td>
<td>4 (5%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>10 (4%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² not done on this variable

### Table 7
Issue: principal one featured

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal Issue</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sep church/state</td>
<td>5 (9%)</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>10 (8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage of rel/pol</td>
<td>20 (36%)</td>
<td>18 (45%)</td>
<td>13 (37%)</td>
<td>51 (39%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkage of mor/pol</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abortion as political</td>
<td>7 (13%)</td>
<td>4 (10%)</td>
<td>3 (9%)</td>
<td>14 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro's hecklers</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>4 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic church/abort</td>
<td>4 (7%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2 (11%)</td>
<td>6 (5%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR &amp; sup/ct apptmts</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR role in politics</td>
<td>5 (9%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voter reg drives</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>3 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prayer in schools</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics in politics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1 (3%)</td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God and politics</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Issue</td>
<td>10 (18%)</td>
<td>14 (35%)</td>
<td>10 (29%)</td>
<td>34 (26%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² not done on this variable
percent of the time a religious locale was coded. The networks showed no significant differences in choices of locale. As far as pi scores, the results indicate that the reliability is suspect. Scores ran from a low of .43 to a high of .64 with CBS being most reliable.

To determine the issues in the reports, coders were instructed to identify any issue occurring in the reports. Although there are no significant differences between the networks, as Table 6 indicates, the "linkage of religion and politics" was the most mentioned issue. NBC was the most likely to mention the linkage whereas ABC was the least likely. One can get a sense of network difference by observing that ABC chose to characterize the issue as a "separation of church and state" issue more often than the other networks. CBS was more likely to report voter registration drives while NBC was the least likely. Interestingly, the total reports by all networks mentioning Ferraro and hecklers were few -- only 4 percent. Unfortunately, the Scott's pi scores here were low. They ranged from a low of .07 to a high .27. Certainly these findings must be questioned.

Coders were instructed to decide the major or principal issue reflected in the report; Table 7 displays these results. The "principal issue" featured in the reports contained much of the same findings as did "any
issues" mentioned (Table 6). The "linkage of religion and politics" was the issue most featured by all networks. If "religion and politics" and "separation of church and state" are lumped into one category, they provide 47 percent of all the issues featured. Also, lumping the "Ferraro, Catholic church, and abortion" issues together provides the second largest issue category with 19 percent. Further it can be observed that CBS had twice as many "Ferraro, Catholic church, abortion" reports as ABC, and CBS had the most reports principally featuring the "Ferraro, Catholic, abortion" issue. This illustrates a pattern to be confirmed in the pentadic analysis found in Chapter Four.

Although the networks differ little visually as shown in Table 8, there are subtle underlying differences. First, it is apparent that ABC contained more visuals of anti-abortion signs and was the only network to show film of homosexuals. ABC may have had the most reports containing anti-abortion signs, but NBC followed very closely behind. NBC and ABC differ sharply in the treatment of anti-abortion signs. NBC had a tendency to show more visuals of signs during a given report than did ABC. (This finding is not found in the data reported here but is a reflection of my repeated observations of the videotapes) The net effect was
a heightened sense of sensationalism which is confirmed by data considered later in this chapter. But, it must be observed that the pi scores are low; -.09 to .50.

Table 8
Visual elements appearing in the reports

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Visuals elements</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In prayer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondale</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR clergy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic clergy</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average citizen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NCR citizen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near or in church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondale</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anti-abortion signs</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pro-abortion signs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Network graphic</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Film of homosexuals</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 illustrates the penchant NBC had for network graphics. All the networks contained graphics, many of which were repetitive versions of the "Religion and Politics" theme. But NBC repeatedly used the phrase "Religion and Politics," and included "The Catholic Question," "Target Ferraro," and "Church and State," in its
graphic collection. These graphics were typically adorned with flags or red, white, and blue colors. In like manner CBS contained the graphic "Religion and the Republicans," with an elephant, stars and stripes, and a white cross. As for ABC, the network did not use the "religion and politics" graphic.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source appearing</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerry Falwell</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Swaggart</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Bakker</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Robison</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other NCR clergy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John O'Connor</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondale</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Cuomo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Jackson</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other politician</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish leader</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Rabbi</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-line Protestant clergy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholar/Expert</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest group leader</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average citizen</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel but not Christian trad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 9 and 10 display the sources both appearing and those quoted. The coders were instructed to differentiate between sources whose voices were heard and
appeared visually on the newscasts, from those sources who were only referred to or were quoted by the reporter. A comparison of Table 9, sources appearing, and Table 10, sources quoted reveal these findings. There many more appearances than quotings. All sources were nearly twice as likely to appear as they were to be quoted, except the Pope and Main-line Protestant clergy who were only quoted. The differences among the networks with regard to the lumped subsets of 1) political candidates and 2) clergy of all types, is not measurably different. Differences do exist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source quoted</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jerry Falwell</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jimmy Swaggart</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jim Bakker</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Robison</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other NCR clergy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John O'Connor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pope</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reagan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondale</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ferraro</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mario Cuomo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesse Jackson</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other politician</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish leader</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish Rabbi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-line Protestant clergy</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholar/Expert</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest group leader</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average citizen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rel but not Christian trad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of above</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
however. George Bush is an exclusive "source" for ABC and CBS. NBC far outdistances its competition by using interest groups for news sources. And while for NBC and CBS scholars and experts figured prominently, ABC differed sharply with few such sources. Table 9 fell well within the parameters for reliability with scores falling between .76 and .94.

Table 11
Individual word counts and totals
[Compiled by computer search of network transcripts]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fundamental/ist/ism</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative (religion)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian Right</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotals</strong></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotals</strong></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and Politics</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion and Government</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church and state</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subtotals</strong></td>
<td>41</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 did not fare as well (.26 to .82), but is worth drawing conclusions from since ABC and CBS had scores above .69.
A computer word count was done to determine repetition of certain key words and phrases. The computer counted the number of times a particular word occurred in the text of a given network. Reported in Table 11 are the results of the count which was done with the transcripts made from the videotaped newscasts. The results show "fundamentalist" and its various variations to be a term used almost exclusively by NBC. The tabulation also indicates ABC used the word Catholic least of all the networks, and was the only network to use the term "Christian Right" when referring to conservative Christians. CBS's most oft used descriptor was "evangelical."

With the above exceptions noted, NBC utilized all the key words and phrases more than did the other networks. This is explained in part by NBC's more complete coverage. The choice of words here counted will be discussed in the next chapter.

Comparative Coverage of the Qualitative Measures

Now for an examination of the "spin" found in the reports as coded by all seven raters. Note that the results to be reported in this section are subjective. The coders judged the overall impression left after viewing the entire report. The assessment was to be made both on what the reporter said as well as on the selection of interviewees.
Table 12
Emotional Content

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reassuring</td>
<td>42 (10%)</td>
<td>29 (11%)</td>
<td>29 (11%)</td>
<td>100 (11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alarming</td>
<td>211 (52%)</td>
<td>100 (37%)</td>
<td>98 (36%)</td>
<td>409 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>156 (38%)</td>
<td>143 (53%)</td>
<td>142 (52%)</td>
<td>441 (46%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$X^2 = 23.17$ with 4 df; NBC more alarming

Table 13
Report Style

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report Style</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sensational</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>65 (38%)</td>
<td>19 (21%)</td>
<td>21 (29%)</td>
<td>105 (31%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>103 (61%)</td>
<td>70 (76%)</td>
<td>50 (68%)</td>
<td>223 (67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyst</td>
<td>2 (1%)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>7 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Factual</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>396</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>107 (74%)</td>
<td>75 (58%)</td>
<td>79 (65%)</td>
<td>261 (66%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>33 (23%)</td>
<td>52 (40%)</td>
<td>42 (35%)</td>
<td>127 (32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyst</td>
<td>5 (3%)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8 (2%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Didactic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>9 (35%)</td>
<td>9 (23%)</td>
<td>8 (21%)</td>
<td>26 (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>14 (54%)</td>
<td>25 (63%)</td>
<td>29 (74%)</td>
<td>11 (10%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyst</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feature</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anchor</td>
<td>15 (21%)</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
<td>2 (5%)</td>
<td>19 (13%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondent</td>
<td>52 (73%)</td>
<td>26 (70%)</td>
<td>32 (86%)</td>
<td>110 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analyst</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>9 (24%)</td>
<td>3 (8%)</td>
<td>16 (11%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Significant differences are as follows:
1. Between networks Sensational Style by news commentator:
   $X^2 = 9.874$ with 4 df; $p = < .05$
2. Between networks Factual Style by news commentator:
   $X^2 = 21.384$ with 4 df; $p = < .01$
3. Between networks Didactic Style by news commentator:
   $X^2 = 4.42$ with 4 df; is not significant
4. Between networks for number of anchor reports per style:
   $X^2 = 22.17$ with 6 df; $p = < .01$
5. Between networks for number of correspondent reports per style:
   $X^2 = 30.77$ with 6 df; $p = < .01$
6. Between networks for number of analyst reports per style:
   $X^2 = 5.02$ with 6 df; is not significant
chosen to tell the story -- this was an overall impression of the report. These measures determine "spin" and have been described earlier in this chapter in more detail. This section probes for answers to the general concern regarding how the networks constructed reality. More specifically, the following spin measures attempt to determine the unique purpose of the networks. How did the reporters "spin" the story of religion and politics? What meanings did the reporters give the drama in Campaign '84?

In brief, three separate measures were used to determine the report spin: 1) emotional content -- reassuring, alarming, neutral, 2) report style -- sensational, factual, didactic, feature, and 3) news balance -- very balanced to very unbalanced.

As for overall emotional tone, Table 12 shows NBC to be statistically more alarming, while ABC and CBS were almost identical in emotional content.

With regard to report style, NBC had more sensational reports than any other type, which contrasts with ABC and CBS's more factual reports. Table 13 shows ABC's correspondents to be the most sensational; NBC's anchors the most factual; and all analyst/commentator reports likely to be a feature. No reportable differences can be detected among the network reports on news balance.
Table 14
News Balance and Reporter Tone
(Determined on a Likert 7 point scale)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balance and Tone</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>News Balance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.95</td>
<td>4.89</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.72</td>
<td>1.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reporter Tone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>4.77</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>4.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mode</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>1.08</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>.92</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² not done on this variable

Table 15
Reporter characterization

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characterization</th>
<th>NBC</th>
<th>ABC</th>
<th>CBS</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More negative than positive</td>
<td>197 (49%)</td>
<td>92 (31%)</td>
<td>81 (30%)</td>
<td>370 (38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More positive than negative</td>
<td>19 (5%)</td>
<td>23 (8%)</td>
<td>19 (7%)</td>
<td>61 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No clear negative or positive view</td>
<td>189 (47%)</td>
<td>186 (62%)</td>
<td>172 (63%)</td>
<td>547 (60%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

X² = 36.87 with 4 df; p < .01
Not only were the overall reports assessed for spin, but the individual reporters were judged. The last two spin measures probed for coder decisions on the tone — the manner in which the reporter interprets or embellishes the facts of the story. The spin here indicated the positive or negative implications about the topic contained within the reporter's own words. The coders were cautioned not to judge what the candidates or other speakers had to say. The results of reporter tone was not found to be insignificant (Table 14).

The final item asked the coder to select from three answers to this question: "Which of the following statements best characterizes the reporter?" The choices were: 1) more negative than positive, 2) more positive than negative, and 3) without clear negative or positive view. As indicated in Table 15, NBC's reporters were more inclined to be more negative than positive in their characterization of the issues involving religion and politics.

Conclusion

Conclusions drawn from the content analyzed in this chapter must be carefully interpreted in light of the reliability scores. Unfortunately, the reliability measures conducted on the quantitative findings (Tables 6, 7, and 8) are sufficiently low as to lessen the likelihood of
significance in those areas. This is also true of all the "spin" measures as is shown in the reliability scores in Table 2. There is the potentiality that there are different results other than those reported here regarding those items.

Nevertheless, the following claims are warranted since some reliability scores are sufficiently high to draw conclusions with some measure of confidence.

Claim #1:
The quantitative measures reported in this chapter indicate similar coverage by the networks in several measures. However, while they did not differ substantially in some respects, each network covered the "religion and politics" issue with varying completeness and chose diverse sources.

Claim #2:
NBC seems to be distinctly different from the other networks covering the "religion and politics" issue more completely on more days with more reports than did the other two networks. Additionally, NBC began coverage of the issue before the other networks decided it merited news time.

Claim #3:
There are differences among the networks with regard to word choice. For example, NBC used "fundamentalist" most, and ABC was the only network to refer to the "Christian Right."

Claim #4:
Due to low reliability scores the content analysis reported in this chapter neither confirms nor disconfirms the existence of report and reporter "spin." Yet chi square scores suggest significant differences do exist among many of the measures coded. Recoding of the "spin" measures would be a worthwhile endeavor in a subsequent study.
The findings with adequate reliability will receive further scrutiny and explication in the chapter to follow which contrasts the different real-fictions found in the drama of network news coverage of religion and politics in the 1984 Presidential election using Kenneth Burke's dramatistic pentad.
NOTES


2. The design for these categories was inspired by Nightly Horrors. The modified design represented in sample coding sheets can be found in APPENDIX A.


5. Ibid.


7. Ibid., p. 27.

8. Ibid., pp. 28-29.


19. Ibid., p. 147.

20. Ibid., p. 150.


22. Ibid., p. 147.

23. Ibid., p. 152.
CHAPTER FOUR

Pentadic Elements in Campaign '84

The intent of this chapter is to compare and contrast network news coverage of the events and issues with regard to religion and politics in the 1984 Presidential campaign from a dramatistic perspective. Directed by Kenneth Burke's pentad, the narrative differences and real-fiction of the three networks, NBC, ABC, and CBS, will be closely examined. The pentad -- acts, agents, agencies, scenes, and purposes -- will be applied to discover the "essence of the discourse." The interrelationships between the networks will be described and the symbolic constructions or narrative patterns which distinguish each network will be illustrated.

A brief review of Kenneth Burke's pentad and his notion of motive is appropriate before moving to the application in this chapter. The root metaphor of Burke's methodology is drama. He believes that all discourse may be examined as if it were a play. Barry Brummett makes an especially strong case for the utility of Burke's dramatistic method in analysis of the media.
Burke's interpreters are many and help to illumine his complex ideas to assist others. An informative essay by Richard Crable and John Makay point out the interrelationships between the elements of the pentad and advance understanding of the pentad as an analytical tool. Crable and Makay draw connections between the pentad and Burke's key and sometimes illusive concept of motive, and provide clear examples of pentadic ratios.

"The pentad . . . presents a set of terms by which rhetoric can be analyzed," notes Crable and Makay. And according to their interpretation of Burke, the researcher can "never arrive at valid and realistic descriptions of the substances of messages" until the discourse is considered from "all five interrelated aspects." The elements of the pentad are:

SCENE: The composite of persons, events, and ideas that forms the total environment of the human action; the context of the act.

ACT: The human action; that which is done.

AGENT: The human instigator of the action within the scene.

AGENCY: The means or instrumentation used by human agents to accomplish the act.

PURPOSE: The espoused or implied reason the agent acts; the goal toward which the agent acts.
Charles Conrad has outlined three phases for a rhetorical critic following Burke's dramatism. He suggests the following procedures:

Dramatistic conceptions of human symbolic action suggest that viable efforts to understand those acts must meet three criteria: empirical verifiability, representativeness, and comprehensiveness. Dramatistic criticism consists of three recursive "phases" of critical action: statistical analysis of verbal structures which comprise symbolic acts; a search for a symbol (or symbols) which represent the essential character of the acts; and pentadic analysis of the interrelationships among the multiple dimensions of symbolic action.

Conrad's three phases are in evidence in this dissertation. Chapter Three reported the statistical analysis phase, and the next chapter, Chapter Five, will perform the representative symbol or representative anecdote phase. This chapter treats Conrad's third phase -- pentadic analysis. The following rhetorical criticism examines network news reports matching them with Burke's pentad.

Specifically, the chapter will follow this organization: The pentad will be applied to eight shared scenes; dates when all three networks were at the scene reporting the action. These dates were the only occasions when all three networks covered the issues of religion and politics simultaneously. A search for a common thread and an explication of contrasting differences will be presented.
among the networks. The eight dates are briefly described and outlined below. The labels of "act" and "scene" follow the drama as seen in network coverage.

**ACT ONE**

**SCENE 1:**
August 23 "The Dallas Prayer Breakfast"
Reports in response to the remarks President Reagan made to a group of Christians outlining his beliefs on the role of religion in politics.

**SCENE 2:**
September 3 "Ferraro/Mondale attack Reagan"
Network coverage of Ferraro and Mondale objections to Reagan's views on religion and politics.

**SCENE 3:**
September 4 "Reagan at American Legion"
Speech by Reagan before the American Legion defending and explaining his views on the role religion should play in politics.

**SCENE 4:**
September 6 "B'nai B'rith appearances"
Speeches by Reagan and Mondale before the Jewish organization B'nai B'rith. Issue -- religion and politics.

**ACT TWO**

**SCENE 1:**
September 10 "Abortion: Ferraro/O'Connor"
Catholic Archbishop O'Connor clashes with Ferraro over her position on abortion.

**SCENE 2:**
September 12 "Ferraro/Timlin & hecklers"
Bishop Timlin and anti-abortion hecklers attack Ferraro while campaigning.
SCENE 3:
September 14 "Cuomo/Catholics & abortion"
Mario Cuomo's position on Catholics and abortion. Coverage centered on speech given at Notre Dame University and explores abortion position held by Catholic church.

ACT THREE

SCENE 1:
October 1 "Supreme Court & religious issue"
Supreme Court and decisions regarding religious issues. Also, examination of Reagan's efforts to shape court.

The choice of "act" and "scene" as descriptors point out the unique motive the networks generally shared in the drama. As Crable and Makay note "the featuring of a term implicitly features the motives within that term." The use of these terms here reflects the belief on the part of the networks that they went to the scene of the acts -- the motive to be at the scene and cover the action. However, it is important to point out that within the reports on the various days, the motives are often different as various pentadic terms are dominant.

The dates under examination span the time during which the religious issue was most salient in the campaign. The similarities and the differences on other days are reflected in the reports on these shared dates. The dates are quite representative of the various acts, agents, agencies, scenes and purposes running throughout network reporting. Network total time and number of reports
contrast as was revealed in the tables in Chapter Three. However, on the days under examination, each network had nearly the same total number of reports, NBC and ABC had 19 and CBS 18. Other important differences will be noted in the analysis.

During the late summer and fall of 1984 the networks all agreed that religion was mixing with politics and that this constituted a major news event. The TV network treatment of religion and politics during this time frame was not identical. Each presented differing elements, accentuated varying acts and actors, and developed contrasting connections and conclusions. However, the following essentials of the "religion story" in the politics of the Presidential election campaign were shared by all, and illustrate the dramatic elements of scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose. By using the pentad to discover the interrelationships the rhetorical events will be understood more clearly. And, most importantly for this study, the role network TV played in shaping the events will be evident in the drama.

ACT ONE

"Reagan and the Christian Right vs. Mondale and Ferraro"

Ronald Reagan's affinity for many of the conservative moral/religious issues held by the New Christian Right was well known. Since this interest group
supported him and represented a voting public, he openly courted them -- conservative Protestants and Catholics alike. Interest group identification is usually nothing more than good old fashioned politics, but in 1984 some saw Reagan as forming an alarming alliance with a radical religious fringe group bent on shaping America to its liking.

President Reagan set the religion and politics (or church and state) controversy front stage when he announced that "religion and politics are necessarily related,"8 at a Dallas Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast on August 23, 1984. The timing of these remarks was critical. The Republican Convention was just beginning, and not much mystery or spontaneous drama was expected there. But the President's remarks at the breakfast linking religion and politics handed Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro a major issue; and the TV news networks found a made-for-TV-news drama.

SCENE 1: August 23 "The Dallas Prayer Breakfast"

The networks all featured the scenic element of the pentad when covering the Dallas Prayer Breakfast of August 23. NBC began the report with a black singer and "Joshua Fit The Battle of Jericho;" ABC cameras panned the 2,000 voice choir as they sang "America," and CBS noted the color and pageantry with visuals of the massive congregation
singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." The act, Reagan's declaration that "politics and morality are inseparable," was noted by all. However, neither the act nor the agent, President Reagan, was as dramatic to the networks that day as was the "17,000" member gathering of the Republican Party "faithful."9

Although the scene dominated the reports, network differences did exist. As Chapter Two has established, prior to August 23, NBC had covered the religion and politics issue more completely than the other two networks. But on this day, NBC had the least coverage. That NBC simply regarded this as another scene in the continuing drama is one explanation of their uncharacteristic abbreviated coverage.

NBC's leading efforts in coverage can first be seen on August 4, when NBC was the first network to identify and announce that "... religion will be more of an issue in this year's campaign than in any since 1960 ... ."10 This announcement was the first piece of a pattern in which NBC repeatedly declared religion as a very important element in the campaign. On August 9th, NBC continued the pattern quoting Bishop James Malone as saying, "the candidates cannot separate their personal morality from their public positions."11 In preparation on August 17 for the Republican Convention, NBC's Robert Hager said, "The New
Right isn't new . . . but at this convention . . . they've been running the show." On August 21, Tom Brokaw declared that "this convention has got religion." And Robert Hager warned "the fundamentalists . . . threaten to step up political involvement in the future." And on August 22, Tom Brokaw began the news with "Good evening from the Republican National Convention in Dallas a city where football is right up there with oil, money and religion." This NBC pattern of identification and warning continued on August 23, of course, with correspondent Andrea Mitchell ending her report that day with, "Religion is a big part of this campaign . . . ." It is noteworthy that ABC did not identify religion and politics to be a major issue until the Dallas Prayer Breakfast. ABC covered several stories of a religious/political flavor, but ABC did not make its declaration until August 23. But when ABC decided that religion was an important factor in the election, the colorful scenic report from the Prayer Breakfast was followed by a feature which drew all the agents of the New Christian Right and their opponents together in confrontation. Only ABC contained an extensive feature on religion and politics that day. Included in the report were: vintage film of John Kennedy affirming his separation of church and state; visuals of Reverend James Robison
praying at the Republican Convention; liberal Senator Lowell Weicker deploring the actions of religious conservatives; Reverend Jerry Falwell praising the actions of Ronald Reagan; and film clips of inflammatory TV commercials created by Christian Voice pairing Mondale and homosexuals. In short, ABC now believed the religion issue was key in the campaign and the dominant element of the pentad for ABC's feature report was the agent.

In contrast to NBC and ABC, CBS did not yet believe the major story of politics in the election was the actions of "evangelical Christians." Their treatment was neutral declaring that "the religion theme is complicated." CBS did not formally declare religion a major issue until two days later. This pattern by CBS of "not being the network to break" a story was also a finding of the Nightly Horrors study.

The scene at the Dallas Prayer Breakfast acted as a dramatic catalyst bringing the networks to a consensus that religion and politics was a major drama in Election '84.

SCENE 2: September 3 "Ferraro and Mondale attack Reagan"

Ted Koppel of ABC News led off the broadcast on that evening with:

Don't be misled by all the weeks of speeches and posturing already on the public record. This marks the beginning of the 1984 Presidential campaign.
And the drama created on this Labor Day was just what the networks needed to furbish the evening newscasts. On this night, network reports featured the ratio of act/agent. The attacks on President Reagan for his remarks the previous Thursday at the Prayer Breakfast were the acts. The agents were Geraldine Ferraro and Walter Mondale. In the drama presented to American homes via television news the scene was a nondescript site on the campaign trail, but the action was compelling and the actors fresh and forceful.

Both ABC and NBC noted that Ferraro and Mondale were "pouring it on," taking "shots," "stepping up the attacks," and "unleashing the sharpest attack of the day" on the President for his remarks concerning religion in political life. Mondale was quoted as saying, "Reagan's mixture of religion and politics raises the spectre of big brother." And Ferraro appeared saying, "he [Reagan] wants government to affect our most private decisions and beliefs."

But CBS differed in its treatment of the story. CBS did not include Mondale's objections, only reporting mild Ferraro accusations. Instead of exploiting the sharp attack aimed by Ferraro, a neutral film clip was aired where Ferraro "agreed that the values we get from our different religions underpin our thinking about the great public issues."
Although the speech by President Reagan before the American Legion contained more colorful scenic drama than the campaign trail had, the scene was unimportant in many respects to that evening's newscasts. What dominates the drama in this instance was purpose. A clear pentadic ratio of act/purpose can be seen. Reagan's purpose in the speech before the American Legion was to explain and "clarify the Democratic distortions" of his views on religion and politics. Reagan, the agent, acted with the purpose of rebutting Mondale and Ferraro's claims "that he doesn't understand the separation of church and state."

All three networks dutifully gave Reagan's views equal time, with explanatory appearances by the President. On both NBC and CBS the President appeared saying, "Now I can't think of anyone who favors the government establishing a religion in this country. I know I don't." And on ABC he said, "We must protect the rights of all our citizens to their beliefs including the rights of those who choose no religion."

Ronald Reagan's purpose was clearly articulated but both NBC and ABC added a purpose of their own. The meaning these two networks gave the drama shaded the purpose of the actor. ABC noted that Reagan was trying to "hold religion at arms length" while going to "great lengths to scoop in
patriotism.\textsuperscript{31} This might be expected before a group of patriotic war veterans the day after he was so vociferously attacked by his opponents. NBC, the most sensational network according to the findings in Chapter Two, had the clear purpose of showing Reagan as having a "different tone,\textsuperscript{32} "softer line," "softening his remarks," trying to "calm the storm," and "soft peddling religion today.\textsuperscript{33}" Six times in just under two minutes NBC assessed Reagan's purpose as backing away from the religion issue.

The motives ascribed to the actor in this instance were fabricated by the networks. Reagan did not say he was backing away, nor did he refuse to talk about the issue. The network purpose seemed to be that of interpreting President Reagan's intent. Indeed, a "softer line" on the issue of religion and politics would be newsworthy. But comparing Reagan's rhetoric before a hostile audience with that of a friendly audience, and drawing the conclusion that differences were somehow more than normal political behavior (astute audience adaptation) seems to be an attempt on the part of network news to make more of an issue than what is clearly apparent.
SCENE 4: September 6 "B'nai B'rith appearances by Reagan & Mondale"

If SCENE 2 was the attack and SCENE 3 the rebuttal, SCENE 4 was the full blown climax of the religion and politics controversy begun in SCENE 1 at the Dallas Prayer Breakfast. One week after the Prayer Breakfast the religion and politics issue overshadowed all others. CBS characterized the religion issue as coming "to a boil."  

The following calculations gleaned from quantitative data reported in Chapter Three reveal the magnitude of the issue as reported on the evening news. On September 6 the three networks combined for a total of 14 separate reports with a total time of 18 minutes and 57 seconds. NBC had 7 reports with a total newscast time of 7 minutes and 34 seconds; ABC had 4 reports with a total time of 5 minutes and 15 seconds; and CBS trailed with only 3 reports but bested ABC in total time with 6 minutes and 8 seconds. Additionally, all three networks had the religion issue as their lead story. This was the only time all three networks led with the religion story on the same night. The news of the evening was "religion and politics."  

The drama presented by each network on this day contained the following common elements. The actors were Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale at the scene of the "politically powerful Jewish organization B'nai Brith." The acts were composed of attacks on Mondale's part and
defense and explanation on Reagan's part. The purpose of each actor had been driving each over the past several days. The agencies were the rhetorical messages presented to the Jewish organization; but even more important was the agency of national televised network news. The manner in which the drama was played out is sufficiently distinctive to merit an individual explication of each network.

NBC News drama took the following form. Anchor Tom Brokaw introduced the evening newscast stating that "Walter Mondale today went after President Reagan on one of the most emotional issues of this campaign -- religion and politics."[37] Brokaw then introduced a report by correspondent Lisa Myers containing Mondale's attacks. Next Brokaw returned noting that the "President, as he has recently, toned down his remarks about the role of religion and public life,"[38] and introduced a report from correspondent Chris Wallace covering Reagan's remarks at B'nai B'rith. Chris Wallace shared film from Reagan's speech and concluded: "Now aides say Mr. Reagan will disarm his critics, moving away from religion as in past campaigns and toward the center."[39] Brokaw returned and indicated that an "extensive look at the relationship between politics and religion in contemporary American campaigns,"[40] was coming up later in the evening.
The extensive look contained a report of over three minutes exploring the religion issue. Film clips of John Kennedy, linkages between Reagan and the New Christian Right as he made appearances to various fundamental and evangelical conventions, and a short explanation of what it all meant by theologian Harvey Cox comprised the bulk of the report. Correspondent Ken Bode asserted: "Make no mistake about it, this merger of religion and politics while it's been in the headlines for only the past few weeks has been going on much longer." And Bode continued with this determination: "The Reagan strategy was to solidify his base with evangelical Christians early, hit their issues, abortion and school prayer; then let the preachers massage it into their flocks."41

NBC contrasted with the other two networks in the choice of terms for the religious conservatives. NBC chose the pejorative term "fundamentalists" or "fundamentalist Christians"42 to describe the New Christian Right more often than less polarizing terms such as the Christian Right, or conservative Christians. However, all networks portrayed the movement as radical in part because it was outside the mainstream of mainline Christianity.

ABC's coverage followed the same format as did NBC in many respects. Anchor Ted Koppel introduced a report by Brit Hume covering the speech by Mondale at B'nai B'rith.
Then a report by Sam Donaldson presenting Reagan's remarks immediately followed. Ted Koppel then returned with a most unique report -- a public apology!

Ted Koppel had begun the September 5 evening newscast the night before with the declaration that Mondale would be giving a "rip snorter of a speech" on September 6 which would accuse Reagan of: [the underlined below was seen in graphics on the screen]

creating a holier than thou climate by
gift-wrapping political issues in the name of
God." For some time now there have been predictions that Mondale will really hammer away at the separation of church and state issue. Tomorrow's speech is clearly it. It says in part, "There are some in our midst today who insult religion by seeking to invoke God for political ends... and yes, Mr. President, I'm speaking to you."

This speech was never given. In fact, the speech that was given at B'nai B'rith was so different Ted Koppel offered the following disclaimer at the end of the September 6 broadcast:

We said that if Mr. Mondale delivered that draft as prepared he would accuse the President of, and this is a quote, "insulting religion by seeking to invoke God for political ends."
Well, the speech Mr. Mondale actually delivered was... on the same general subject but in no other way resembled the speech we quoted.... We can only apologize to Mr. Mondale and his supporters.

This incident illustrates two things, both of which point to the centrality of network purpose in the drama. First, it shows ABC's desire to scoop the other networks.
ABC had "obtained a copy of a speech that Walter Mondale planned to deliver" before B'nai B'rith. The network had information the others did not. Second, ABC's purpose was to create a drama that would contrast the candidates and hence produce a TV news two-night mini-drama to boost ratings. This desire to keep the dramatic action at a high pitch is evidenced by the late positioning of the apology given on the September 6 newscast and also by the manner in which it was delivered. The newscast gave no indication that the speech (act) from agent Mondale was anything different than what had been billed the night before until the very end of the broadcast. And further the fact that the phrase "insulting religion by seeking to invoke God for political ends" was mentioned again in the disclaimer is clear evidence of exploiting a potential controversy to its fullest.

One additional example of this tendency to exploit controversy can be seen in ABC's repeated reference to and depiction of homosexuality. For example, when speaking of the New Christian Right's position on homosexuality, only ABC depicted gay men marching, embracing and kissing in further attempts to sensationalize the issues.

The CBS news presentation of the speeches given at B'nai B'rith was different from NBC and ABC in a stylistic manner. Dan Rather began the broadcast declaring that the
"poles apart" views of Reagan and Mondale would be explored first by Bill Plante and then Bob Schieffer would look "at the chapter and verse behind those views." Plante juxtaposed the comments from the speeches of both candidates in an interesting back and forth look at the positions in one single report. He concluded that Mondale will keep "hammering away," and Reagan will "attempt to hold the moral high ground."

The report which followed by Bob Schieffer examined: the issue with visuals and a quote from John Kennedy; graphics on the screen showing a "Dear Christian Leader" letter Senator Paul Laxalt sent to recruit Christian clergy for Reagan; film from Reagan's remarks in Dallas; an interesting interview with Reverend W.A. Criswell, pastor of the Dallas First Baptist Church and Reagan supporter; an explanation of what it all means from William Schneider of the American Enterprise Institution; and finally film of Rabbi David Saperstein lambasting the President and those of the Christian Right for wanting to "batter down the wall between church and state."

CBS's coverage contrasts with the other two networks in its effort to remain neutral. The feature by Schieffer ran the gamut of agents for and against the question of religion in government. Where NBC and ABC seemed to
highlight the acts in a sensational manner, CBS although assessing the candidates as contrasting in position, concluded with a very neutral final remark:

A campaign that contrasted two candidates with clearly different philosophies was expected. What's surprising is that the sharpest differences to emerge thus far are not over issues such as war and peace and the need to control government spending, but over their views on the relationship between church and state. So at last CBS was a believer -- but it was a surprise to the network, which explains in part their reluctance to join in the fray.

ACT TWO

"Geraldine Ferraro against the Catholic Church"

Geraldine Ferraro was a major actor in the religious drama of 1984. Her unique credential as the first female Vice Presidential candidate was nearly eclipsed by her on-going battle within the Catholic church over her record with regard to abortion. Ferraro, a practicing Catholic, had a congressional record which could be interpreted as supporting abortion by favoring a woman's free choice in the matter. But her position was not favored by the Catholic hierarchy and the controversy ballooned into a TV news mini-series with all the conflict and drama on which the medium thrives.
This controversial moral/religious issue, abortion, prompted action from both her opponents and supporters in the form of hecklers and anti-abortion demonstrators, and served to divide Catholics and Protestants alike. Interestingly, not only did it divide but it also united diverse religious groups behind a common cause. The fact that the President of the United States, members of the New Christian Right, the Catholic hierarchy and conservative Catholics, held anti-abortion positions in opposition to many other Americans, created a rhetorical situation crying out for a dramatic response. The TV networks recognized the controversy and dramatized the action. In the main they did not concern themselves with the underlying philosophical underpinning of the abortion question, but only portrayed the issue as a colorful controversy symbolizing the intrusion of religion into politics.

The week of Monday, September 10 through Friday, September 14 contained the most concentrated dramatic action regarding abortion, the Catholic Church, and Geraldine Ferraro. The following are scenes from that act.

SCENE 1: September 10 "Abortion: Ferraro vs. Archbishop O'Connor"

CBS

DAN RATHER: Over the weekend, the Archbishop [O'Connor] attacked Geraldine Ferraro saying she had misrepresented the Church's absolute position on abortion. Today, the Democratic Vice Presidential
nominee said she telephoned the Archbishop, denied misstating the Church's position, and restated her own position -- that she personally opposes abortion, but does not seek to impose those views on others. 

All the networks reported the weekend attack on Geraldine Ferraro by a member of her own church, New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor. The act dominated the reports of NBC and CBS. Their coverage quickly and decisively noted the controversy with anchor reports which quoted both Ferraro and O'Connor.

The CBS report illustrated two things. First, the network saw the clash between Ferraro and O'Connor as part of the big picture of "friction" between the candidates over religion and politics. Second, CBS became the agency for explaining Ferraro's position on abortion. These are the first examples of a continuing strategy to explain Ferraro's position on abortion; "she personally opposes abortion, but does not seek to impose those views on others." Only CBS was inclined to mention her position nearly every time she was linked to the issue. Her abortion views were explained and clarified continually in CBS reports.

Both CBS and NBC, during the month of August, were the early leaders reporting the rumblings on the Ferraro-abortion/Catholic Church issue. In viewing CBS reports, the fact that CBS felt abortion and the Catholic Church was the key religious issue in the campaign is evident.
An example of CBS's explanation of how Catholicism fit into the great scheme of things is noted in the manner in which they treated the United Nations Population Conference in Mexico City on August 11. Only NBC and CBS covered the conference. NBC saw the question of abortion as being a directive from the Reagan White House. CBS noted the connection with the Reagan administration but said the "conference adopted a Vatican backed policy that governments should not promote abortion as a method of family planning;" clearly linking the Conference with Catholicism.

On this day, September 10, CBS and NBC had matter-of-fact anchor reports. ABC contrasted by featuring the scene. ABC illustrated the continuing tendency by all networks to show visuals of anti-abortion demonstrators. However, again ABC scooped the other networks. Not until the following evening did both NBC and CBS air reports resembling ABC's colorful coverage of Ferraro and anti-abortion demonstrators. Additionally, ABC aired a George Will commentary that evening suggesting that God was annoyed by all the posturing on the issue of religion and politics.

Throughout the week the ratio of agent/agency was apparent. When the scene was the campaign trail for Geraldine Ferraro, the agents opposing her used the agency
of anti-abortion signs, hecklers, and silent demonstrators. The agent or actor Geraldine Ferraro seemed to call for the agency of heckling and anti-abortion protestors.

SCENE 2:

September 12 "Ferraro, Bishop Timlin and Hecklers"

Geraldine Ferraro's decision to march into the heart of anti-abortion country provided the act which dominated the evening news of September 12. All the networks covered the acts of the agent, Bishop James Timlin. He attacked the views of Ferraro as she invaded his strongly Catholic city of Scranton, Pennsylvania.

ABC portrayed Geraldine Ferraro's actions as brave as she "plunged into the heart of anti-abortion country" showing she was "not afraid of the issue."54 ABC also had two short reports where Sam Donaldson tried to bait President Reagan into a disagreeing with Vice President George Bush over any differences in their views. President Reagan did not take the bait, refusing to comment.

NBC not only took the viewer to the scene in Scranton, but also skipped to Toledo, Ohio where Ferraro had gotten a warmer reception earlier that day. Where for CBS and ABC the actors were only Ferraro and Timlin, NBC interviewed two unidentified Catholic women in Toledo who
affirmed their support for Ferraro's abortion position. To more fully understand NBC's coverage, the preceding day must be briefly examined.

On the day before, September 11, NBC's Tom Brokaw stated, "One of the leading questions to emerge from this presidential campaign this year is the appropriate place in America for religion in politics. This week the focus has been on the role of the Catholic church." Instead of opening the report exploring the brewing controversy between Ferraro/Archbishop O'Connor, Ken Bode first established Reagan as actively courting the Catholic vote. Reagan is shown with the Papal Ambassador at the ranch, the Pope in Alaska and associating with Catholic clergy in general. Only then is the Ferraro/O'Connor feud examined. For NBC the most important actor was President Reagan -- even on the abortion issue.

This effort to systematically and graphically portray President Reagan as wooing all religious groups -- Protestant and Catholic -- was first seen in a similar report on September 6, where he is shown attending a series of conservative, fundamental conventions -- the National Religious Broadcasters Convention, the National Association of Evangelicals, and the Baptist Fundamentalist Convention. This same linkage was made by the other three networks, but not as readily nor as clearly as did NBC.
CBS covered the Ferraro position by portraying her stand on abortion as rational and her opponents within the Catholic Church as unfair, unreasonable and most important not reflective of the will of the Catholic people. In this regard note the words of Phil Jones, "her position is being attacked as absurd and not rational."58 This report was in response to Bishop Timlin who stated that, "She is actually saying she is pro-choice. Which means that she is pro-abortion as far as we're concerned."59

It would appear that comments by Timlin were not as inflammatory as Jones claims. I also conclude that had Bishop Timlin used stronger language it would have been in the broadcast. What appeared to concern CBS correspondent Phil Jones was a claim of irrationality levied against the candidate whose position CBS had repeatedly interpreted as quite reasonable. The story that day for CBS ended with a scathing commentary by Bill Moyers attacking the unreasonableness of the New Christian Right. Contrasting this attack by CBS on the Christian Right with the position they had taken toward Ferraro, dramatically illustrates their purpose in the drama. In contrast to NBC, for CBS the most critical actor in the religious spectacle was Geraldine Ferraro.
Several reports depict Ferraro and the abortion controversy as a no win issue. There is no resolution to the problem even if most Catholics agree with Ferraro.\textsuperscript{60} The meaning the reporters give to the drama is one of conflict without the possibility of resolution. The tone of the anchors and correspondents is one which says, in effect, Ferraro has a rational position on abortion and how religious groups should approach the subject. The tone implies that Ferraro is being reasonable while the Catholic hierarchy are not. This siding with Ferraro is subtle, but evident in all the network reports.

SCENE 3: September 14 "Cuomo, the Catholic Church and abortion"

The common thread shared by all networks on this day was the report of Mario Cuomo's speech given at Notre Dame University. ABC, the only network with a studio anchor report, characterized the act of Cuomo, "an old-fashioned Catholic,\textsuperscript{61} as "fully in the fight over religion, politics and abortion," attacking those who are "trying to make laws for others to live by."\textsuperscript{62} Both ABC and NBC noted that Cuomo had tried to donate the $1500 fee he had received for his speech to a Catholic home for unwed mothers, but that the home had turned down his gift because of their opposition to Cuomo's stand on abortion.\textsuperscript{63}
ABC's coverage was a sparse anchor report, but CBS and NBC treatment was extensive. NBC especially "spun" the report as a Mario Cuomo rebuttal to the Catholic hierarchy position on abortion. The ratio of agent and scene was dominant in the NBC report. "By selecting America's best known Catholic University for his lecture, Governor Cuomo was guaranteed plenty of attention from students and the press," said NBC correspondent Ken Bode. The observation that the press was an active participant illustrates the NBC consciousness of their role as agent in the report.

For NBC the issue of Catholicism and abortion was just beginning. Did the Pope approve? NBC was not sure but they did "know that he has not chastised any of the American bishops for being too directly involved in politics." NBC wanted to know how the people felt about the issue. The following Tuesday on September 18, NBC had the answers in a commentary which cited a NBC News poll and a Louis Harris poll. Conclusion: there was "a revolt of Roman Catholics against their bishops," and "separation of church and state is as American as apple pie."

For both ABC and NBC the controversy continued but for CBS this was the last time abortion or the Catholic Church was raised as an issue in a report of any length. On two other occasions very brief references were made but this was CBS's last extended reference to the abortion issue
during the campaign -- a story they had perceived as more important than Reagan's association with the New Christian Right. For CBS the religion issue was a Ferraro/Catholic Church/abortion issue.

Further evidence of this can be found in CBS's extensive look at the debate over abortion taking place within the Catholic church. As did no other network CBS probed the "internal struggle within the Catholic church over abortion." On days when other networks interviewed experts on the role of the New Christian Right, CBS more often interviewed experts on the abortion controversy. CBS was especially prone to select academic informants to shed light on the controversy. For instance on this day, September 14, they presented views from Archbishop John O'Connor, Bishop James Timlin, Bishop James Malone, Catholic Congressman and friend of Ferraro -- Leon Panetta, Daniel Maguire of Marquette University, Catholic New York Governor Mario Cuomo, Father Richard O'Brien of Notre Dame University, and called on John F. Kennedy through old news clips. Many of these same spokesmen were used by the other networks but not in the same fashion and with the same purpose as did CBS.

One additional observation distinguishes CBS's coverage from the other networks. In many instances CBS utilized "thermopolitical rhetoric." This stylistic device
was first treated by Herzog and found in CBS reports described in Nightly Horrors. Thermopolitical rhetoric was used more often by CBS than by any other network. This language device "presents things 'hotter, flatter, mushier, massier, messier' than actually is the case." The following examples clearly illustrate thermopolitical rhetoric. As Nimmo and Combs found, CBS often uses the device to introduce a report.

September 4
DAN RATHER: It was campaign trail combustion by long distance today for Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Both had high octane rhetoric ready.

September 6
DAN RATHER: The differences between President Reagan and former Vice President Mondale over the proper place of religion and politics in American society came to a boil.
BILL PLANTE: An impassioned Walter Mondale tried to engage the President on the Role of religion in politics. Mondale is upset and angry over Mr. Reagan's earlier assertion.
BILL PLANTE: Sources close to Mondale say he intends to keep hammering away at the religion issue, hoping to needle Mr. Reagan into some reaction.

September 10
DAN RATHER: More sparks today too on what's becoming a highly combustible election year mixture of politics and religion.

September 11
DAN RATHER: Geraldine Ferraro tried again today to get unstuck by the sticky mix of the pastoral and the political.

September 12
PHIL JONES: Meantime, she [Ferraro] was trying to put out another political fire -- her stand on abortion.
September 14 (date presently being examined)

DAN RATHER: For today the campaign debate still raging loudest, longest, and now deeper than ever, is the debate over politics and religion and much of it focused on the issue of abortion.

PHIL JONES: Religion and '84 politics today erupted into open internal struggle within the Catholic church over abortion.

Yet despite these examples of thermopolitical rhetoric, CBS contrasted with the other two networks in presenting more neutral stories on this "highly combustable" issue.

ACT THREE
"The Supreme Court and Religious Interest Groups"

As important as the Presidential Election Campaign was, the struggle for power through Supreme Court Justice appointments was seen as probably as critical. The questions before the American public were threefold: 1) Would Ronald Reagan, if re-elected, allow his own personal beliefs concerning religion and government affect his running of the country? 2) Should Geraldine Ferraro, if elected Vice President, uphold the view of the Catholic Church with regard to abortion? 3) How important of an election factor was the probability of several Supreme Court Justice appointments being chosen by the next President to this campaign?
ACT THREE in the drama portrayed on TV network news probed for answers on the third question -- Was the public electing not only a President but a Supreme court? The question was critical in this campaign due to claims that Ronald Reagan was attempting to create a Court which would do his bidding on conservative and religious issues such as prayer in schools, abortion, pornography, homosexuality, and equal rights. And, the event, the scene -- opening day of the Court's fall session -- provided opportunity for the question to be examined.

SCENE I: 
October 1 "Supreme Court and the religious issue"

On this opening day of the Supreme Court's new term NBC's Tom Brokaw declared that "the separation of church and state in this country has emerged as one of the dominate issues for the Supreme Court this term." In parallel reports the same day, CBS seemed to concur with NBC also linking the selection of future Supreme Court Justices with the re-election of Ronald Reagan. In contrast, ABC saw the dominate issue of the Court to be civil rights, including those of gays, and criminals. Note in the following descriptions how each network portrayed the drama in varying ways.
ABC made the least linkage between the Supreme Court and the religion issue. Tim O'Brien did a feature report at the scene in front of the Supreme Court building showing demonstrators shouting "What do we want? Civil Rights!" The report proceeded to review the civil and moral decisions before the Court that term. The controversy of disgruntled Judges criticizing the court was noted and the report concluded with an O'Brien standupper in front of the Court reminding "that voters might not only be electing a President next month, they may be indirectly electing a Supreme Court too." In the main, ABC's dominant pentadic element was the act. What action was the Court about to take? What action should the voters take at the polls?

NBC began the day's report with an introduction by Tom Brokaw. The introduction illustrated two things common to many NBC reports. First, as has already been noted, Brokaw clearly linked the separation of church and state and the Supreme Court. NBC's perspective of American politics in 1984 was dominated by the religion and politics or church and state scene as shown here. Second, and closely related, was a graphic shown on the screen, "CHURCH AND STATE" with a Bible clearly inscribed with "Holy Bible" placed on a flag. This penchant for graphics of this type was seen repeatedly on the NBC television screen throughout the preceding weeks. Carl Stern followed with a report which
examined prayer in the schools taking the viewer to the scene of children praying in school; then to an interview with Ismael Jaffree a citizen who had brought a suit against school prayer; followed by a scene in Michigan where parochial schools were getting government support. The report noted that the President had conducted strong legal work in support of religious groups. Additionally, Reverend Robert Maddox raised the cry of alarm that "this Court is determined to dismantle the wall of separation between church and state that has served both church and state so well for so long." Carl Stern closed the report with: "Increasingly the court is talking about accommodation of church and state; a word we may be hearing more of if President Reagan gets to name two or three more justices to the court." In sum, the NBC report linked Reagan, the agent, with the purpose of the New Christian Right which combined to place emphasis on the issue as key in the landscape of American politics -- the scene.

CBS's report was similar in some respects to NBC. As did NBC, CBS brought various spokespersons into the controversy. The report began with the warning from Mondale to "Watch out!" if Reagan was re-elected, and contained a scathing comment by Mario Cuomo against Reagan the "man who believes in having government mandate people's religion and morality." Note the inclusion of a Catholic agent. But
as has been observed in the earlier reports, the other side of the controversy was also shown. Lyn Nofziger, one of President Reagan's strategists, was quoted as saying the issue of who would make the best Supreme Court appointments, Mondale or Reagan, was a positive issue for the Republicans. CBS's neutrality and tendency to view the religious issue with a Catholic flavor was in evidence again here.

No solutions were offered by the networks, but the cry of alarm was raised. The Supreme Court was clearly a part of the religion and politics issue in this campaign.

Conclusion

The drama depicted in this chapter has clearly demonstrated that the three TV network news organizations did not see nor portray the same drama in the 1984 Presidential election campaign. Each chose contrasting agents, saw the acts as serving differing purposes, and varied in the scenic portrayal of the drama. All however, clearly functioned as agency in the drama as played out from August 23 to October 1.

The similarities were many but the differences were striking. Keeping in mind that only dates on which they shared coverage were examined, these differences indicate the tendency for contrasting rhetors -- NBC, ABC, CBS -- to see reality in differing ways. It is important to note that
the similarities in the collective drama is not as crucial as are the contrasting views presented of the acts, agents, agencies, scenes, and purposes in the different networks. Despite the journalistic attempts to be objective and tell the truth, variations and nuances of differing realities were clearly evidenced in the drama portrayed by the networks covering the religion and politics issue in the 1984 Presidential campaign.
NOTES


3. Ibid.


5. Ibid., p. 12.


10. NBC, 4 August 1984, Lee McCarthy.


12. NBC, 17 August 1984, Robert Hager.


15. NBC, 22 August 1984, Tom Brokaw.


22. ABC, 3 September 1984, Brit Hume.

23. NBC, 3 September 1984, Lisa Myers.


25. NBC, 3 September 1984, Vice Presidential Candidate, Geraldine Ferraro.

26. CBS, 3 September 1984, Vice Presidential Candidate, Geraldine Ferraro.

27. NBC, 4 September 1984, Chris Wallace.

28. CBS, 4 September 1984, Bill Plante.

29. NBC, 4 September 1984; CBS, 4 September 1984, President Ronald Reagan.

30. ABC, 4 September 1984, President Ronald Reagan.

31. ABC, 4 September 1984, Sam Donaldson.

32. NBC, 4 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.

33. NBC, 4 September 1984, Chris Wallace.

34. CBS, 6 September 1984, Dan Rather.

35. NBC, 6 September 1984, Tom Brokaw; ABC, 6 September 1984, Ted Koppel; CBS, 6 September 1984, Dan Rather.

36. NBC, 6 September 1984, Lisa Myers.

37. NBC, 6 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.

38. Ibid.
39. NBC, 6 September 1984, Chris Wallace.
40. NBC, 6 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.
41. NBC, 6 September 1984, Ken Bode.
42. NBC, 6 September 1984, Chris Wallace.
43. ABC, 5 September 1984, Ted Koppel.
44. ABC, 6 September 1984, Ted Koppel.
46. ABC, 6 September 1984, Ted Koppel.
47. CBS, 6 September 1984, Dan Rather.
49. CBS, 6 September 1984, Bob Schieffer.
50. Ibid.
51. CBS, 10 September 1984, Dan Rather.
52. Ibid.
53. CBS, 11 August 1984, Bob Schieffer.
54. ABC, 12 September 1984, Lynn Sherr.
55. NBC, 11 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.
56. Ibid.
57. NBC, 6 September 1984.
58. CBS, 12 September 1984, Phil Jones.
59. CBS, 12 September 1984, Bishop James Timlin.
60. NBC, 18 September 1984, John Chancellor.
61. NBC, 4 September 1984, Ken Bode.
62. ABC, 14 September 1984, Peter Jennings.
63. NBC, 14 September 1984, Tom Brokaw; ABC, 14 September 1984, Peter Jennings.
64. NBC, 14 September 1984, Ken Bode.
65. Ibid.
66. NBC, 18 September 1984, John Chancellor.
67. CBS, 14 September 1984, Phil Jones.
68. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. CBS, 4 September 1984, Dan Rather.
72. CBS, 6 September 1984, Dan Rather.
73. CBS, 6 September 1984, Bill Plante.
74. CBS, 10 September 1984, Dan Rather.
75. CBS, 11 September 1984, Dan Rather.
76. CBS, 12 September 1984, Phil Jones.
77. CBS, 14 September 1984, Dan Rather.
78. CBS, 14 September 1984, Phil Jones.
79. CBS, 10 September 1984, Dan Rather.
80. NBC, 1 October 1984, Tom Brokaw.
81. ABC, 1 October 1984.
82. ABC, 1 October 1984, Tim O'Brien.
83. NBC, 1 October 1984.
84. NBC, 1 October 1984, Reverend Robert Maddox.
85. NBC, 1 October 1984, Carl Stern.
86. CBS, 1 October 1984, Presidential Candidate, Walter Mondale.
87. CBS, 1 October 1984, New York Governor, Mario Cuomo.
CHAPTER FIVE

The Representative Anecdote and Religion in Campaign '84

The [representative] anecdote is a macroscopic tool in the array of Burkean methods, in contrast to the pentadic, cluster agon, or other word-specific approaches... this is a method that represents well what happens in the media because the media are anecdotal.

This assessment by Barry Brummett, who is currently a leading scholar in applying Kenneth Burke's representative anecdote, provides justification for using this method to examine network television news coverage of religion and politics in the 1984 Presidential election. Brummett has argued "that the dramatic characteristics of the media make Burke's dramatistic method relevant for media criticism."2

The representative anecdote is another of Burke's dramatistic methods. The relationship of the representative anecdote to dramatism is illustrated by Burke when he says that

dramatism suggests a procedure to be followed in the development of a given calculus, or terminology. It involves the search for a "representative anecdote," to be used as a form in conformity with which the vocabulary is constructed.
Brummett provides further linkage between dramatism and the representative anecdote, stating that the critic uses the anecdote from a dramatistic perspective to "represent the essence of the discourse by viewing it as if it follows a dramatic plot."^4

I propose that this chapter's "search for a representative anecdote" is a natural extension or progression of the pentad applied in the previous chapter. Using the representative anecdote, this chapter will sum up the essence of network news coverage of religion and politics during 1984, discovering the symbolic action of a large body of discourse created by a variety of rhetors.

Burke's interpreters are many, but none explicate the notion of representative anecdote as clearly nor apply it more directly to media studies than does Brummett. Therefore, I will rely on Barry Brummett's interpretation of Burke's representative anecdote.

Underlying Brummett's understanding of the representative anecdote is another dramatistic Burkean concept -- "equipment for living." Brummett declares that the media equip society with an understanding of the world. He believes that a critic should study media discourse to "discover ways in which that discourse equips people for
living." The critic "takes the pulse of a society, to link the discourse it uses with the situations it encounters."\(^5\)

Brummett posits that

To identify a representative anecdote as immanent within a number of media discourses is to sum up the essence of a culture's values, concerns, and interests in regard to some real-life issues or problems.\(^6\)

The analysis in this chapter examines the manner in which society was equipped for living through the discourse experienced from network television newscasts. The critical effort is also aimed at discovering our culture's values, concerns, and interests in regard to the role religion should play in politics or government in the United States.

What is the representative anecdote? Brummett says to discover the anecdote, one should ask, "If this discourse were based upon a story, an anecdote, what would the form, outline, or bare bones of that story be?" He further explains the concept by comparing it to "a lens, filter, or template through which the critic studies and reconstructs the discourse." The representative anecdote is "a dramatic form which underlies the content, or specific vocabulary, of discourse."\(^7\)

Before turning to the anecdotal method in this chapter, two additional observations from Brummett seem pertinent. First, he declares that the anecdote "need not have been explicitly uttered in the discourse under
analysis." This gives the critic freedom to look for an anecdote or "story line which is immanent within the context of the discourse and able to represent the discourse," but which may come from a story structure used elsewhere. Using "his or her powers of abstraction" the critic tries to "detect a form or pattern which is a plot, a story line . . . told in different guises" within the discourse under examination.  

Second, Brummett states that when a critic has found a representative anecdote he "does not present the whole discourse but rather chooses certain aspects of it that can stand for the whole." But he cautions the critic not to choose "unrepresentative aspects which will reduce the discourse." The litmus test of representativeness is whether "much of the discourse under analysis can be shown to embody" the anecdote. 

Brummett best summarizes the representative anecdote with this comment:

The representative anecdote is a particularly representative tool for media analysis, then, because it resonates with the anecdotal, representative, dramatic form of the media, and because the content carried by that form is used by millions as equipment for living, a function to which the method of the anecdote is especially well attuned. The representative anecdote is therefore a method that taps what a culture most deeply fears and hopes, and how that culture confronts those concerns symbolically.
The remainder of this chapter develops the representative anecdote found in the television newscasts of NBC, ABC, and CBS as they "mediate reality to people by recasting the chaotic, disjointed world" of politics in 1984. As Brummett says, "the anecdote can help us to see what is anecdotal about the media and what ties together some diversity in media exposure."11

"Holy War Games" in the '84 Campaign

The dramatic form evident in the TV network coverage of religion in the political scene of 1984 is a Holy War Games anecdote. The outline or bare bones of this representative anecdote is as follows.

The story line underlying the specific content depicts a war going on over the proper place religion should have in political life and in how it should affect decisions of morality in the United States. The plot develops a holy war waged between political and religious factions with the battle ground being the Presidential election campaign. The war is also best understood as a game because of two factors. First, because of the repeated mixing of the two metaphors -- war and game -- by the media. And second, because the concept of war games brings to mind a lack of
true combat; a war game needing a spectator or an armchair observer; a theme which is evident in the discourse presented on TV network newscasts.

By its very nature television dictates that when confronted with a holy war it be treated in part like a game. In that way the viewers can more comfortably relate and live out their fears and hopes vicariously through the media lens of reality; something Americans are used to doing. Although the horse race metaphor was almost nonexistent in the 1984 network coverage of religion and politics, the sports arena anecdote was repeatedly mixed with the holy war anecdote — hence, the holy war games representative anecdote.

It is likely, although not in the scope of this analysis, that the representative anecdote of war games had permeated the media coverage of the Presidential election all along and the religion anecdote of holy war was merely a continuation of that dramatic structure.

The representative anecdote can be seen here as a drama played out by the TV news media and the tale may be summed like this: There is a holy war taking place in the United States between political candidates over the proper place of religion in politics and within the diverse religious organizations from Catholic to Baptist. The Generals of the representative camps are waging this war on
the political battle field of the 1984 Presidential election campaign. The battle lines have been drawn and the attacks have begun.

The stakes are freedom of and freedom from religion as it affects personal rights. The enemy has an evil plan to disallow our freedoms. Further, there are unwritten rules governing the Holy War Game which are not always followed. Those warriors not playing fairly are obviously the evil ones. Both warring camps strike, retreat, and fight for the hearts, minds, and souls of the American public. Which army do you want to triumph? Which warriors are you rooting for? The votes of the American people will decide the victor! Will evil be defeated and fairness, reasonableness, and personal freedom be preserved? Or, will the government dictate our "most private decisions and beliefs?"12

The Warriors -- Agents of Good or Evil?

It is the ambiguity over the identity of who is good and who is evil that makes the reconstruction of the actors or agents in this anecdote so fascinating. Both warring camps shout that the other is the evil knight. The matter is further complicated since the Holy War Game is internal; fought on common turf; a civil war. The news media become an agency distinguishing who the evil soldiers are.
President Ronald Reagan was portrayed as the corrupt Commander in Chief who had become the evil Keeper of the Faith -- the fundamentalist, evangelical variety. Walter Mondale noted that the President should be a "defender of the Constitution, which defends all faiths." Tom Brokaw of NBC quoted Geraldine Ferraro as saying, "What this country needs is a Commander in Chief not a Keeper of the Faith." Brokaw also noted that Bishop Crumley of the Lutheran Church felt this country did not need a "Defender of the Faith." Tony Podesta, spokesperson for People for the American Way, appeared on the news saying the American people do not want to decide who would "be the best Evangelist and Chief."

Reagan, with his "allies on the Christian Right," was accused of practicing "moral McCarthyism;" an unfair Holy War to uncover and expose the moral heretics in America. Most damaging to President Reagan were claims that he was not really on the side of his Christian allies but merely wanted their votes. Reagan the turn-coat only courted and wooed the Religious Right to remain Commander in Chief of the Army. The media repeatedly pointed out that when confronted by the enemy he just "set his own tone above the fray," "issued God a Republican jersey," and to protect himself "soft peddled" the cause instead of fighting like a brave soldier. As the battle began in
earnest, Richard Threlkeld, an ABC correspondent, said the President had "peered into the abyss and backed off" from the religious crusade.

To assist Reagan in this Holy War Game were two rhetorical Generals. The Reverend Jerry Falwell, the Ayatollah of the New Christian Right, and Archbishop John J. O'Connor, the Grand Inquisitor of the Catholic Church.

Sam Donaldson said, "the President would continue his fight for Bible-based conservative principles," and Jerry Falwell noted that the President had "used the White House repeatedly as a bully pulpit for the moral and social issues." Rabbi David Saperstein appeared on ABC News and articulated the fears associated with Ayatollah Falwell and his association with Reagan the Keeper of the Faith. The battle as outlined by Saperstein was against "religious right groups comprised of some people who overtly have announced that they want to create a Christian country, trying to tear down this wall separating church and state." Saperstein referred especially to those televangelists, Jerry Falwell, James Robison, Jim Bakker, and Jimmy Swaggart as "battering down the wall."

Jerry Falwell, "the evangelical champion," delineated the magnitude of the army and reinforced the fears of Saperstein and others with this declaration:
The fact is that today in this country of ours, a sleeping giant -- the conservative, religious population in this country which opened its eyes in 1980 -- is standing up full grown in 1984. And this country will never be the same because of it.²⁷

An added coup for the New Christian Right and Ronald Reagan was the emergence of the Grand Inquisitor of the Catholic Church, Archbishop John J. O'Connor. In the media portrayal of the battle, O'Connor was shown as a stern, unyielding Inquisitor. His attack on Geraldine Ferraro and her position on abortion was portrayed as unreasonable and not reflective of the Catholic public nor shared by all bishops in the Catholic Church. O'Connor and other vocal conservative members of the Catholic hierarchy kept the "heat"²⁸ on Ferraro and refused to let her off the rack and move on to more important battles. As a result of O'Connor attacks and of a Reagan "conspiracy"²⁹ to incite hecklers, Ferraro became the Damsel in Distress. She was tortured by the Grand Inquisitor and his henchman Bishop James Timlin on the way to battle Reagan. Timlin said "she would have to come out and say she is personally against abortion, and she would do all that she can within the law to stop the slaughter of innocent human beings"³⁰ before she could come off the rack. And, then when Ferraro arrived on the plains of conflict, she was ambushed by guerrillas in the form of hecklers and protesters.
If Reagan was portrayed as corrupt and not trustworthy, Walter Mondale could be seen as inept -- The Ineffectual General. Mondale not only passed up opportunities to strike at the President, but he was seen as ineffectual in the attacks he did make. House Speaker Thomas O'Neill finally came around and decided that Mondale was a good combatant after first accusing him of "being too gentle." However, the networks declared that "Mondale will have to do more than win over Tip O'Neal." He needs to "find a way to make [his] punches sting" and "get the President to come out and fight."

ABC indicated Mondale's lack of aggressiveness but pounced on secret developments uncovered. Anchor Ted Koppel said, "as he and his campaign aides have been predicting, Walter Mondale took the gloves off today on the subject of religion and politics . . . and the stiffening of Mondale's political posture and the toughening of his tone came at just the right time." ABC caught a whiff of a major "rip snorter" of an attack and reported portions of the rhetorical lambasting the evening prior to the skirmish. But, Walter Mondale turned gun shy and refused to deliver the verbal volley. The speech, as noted earlier, was so different from the draft ABC had obtained, and shared with
the public, that Ted Koppel was forced to apologize for the advance billing of that *Holy War Game* skirmish. It became the battle never fought.

In any *Holy War* the most important question is: Whose side is God on? If God can be shown to favor one Army over the other the victory can be predicted. Of prime importance to the battle being waged by the New Christian Right was the belief that God was on their side. The networks were curious. Everyone from Vice President George Bush to Reverend James Robison was shown on television praying to the Supreme Being. Mondale got into the act with frequent reminders that he was a Methodist minister's son and he had a "Christian home" too, and "was proud of it." Mondale was even shown quoting scripture from a church pulpit.

But what angered Mondale's camp most was the knowledge that the New Christian Right believed God was on their side. Atlanta Mayor and Baptist minister Andrew Young expressed his belief that Reagan did not measure up spiritually. Young said the President "doesn't go to church and hadn't been down on his knees in so long he probably wouldn't know what to say if he got down." CBS described August 23, the day of the Dallas Prayer Breakfast, as "a day featuring the power of politics and the power of prayer." Mondale indignantly announced that "most Americans would be
surprised that God is a Republican." NBC correspondent Phil Jones summed the ultimate insult with this conclusion: "They are convinced that God is on their side. And they take comfort in the knowledge that a sympathetic President is in the White House and hope to keep him there four more years."^42

So, whose side is God on? Reporters twice quoted Abraham Lincoln as saying, "God's purpose may be different from the purpose of either party." But George Will offered an interesting perspective in the following except from his ABC commentary of September 10:

Not long ago theologians were reporting God is dead. Why then has religion suddenly become such a sizzling issue? A nation that suddenly and in the name of liberal values legalizes abortion and pornography can expect a reaction from the right. But religious motives have permeated our politics since the Puritans splashed ashore in Massachusetts. So, let politicians talk about religious values, but surely they can talk as carefully about those as they do about tariffs or soybean subsidies. Americans do eat instant mash potatoes and frozen waffles, but do they want instant freeze dried religion? Maybe they do! Polls show that more Americans favor prayer in school than pray regularly in churches. Which suggests that God isn't dead -- just annoyed! (italics mine)

The Battles -- "Mini-flaps and Skirmishes"

When viewing TV network coverage through the template of the Holy War Game anecdote, the act becomes one of the featured terms. Any consideration of war must focus upon the battles and skirmishes which comprise the act.
What acts of war were committed in the campaign? The acts were rhetorical in this battle; the tactics and strategies called for discourse or verbal activity. There were some exceptions to this such as the case of an anti-abortion protestor getting into a fight with a camera crew (shown on NBC), and increased bombings of abortion clinics. But for the main, the battle was one of rhetorical action.

A CBS commentary by Bill Moyers captures the heart of this representative anecdote. CBS no more or less evidenced the Holy War Games anecdote than did ABC or NBC. However, the following excerpt from the September 12 commentary captures the essence in one report.

So what's new in this campaign? This is new: Conservative Catholics and Protestants have openly allied themselves with the Republican party in a way that threatens to turn the public debate on morality into a partisan crusade and make of Mr. Reagan's party the party of religion. That would be a profound change in American politics in and of itself, but consider their ultimate goal. You will find it expressed in a column by the conservative journalist Patrick Buchanan, himself a former speech writer for Republican politicians. Writing of the school prayer crusade, Mr. Buchanan says, and I quote, "It is the first great counter offensive of a badly routed Christian community to recapture their occupied public schools and reestablish their beliefs as the legitimate moral foundation of American society. . . . In Minnesota, for example, conservative Christians have gained control of several local Republican organizations and are demanding that school board candidates meet a religious test. But the Christian community in America is not of one mind, and the Republican party has been a tent of many stripes. In time nothing but
trouble is likely to come of a major political party's commitment to the doctrinal triumph of one sectarian notion of God's will for America. We have in this country an admirable alternative to civil war, and to holy civil war at that. It's called the Constitution. Religion and politics mix in this delicate balance, but only if they serve to check one another's pretensions.* (italics mine)

What follows are three representative acts, battles if you will, which illustrate the Holy War Games anecdote in this election.

ACT ONE -- Declaration of War

Geraldine Ferraro "was the first to raise the religion issue." But President Reagan's remarks at the Dallas prayer breakfast linking religion and politics was taken as a declaration of war by Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro and those in their camp. This act, during the heart of the political campaign, of open alliance with the cause of the New Christian Right drew fire from various opponents.

Reagan drew the battle lines in clear, decisive language. He said that "politics and morality are inseparable," and expressed his concern that there were those attempting to take away religious freedom from Americans. A careful scrutiny of the verbal attacks in response to his Dallas declaration do not seem to warrant much of the fire drawn. For example, despite Reagan's
continued insistence that "he couldn't think of anyone" who favored a state church, and certainly that he did not;\textsuperscript{50} the enemy forces proceeded with their attack anyway.

However, all is fair in war; especially when you doubt the veracity of your opponent, which is a typical reaction in wartime. And of course, it must be observed that the field of opposition had been waiting for a chance to battle on this issue.

That this declaration of war took place during the Republican Convention seemed expected. Reagan's recruitment of both Catholic and Protestant officers during the past months was duly investigated and revealed. And as Richard Viguerie, publisher of the \textit{Conservative Digest} said, "what we've seen this week in Dallas and this year in Congress is the opening skirmish, the opening skirmishes if you would, of a battle, a war, for the heart and soul of the Republican Party."\textsuperscript{51}

According to an NBC report, Jesse Jackson was "taking aim" at Ronald Reagan and said "Jesus Christ would not have fared well as a citizen under the Reagan administration."\textsuperscript{52} And Senator Edward Kennedy accused "the President of playing to religious extremists."\textsuperscript{53}

But most of the shelling came from Mondale and Ferraro. The various networks characterized their offensive maneuvers as "hammering away,"\textsuperscript{54} "pouring it on,"\textsuperscript{55} taking
shots,"56 and "pounding away"57 at Reagan for his improper mixing of religion and politics. Ferraro "unleashed the sharpest attack" on Reagan saying; "I reject any new tyranny over the minds of both men and women."58 More of Mondale and Ferraro's battle plan will be developed later.

ACT TWO -- The Abortion Skirmish

The battle had begun, the war was on. The next major skirmish was over the abortion issue and the clash between Vice Presidential hopeful, Geraldine Ferraro and the Catholic Church.

The acts committed by anti-abortion demonstrators attending Geraldine Ferraro's rallies clearly illustrate the anecdote of the Holy War Game. NBC characterized the "attacks" on Ferraro as an organized "master strategy"59 of the enemy -- Ronald Reagan. Tom Brokaw of NBC declared that Ferraro was "a special target in this campaign,"60 and to visually emphasize the claim, a graphic, "Target: Ferraro,"61 was displayed over her photograph. ABC Correspondent Dean Reynolds portrayed the attack on Ferraro as a "Republican conspiracy," but wondered whether the "struggling . . . Democrats can make something out of it and turn it to their advantage."62 The networks were reporting on the fact of anti-abortion demonstrators, but they also assessed the damage caused by the fracas.
This conspiracy took on ugly warlike implications. Hecklers were portrayed as guerrillas who had received special training to commit guerrilla warfare at the rallies. Morton Blackwell, a former White House aide, denied the charges that his Leadership Institute was involved in clandestine maneuvers, but rumors of secret training grounds for guerrilla warfare continued.63

On September 26, John Chancellor summed up the plight of Geraldine Ferraro, the Damsel in Distress, declaring that she was in "deep trouble" on the "killer" question of abortion.64 And NBC's Jamie Gangel concluded that "any advantage Ferraro has brought to the ticket has been destroyed . . . ."65 Ferraro had bitten the dust in battle defending her stand.

Lynn Sherr of ABC asserted that Ferraro was "targeted in part because she was a woman."66 Ferraro was depicted as a valiant warrior who was "not afraid of the issue," and had "plunged into the heart of anti-abortion country"67 despite the odds. One interpretation of the Ferraro defeat in the battle over abortion might be explained within the war anecdote: women should not go to battle; especially inexperienced Damsels.

Not only were the demonstrators with distracting signs, chants, and interruptions part of the battle plan, but "attacks" by New York's Archbishop John O'Connor caused
"friction" and "sparks," on this "combustible" mixture of abortion and politics. CBS's Phil Jones summarized the plight of Ferraro's position by stating that while there are "few votes to be gained by feuding with an archbishop," Ferraro "doesn't want . . . someone in her own church pushing her around . . . ." The underlying rules of battle seemed to be that a political warrior could not let a religious warrior influence decisions. Ferraro might be killed on the battlefield, but she would not surrender to the enemy demands of compromise. She would rather face political court-martial than to fail in her public trust.

Ken Bode of NBC continued reporting that Ferraro was involved in a "running skirmish," and was a "prime target . . . drawing more clerical fire." Geraldine Ferraro was defeated in a major skirmish when she was snubbed and not invited to replace Walter Mondale at the traditional Al Smith dinner in New York (Al Smith was the first Catholic candidate for President). Archbishop O'Connor dealt Ferraro a serious blow in "their continuing battle over abortion policy" by refusing to allow her, a practicing Catholic, to attend the dinner. But, to the rescue of the Damsel in Distress came New York Governor Mario Cuomo who was "fully in the fight over religion, politics, and abortion." Mario Cuomo, a Catholic, indicated that he did
not understand the unfair treatment given Ferraro, and he cautioned "that God should not be made into a Celestial Party Chairman."73

John Chancellor in his NBC commentary of September 18 characterized Ferraro's abortion fight with the Catholic church as splitting the ranks of Catholics causing a "revolt of Roman Catholics against their bishops."74 Phil Jones (CBS) proclaimed, "Religion in '84 politics today erupted into open internal struggle within the Catholic church over abortion." Jones continued by declaring that bishops disagreed over the abortion issue, but many refused to sign a statement affirming a diversity of opinion existed on the abortion issue within the Catholic Church "fearing loss of their jobs in Catholic Universities."75

ACT THREE: The Supreme Court under Siege

A most distressing potential for Walter Mondale was the distinct probability that in losing the war to Reagan and those in his league, the stakes included a loss of Supreme Court Justices. The networks carefully traced the actions of the Supreme Court during the past few years and concluded that if the evil Ayatollah and the Keeper of the Faith won the election battle it would have longlasting ramifications. To vote for Reagan, the networks told the public, was to vote for Supreme Court Justices. ABC correspondent Tim
O'Brien warned that due to the advancing age of many of the Justices "it's clear that whoever is President the next four years, could be appointing more Justices than any President in 40 years; that voters might not only be electing a President next month, they may be indirectly electing a Supreme Court too."

In the battle for public opinion, campaign manager and longtime Reagan advisor, Lyn Nofzinger said the Reagan camp felt the choice was one which favored victory for Reagan. But opponents like Mario Cuomo were appalled saying, "What kind of court and country will be fashioned by the man who believes in having government mandate people's religion and morality?" Walter Mondale echoed the sentiment with "If this administration is re-elected, what they're going to do with that Supreme Court; watch out!"

All the networks painstakingly outlined the siege on the Supreme Court, detailing the confrontation and intense legal work President Reagan had conducted to get the school prayer amendment considered. The networks played the drama as a delicate balance of Justice opinion with no clear victor. But if Reagan "court stacking plans" succeeded, the New Christian Right would reap the rewards of victory for many years to come. Freedom would be vanquished as the High Court of the land joined hands with the Keeper of the Faith and the Ayatollah to insure oppression and domination.
In a CBS report, Falwell was quoted as saying he "expects a reshaped Supreme Court during a second term by President Reagan would outlaw most abortions." CBS continued saying Falwell insisted "he doesn't expect President Reagan to consult him about naming any new Justices." For Mondale's part, the central battle in the war was the issue of Supreme Court Justices. Mondale warned, "This election is not about Republicans sending hecklers to my rallies. It is about Jerry Falwell picking Justices for the Supreme Court."

The stakes in this Holy War Game were high. For the New Christian Right the rewards garnered by a new Court might include: prayer in the public schools, an end to abortion, an expulsion or repression of homosexuality, and new laws on pornography. In the final analysis, to the conservative Christians, a conservative Court could be the greatest victory of the war. In the words of NBC correspondent Carl Stern, the "religious groups smell victory" on the siege of the Supreme Court.

The networks equipped the nation with an understanding of the magnitude of decisions made, and cast a spectre of ominous foreboding on this battle for the future of religious and personal freedoms.
War Game Strategies and Tactics

Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro's War Game strategies in part consisted of "strongly worded attacks" and strong language. From the trenches, NBC's Lisa Myers reported that "by stepping up his attacks on Reagan, Mondale hopes to whittle down the President's lead and force him into a major mistake. The strategy is to be very aggressive, challenge Reagan on every front and draw stark contrasts."85

One of the tactics reported from the "Reagan camp" was his intention, after "firing up" his conservative base, to move away from religion and "disarm" his opponents.87 Mondale was repeatedly frustrated by the defensive maneuvers taken by Reagan. A major Reagan tactic was to ignore Mondale's barrages. For a period of time the President even refused to use Walter Mondale's name, referring to him as "What's his name."88 The tactic was so obvious that George Will in a commentary determined that "Walter Mondale couldn't get Ronald Reagan to pay any attention to him so he seemed to be running against Jerry Falwell."89

Sam Donaldson measured the efforts to defeat Reagan on the religious issue with this insightful analysis.

The President's aides are watching the religion issue carefully, but without much concern at this stage. Mr. Reagan's long time association with the Christian Right is so well known they can't believe his views will blow up in his face now. Particularly if the President
continues to ignore Walter Mondale's attack on the subject — which is precisely his intention. 90

The networks continued with the assessment of strategies and tactics, and were quick to report when Mondale "passed up a chance to renew his criticism" of Reagan and his "ties to the Christian Right." 91 However, efforts by both Mondale and Ferraro to get the President to come out and fight were wrought with disappointment. The media noted that Ferraro wanted to fight Ronald Reagan but was forced to fight with an Archbishop. 92 Ferraro voiced her growing frustration when she said she "wished they'd come out and fight like men." 93

From a strategic perspective President Reagan was seen as letting others do the fighting for him. There were: the Clergy-Generals of the Christian Right headed by Ayatollah Falwell; the Catholic Church with its Bishops and the Grand Inquisitor; and guerrilla soldiers on the front lines who denied association with the Reagan camp but were seen by most as engaging in subversive warfare through a series of spy rings and informants within the Mondale camp. NBC confirmed spying fears quoting Dr. John Willke, President of the National Right to Life Committee, as saying the Reagan/Bush camp "know more about our picketing than we do." 94
But the Reagan Army was not the only one relying on reinforcements from others; the Mondale camp frequently had outside assistance as well. George Will (commentary for ABC) observed that "Walter Mondale has been selectively indignant objecting to the self-righteous clergy who disagree with him but not objecting to the clergy on his side, and he has his share."95

A strategy of the Ayatollah Falwell and his Generals was to influence the Republican Convention — especially the party platform. There they prayed, negotiated, and coerced. A leading General of the New Christian Right, Reverend James Robison, with a TV army of over eleven million, "called his followers to a day of prayer and fasting to guide Republican decisions."96 Invoking God's help was a major strategy of the right. As for coercion, NBC in two separate reports had Falwell declaring to the Republicans that "all you got to do is change your platform and become an echo to the Democrats and you'll find yourself out of office in a hurry."97 Jim Bakker, now the fallen leader of the PTL Club, said "when government affects the church the church has got to react."98

The most effective strategy of the Reagan Army was to register voters. Jerry Falwell announced his battle plan as a "three-fold primary responsibility [to] number one get people saved, number two get them baptised, number three get
them registered to vote." In addition to vocally supporting the President in this Holy War, Falwell commissioned clergy as infantrymen in the battle. The efforts to win the war through voter registration was a repeated scenario. Church members were shown registering on their Bibles in the rear and just outside churches. Conservative ministers came to the aid of the Christian militia encouraging their members to vote. An unidentified pastor was shown at the pulpit saying,

Register and then vote. And as a Christian I exhort you as your pastor and as your brother to vote for those candidates who best exemplify the moral and godly attributes that we see in our beloved Bible -- the scriptures.

The primary role of the media was to equip the American public for living by providing clear choices in the election battle being played out on their TV screens.

Network News as "Equipment for Living"

The media purpose in this anecdote was to equip society with clear choices, drawing stark contrasts to aid in decision making. What the media do, in addition to helping one make choices based on differences, is to intentionally or unintentionally (this study does not attempt to assess intentionality) identify one warring army
as good and one as evil. In 1984, the networks appeared to equip the Mondale Army with ammunition for living — for surviving on the front lines.

By picking a warring team the media joined the fray and became allies of one faction. The media joined the Mondale/Ferraro camp in the battle against what Edward Kennedy called "religious extremists." This was first indicated in Chapter Two's content analysis of the "spin" variables measuring network sensationalism and negativism toward the religious issue. The motive of the media becomes equated with purpose. NBC, ABC, and CBS News become agents in the war against the New Christian Right with the use of the world's most effective rhetorical weapon in political fighting — television.

This choosing of sides can be illustrated in two ways. First, the networks' selected spokespersons from the right whose rhetoric reinforced the deep fear of most Americans that "an extreme fringe with fire in the eyes" from the "radical right" were out to create a "de facto state church." Second, the networks' selected spokespersons from the left (Mondale's allies) who further incited the fears of many Americans in regard to the New Christian Right and loss of personal freedoms. So the network form was to first show the unreasonable, unfair attack by the Reagan conservative Christians, and then
follow with a volley from Mondale and his supporters. The pattern was to give the appearance of equal and fair coverage, since both sides got their shots in, but the result was to make the religious right appear as an unrelenting band of religious extremists bent on battering down freedoms. Whether or not this was a true portrayal of the religious right is not the point. The issue is that the media clearly picked a team in the Holy War Games of the 1984 Presidential election campaign.

An additional interpretation of the network purpose sees the news reports as maximizing the conflict, or polarizing the viewpoints. For example, the networks' selected spokespersons on opposite ends of the spectrum -- the liberal Senator Weicker vs. the conservative Reverend Falwell. This tendency to spotlight the most contrasting combatants made for a bloodier battle. Neutral soldiers or middle-of-the-road individuals would not be as action-packed nor as dramatic as network news requires.

The conservative, fundamental, evangelical movement was given life and substance in great part due to the media's interpretation of their beliefs, hopes, and designs. Most Americans only understand and comprehend the world view of the religious right through the media -- who tend to stereotype them. In sum, the networks became the voice for
one army. The networks, supposedly fair objective
dispensers of truth, proffered reality regarding which army
was good and which was evil in this Holy War Game.

The media equipped for living by proclaiming to the
millions watching and listening: It's your decision since
victory will be decided by your vote. The voters are the
ones who decide the winner. Fortunately, for you the
viewer, this Holy War needs little immediate participation
on your part. You can remain unscathed by the conflict. In
fact, with the exception of voting, you should not join in
the fight if you are a religious person; especially if you
are a religious leader. The unwritten rules of this War
Game are that only certified soldiers may fight. And, all
soldiers of the holy army are not to take unfair advantage
in this battle by loading your rifles and marching to war.
Remember, the Holy War is only a Game despite what the
armies want you to believe. Your only job, is to watch this
War Game in the comfort of your bunkers and decide who you
think should win.

The voters in the 1984 election were equipped for
election day by exposure to this dramatic purpose. The
media provided information on what choices there were to
make. The question to be answered was, Whose side are you
on? Equipped with a knowledge of the differences between
the Armies of Darkness and the Armies of Light, voters were
to make informed decisions. How you want to live your life -- under a government who prescribes moral/religious behavior; or with freedom to make personal choices in moral/religious situations such as abortion and homosexuality? These were the choices posed by the media. The armies were contrasted; Dan Rather called the positions "poles apart," the selections simplified, the citizen was equipped to live.
NOTES

2. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 162.
6. Ibid., p. 164.
7. Ibid., p. 162-163.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 166.
11. Ibid., p. 165.
15. NBC, 18 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.
16. NBC, 4 August 1984, spokesperson for People for the American Way, Tony Podesta.
19. NBC, 6 September 1984, Ken Bode.
20. NBC, 4 September 1984, Chris Wallace.
22. ABC, 23 August 1984, Sam Donaldson.
23. ABC, 23 August 1984, Reverend Jerry Falwell.
24. ABC, 9 September 1984, Rabbi David Saperstein.
25. CBS, 6 September 1984, Rabbi David Saperstein.
27. NBC, 29 October 1984, Reverend Jerry Falwell.
28. ABC, 10 September 1984, Lynn Sherr.
29. ABC, 26 September 1984, Dean Reynolds.
30. ABC, 12 September 1984, Bishop James Timlin.
31. ABC, 6 September 1984, Brit Hume.
32. Ibid.
33. NBC, 7 September 1984, Lisa Myers.
34. ABC, 6 September 1984, Brit Hume.
35. ABC, 6 September 1984, Ted Koppel.
37. ABC, 7 September 1984, Presidential candidate Walter Mondale.
38. ABC, 4 November 1984.
39. NBC, 8 September 1984, Atlanta Mayor, Reverend Andrew Young.
40. CBS, 23 August 1984, Dan Rather.
41. ABC, 6 September 1984, Presidential candidate Walter Mondale; NBC, 6 September 1984, Tom Brokaw quoting Walter Mondale.
42. NBC, 29 October 1984, Phil Jones.
43. NBC, 6 September 1984, Ken Bode; ABC, 7 September 1984, Richard Threlkeld.

44. ABC, 10 September 1984, George Will.

45. NBC, 22 September 1984.

46. NBC, 28 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.

47. CBS, 12 September 1984, Bill Moyers.

48. NBC, 4 August 1984, Lee McCarthy.

49. ABC, 23 August 1984, President Ronald Reagan; CBS, 23 August 1984, President Ronald Reagan.

50. CBS, 4 September 1984, President Ronald Reagan; NBC, 4 September 1984, President Ronald Reagan.

51. NBC, 17 August 1984, publisher of Conservative Digest, Richard Viguerie.

52. NBC, 27 August 1984, John Palmer quoting Reverend Jesse Jackson.

53. NBC, 10 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.


55. ABC, 3 September 1984, Brit Hume.

56. Ibid.

57. ABC, 7 September 1984, Ted Koppel.

58. NBC, 3 September 1984, Lisa Myers.

59. NBC, 21 September 1984, Jamie Gangel.

60. NBC, 21 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.

61. Ibid.

62. ABC, 26 September 1984, Dean Reynolds.

63. ABC, 26 September 1984.

64. NBC, 26 September 1984, John Chancellor.
65. NBC, 21 September 1984, Jamie Gangel.
66. ABC, 10 September 1984, Lynn Sherr.
67. ABC, 12 September 1984, Lynn Sherr.
68. CBS, 10 September 1984, Dan Rather.
69. CBS, 11 September 1984, Phil Jones.
70. NBC, 11 September 1984, Ken Bode.
71. ABC, 18 October 1984, Sander Vanocur.
72. ABC, 14 September 1984, Peter Jennings.
73. CBS, 14 September 1984, New York Governor, Mario Cuomo.
74. NBC, 18 September 1984, John Chancellor.
75. CBS, 14 September 1984, Phil Jones.
76. ABC, 1 October 1984, Tim O'Brien.
77. CBS, 1 October 1984, Reagan advisor, Lyn Nofzinger.
78. CBS, 1 October 1984, New York Governor, Mario Cuomo.
79. CBS, 1 October 1984, Presidential candidate, Walter Mondale.
80. CBS, 1 October 1984, Fred Graham.
81. CBS, 10 October 1984, Dan Rather.
82. Ibid.
83. NBC, 25 September 1984, Reverend Jerry Falwell.
84. NBC, 1 October 1984, Carl Stern.
85. ABC, 6 September 1984, Brit Hume.
86. NBC, 3 September 1984, Lisa Myers.
87. NBC, 6 September 1984, Chris Wallace.
88. ABC, 7 September 1984, President Ronald Reagan.
89. ABC, 12 October 1984, George Will.
90. ABC, 6 September 1984, Sam Donaldson.
91. ABC, 9 September 1984, Brit Hume.
92. NBC, 12 September 1984, Bob Kur.
93. NBC, 22 September 1984, Vice Presidential candidate, Geraldine Ferraro.
94. NBC, 26 September 1984, Tom Brokaw.
95. ABC, 10 September 1984, George Will.
96. NBC, 21 August 1984, Robert Hager.
98. NBC, 29 October 1984, Reverend Jim Bakker.
100. NBC, 29 October 1984.
101. ABC, 25 September 1984, Bill Cobey, candidate for Congress.
102. NBC, 29 October 1984, unidentified Christian Right Clergyman.
104. NBC, 10 September 1984, Senator Edward Kennedy.
107. NBC, 29 October 1984, Reverend Roy Honeycutt, President of Southern Baptist Seminary.


109. CBS, 6 September 1984, Dan Rather.
Unlike the printed media, television writes on the wind. There is no accumulated record which the historian can examine later with 20-20 vision of hindsight, asking these questions: "How fair was he tonight? How impartial was he today? How honest was he all along?"

President Johnson
April 1, 1968

When President Lyndon Johnson made these remarks before the National Association of Broadcasters in 1968 they reflected the state of affairs with regard to the ephemeral nature of television news. And to a great extent the comments hold true today. Despite the penetration of video recording devices in American homes today, television news usually appears and then disappears forever on the wind.

To the delight of scholars who had the inclination and inspiration to study the unique artifact of television news, in 1968 Vanderbilt University began off-the-air recording of the three major network news organizations -- NBC, ABC, and CBS. Since that time researchers have taken videotapes of newscasts from Vanderbilt on loan, or by some fortune of fate managed to pre-record on privately owned video recorders the news intended for examination.
The effort to study television news is time consuming and often expensive. But the need to answer the kinds of questions President Johnson raised, and similar ones, is a worthwhile endeavor. How else will we understand the nature of television news except to capture and analyze it?

The study concentrated on in this dissertation has captured some of the drama of the 1984 Presidential campaign, the mediated reality of politics and religion. My effort has been guided by a desire to understand the unique contribution of network evening news with regard to politics and religion in American life.

Everyone should agree that TV news is an important participant in our national political elections. Politicians believe it, and the networks have even attempted to prove it in self-serving treatises chronicling the advent of TV news and its impact. Scholars are more tentative in their claims, but recognize the potential for impact and seek to understand the phenomenon.

The present study makes no claim of effect. The goal of this study has been to dissect the action of the political game or war which transpired during the past Presidential election campaign. The focus, however, has not been to analyze the speeches of Ronald Reagan or the verbal strategies of Jerry Falwell, but to study the manner in
which the major network news organizations — NBC Nightly News, ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News — portrayed a controversial issue which surfaced during the 1984 campaign; the mixing of religion and politics. Critics have posited that "journalists function as rhetors, consciously attempting to maintain audience attention" and often "attempt to create a sense of dramatic confrontation."² This was true in the election coverage of 1984. But the networks' motivation as reconstructed through this analysis uncovers more.

This study has probed the mediated realities created on American network television news. How did the networks treat the issue of religion and politics issue in the 1984 election campaign? From this fundamental question, Chapter One raised the following sub-questions: 1) what was the quantitative content of the newscasts? 2) Using Kenneth Burke's pentad, what symbolic reality was created by the networks as revealed in the dramatic elements? 3) What representative anecdote undergirds the narrative of the networks? and 4) What theoretical claims can be drawn about presidential campaigns, the issue of religion, and the dramatic portrayal of both by network TV news?
Review of the Chapters

In the foregoing chapters this investigation pursued answers to the questions by examining the newscasts from a number of perspectives. In Chapter Two an historical background of religion in American politics was presented. The questions guiding the chapter were: What was the intended relationship between religion and government at the inception of our country? What is the constitutional position and the subsequent Supreme Court actions on the religion issue? What is known about the rise of Christian involvement in politics throughout the history of the United States and especially during the past decade?

Chapter Three reported the findings of a content analysis derived from critical viewing of video tapes retrieved from Vanderbilt University's News Archive. A total of 141 reports from NBC, ABC, and CBS were viewed by student coders and myself. The reports were analyzed along two content analytic perspectives. First, the reports were coded for quantitative information such as length of report, locale, issues, and sources. Second, a more subjective qualitative analysis was conducted to determine network "spin" \(^3\) -- the ideological slant or how the reporters gave
meaning to the reports. The chapter reported in tabular and narrative form the results of the content analysis and the intercoder reliabilities of the findings.

Chapter Four examined these same newscasts with a dramatistic method — Kenneth Burke's pentad. The pentadic elements of scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose were used to arrive at the substance of the network messages found in the reports. The pentad explicated the composite drama as seen through the blinking eye of the television newscast. Similarities and differences in the plots of the drama were detected and illustrated through examples from the transcribed videotapes.

Chapter Five continued the dramatistic approach with a search for a representative anecdote; a term again from Burke's arsenal of analytical tools for examining discourse. The anecdotal approach searched for a story or an anecdote upon which the drama of religion and politics was based. The anecdote of Holy War Games was deemed to be the "bare bones" of the story as told by the networks. The representative anecdote acted as a "template, lens, or filter," through which the reports from the networks were scrutinized.
Preliminary Findings

Chapter Two investigated the historical setting for religion and politics discovered speculation and myth surrounding the role of religion in the political life of early America. Through history the delicate balance between church and state has been severely tested. A major concern of the early colonists centered on the proper role religion should play in government. Laws were enacted to assure freedom of and freedom from religion. And, as Dulce and Richter reveal, religion as a factor in Presidential election politics was a recurring controversy.

Most recently, the efforts of groups such as the Moral Majority -- now a subsidiary of "Liberty Federation" -- have mobilized the conservative Christian community; a force that Jerry Falwell has called a "sleeping giant." Much of the drama in Campaign '84 centered around the political activity of what Hill and Owens call the "New Religious Political Right."

The search to understand religion in American political life is accomplished through an examination of the laws which have guided religious/political decisions. Chapter Two summarized the different views on "separation"
of church and state arising from the decisions made over time by different Supreme Courts. The current clash over separation can be seen as contrasting, polar interpretations of the term, "separation." Today's political liberals would likely embrace an extreme **absolute** separationist viewpoint which assumes a wall of complete and perfect partition between religion and government. Conservatives such as Ronald Reagan would be more inclined to embrace the notion of **supportive** separation which allows government to be more generous and accommodating to religious groups. The networks declared during the 1984 election that "accommodation of church and state" might be the perspective taken by a Reagan-shaped Court. The investigation conducted in Chapter Two uncovered historical precedent and examined the religious forces impacting on the news reports examined in subsequent chapters.

Chapter Three conducted a content analysis on network reports and found distinctive differences. In summary, the most noteworthy were: 1) NBC had the most comprehensive coverage of religion and politics in the campaign, 2) NBC had a balance of reports by anchors and correspondents while ABC and CBS had more correspondent reports, 3) all the networks covered the religion issue with relatively long reports indicating more than passing interest in the issue, 4) "religion and politics" was the
most mentioned issue and also most often coded as the principal issue, 5) only ABC showed sensational film of homosexuals, 6) NBC had Jerry Falwell most often as a source, and 7) NBC used the term "fundamentalist," ABC the term "Christian Right," and CBS the term "conservative Christian," when referring to the New Christian Right.

Unfortunately, the intercoder reliability tests run on the coders was sufficiently low as not to permit conclusions to be made on some of the additional findings. Illustrative are these: 1) NBC's reports were coded as more alarming, 2) ABC's correspondents were most "sensational," and 3) NBC was assessed as having reporters who were more negative than the other two networks. The particular reliability scores for each of the categories being measured was reported and the conclusions were directed by the degree of intercoder reliability. Findings were not acceptable unless they met at least the .60 level of reliability.

The results of the content analysis in Chapter Three were constrained by the low intercoder reliability scores. Principally, the content analysis was conducted to lend credence to the qualitative rhetorical dramatistic analyses which followed. Obviously, better agreement was expected. In retrospect the bulk of responsibility for low reliability may be placed on inadequate training of the coders and more training sessions were needed. The reliability scores are
sufficiently low as to require recoding in some instances if the claims made in Chapter Three are to stand the scrutiny of further publication.

Why were the "spin" measures unreliable? The existence of spin was neither confirmed nor disconfirmed by this study. At least two factors contribute to the illusiveness of spin detection. First, a coder brings to any coding session a frame of reference or emotional baggage that can make spin detection difficult. For example, a coder might not like Sam Donaldson making unbiased evaluation of Donaldson's reports difficult. Second, asking coders to report their overall impression perhaps opens the door to many interpretations without clear reasons for the decision. In this study the coders were instructed to judge the spin based on a general impression. Had the coders been looking for specific languaging patterns indicative of spin, then the spin measure might have yielded useful findings.

If specific examples were developed clarifying what spin includes, and coders were instructed to look for those particular kinds of statements, the level of reliability most likely would rise. The researcher would make an a priori decision to declare spin to have taken place based on the number of times a particular type or kind of comment occurred. The measure of spin might more reliability be determined if these precautions had been observed.
Chapter Four developed the pentadic elements as revealed in the network reports. The dates on which all three networks covered the issue of religion in politics were analyzed. Network news was shown to merit the claim that their reports contain colorful, controversial drama. The application of the pentad uniquely suited the discourse. The networks were seen as both similar in dramatic presentation and different. Similarities were detected in the common choices of scenes or events covered. Additionally, many of the same agents were reported performing the same acts by the different networks.

The most striking similarity among the networks can be found in their shared function of serving as agency. Each network served as the agency to disseminate the acts, agents, and purposes of the religious political scene. Without television network news functioning as rhetors in the election of 1984, the reality of politics as we know it would not exist. It was established in Chapter Four that the real-fictions created by the networks are the realities of the political scene and gave it life and substance. Modern politics is understood and believed through the medium of television news. As Nimmo and Combs declare, the reports were the "mediated political realities" of Campaign '84.
Additionally, Chapter Four noted that the dramatic reality contained three acts with accompanying scenes. Act One was President Reagan's alliance with the New Christian Right and the objections that raised from opposing candidates and others. Act Two was the action resulting from Geraldine Ferraro's position on abortion and the subsequent criticism she received from the New Christian Right and from the Catholic Church. And Act Three linked the totality of the religion question symbolically to the struggle for control of the Supreme Court through appointment of Justices.

The differences detected in Chapter Four center on the diverse purposes of the networks. Each network not only shared in the motive of attempting to maintain audience attention, but also gave disparate meanings to the acts, agents and scenes. NBC's purpose might be described as an attempt to create dramatic conflict between the agents of the left and those on the right to better assist voters with clearcut choices. The key actors were President Reagan and Jerry Falwell. NBC's drama centered around the real-fiction that the religious issue was a very important one to the campaign and the most critical players were the "fundamentalists" who were out to take away personal
freedoms. To be sure this theme existed in the other two networks, but none portrayed the drama over more days with more relentless intensity than did NBC.

ABC's purpose centered more on the acts of Mondale and Ferraro. In addition, they were the only network to depict the visually inflammatory acts of homosexuals. The acts of gays were juxtaposed against the actions or agencies of the Christian Right. The network drama which was created made for sizzling viewing. ABC was also the least likely to see the religion issue as a struggle between Geraldine Ferraro and the Catholic Church. Certainly ABC covered the acts resulting from this dramatic confrontation, but it was not as likely to portray it as the crucial issue. ABC clearly sought to create stimulating drama that would boost listenership. The most vivid example was the advance billing ABC gave a speech that Walter Mondale never delivered.

CBS contrasted most with the other two networks. First, the principal dramatis personae for CBS was Geraldine Ferraro. Her struggle with the Catholic Church was the central act of the religious issue for the network. CBS was the laggard in deciding that the religious issue in the campaign not only included Ferraro and the Catholic Church but also the dramatic alliance formed by President Reagan and the New Christian Right. Where NBC saw the handiwork of
the New Christian Right in most of the scenes of the campaign, CBS saw the abortion/Ferraro/Catholicism struggle as central. This was demonstrated in the dramatic purpose reconstructed in the coverage described in Chapter Four.

Chapter Five applied the representative anecdote, Holy War Games, to the news reports examined in the preceding chapters. The representative anecdote in the drama created by the networks blended two ideas; a sports metaphor and a war metaphor. The skeletal story underlying the specific content depicted a war in American politics over the proper role religion should have in politics. The anecdote developed the agents as: President Ronald Reagan, the Keeper of the Faith; Walter Mondale, the Ineffectual General; Geraldine Ferraro, the Damsel in Distress; Reverend Jerry Falwell, the Ayatollah; and Archbishop John O'Connor, the Grand Inquisitor. The acts were depicted as battles and skirmishes between the Armies of Light and the Armies of Darkness. The drama was deemed to be a game because of the mixing of the sport and war metaphors, and because the acts were "mere rhetoric" and not as serious as actual battle, requiring little immediate participation from the masses viewing the game on television.
The dramatic purpose, as revealed in the representative anecdote of Chapter Five, was to equip idle spectators sitting before their television screens for the final battle -- the election. They were to join the army of their choice and come out firing on election day.

The representative anecdote highlighted the role reversal of good and evil. President Reagan was considered evil, while those who were less ardently holy were deemed good. In 1984 it appeared that the networks equipped the American public with an understanding of which army was the rational, trustworthy camp. Reagan could not be trusted to keep his holy crusade out of government. If the voter shared the ideology reflected in anchor and correspondent rhetoric and viewed this mixing of religion and government as evil, then the well equipped choice was to join the Army of Light -- Mondale's camp.

Major Research Claims

From a broad perspective what claims can be drawn about presidential campaigns, the issue of religion, and the dramatic portrayal of both by network television news? What information and insight has the study produced? How has this dissertation contributed to the understanding of presidential campaigns, religion, and network television news? The following claims are drawn from this study.
Claim #1: **Television network news tends to polarize divergent viewpoints.** This study has shown that the positions held by members of the New Christian Right and the positions embraced by liberal politicians and clergy on the left have been contrasted by the networks. The extreme, divergent views on the mixture of religion and politics and the abortion question were continually polarized by the media. Few attempt were made by the networks to show that mainstream America held positions in the middle of these two extremes. Instead, the news media presented the contrasting, polar choices. At least two explanations can be offered to explain why the network news media presented the polarized divergent viewpoints. One explanation sees network intention being to crystalize the differences to assist viewer decision making. Thus, the people were better equipped for living. A second explanation might view the media as acting in the interest of ratings. Portraying the extremes makes for more interesting viewing; airing controversy attracts more viewers. The networks function within the medium of entertainment. The news is surrounded by dramatic television programs ranging from soap operas to crime dramas which abound with character stereotypes. As a part of the television entertainment environment, one might expect no more or less than a clear-cut distinction between good and bad or right and wrong. This was particularly the
case with regard to religion in the 1984 presidential campaign because Americans hold contrasting views on the subject. Therefore, polarization was a result easily attained.

Claim #2: Network news is more inclined to present actions and events than to present insightful analyses of issues. The actions of a politician favoring abortion are more dramatic and easier to cover than are concepts such as the legal ramifications or moral considerations concerning abortion policy. The networks are more anecdotal than conceptual. This is in part due to the visual nature of television news. It is much easier to show an act than to articulate a concept. However, in 1984 the media gave the impression they were covering the issues and not just the actions and reactions of the many actors in the drama. Indeed to cover the issue in an informative manner seemed to be equated with reports of action and drama. This penchant for dramatic portrayal of events presents a good argument for examining the news using Burke's dramatistic methodology. Covering events and actions results in the three networks quite often reporting the same things about the same people. This journalistic potentiality of choosing the same news from all the available possibilities tends to validate the efforts of the news organizations. The end result is a sameness; a similarity which has caused
researchers to declare that the networks differ little in news coverage. Only a close examination, such as was done in this dissertation points out the shaded differences among the networks. The issue of religion mixing with politics needed an insightful, thoughtful treatment to equip viewers with understanding. Do not the people have a right to understand as well as know? I think they do. Merely covering the events with a newscast permeated with dramatic action may help with ratings, but it fails to inform the public of the unique shadings of differences between the candidates. Not only did an understanding of the candidates' positions suffer, but the superficial stereotyping of the New Christian Right created a reality of the movement that may only be a grotesque caricature of its true identity. What was needed, in my estimation, was a reflective news network to balance the diversive rhetoric of the contrasting sides in the religion and politics debate raging in the presidential election of 1984.

Additional explanation for the polarization and dramatization tendencies of television network news can be found in the constraints imposed by a mass audience. The network struggle with the enormous diversity of viewers is evident. Clearly, in the effort to be all things to all people the networks often fail. Therefore, by showing the extremes and reporting what "happens," the safest route is
taken. In this scenario, both sides have their say, and the news media only report physical action or verbal action — "what was said." The constraints of ratings, fairness, attention, and responsibility all seem to rest on the shoulders of the network news organizations.

Claim #3: The television news networks' created a shared reality of the role religion played in the political landscape of the presidential election of 1984. The concept of shared reality can be shown in several ways. Shared in that the networks had similarities of coverage. Also, shared in the sense that the individual viewer added meaning to the messages — shared in message construction. The point can be illustrated by examining the manner in which the issue of religion might be processed by two viewers with contrasting viewpoints. The conservative Christian might see Ronald Reagan as the beloved Keeper of the Faith divinely sent to rescue the nation from moral decline. Statements criticizing Reagan would be taken as unfair media treatment of a good, decent, God-fearing President. On the other hand, the American who favors the idea of a president keeping his views on religion to himself and supports the pro-choice position on abortion; he might be disturbed if the media presented spokespersons praising Reagan. And conversely he would be pleased to see liberal politicians voicing opinions in opposition to the President. The
networks could avoid controversy and prevent some of the criticism that they take sides. But, the news would become bland and most probably less interesting; at least less colorful and controversial if the middle-of-the-road viewpoint were the mainstay of network news.

One question raised in this dissertation was whether the networks portrayed either side of the religion and politics controversy more favorably than the other. The low reliability scores prevent drawing firm claims on this. However, the question is still an important one and may be articulated thus: Would members of the Christian Right in America be more inclined to see their views as being more fairly portrayed in the news, or would members of the liberal left be more inclined to see their views as being more fairly portrayed? Put another way: Would the Christian Right see themselves portrayed more negatively or would the liberal left see themselves portrayed more negatively? Would the left make the same claim as the right about media "spin"? In sum, would either side, or would both sides complain that they were made to look bad in the news or than their views were not adequately and fairly covered?

Based on the rhetorical criticism conducted, I contend that the media portrayed the New Christian Right more negatively than the liberal left. I am convinced that the
average American holding viewpoints in the center of the controversy would determine that the efforts of the New Christian Right were portrayed more negatively. The viewpoints of the Christian Right were stated to be deviant by the network reporters. This is most clearly evidenced in the commentary which each network aired, but the bias can be seen in other ways as well. Admittedly, the fact that the reporters favored the left was well-disguised or perhaps even unintentional. I will not assess intent, but in sum, the rhetoric of the reporters favored the left more so than the New Christian Right.

Evaluation of the Method

The method utilized in this study was well suited for an analysis of network news. In the broadest sense the study can be seen as an analysis of the content found in the reports of TV network evening newscasts. The videotapes and the transcriptions taken from the tapes were examined using three interrelated methods: 1) a quantitative content analysis employing a hard and soft approach, 2) an analysis of discourse using the elements of the pentad (scene, act, agent, agency, purpose), and 3) a representative anecdotal method which searched for and applied a plot or storyline representative of the drama. It is my belief that a body of discourse as complex and diverse as that presented on TV
newscasts will profit from a multi-faceted analysis. More than one methodological perspective helps assure the discourse under examination is seen from contrasting angles.

There was a common thread running through the eclectic methodology. Each method required a close scrutiny of the discourse; repeated exposure to the same set of data using different methodological magnifying glasses. The content analysis reported in Chapter Three was the most microscopic in method. The pentadic analysis in Chapter Four compared and contrasted in an effort to connect the acts with the scene or the agencies with the acts, etc., into a unified whole. The representative anecdote of Chapter Five had the most macroscopic viewpoint. The media are anecdotal and this approach blended the elements into a story which served to heighten understanding of the discourse. The search for representative examples illustrating the detected plot functioned to sum up the essence of the values, beliefs, and concerns with regard to religion and politics in election coverage.

Implications for Further Research

The study does at least three things. First, it is an application of theories postulated by key scholars in the field of communication. Our speech communication journals continually call for theory application in original studies
of discourse. Second, the study attempts to blend more than one critical method. The study is eclectic, blending contrasting but related methods to more fully understand the symbolic constructions under examination. Third, it examines a subject that promises to continue to be important in our pluralistic mass-mediated society where religious themes repeatedly find exposure and life on TV network news.

In a theoretical vein, this dissertation illustrates the usefulness of multiple methods. Based on the findings here, Burke's pentad has been shown to be a useful tool in discovering human motivations evident in human symbolic action. And, the step from the pentad to the representative anecdote is such a natural one, researchers should continue to apply both of these Burkean methods.

Applications of this study might include using it as a foundation to explicate the latest clash played out on network television -- the PTL, Jim and Tammy Bakker fiasco. What treatment has the fall from grace gotten in the news? How might that problem surface in the upcoming election? This study provides an understanding of how network television treated religion and politics in 1984, but how will the 1984 treatment compare to that of 1988? A study of how the networks treat the Jim and Tammy Bakker tragedy or comedy would continue the investigation of TV network treatment of religious elements in the news. How will the
networks portray the importance of the Bakker incident as affecting political decisions in the 1988 Presidential election campaign? A continuing probe to understand the critical relation between religion, politics, and the media in our society is one implication of this study.

Certainly one of the important implications for further study surrounds the continuing rhetorical action of the New Christian Right in politics. Religion will continue to permeate this country's politics in the next election. Instead of retreating from the fray, all indications point to an increased involvement on the part of religiously conservative Americans. Jerry Falwell's newly reorganized Moral Majority under the rubric of "Liberty Federation" is a clear attempt to shed the misnomer surrounding the actions of a religious "minority" which have erroneously referred to themselves as a "majority." Falwell's efforts at revamping may help bring together the Christian Right in a unifying manner as never seen before. How will the TV networks react? How will they portray the drama created if Democrat Reverend Jesse Jackson is pitted against Republican James Robertson? If religious personalities continue to figure prominently in the 1988 election additional study is merited.
Summary

This study has contributed to the collective knowledge concerning TV network news coverage of a controversial issue -- religion during a Presidential campaign. A critical content analysis of the television networks in the United States and their coverage of the religion issue was undertaken. An eclectic method employed a quantitative and a qualitative content analysis using coders who independently counted, sorted and evaluated 141 separate news reports from NBC, ABC, and CBS evening newscasts. Additionally, a pentadic analysis used Kenneth Burke's elements of scene, act, agent, agency, and purpose to investigate the rhetoric of the networks. Finally, the representative anecdote was employed to sift out the discourse and represent the essence of the network action.

The videotapes of the reports under examination were retrieved from Vanderbilt University's News Archive. The reports span the dates of mid-Summer to late October during the 1984 election campaign. As a result of the analysis a more complete understanding of the rhetorical function TV network news plays in shaping our reality of politics and religion has been uncovered. Additionally, various levels of motive have been uncovered in the reports.
The findings and conclusions have been reported and the limitations of the findings have been recognized. This particular artifact — television network evening news — has been more clearly understood to be an active rhetor in political life. Implications of the study have been noted and the increasing importance of the area of investigation has been proposed. Finally, suggestions for further research have been made. This investigation has, for me, opened potential avenues for further study and examination of one of this country's powerful rhetorical machines — the network evening news.
NOTES


8. NBC, 1 October 1984, Carl Stern.

APPENDIX A

SAMPLE CODING SHEETS
DATA COLLECTION SHEET

Report 

Coder Name Date Coded

1. _____/_____ Date (Month & Day)

2. Report Length _____:______ (minutes : seconds)

3. _____ Anchor=1, Correspondent=2, Commentary/Analysis=3
   Write in name ________________

4. Locales appearing in the report:
   ___ Network Studio ___ Private home/office
   ___ Government Office ___ Church/religious site
   ___ Other

5. Any Issues Mentioned:
   ___ Separation of Church and State
   ___ Linkage of Religion and Politics
   ___ Linkage of Morality and Politics
   ___ Abortion as a political issue
   ___ Hecklers at Ferraro's rallies
   ___ Catholic Church and Abortion
   ___ Influence of Religious Right on Supreme Ct Apptmts
   ___ Christian Right role in politics
   ___ Voter Registration Drives
   ___ Prayer in Schools
   ___ Ethics in Politics
   ___ God in Politics
   ___ Other: List ________________
6. **Issue Principally Featured:**

- Separation of Church and State
- Linkage of Religion and Politics
- Linkage of Morality and Politics
- Abortion as a political issue
- Hecklers at Ferraro's rallies
- Catholic Church and Abortion
- Influence of Religious Right on Supreme Ct Apptmts
- Christian Right role in politics
- Voter Registration Drives
- Prayer in Schools
- Ethics in Politics
- God in Politics
- Other: List ________________________

7. **Visual Elements** (as many as were in the report):

- Reagan in prayer
- Bush in prayer
- Mondale in prayer
- Ferraro in prayer
- Fundamental/evangelical minister in prayer
- Catholic clergy in prayer
- Average citizen in prayer
- Fundamental/evangelical member in prayer
- Reagan in or near a church
- Bush in or near a church
- Mondale in or near a church
- Ferraro in or near a church
- Anti-abortion signs/banners/posters
- Pro-abortion signs/banners/posters
- Reporter in or near a church
- Network generated graphics on screen:
  - Write in graphic ________________________
  - Film showing homosexuals
- Other: List ________________________
8. Source appearing in the report:

_____ Jerry Falwell
_____ Jimmy Swaggart
_____ Jim Bakker
_____ James Robison
_____ Other Christian Right Clergy
_____ Archbishop O'Connor
_____ The Pope
_____ Other Catholic Clergy
_____ Presidential Candidate
_____ Vice Presidential Candidate
_____ Mario Cuomo
_____ Jesse Jackson
_____ Other Political figure
_____ Jewish Leader
_____ Jewish Rabbi
_____ Clergy for "main-line" Protestant church
_____ Scholar/Expert
_____ Interest group leader
_____ Average citizen
_____ Religious Group NOT in Christian Tradition
_____ None of the above

9. Source quoted in the report: (With OUT appearing)

_____ Jerry Falwell
_____ Jimmy Swaggart
_____ Jim Bakker
_____ James Robison
_____ Other Christian Right Clergy
_____ Archbishop O'Connor
_____ The Pope
_____ Other Catholic Clergy
_____ Presidential Candidate
_____ Vice Presidential Candidate
_____ Mario Cuomo
_____ Jesse Jackson
_____ Other Political figure
_____ Jewish Leader
_____ Jewish Rabbi
_____ Clergy for "main-line" Protestant church
_____ Scholar/Expert
_____ Interest group leader
_____ Average citizen
_____ Religious Group NOT in Christian Tradition
_____ None of the above
REPORT SPIN

Directions:

These questions ask you to judge the "tone" or "spin" of the report. This is an overall impression left after viewing the entire report. It includes both what the reporter says as well as the selection of interviewees to tell the story. THIS IS AN OVERALL IMPRESSION!

10. Overall emotional content of the report:

____ Reassuring  ____ Alarming  ____ Neutral

11. Report Style: (Select only one which BEST characterizes the style)

_____ Sensational - (threatens the viewer)
Frightens and saddens, angers and provokes, even tugs at the heartstrings. Emphasizes fear and pathos, appealing to human emotions. About ordinary people and appeals to popular feelings: sensational in their efforts to evoke emotional responses.

_____ Factual - (the objective facts -- who, what, where, when and how) More likely to report the story as late breaking "hard news." Factual in their wire service-like, empirically-laden content. Accounts of information from verified sources presented by serious responsible journalists.

_____ Didactic - (aid to understanding key goal)
Assume audience is ignorant of all, or most, of event -- not stupid just uneducated. So, journalists teach. Impression of journalists talking down to audience. Attempt to reduce situation to basics through didactic instruction so events are no longer threatening.

_____ Feature - (looks at the "big picture")
More likely to explain the "why" and be more complete in treatment. Features in that they attribute a multitude of causes for reported events. Attempts to show events in perspective -- part of a total fabric.
12. News Balance: (Overall report)

Balanced  (Attempts to include opposing points of view)

Unbalanced  (No attempt to include other viewpoints or give equal time to opposing arguments)

Very BALANCED  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8  Very UNBALANCED

REPORTER SPIN

DIRECTIONS:

These questions ask you to judge the "tone" or "spin" of the reporter — the manner in which the CORRESPONDENT, ANCHOR, or ANALYST interprets or embellishes the facts of the story. The "spin" indicates the positive or negative implications about the topic contained within the reporter's own words. DO NOT JUDGE WHAT THE CANDIDATES OR OTHER SPEAKERS SAY.

13. Evaluation of tone of reporter

Very POSITIV  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  Very NEGATIVE

14. Which of the following statements best characterizes the reporter?

_____ Reporter presented the issue as a more negative than positive influence or factor.

_____ Reporter presented the issue as a more positive than negative influence or factor.

_____ Reporter presented the issue without a clear negative or positive view.
APPENDIX B

TRANSCRIPT OF NBC REPORTS
NBC News Reports

NBC 1
J1 26, H

CHRIS WALLACE: At a spaghetti dinner tonight in a church gymnasium, the President is expected to attack Ferraro and Walter Mondale for supporting abortion on demand and opposing US policy in Central America. Earlier in Elizabeth, New Jersey, Mr. Reagan hit the Democrats for talking about compassion, but blocking tuition tax credits.

REAGAN: The parents, the parents who sit around the table at night deciding how to pay their bills and put the kids through school -- how about a little compassion for them, too.

NBC 2
Aug 4, Sa

CONNIE CHUNG: New York Governor, Mario Cuomo seems to have come to terms with the Archbishop of New York over whether Catholics can support politicians who support freedom of choice on abortions. Archbishop John J. O'Connor said last month, he didn't see how a Catholic in good conscience could vote for a candidate who supports abortion. But today the Archbishop said he would not give voters evaluations on the subject. Earlier Cuomo had criticized the Archbishop's position, and Cuomo still believes that religion is an important national political issue. Lee McCarthy reports from Washington.

NBC 3
Aug 4, Sa

LEE MCCARTHY: Religion and politics may be topics to be avoided in polite conversation, but Mario Cuomo told the International Platform Association that religion is an issue which belongs in politics.

CUOMO: We should talk a lot about religion in politics. We've run away from it. We should talk about it because if you do it wrong it's going to divide us. If you do it right, it can be beautiful.
MCCARTHY: Cuomo's rousing speech at the Democratic Convention helped give the party a family oriented image. But, he is concerned that President Reagan [visual of Reagan shaking hands with Falwell] has managed to portray the Republican party as more Christian.

REAGAN: I was pleased last year to proclaim 1983 the year of the Bible. But you know a group called the A.C.L.U. severely criticized me for doing that. Well, I wear their indictment like a badge of honor. [applause -- visuals of Pat Boone clapping]

MCCARTHY: Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro was the first to raise the religion issue.

FERRARO: The President walks around calling himself a good Christian [shakes her head] -- I don't for one minute believe it because the policies are so terribly unfair.

MCCARTHY: Governor Cuomo would like the Democrats to be viewed as the party of religious compassion.

CUOMO: The religion of Myomonities, and Buddhah and Christ and the Hindus says love one another. It says reach down to the person in the wheel chair, reach down for the person who is poor, reach down for the person who's oppressed, give.

MCCARTHY: Some groups are opposed to religion in politics.

TONY PODESTA (People for the American Way): I think the American people would rather hear about the issues in this country than decide which presidential candidate would be the best evangelist and chief.

MCCARTHY: [standupper] But it appears certain that religion will be more of an issue in this year's campaign than in any since 1960 when John Kennedy became the first Catholic to win the presidency.

NBC 4
Aug 6, M

BROKAW: And the battle over abortion erupted today at the UN Conference on World Population. That conference now is being held in Mexico City. Robert Bazell reports tonight that some delegates are charging that it is under the Reagan White House.

NBC 5
Aug 6, M

ROBERT BAZELL: The second United Nations Conference on population was relatively free of controversy until the United States announced it would pay for birth control programs.
JAMES BUCKLEY (Chief US delegate) Provided only that they are not coercive and that US funds are not used to finance or promote abortion.

BAZELL: Many of the countries which have had the greatest success in lowering their birth rates in the last decade, including China and India, have relied on abortion as one means of birth control. Many experts say that without the abortion alternative, the world's population will climb from 4.8 billion today to more than the 6.1 billion which is forecast for the year 2000. Many of the delegates from the 140 nations at the conference think they know the reason for the new US policy.

JOHN CALDWELL (Australian delegate): I'm certain it wouldn't have happened if this meeting had been held a year ago or a year hence. It happened because you're in the middle of a presidential campaign.

BAZELL: Chief US delegate James Buckley denies that.

BUCKLEY: The position of President Reagan on the issue of abortion is well known, has been consistent over the years. He does not have to cater to that particular segment of American policy -- American feeling. He has the support already.

BAZELL: [standupper] Under the new policy governments would have to promise not to use any US money to pay for abortions. But private groups would lose all US support if they pay for abortions, even if it is only a tiny portion of their budget. Many experts say that would cripple several major international birth control programs.

KARL WAHREN (Sweden delegate) It goes against all medical evidence, and all empirical evidence and all humanitarian concerns which have been building up for many years now.

BAZELL: [visual of convention floor] Several representatives at the conference hope the US position will change again after the November elections.

NBC 6
Aug 9, H

BROKAW: [visual in upper right--Religion and Politics with flag draped beneath] The head of the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, Bishop James Malone today issued a policy statement on religion and politics. He said it would be regrettable if appeals to religious loyalties were to be injected into the political campaigns. But he also said the candidates cannot separate their personal morality from their public positions.
ROBERT HAGER: The convention's platform committee completed its work here. New right conservatives taking positions even more conservative than those of the White House were euphoric over the results. Richard Viguerie, publisher of the Conservative Digest

VIGUERIE: I think what we've seen this week in Dallas and this year in Congress is the opening skirmish, the opening skirmishes if you would, of a battle, a war, for the heart and soul of the Republican party.

HAGER: A battle in which conservatives such as Congressman Newt Gingrich who wrote some of the platform, said today they believe they're winning. Never mind that they're more conservative than the President.

NEWT GINGRICH: I think we have sent a very important signal to the executive branch.

HAGER: The Moral Majority's Jerry Falwell couldn't be more pleased about the platform.

FALWELL: If they had allowed us the privilege to write it. We'd have difficulty improving on it's content.

HAGER: The new conservatives call themselves populist conservatives and say they stand for traditional family values such as prayer in the schools and no abortion, absolutely no new taxes, and an emphasis on economic growth through high technology industries. But critics charge they ignore equal rights for women and minorities, programs for the needy, and the problem of the deficit. But the new conservatives insist they hold the key to the political future and warn Republicans not to turn their backs on them. The National Conservative Political Action committee's Terry Dolan today

DOLAN: If they do it they will pay an incredible political price.

HAGER: When someone on the platform challenged Reverend Falwell earlier this week: what are the risks of the party if they ignore conservatives. Falwell had a warning

FALWELL: And all you got to do is change your platform and become an echo of the Democrats and you'll find yourself out of office in a hurry.
HAGER: [standupper] The new right isn't new to the Republican party. Eight years ago when Ronald Reagan almost won the nomination, its people were already vocal. At the next convention four years ago when Ronald Reagan did win, its people were important participants in that victory. But at this convention, its people are not only participants in this week of preparations, anyway, they've been running the show.

NBC 8
Aug 17, F
BROKAW: For his part President Reagan today issued a statement on homosexuals in response to a questionnaire from the publishers of something called the Presidential Biblical Scorecard. President Reagan said he would resist any effort for a government endorsement of homosexuality.

NBC 9
Aug 18, Sa
LISA MYERS: [standupper] In fact Walter Mondale sometimes sounds a lot like Ronald Reagan -- reduce spending, hard work, common sense, family and religious values, and above all patriotism.

NBC 10
Aug 21, T
BROKAW: [reporting from the convention] The Republican party convention today in Dallas adopted a platform that calls for among other things more tax cuts, a stronger military, a return to school prayer, and opposition to abortion. The platform left some moderate Republicans complaining that they simply can't support it -- but conservatives here loved it. President Reagan's pollster Richard Wirthlin says the President's greatest strength is among conservative white protestant males. To a large extent that strength is reflected in the delegates who are in this hall tonight. [graphics showing convention demographics in comparison to democrats -- percentages shown on screen and summed by anchor] A survey of the 2235 delegates found that only 6 percent are black or hispanic. In San Francisco a quarter of all the
Democrats were from minorities. The delegates here in Dallas are also much more likely to be Protestant and less likely to be Catholic or Jewish: although in both parties Protestants make up a majority of the delegates.

NBC 11
Aug 21, T
BROKAW: It would be no overstatement to say that -- this convention has got religion. Religion and the Republican party have become almost inseparable during this election year. Robert Hager reports tonight how preachers are setting the tone here in Dallas, and how religion is written into the party platform.

NBC 12
Aug 21, T
ROBERT HAGER: [visuals of people in auditorium kneeling and bowing in prayer; the wailing and groaning of "prayers"; closeup and overall shots of congregations in prayer] Reverend James Robison, an evangelist whose TV broadcasts reach 11 million homes prayed today for a successful Republican convention. Robison, who'd been invited to give the invocation of the convention yesterday called followers today to a day of prayer and fasting asking God to guide Republican decisions. [10 full second pause, during which great wailing and closeups of praying persons with tears streaming down face -- also speaking in tongues] Later today a news conference by fundamentalists warning Republicans to protect religious freedoms. Indianapolis' Dr. Greg Dixon
DIXON: Hundreds of ministers have come to Dallas, Texas this week.
HAGER: [visual of Falwell and others at conference table] Some, Reverend Jerry Falwell and others have been here for more than a week.
HAGER: [standupper] And Republican delegates 22 percent of whom describe themselves as born again Christians may be listening. The party platform adopted today calls for voluntary prayer in the schools, and for constitutional amendment to prevent abortion, both positions that fundamentalists pushed hard for. [visual of Senator Weicker] Connecticut Senator Lowell Weicker says it's too much.
WEICKER: I think that the whole role of religion in American politics and government is frightening.
HAGER: [visual: Falwell speaking] Falwell said last week Weicker should be a Democrat.

FALWELL: Well, Senator Weicker would be a lot more at home, or would have been a lot more at home at the zoo in San Francisco than here. That's my opinion.

HAGER: [returns to visuals of auditorium in prayer] And at Reverend Robison's day of prayer, Rev. Bill Caffey said the media also need attention.

CAFFEY: [in prayer at podium] We ask you Lord to replace the humanistic philosophies of the media with men who have been born again. [visual of young women closeup in prayer] Change the hearts of these reporters Lord who have been caught up in the philosophies of this day and the Babylonian thoughts and philosophies of this hour.

HAGER: [visual woman closeup in prayer] If the media haven't been to the fundamentalist liking, the convention has been so far. [visual of woman in prayer-covering bowing head] And most threaten to step up political involvement in the future. [visuals of bowed heads and raised hands continue to the end]

NBC 13
Aug 21, T
BROKAW: Tomorrow night the Reverend Falwell will deliver the benediction at the convention right after the nomination of Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

NBC 14
Aug 22, W
BROKAW: Good evening from the Republican National Convention in Dallas a city where football is right up there with oil, money and religion. And so what better way to honor President Reagan as he arrived in this city than to issue him his own Dallas Cowboy's jersey.

NBC 15
Aug 22, W
JOHN CHANCELLOR: The conservatives of the 1960s campaigned for old values and old virtues. The new conservatives combine new and old campaigning for anti-missile defenses and anti-abortion programs; for research in the laboratories as well as prayer in the schools. Old conservatives hated the press the new ones embrace it . . . .
ANDREA MITCHELL: [visual of large black singer with "Joshua fit the Battle of Jericho, Jericho, Jericho, Joshua fit the Battle of Jericho and the walls came tumbling down" (7 seconds) - then correspondent begins] The 2,000 voice choir gave it the spirit of an old fashioned revival meeting as the Republican National Committee brought 17,000 of their faithful to this basketball arena for a prayer breakfast. It was the President's first stop on a day during which he touched almost every political base. First, the Christian fundamentalists.

REAGAN: I believe that faith and religion play a critical role in the political life of our nation and always has. [long applause 10 sec.] And that the church, and by that I mean all churches. All denominations have had a strong influence on the state and this has worked to our benefit as a nation.

MITCHELL: [visual still clapping for Reagan] Religion is a big part of this campaign and the crowd gave the President a political benediction. [applause]

JOHN PALMER: [studio with photo Jackson in upper right corner] And taking aim at President Reagan, Jackson accused Mr. Reagan of exploiting religion for political gain. And said Jesus Christ would not have fared well as a citizen under the Reagan administration.

LEE MCCARTHY: Fundamentalist preachers have formed a group called ACTIVE to register conservatives. It is one of several groups working to sign up new Republicans, but the party is counting only on the new Republican names that show up in its computer.

BILL LACY (Republican National Committe spokesman) The first rule of strategy that we like to operate on is don't count on anything you don't know and that you can't control. So, from that point of view I think it's critical that if we don't know they're there until they show up on election day we can't really count on them.
KENLEY JONES: Another major issue is just coming into focus. This is Mondale's challenge to President Reagan's recent comments that religion and politics are necessarily related.

MONDALE: And they decided when they shaped this nation that religion would be here and be between ourselves and our God and the politician would be over there and we'd never get the two mixed up. In America our faith is personal and honest and uncorrupted by political interference. May it always be thus.

JONES: That was one of the few times Mondale managed to bring that bored audience in Dallas to life. He is preparing a major speech attacking what he says is Reagan's attempt to erase the line separating church and state. It could become the most emotional issue of the campaign over shadowing all others.

LISA MYERS: Then she unleashed the sharpest attack of the day on Reagan accusing him of trying to impose his religious views on others.

FERRARO: Mr. Reagan is for limited government, except when he wants government to affect our most private decisions and beliefs. And today I reject any new tyranny over the minds of both men and women.

MYERS: Mondale said that where he grew up they didn't need politicians to tell them how to pray.

MONDALE: We didn't need government to tell us that we believed in our God.

MYERS: And he suggested that Reagan's mixture of religion and politics raised the spectre of big brother.

MONDALE: I want a future where government watches out for you and not over you.

MYERS: By stepping up his attacks on Reagan, Mondale hopes to whittle down the President's lead and force him into a major mistake. The strategy is to be very aggressive, challenge Reagan on every front and draw stark contrasts.
Good evening. And so long Summer and hello Fall.
And tonight President Reagan has a softer line on religion and politics. When he tied religion directly to politics at a prayer meeting in Dallas the President touched off a wave of criticism. Well, Chris Wallace reports today the President had a different tone.

Aides said the President wasn't backing away from his religious views, just clarifying Democratic distortions. But in a speech to the American Legion Mr. Reagan softened remarks he made two weeks ago in Dallas linking religion and government. Top campaign advisors admit those remarks sparked a heavy Jewish protest and handed Walter Mondale an issue. Today the President tried to calm the storm.

Now I can't think of anyone who favors the government establishing a religion in this country. I know I don't.

Mr. Reagan said he supports religious freedom -- even the right to be an atheist, but that some people want freedom against religion.

Our administration opposes any required prayers in schools. At the same time we call for the right of children once again to pray voluntarily in our public schools.

In fact, the President supports a constitutional amendment permitting organized prayer in schools. And the tone was very different from the one he used at that Dallas prayer breakfast. There the President said opponents of school prayer are intolerant of religion.

[from the Dallas speech] The truth is politics and morality are inseparable. [applause] Religion and politics are necessarily related.

If the President was soft peddling religion today, he was hard line on national security.

Walter Mondale today went after President Reagan on one of the most emotional issues of this campaign -- religion and politics. Speaking in a subdued tone but using tough language Mondale said most Americans would be surprised to learn that God is a Republican. He
called attempts to impose religious beliefs on campaigns, moral McCarthyism. Lisa Myers was at the meeting of the B'nai B'rith when Mondale spoke.

NBC 24
Sept 6, H
LISA MYERS: He chose a politically powerful Jewish organization to defend separation of church and state.
MONDALE: A determined band is raising doubts about people's faith. They are reaching for government power to impose their own beliefs on other people. And the Reagan administration has opened its arms to them.
MYERS: He spoke of an extreme fringe with fire in the eyes poised to capture the Republican party.
MONDALE: It is disquieting that a presidential aide unsatisfied with the religious purity of the White House staff, has urged her colleagues to, quote, "get saved or get out." It is ominous when Reverend Falwell brags that Mr. Reagan if re-elected quote, "we -- we will get at least two more appointments to the supreme court."
MYERS: On Reagan's claim that religion needs to be defended from the state.
MONDALE: The Queen of England, where state religion is established is called defender of the faith. But the president of the United States is the defender of the constitution, which defends all faiths.
MYERS: On the suggestion that opposition to school prayer is unchristian
MONDALE: Instead of construing dissent from him in good faith, Mr. Reagan has insulted the motives of those of us who disagree with him -- including me.
MYERS: Mondale said he shared the concerns of those yearning for traditional values.
MONDALE: The truth is that the answer to a weaker family is not a stronger state -- it is stronger values.
MYERS: [standupper] Mondale's advisors insist that this speech was made more out of personal conviction than for political gain. But they believe that Reagan has hurt himself among young, independent and Jewish voters and that Mondale has a much needed opportunity to score points.
NBC 25
Sept 6, T
BROKAW: A short time later President Reagan went before the same organization and Chris Wallace reports tonight the President, as he has recently, toned down his remarks about the role of religion and public life.

NBC 26
Sept 6, T
CHRIS WALLACE: The President ignored Mondale's speech, but not the issue. Trying to ease what aides admit is a deep Jewish concern about his recent statements. Mr. Reagan did not mention his support for school prayer or other religious measures B'nai B'rith opposes, emphasizing instead, he rejects any state religion.

REAGAN: The unique thing about America is a wall in our constitution separating church and state.

WALLACE: The President said his support for a religious revival is not limited to Christian fundamentalism, that all religions are included and Jews have nothing to fear.

REAGAN: The ideals of our country leave no room whatsoever for intolerance, anti-semitism, or bigotry of any kind. None.

WALLACE: But Mr. Reagan shifted quickly from religion to areas where he's on firmer ground with this audience. He said he will back a UN treaty against genocide that's been stalled in the senate for 35 years. And he restated US support for Israel.

REAGAN: Permanent security for the people of that brave state. In this great enterprise the United States and Israel stand forever united.

WALLACE: But the head of B'nai B'rith was concerned about church and state, and disappointed the President did not back away from government support of religion.

GERALD KRANT: Nothing he said today addressed that concern.

WALLACE: [standupper] The Reagan camp says the religious debate has helped so far -- firing up the President's conservative base. Now aides say Mr. Reagan will disarm his critics, moving away from religion and as in past campaigns, toward the center.

NBC 27
Sept 6, H
BROKAW: Later in this program Ken Bode will take an extensive look at the relationship between politics and religion in contemporary American campaigns.
When Walter Mondale and President Reagan talked about religion and politics today it wasn't a one shop proposition. The relationship between these two primary forces has been developing swiftly in American life in the last few years. So we asked national political correspondent Ken Bode to examine this phenomenon, and he reports tonight that it is much more than a philosophical controversy.

Make no mistake about it, this merger of religion and politics while it's been in the headlines for only the past few weeks has been going on much longer. Pat Boone and visuals of President during preceding

God bless you, Mr. President.

January, the Convention of Religious Broadcasters; Mr. Reagan talked religion and he talked politics.

God the source of all knowledge should never have been expelled from our children's classrooms.

The Reagan strategy was to solidify his base with evangelical Christians early, hit their issues, abortion and school prayer; then let the preachers massage it into their flocks.

This Mr. President, [visuals of President on platform, and graphic "Jerry Falwell, Moral Majority"] is a convention of preachers. Bible believing, Christ loving, Christ exalting preachers.

April, the Baptist Fundamentalism Convention. Rev. Jerry Falwell claims to have a hundred two thousand preachers registering voters for Ronald Reagan.

We are hopeful that during your second term, that you do as well as you have your first term.
BODE: Fundamentalist Christians split their votes between Reagan and the born again Jimmy Carter in 1980. This year by stressing that their religious and political values are his own Mr. Reagan hopes to do much better. [standupper with church in background] It's the mixing of religion and politics that's causing the controversy. Democrats and some religious leaders argue that Mr. Reagan is attempting to issue God a Republic jersey. They say that by allowing his personal religious values to determine policy for the whole country, he fails to respect the line between church and state. [visual of JFK, and the crowd in Houston 24 years ago] That's precisely the point addressed by Catholic John Kennedy to the Protestant ministers in Houston 24 years ago.

JFK: If in America, when the separation of church and state is absolute. Where no Catholic fellow would tell the President, should he be President how to act. And no Protestant minister would tell his parishioners for whom to vote.

BODE: [visual of Reagan at podium] But President Reagan says times have changed.

REAGAN: John Kennedy was speaking in an America in which the role of religion, by that I mean the role of all churches, was secure. Abortion was not a political issue, prayer was not a political issue.

BODE: [visual of banner "Ecumenical Prayer Breakfast"] Religion and politics have always been more mixed than Americans like to admit. [visuals of Mondale with skull cap] Both parties court the Jewish votes in synagogues. [visuals of Jesse Jackson in black church holding hands with congregation] Black politics has always been based in black churches. Theologian Harvey Cox says religion is properly a part of the political debate.

COX: It has some bearing on political choices. And I think it's much better to have it out, debated, talked about in the open, rather than in the alleys.

BODE: [standupper in front of church] Cox cautions Republicans and Democrats to remember what Lincoln once said, namely, that God's purpose may be different from the purpose of either party.
BROKAW: [photo of Mondale in upper right] His name is Walter Mondale, but today President Reagan referred to his Democratic opponent as "what's his name." Reagan used that phrase when answering Mondale's charges that the President was exploiting religion and politics.

LISA MYERS: The audience also liked his response to a hostile question regarding religion.

MONDALE: I was taught that my faith is between me and my family and my God. [applause & visuals of cheering crowd]

MYERS: [standupper] Concerned that Mondale jabs at Reagan aren't doing much damage, some advisors believe he is going to have to get personal -- attack Reagan's work habits and grasp of his job. They concede that personal attacks on a popular President would be risky. But, as one aide put it, we've got to find a way to make our punches sting.

KENLEY JONES: But the harshest criticism of Reagan came from Atlanta mayor Andrew Young. He said while Mondale may be reluctant to accuse the President of religious hypocrisy, he the Baptist preacher is not.

YOUNG: We heard a man talk about religion who doesn't go to church and probably hadn't been down on his knees to pray in so long -- he wouldn't know what to say if he got down. A man who talks about family values who hasn't visited his grandchildren -- his own grandchildren. We're talking about one of the greatest hoaxes ever perpetrated against the American people [crowd "you said it Andy"] And we're going to have to win the 1984 election for Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro. [scattered applause]

JONES: [standupper] Young said the message that should go out to black voters between now and election day, is that if Walter Mondale loses he can go back to his lucrative Washington law practice and go fishing whenever he wants to. Whereas blacks will be unable to escape what Young calls, a reactionary Reagan administration for the next four years.
Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro had her own agenda today. She was on the telephone to New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor telling him that she has never misrepresented the teachings of the Catholic church on abortion. Sunday O'Connor suggested that Ferraro may have a problem with the Pope as a result of her views on abortion. She is personally opposed, but she believes that other women should have freedom of choice. Today Ferraro called her conversation with the Archbishop cordial, direct and helpful. Senator Edward Kennedy tonight adds his voice to the growing debate about religion and politics in this country. Kennedy accuses the President of playing to religious extremists. And he asked voters to remember that this is a campaign for the White House not a mandate of heaven.

One of the leading questions to emerge from this presidential campaign this year is the appropriate place in America for religion in politics. This week the focus has been on the role of the Catholic church. And tonight, we asked Ken Bode to look into this.
O'CONNOR: I do not see how a Catholic in conscience could vote for an individual explicitly expressing himself or herself as favoring abortion.

BODE: [visual of Ferraro walking] Geraldine Ferraro is Catholic, says she personally opposes abortion but will not force her personal religious views on the rest of the country. [visuals of several anti-abortion signs] And last night Senator Edward Kennedy weighed in on Ferraro's side.

KENNEDY: But religion has no right to harness government -- to impose a single view in areas where government should not intervene at all.

BODE: [visuals of letter] Ferraro drew more clerical fire for her role in sponsoring a 1982 conference for a Catholic group supporting free choice on abortion.

O'CONNOR: [full head dress] In my judgement Mrs. Ferraro has misrepresented the teaching of the Catholic church.

BODE: Archbishop O'Connor repeatedly says he's not telling people how to vote. But leaders of Catholics for Free Choice think all this election year clerical activity is no accident and that Ferraro is their prime target.

FRANCES KISSLING (Catholics for a Free Choice): Well I think essentially they're going after her because of the fact she is a Catholic women, she is readily identifiable as a Catholic and in churches. And I think that is a challenge to their control of the Catholic people.

BODE: [visuals of Ferraro at podium] Today almost all the questions asked Ferraro were about religion. She noted that while John Kennedy once promised his Catholicism would never influence his presidency, Ronald Reagan now says his religion does shape his public policies.

FERRARO: Had John Kennedy ever said the things that Ronald Reagan is saying now, John Kennedy would never had President above his name.


NBC 36
Sept 12, W

BROKAW: And today Ferraro took on the issue that follows her wherever she goes -- abortion. Ferraro is a Catholic, personally opposed to abortion, but she does believe in freedom of choice. The Archbishop of New York has accused her of misrepresenting the church's views on the matter. Bob Kur reports tonight that Ferraro has defended her stand.
BOB KUR: [begins with anti-abortion signs] She knew that northeast Pennsylvania's anti-abortion demonstrators would be out in force. [crowd chanting, "Reagan, Reagan"] And she chose this predominantly Catholic city to answer her critics and say she does not want abortion to be an issue in this race.

FERRARO: To me, my religion is a very personal and private matter. And when some people try to use religion for their partisan political advantage then the freedom of all of us is at risk. [visuals of crowd and signs with scant applause] Twenty-four years ago John F. Kennedy said, and I quote, "I do not speak for church on public matters and the church does not speak for me." ["yeah" from nearby]

KUR: [visuals of Ferraro heading toward car] Instead of avoiding the opposition after the speech she headed straight for the most anti-abortion, pro-Reagan part of the crowd. [visual of Bishop Timlin] A short time later in Scranton, Bishop James Timlin sought to keep the anti-abortion pressure on.

TIMLIN: She feels that she's a good Catholic and I hope that she is. We're talking now about her views as she sees them, and I'm just saying that they do not jive with the Catholic church's position.

KUR: But religion was not the main concern of a standing room only crowd of women watching Ferraro in Ohio this morning.

1ST WOMAN (average unidentified middle aged): I'm a Catholic and I, you know, but I still will vote for Geraldine Ferraro even though I disagree with abortion.

2ND WOMAN (average unidentified older): I think that's a personal thing that each woman should decide for herself.

KUR: [standupper] Ferraro's aides don't think the election will be won or lost on the abortion issue. But they are concerned that each day they are forced to confront it other issues get pushed aside. As one top Ferraro aide put it, it not an advantage being in a debate with an archbishop, when you want to debate George Bush and Ronald Reagan.
BROKAW: [photo of Cuomo in upper right] Governor Mario Cuomo of New York is one of the best orators in the Democratic party. He's also a Catholic, and like Geraldine Ferraro he believes that while abortion is wrong, that belief should not be turned into law. Last night, as Ken Bode reports Cuomo again placed himself into the middle of the debate on religion and politics in this campaign.

KEN BODE: [camera pans from campus church to Notre Dame campus] By selecting America's best known Catholic university for his lecture, Governor Cuomo was guaranteed plenty of attention both from students and the press. Cuomo described himself as an old-fashioned Catholic who sins, regrets and feels better after confession -- most of the time. But he says he is also a public office holder in a country in which there are many religions -- none of them official.

CUOMO: I protect my right to be a Catholic, by preserving your right to be a Jew, or a Protestant, or a non-believer, or anthing else you choose.

BODE: Cuomo said as governor he has no obligation to translate Catholic teachings into law. On abortion.

CUOMO: I accept the church's teaching on abortion. Must I insist that you do -- by denying you medicaid funding? By a constitutional amendment, and if by a constitutional amendment which one?

BODE: Cuomo noted that American Catholics are divided on the question of abortion. And the bishops themselves recently shifted their support from one constitutional amendment to another. [visual of McBrien clapping] Father Richard McBrien here with Cuomo is the head of Notre Dame's theology department. [visuals of the following various bishops] McBrien says that outspoken conservatives like John Cardinal Krol, Archbishops O'Connor of New York and Law of Boston represent a minority of American bishops at least on the tactic of political involvement.

MCBRIEN: They're also looking for the rewards of political combat. I mean, rumors for example that if we support Reagan he's going, you know, we're going to get two Supreme Court appointments. Well, that's typical political wheeling and dealing.
BODE: [visuals of the Pope] The Pope is now traveling in Canada. Is he aware of the clergy's involvement in this country's partisan political debate?
MCBRIEN: The holy father is a well informed man. He is an intelligent man. So, there's no doubt in my mind that he's aware.
BODE: Does he approve? Neither McBrien nor anyone else knows. But what is known is that he has not chastised any of the American bishops for being too directly involved in politics.

NBC 40
Sept 14, F
BROKAW: By the way, Cuomo donated that $1500 fee that he received for the speech at Notre Dame to a Catholic home for unwed mothers in Albany, New York. But today, the home's directors rejected the gift citing their opposition to Cuomo's stand on abortion.

NBC 41
Sept 16, Su
JOHN SEVERSON: Bush wasn't tough he was defensive when he was forced to admit, that unlike the President he favors abortions in some instances. And he forgot that he also favored limited federal funding for abortions. He said it's the President's position that counts, then he got angry.
BUSH: Let me give you a little lecture. Turn this thing on will ya. You guys are pack.
SEVERSON: [visuals of Bush] It's the local press Bush campaign caters to -- like in Sylvanna, Georgia. He gave a five minute speech, posed on a tractor, did local interviews and left town -- the kind of good news Bush likes to make. [standupper] Bush will continue to try to make good news by attacking Walter Mondale, praising Ronald Reagan, and avoiding controversial issues as long as he can.

NBC 42
Sept 18, T
BROKAW: The head of the Luthern Church in America, Bishop James Crumley, issued a statement today strongly defending the separation of church and state in this country. He said, God has not called on any politician to be a defender of the faith.
NBC 43
Sept 18, T
BROKAW: On his commentary tonight, John Chancellor takes a
look at the voter reaction to the religion issue.
John . .
CHANCELLOR: Well in fact we may have reached the end of an
uncomfortable few weeks in the Presidential campaigns.
It looks now as though the candidates are going to stop
talking about religion. It's been an uncomfortable
time because most Americans don't want to see religion
get mixed up with politics. The President says the two
are necessarily related. The public disagrees. Sixty
percent of the people surveyed in the latest NBC News
poll say the President is wrong. And 65 percent said
the clergy should stay out of politics. We've seen a
lot of clergymen speaking out recently on issues like
abortion and school prayer -- fundamentalist Christians
and Catholic bishops. The latest survey by Louis
Harris indicates that this has caused a backlash. What
Harris calls a revolt of Roman Catholics against their
bishops. His figures show a majority of Catholics
supporting Geraldine Ferraro's right to take a stand on
abortion, even if her church disagrees. Harris says
the President's emphasis on religion has helped him in
the South where he doesn't need help, but has hurt him
in the industrial North in big states with lots of
electoral votes. Harris' sample shows that voters in
those states where many Catholics live resent the
intrusion of the clergy into politics. And some of
them are turning to Walter Mondale. They say if that
if he were elected he'd do a better job of keeping
religion out of politics than Ronald Reagan. When you
think about it this comes as no surprise. Separation
of church and state is as American as apple pie.
Americans don't mind when the clergy takes a stand on
an issue. But they do mind when the clergy gets
involved in the political process. That happened this
year and in the North at least, the voters didn't like
it one bit.
The campaign trail has proved to be a very rough road for Geraldine Ferraro. Nearly everyday she is confronted by anti-abortion demonstrators. She's had a well publicized exchange with the New York Archbishop. Stories still appear about her family's finances. She is special target in this campaign -- a target of the President's campaign organization -- at the highest level. Jamie Gangel has learned who's involved and what they're up to.

According to high Republican sources involved in the campaign, the Reagan/Bush campaign has been running an undercover operation designed to undermine the Mondale/Ferraro campaign. It is being led by campaign director Ed Rollins and long time Reagan advisor, Lyn Nofziger. And these sources have told NBC News there are almost daily planning meetings to organize political attacks while keeping them at a distance so they can not be traced to the President's re-election effort. The strategy is to have groups or individuals not officially connected with the campaign, to demand investigations of Geraldine Ferraro's finances, orchestrate a campaign of damaging leaks to the press, [visual of Ferraro in physical danger as she escapes from demonstrators to get in car] organize anti-abortion demonstrations against the Mondale/Ferraro ticket, [visuals of O'Connor in full clerical dress] and encourage criticism by the Catholic hierarchy. Ed Rollins denies all this.

There's not a master strategy laid out by this campaign to do the various things that are going on. Lyn Nofziger initially agree to an interview then cancelled it. The core of the strategy has been to attack Ferraro indirectly on two issues -- her finances and her stand on abortion.

**** SKIP finances (37 seconds) -- go to Abortion****
GANGEL: [visuals: many demonstrators with signs chanting, "Life yes, Ferraro no"] On abortion. [visuals of signs up close throughout] Almost everywhere Ferraro goes she is confronted by anti-abortion protestors. Again, our sources, all top Republican staffers, say the protests are [graphics on screen] not an accident, and there is an organized strategy coordinated by anti-abortion groups who keep in touch with and are monitored by the Reagan/Bush team. [visuals of President greeting/eating, etc. with Catholic clergy] In this campaign the President has frequently appeared with prominent members of the Catholic clergy. And the Catholic hierarchy has been openly critical of Ferraro's pro-choice position. [visual of President ringing a church bell surrounded by Catholic clergy] Our sources say, Reagan/Bush intermediaries contacted high church officials, who they would not name, to encourage their public criticism of Ferraro. The point was to get Ferraro without getting a backlash.

Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee chairman Tony Coelho.

TONY COELHO: Well, why didn't they just come out and say that they're out discrediting Geraldine Ferraro? Why don't they say that is the aim of this campaign? Why don't they want to do that? They want those other people to do it so they can say, oh no, we wouldn't do something -- not us.

GANGEL: [standupper] The Reagan team believes that any advantage Ferraro brought to the ticket has been destroyed. There is nothing illegal about any of these activities. What it is hardball politics. But what the Reagan campaign did not want was for it to become public.

NBC 46
Sept 21, F
BROKAW: [visual in upper right of Pope and graphic, "Religion and Politics"] Pope John Paul today defended Catholic leaders in this country who have spoken out on issues in the Presidential campaign. Geraldine Ferraro for one has come under criticism by Catholic leaders for her stand on abortion. [switch to visual of Pope being interviewed on airplane] And the Pope told reporters on his way home from Canada that the church has a duty to express itself on all moral problems and developments -- without being involved directly in politics.
BOB KUR: [cheerleaders: "lets go Ferraro"] Again today the cheers of her supporters [demonstrators chanting "Life yes, Ferraro no" and a young female (like the cheerleaders) with a sign, "I'm glad I was born"] competed with the jeers of anti-abortion demonstrators. At two stops in New Jersey Geraldine Ferraro encountered relatively small but vocal groups. [many, many and varied signs shown close and for long enough to be read by viewer -- probably most graphic display done by any TV network] They and their signs show up almost everywhere. Today Ferraro was asked about an NBC News report that there is an organized anti-Ferraro strategy coordinated by the Reagan/Bush campaign.

FERRARO: If all this stuff is true, if they're organizing from the White House, my reaction is why don't they come out and fight like men.

KUR: [more anti-abortin signs -- first shown being held by a child] She said the anti-abortion campaign is organized and spoke of a Boston group providing information on her schedule by phone.

PHONE: (words and phone graphic on screen with still of demonstrators and signs at top half of screen) The rumor has it that Gerry Ferraro will be in Boston on Wednesday of next week. The Globe printed that information on Friday. Please keep in touch for more information.

KUR: [visuals of many protestors -- one with a bull horn] Some demonstrations are getting louder and bigger. In Minnesota the other night, after taking pictures of the demonstrators, a camera crew repeatedly was blocked by a demonstrator who started a fight [visuals of fight -- interesting to note that the sign the demonstrator was holding seemed to be pro-Ferraro] when the crew pushed away his sign. And, in Texas this week for the first time a combination of Pro-Reagan, anti-abortion, and fundamentalist Christians [sign saying "Concerned Christians for Reagan"] repeatedly disrupted a Ferraro speech.

FERRARO: I want to tell you. If I had record like Ronald Reagan's I wouldn't want anybody to hear about it either.

KUR: But her reaction is not always humorous. Sometimes it is frustration, caused she says by her Republican opponents.

FERRARO: They are using, they are using people who care about that issue from a truly religious and moral viewpoint. They are using them to create -- I don't know what they're creating but it's very unpleasant.
KUR: [standupper] Ferraro aides don't like the disruptions. They hope that eventually voters will tire of the interference, associate it with Ronald Reagan and reject it. But failing that, the aides concede that anything that diverts attention from the issues the Democrats want to stress is harmful.

NBC 48
Sept 25, T
MONDALE: This election is not about Republicans sending hecklers to my rallies. It is about Jerry Falwell picking justices for the Supreme Court. [applause]

NBC 49
Sept 26, W
BROKAW: [upper right corner photo of Willke and name] Dr. John Willke, president of the National Right to Life Committee, that's an anti-abortion organization, told NBC News tonight that his group has been in close touch with the Reagan/Bush campaign -- saying they know more about our picketing than we do. Dr. Willke also confirmed last week's NBC News story that groups such as his were in touch with and monitored by the Reagan/Bush campaign.

NBC 50
Sept 26, W
CHANCELLOR: [standupper in the field] There are two things which politicians fear the most -- questions about their personal finances, questions about their religious fidelity. At the very beginning of her campaign Geraldine Ferraro was in deep trouble on both counts. Probably no Vice Presidential candidate ever began a campaign facing such criticism on those two killer questions. Ferraro's people now believe, although hope might be more accurate, that the questions on family finances have been sucessfully answered. The questions on religion and abortion are likely to be around until the campaign is over.
Anti-abortion rhetoric has figured prominently in this Presidential campaign, of course. Well, today Planned Parenthood of New York said that anti-abortion comments by President Reagan and New York Archbishop John O'Connor have figured in the increase of violence against abortion clinics. It said that 19 clinics around the county have been bombed or burned this year. That's up from four in 1983. A spokesman for Planned Parenthood said he did not believe that either Reagan or O'Connor was intentionally encouraging the attacks, but he called on them to tone down their rhetoric.

Meanwhile, Carl Stern reports tonight the separation of church and state in this country has emerged as one of the dominate issues for the Supreme Court during this term.

The Mobile, Alabama school board wants prayer in the schools. Parochial schools in Grand Rapids, Michigan want the use of public school teachers. An employee of this Connecticut store wanted his Sundays off for worship. Religious groups smell victory on all three matters pending before the US Supreme Court in what is clearly the Court's year of the bible.

UNIDENTIFIED WHITE TEACHER: (with microphone) You all just go right ahead and say it loud where everybody can hear.

UNIDENTIFIED BLACK SCHOOL CHILDREN: (three children about 10-12 years of age) God is great God is good, let us thank him for our food.

UNIDENTIFIED BLACK SCHOOL CHILDREN: (three children about 10-12 years of age) God is great God is good, let us thank him for our food.

Stern: The court banned that kind of organized prayer in a suit brought by this man Ishmael Jaffree. But it seems on the verge of approving a moment of silence for prayer each morning over Jaffree's objection.

ISMAEL JAFFREE: Some of the students may want to know what can we say and some teacher may suggest what they say and the moment of silence may turn to a moment of vocal prayer at the teacher's suggestion.
STERN: [children singing "Oh Susannah" in school] In Grand Rapids publicly paid teachers provide music, art, and gym instruction for parochial school students. The city even paid rent for the room the teachers taught in. The Supreme Court ruled such programs unconstitutional only 9 years ago, but it has now agreed to reconsider. What's made the difference this term is strong legal work by the Reagan administration in support of religious groups and Sandra Day O'Connor, whose vote has consistently tilted the vote in favor of religious claims. Experts predict the court will let local communities do as they wish.

BRUCE FEIN (American Enterprise Institute): I foresee the Supreme Court giving it's endorsement to what I would call local option.

REVEREND ROBERT MADDOX (Executive Director Americans United): It looks like that this court -- the majority of this court is determined to dismantle the wall of separation between church and state that has served both church and state so well for so long.

STERN: [standupper in front of Sup Ct.] Increasingly the court is talking about accommodation of church and state; a word we may be hearing more of if President Reagan gets to name two or three more justices to the court.

NBC 54
Oct 13, Sa
CONNIE CHUNG: Today on the campaign trail in suburban Chicago she became angry when for the second time in 24 hours her campaign was interrupted by anti-abortion demonstrators. Bod Kur reports.

NBC 55
Oct 13, Sa
BOB KUR: Her subject was budget cuts affecting children
FERRARO: It's never to early to fight for children's rights.
KUR: His subject was abortion.
UNIDENTIFIED YOUNG MAN: What about the unborn, Gerry? What about civil rights for them?
KUR: [visual of young man heckling during entire voice over] It was the second time during the campaign that anti-abortion demonstrators forced Geraldine Ferraro to stop speaking and respond.
FERRARO: Wait! Hold it! If this gentleman would be good enough, if you want, I'll meet with you afterwards and we'll discuss, I really will.

KUR: And, before leaving last night's event Ferraro did meet with the demonstrator. But today when she was interrupted at another event near Chicago she got angry. Again, her subject was budget cuts.

FERRARO: That doesn't help families. "What about the unborn" during speech] It hurts their ability -- Ok ladies -- Hold it! The other night on national television I answered that question about the unborn ["yea" and applause from supporters] In addition to teaching us about support for the constitutional right to freedom of speech, my mother also insisted upon teaching me to be polite to other people.

NBC 56
Oct 15, M
BROKAW: [photo in upper right of O'Connor] At the same time New York's Archbishop O'Connor was speaking out again today on politics and abortion. O'Connor was answering New York Governor Cuomo's speech on politics and religion. Today the Archbishop called abortion a grave immorality. He rejected the argument that anti-abortion laws won't work.

NBC 57
Oct 29, M
BROKAW: [photo of Ferraro in upper right] And Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro today lit into President Reagan, saying what this country needs is a commander in chief not a keeper of the faith. She went on to say, we need a president who does not let the arms race continue merely because of his belief in Armageddon -- the biblical end of the world. [visual: cross, flag, and graphic "Religion & Politics" in upper right corner] This year more than ever before religion and politics have been primary issues in the presidential campaigns. From Jesse Jackson appealing for votes from pulpits, to Catholic officials speaking out on abortion, to an active alliance between many fundamentalist religious groups and the right. Tonight, Kenley Jones, and the power and the hope of that alliance.
FALWELL: [graphic: Reverend Jerry Falwell - Moral Majority]
We have a three-fold primary responsibility. Number one get people saved, number two get them baptised, number three get them registered to vote.

KENLEY JONES: [visual of the sign out front of "Thomas Road Baptist Church"] In big churches like Jerry Falwell's Thomas Road Baptist -- whose services are nationally televised -- and in small ones. [visual of smaller congregation singing, "Come bless the Lord" and clapping and raising hands] Like Mt. Olivet Baptist in Raleigh, North Carolina. Fundamentalist pastors have taken a new text for their sermons this election year. [sign at end of church aisle, "Register to Vote here"]

MINISTER: [from the pulpit] Register and then vote. And as a Christian I exhort you as your pastor and as your brother to vote for those candidates who best exemplify the moral and the godly attributes that we see in our beloved Bible -- the scriptures. [visual of attentive parishioners and close up of folded hands on a bible]

YOUNG WOMEN [voice only -- visuals of registration taking place at back of church] I'm registered Democrat and I would like to change my registration to Republican.

JONES: Fundamentalist leaders say they have met their goal of registering more than 2 million voters this year. [full screen visual -- Jerry Falwell, Old Time Gospel Hour] Those leaders include Falwell, who heads the Moral Majority [visual of crowd and small graphic of Jim Bakker-Charlotte, NC] and other prominent television evangelists like Jim Bakker.

BAKKER: When the government affects the church the church has to react.

JONES: [visuals of Swaggart and group singing to congregation, "Sing to the Father, Father] And Jimmy Swaggart.

SWAGGART: [from the pulpit preaching] And when you take God almighty out! of the affairs of this republic you have nothing left.

MALE VOICE: [visuals of massive group coming to feet at convention to trumpet sound] Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States and Dr. Jerry Falwell.

JONES: [visual of Falwell and Reagan standing together as band plays "Hail to the chief"] There is no doubt about which presidential candidate those newly registered voters and their pastors will support in November.
FALWELL: This Mr. President is a convention of preachers.
Bible believing, Christ loving, Christ exalting
preachers. And I might add, preachers who like the way
you do things.

JONES: [standupper] Ronald Reagan and the fundamentalists
agree on two key issues. Both are for voluntary school
prayer, both are against abortion and want
anti-abortion judges appointed to the bench --
including the Supreme Court.

SWAGGART: [at table reading script] The religious
principles of this country must be be defended.

JONES: [camera pans Falwell, Swaggart, and Robison seated at
table] Fundamentalist preachers were invited to appear
before the Republican platform committee in Dallas.
Their views on abortion, school prayer, pornography,
and homosexuality were heard.

FALWELL: [seated and to platform committee] And all you got
to do is change your platform and become an echo to the
Democrats and you'll find yourself out of office in a
hurry.

JONES: And heated.

FALWELL: If they had allowed us the privilege to write it,
we'd have difficulty improving on its content.

JONES: [camera pans from church steeple] At the Southern
Baptist Seminary in Louisville, President Roy Honeycutt
says he fears that the growing political influence of
what he calls the radical religious right will lead to
a de facto state church.

HONEYCUTT: I'm very disturbed about the threat as I see it
to the appropriate distinction between church and
state. And that you allow a minority on the radical
right to set the agenda for the whole Christian body.
And not only Christians but Jewish persons and others
in this country. And I fear that kind of involvement.

REV JOHN BUCHANAN: We don't need a militant minority, which
presumes to call itself the moral majority running this
country. We really do not.

JONES: [camera pans the headquarters of American Way] John
Buchanan is a Baptist minister and a former Republican
congressman, who is now chairman of People for the
American Way -- [visual of miniature tombstone declaring
separation of church and state] a citizens group
concerned with preserving the separation of church and
state. He describes the religious right's practice of
distributing scoreboards or report cards on political
candidates as moral McCarthyism. [visual of Buchanan
holding scorecard -- next comes a series of closeups of
the magazine and various pages] The candidates are
graded according to their responses of what the
fundamentalists call biblical, family, moral issues.
BUCHANAN: [continued visual of scorecard -- shows scriptures and issues] They have taken their concept of biblical interpretation and applied it to their political agenda. So that their views are divinely sanctioned. They are speaking for God, and anyone who disagrees with them [camera switches to Buchanan] is not only unpatriotic but immoral, unchristian against God. And I find this a really dangerous mentality in American politics and one to be avoided at all costs.

JONES: [visuals of demonstrators against Christian Right -- one sign "God is not a Republican"] The criticism and protest like this one by students at the University of Virginia -- do not deter Falwell and other fundamentalists.

FALWELL: The fact is that today in this country of ours, a sleeping giant -- the conservative, religious population in this country which opened it's eyes in 1980 -- is standing up full grown in 1984. And this country will never again be the same because of it.

JONES: [visuals still of Falwell speaking to auditorium of youth] They are convinced that God is on their side. And they take comfort in the knowledge that a sympathetic President is in the White House and hope to keep him there four more years.

FALWELL: [continuation of visual -- fixing tie and then raising hand] Vote for Reagan!


NBC 59
Nov 1, H

BOB KUR: [demonstrators chanting "Life yes -- Ferraro no! Life yes-- Ferraro no! And signs "Lord have mercy" and ABORTION] Her position on abortion created a diversion. ["Life yes -- Ferraro no!"]
APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPT OF ABC REPORTS
ABC News Reports

ABC 1
J1 29, Su
COMPTON: Only one of the volatile social issues on the President's list is a sure bet. The policy of equal access to school buildings by religious groups may be signed into law this coming week. Another church/state issue has come a long way. Silent prayer in schools passed the House, but a liberal filibuster in the Senate worked earlier this year and probably will again. Pro-life forces are likely to get no more than a strong baby doe rule, insisting that deformed infants be given life saving care.

ABC 2
Aug 21, T
VANOCUR: But the White House did not object to a plank that calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion and another that supports the appointment of Federal judges that respect the sanctity of human life.
[graphics on screen: "Abortion" and "Federal Judges" with elephant]

ABC 3
Aug 23, H
[Choir sings "Oh beautiful for spacious skies. . ."]
DONALDSON: It was a day for Republican superlatives from the 2,000 voice choir at the morning prayer breakfast, to the anticipated valedictory presidential acceptance speech at the evening convention session. And all of it designed to reinforce the main themes of the Reagan/Bush re-election campaign. Example -- the President will continue his fight for Bible based conservative principles such as prayer in the schools.
REAGAN: The truth is politics and morality are inseparable. We need religion as a guide. We need it because we are imperfect.
JENNINGS: Mr. Reagan made a point today placing himself right in the middle of a major debate involving the constitutional separation of church and state. We heard him say this morning that religion and politics are necessarily related. As Charles Gibson reports, Mr. Reagan is not the only one mixing religion and politics in 1984, quite a different story than it was in 1960.

GIbson: When Jack Kennedy ran for president 24 years ago he had to proclaim his independence from his church. JFK: I do not speak for my church on public matters. And the church does not speak for me.

Robison: Shall we pray.

Gibson: [Reverend James Robison continues to pray - "Our Father as we welcome . . ."] But today religion is a big part of politics, and especially of this party and this convention, and today politicians are quick to embrace positions of the church on public matters. In the case of Republicans -- the conservative church. Before the platform committee came five television evangelists representing a total audience some say of 30 million viewers a week and those conservative preachers like Reagan.

Falwell: He has used the White House repeatedly as a bully pulpit for the moral and social issues.

Citizen: [unidentified at rally] He's standing up for family values, for Christian values.

Gibson: Those are the code words at this convention -- family values -- traditional values. They translate to the conservative church agenda -- all put in the Republican platform. [visuals of elephant and graphic on screen with pornography, school prayer, etc.] Says the platform, democrats have ignored traditional morality while Republicans are repulsed by pornography, and support the right to life, school prayer and traditional lifestyles. And the conservative preachers have noted their victories as they pray before this convention.

Falwell: [praying] We're glad for a party that has committed itself to the liberation of the unborn.

Weicker: They're trying to write a code of behavior in the United States of America.
GIBSON: Democrats at their convention made a pitch for the same group, worried that family values cannot be ceded to the Republican party. But the conservative church isn't buying the Democratic appeal.

ADVERTISEMENT: [visuals of gays embracing] Militant homosexuals are on the march.

GIBSON: [visuals of ads shown with voice over] Groups like Christian Voice are running TV ads that pair Mondale and homosexuals and point out the opposition to the President.

AD: If Christians remain silent in this crucial election year, there will be no stopping the growth and political clout of the homosexual movement.

WEICKER: Reagan is tapping what he considers to be a rich political vein here and so are the far right. Whereas my friends in the religion field are tapping what they consider spectacular publicity.

GIBSON: It is a rich political vein. Those conservative preachers claim to have registered 5 million new voters in 1980, they claim they'll get another couple million this time, and Republicans seem to have staked out those votes.

ABC 6
Sept 3, M

HUME: But that didn't stop her from pouring it on the President for his comments linking religion and politics.

FERRARO: Mr. Reagan is for limited government, except when he wants government to affect our most private decisions and beliefs. I'm for strong and effective government but I want to keep government in public buildings and out of our homes and our churches and our synagogues.

HUME: The rain had stopped when Mondale's turn came and he took off not only his raincoat but his suitcoat and rolled up his sleeves. The better apparently to take a couple of swings at the incumbent on disarmament and the deficit. But like Ferraro he couldn't resist a couple of shots at the religion issue as well.

MONDALE: It's that our faith is pure and unintimidated. Because we practice our faith free from the intrusion of government. Those who seek to inject government and the politicians into religion lack confidence in the wisdom and the decency and good sense of the American people. I want a future where government watches out for you and not over you.
HUME: By the time he had finished the skies were clear and another thing was clear too. Mondale and Ferraro think the President has handed them a major issue by his remarks linking government and religion.

ABC 7
Sept 4, T
KOPPEL: Good evening, religion and politics, already one of this campaign's dominant themes was set astage again today. President Reagan was addressing an audience which was likely to be sympathetic. Here's our White House correspondent Sam Donaldson.

ABC 8
Sept 4, T
DONALDSON: President Reagan hit all his familiar themes of a strong defense and national resolve, as he appeared before the American Legion Convention in Salt Lake City. But there was more. Worried that Walter Mondale's attack on the religious issue was beginning to hurt, the President sought to allay fears that he can't be trusted to keep religion and government separated.

REAGAN: We must protect the rights of all our citizens to their beliefs including the rights of those who choose no religion. That is why our administration opposes any required prayers in schools. At the same time we call for the right of children once again to pray voluntarily in our public schools.

DONALDSON: But if the President today tried harder to hold religion at arms length, he went to great lengths to use both hands to scoop in patriotism.

ABC 9
Sept 5, W
KOPPEL: Good evening, ABC news has obtained a copy of the speech that Walter Mondale plans to deliver tomorrow here in Washington before a convention of the Jewish service organization B'nai B'rith. If delivered as prepared it is a rip snorter of a speech in which Mondale accuses President Reagan of [graphic of words beneath a still of a portrait of Mondale -- not a campaign still -- he looks very trustworthy] creating a holier than thou climate by gift-wrapping political issues in the name of God . . ." For some time now there have been predictions that Mondale will really
hammer away at the separation of church and state issue. Tomorrow's speech is clearly it. It says in part, "There are some in our midst today who insult religion by seeking to invoke God for political ends . . . and yes, Mr. President, I'm speaking to you."

Again, that's a speech that Mondale will deliver tomorrow here in Washington.

ABC 10
Sept 6, H
KOPPEL: Good evening, as he and his campaign aids have been predicting, Walter Mondale took the gloves off today on the subject of religion and politics. And as Brit Hume reports now, the stiffening of Mondale's political posture and the toughening of his tone came at just the right time.

ABC 11
Sept 6, H
HUME: Outside his house this morning Mondale brushed aside another question about House Speaker O'Neill's criticism that he is being too gentle with President Reagan. Just listen to my speech today he said. That speech delivered to the International B'nai B'rith Convention contained none of the obligatory praise of Israel Jewish audiences usually hear. Instead it was a strongly worded attack on the President and his allies on the Christian Right for practicing what was called moral McCarthyism. Mondale cited a letter from the President's friend Senator Laxalt to 45 thousand ministers.

MONDALE: And before it ended, it had defined Mr. Reagan's supporters as quote, "leaders under God's authority." Most American's would be surprised that God is a Republican.

HUME: Mondale noted that he is a minister's son and said he had been taught to keep religion and politics separate and respect other's religions.

MONDALE: All intolerance is ugly, whether it wears the sheets of the Klan or spreads the slurs of the Christian Voice. All hatred is poison, whether it comes from mouth of Rabbi Kahane or the radio program of Louis Farrakhan.

HUME: He was interrupted frequently for applause, most of all when he criticized the President for his remarks in Dallas linking religion and politics.
MONDALE: The Queen of England, where State religion is established, is called defender of the faith. But the President of the United States is the defender of the Constitution which defends all faiths in the United States.

HUME: Then it was on to Capitol Hill source of recent Democratic criticism of him for closed meetings with democratic members of both houses. Afterwards, Tip O'Neil's opinion seemed to have undergone a remarkable change.

O'NEILL: We've never had a better candidate than this candidate that we have.

HUME: Mondale will have to do more than win over Tip O'Neill to make a race of this election. For one thing, he needs to get the President to come out and fight -- as he was trying to do today on the religion issue.

ABC 12
Sept 6, H
DONALDSON: This is Sam Donaldson. Two and a half hours after Walter Mondale left the hall, President Reagan took to the same B'nai B'rith podium, behind which White House aids had carefully moved in the American and Israeli flags. So, that unlike Mondale, Mr. Reagan would be seen on television flanked by those patriotic symbols. And indeed the President tried hard to shift the focus away from the Mondale attack over religion with a crowd pleasing subject of his support for Israel.

REAGAN: And that means Israel can depend on us.

DONALDSON: But Mr. Reagan could not escape completely discussing a subject which he had raised at a Prayer Breakfast in Dallas two weeks ago to the day.

REAGAN: [Dallas clip] The truth is, politics and morality are inseparable. Today, there are those who are fighting to make sure voluntary prayer is not returned to the classrooms. Isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion?

DONALDSON: That was two weeks ago. Today, Mr. Reagan repeated none of that. B'nai B'rith is after all among those fighting the school prayer amendment. Instead, the President emphasized his support for the Constitutional separation of church and state.
REAGAN: It guarantees there will never be a state religion in this land. But at the same time it makes sure that every single American is free to choose and practice his or her religious beliefs or to choose no religion at all. Their rights shall not be questioned or violated by the state.

DONALDSON: The President did not respond directly to any of Walter Mondale's charges, and both he and his audience seemed more comfortable when he quickly moved on to such mutually compatible subjects as denunciation of PLO terrorism. The President's aids are watching the religion issue carefully but without much concern at this stage. Mr. Reagan's long-time association with the Christian Right is so well known they can't believe his views will blow up in his face now. Particularly if the President continues to ignore Walter Mondale's attack on the subject. Which is precisely his intention.

ABC 13
Sept 6, H
KOPPEL: Last night we reported on this broadcast that we had obtained a copy of the speech that Walter Mondale would deliver to the B'nai B'rith here in Washington today. We said that if Mr. Mondale delivered that draft as prepared he would accuse the President of, and this is a quote, insulting religion by seeking to invoke God for political ends. Well, the speech Mr. Mondale actually delivered today was, as you've heard, on the same general subject but in no other way resembled the speech from which we quoted. What we obtained was a draft that had been solicited by the Mondale campaign but never used. We got that draft from a political source friendly to the Mondale campaign, someone who in fact believed Mr. Mondale would deliver that speech. We could and should have checked with the Mondale campaign. We did not. We can only apologize to Mr. Mondale and his supporters.

ABC 14
Sept 7, F
DONALDSON: On the running subject of religion, Mr. Reagan complained that his views on the relation between religion and politics still weren't being reported correctly.
REAGAN: The correct version is there is a wall of separation but some anti-religionists are trying to break down that wall. And what I was saying is within the context, yes, definately there is a connection between morality and politics and should be and too many neglect it.

DONALDSON: Do you think God is Republican as Mondale charges?

LARRY SPEAKES: [in the background] Don't answer that.

REAGAN: No, I have no answer to any of those things that what's his name said.

ABC 15
Sept 7, F

KOPPEL: Well Ronald Reagan may not mention Mr. Mondale by name but Walter Mondale is having no trouble mentioning the President on a daily basis. Today, Mondale was working the South still pounding again on the subject of religion and politics. But, as Brit Hume reports, first it was strictly politics.

ABC 16
Sept 7, F

HUME: Mondale's next audience, a citizen's forum in Chattanooga, Tennessee, liked his style even better and even seemed to help make it better as in this answer to a question about religion and politics.

MONDALE: We have a Christian home now and we're proud of it. I don't brag about it, I don't talk about it, because I was taught that my faith is between me and my family and my God. [applause and visuals of a standing ovation]

ABC 17
Sept 7, F

KOPPEL: As we've seen, a single issue has dominated the political rhetoric of the campaign this week -- the proper role, if any, that religion should play in politics. We begin tonight a series of reports on key issues of this 1984 election campaign. And we begin with a look at that issue -- religion in politics. Here's a status report from our chief correspondent Richard Threlkeld.
ABC 18
Sept 7, F

[visuals of "Issues", and "Status Report" -- also, the ringing of a church bell as camera zooms in on a church steeple, then inside to a black choir clapping and singing]

THRELKE LD: Three fourths of Americans call themselves religious -- a mixed choir of faiths many of whose founders came here because they weren't tolerated somewhere else. So, when President Reagan asked of his critics in Dallas last month

REAGAN: Question! Isn't the real truth that they are intolerant of religion? [applause] They refuse to tolerate it's importance in our lives.

THRELKELD: He touched a very old, very raw nerve. The founding fathers had intolerance in mind when they wrote the 1st amendment [visual-old photos of early congress] guaranteeing freedom of religion and freedom from it but there's never been any real separating the secular from the sacred [visual of catholic mass with singing] in American politics, and that's healthy in a way. [stain glass fade to photo of Capitol building]

HARVEY COX: If politics is not guided by some larger moral purpose, some vision of the common good, then it becomes merely technical in the worst sense of the word. And that means the death of democracy.

THRELKELD: As Dr. Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity schools notes, religion and politics have been part of the mixture of American history. The civil rights campaigns started in the black Baptist churches, American Bishops have been leaders in the nuclear freeze campaign, and most recently part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy has been urging parishioners to consider the abortion issue when they decide who to vote for in November. [visuals of black on march, anti-nuclear banners, and anti-abortion banners]

ARCHBISHOP BERNARD LAW: We believe that at this moment abortion is the critical issue.

THRELKELD: [standupper in front of church] No one can deny the right of churchman or churchgoers to speak out on matters of faith, the first amendment also guarantees free speech, so it's not religion and politics that's the problem so much as religion and government. The fear that some devout Americans will impose laws and rules of conduct on other devout Americans who want no part of it.

FALWELL: Ladies and gentlemen, the President of the United States.
THRELKELD: The Reverend Jerry Falwell and the other conservative evangelists are only the latest to get into politics. Reverend Falwell signing up hundreds of thousands of voters for the Republicans, countering all those other voters the Reverend Jesse Jackson has signed up for the Democrats.

JACKSON: And there is a freedom train a comin'. But, you got to register to ride.

CHILD: [unidentified reading Bible] Great is your reward in heaven.

THRELKELD: The fundamentalists want laws to allow prayer in the schools [visuals of children reading bible in school - close up of Bible] to stop abortion and do something about homosexuals. [visual of 2 men kissing and hugging in park]

TV AD: Christians cannot allow the homosexuals to gain any more power and influence. [men kissing shown through out]

THRELKELD: The Republican convention in Dallas catered to the Christian Right [minister praying "Our heavenly Father..." as camera pans on delegates with heads bowed] because it includes many Democrats who are attracted to appeals to religion and patriotism. But there was some sense that in Dallas the President of all the people should have been more eccumenical.

COX: He has a very, very important job to do -- to keep all of these very diverse groups healthy, lively, free, talking to each other. And when he moves toward the advocacy of a particular group then I think that becomes an issue.

THRELKELD: [as Mondale takes podium] An issue indeed. Walter Mondale, a Methodist ministers son took it personally.

MONDALE: Let me make it clear, I do not doubt Mr. Reagan's faith. I don't doubt his patriotism and I don't doubt his family values. And I call upon him and his supporters to accept and respect mine.

THRELKELD: [as Reagan takes the podium] This week you had the feeling the President had peered into the abyss and backed off. He told the Jews and the rest of the American faithful to rest assured.

REAGAN: Each shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid.

THRELKELD: [visuals of donkey/elephant and graphics outlining difference on key ideas under "Religion"] That said there is this choice to make in November on matters of faith. The Republicans want to amend the constitution to outlaw abortion. The Democrats say reproductive freedom is a human right and won't
restrict it or deny it to poor women. The Republicans want tuition tax credit to parochial schools -- the Democrats oppose it. The Republicans also want voluntary prayer in schools and vow to control pornography. The Democrats promise their office holders will not let their personal religious views influence their public policy. 

[visuals of Catholics at church with audio of choir singing] Religion and politics is always a volatile mixture. It would be nice if all our politicians could handle it as well as Abraham Lincoln. 

[visual of Lincoln Memorial and statute as choir begins to sing] It is quite possible, he said, that God's purpose is something different from the purpose of either party. [camera pulls away from church steeple as bells ring.]

ABC 19
Sept 9, Su
HUME: [visual Mondale and wife leaving church with clergy -- prolonged during entire voicer to Mondale speaks] President Reagan's opponent was busy today setting the stage for what he will say tomorrow. The issue is the deficit and taxes and after church this morning Walter Mondale passed up a chance to renew his criticism of the President on a different issue -- Mr. Reagan's ties to the Christian Right.

MONDALE: I hope he's backing off. I hope he's retreating to what I think is the proper position of a president, but I'm going to wait and see.

ABC 20
Sept 9, Su
DONALDSON: A reminder of the Vatican's authority has been directed at Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro by New York Archbishop John O'Connor who this weekend renewed his criticism of Miss Ferraro over the heated issue of abortion. This is just one part of the controversy over the proper relation between religion and politics and Steve Shepard has the latest.

[visual--stills in upper right of screen of Ferraro and O'Connor]
ABC 21
Sept 9, Su
SHEPARD: New York Archbishop John J. O'Connor said yesterday and again today that Geraldine Ferraro has misrepresented the position of the Catholic church on abortion.

O'CONNOR: If you publicly proclaim something which is in contradiction to the teaching of the Catholic church it is the role of the Bishop to say, this is the teaching of the Catholic church and not that.

SHEPARD: Specifically O'Connor claims that Ferraro has improperly stated that the Church is divided on the matter of abortion. After returning from church in Forest Hills, New York this morning, Ferraro said that O'Connor had misunderstood her. That she has commented on her personal beliefs in regard to abortion but not discussed what is or is not church doctrine.

FERRARO: What I read in the paper I was very surprised to read the statement because I had never made a statement on the teachings of the Church with reference to abortion, so it could not have been a mistatement. What I think . . .

SHEPARD: This latest mini-flap is just one example of the growing controversy which has developed this election season over church state relationships. This morning on ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," Moral Majority leader Jerry Falwell said there is no danger of religion being improperly injected into government. And that those making an issue of it are making a big mistake.

FALWELL: [visual of Falwell and Donaldson's reaction] We want a nation under God. That's all the President and every president since Washington has called for. And again, I say Mr. Mondale, who doesn't have a prayer -- even a voluntary prayer -- being elected, is creating a nonissue when he does this.

SHEPARD: [visual of split screen from "This Week" showing Falwell and Saperstein] But on the same program Rabbi David Saperstein said there is a danger that the wall between church and state could be broken down. And that President Ronald Reagan can be held partly responsible for it.

SAPERSTEIN: Before B'nai B'rith he reaffirms his advocacy of separation of church and state. But when he stands before religious right groups comprised of some people who overtly have announced that they want to create a Christian country, trying to tear down this wall separating church and state, he does not rebuke them, he does not talk about the separation of church and state.
SHEPARD: [standupper] Religion probably hasn't played such a major role in a presidential campaign since the election of John F. Kennedy the first Catholic president nearly 24 years ago. And there are signs that today both the Republicans and the Democrats are sorry the issue ever got brought up this time.

ABC 22
Sept 10, M
JENNINGS: Geraldine Ferraro was campaigning on the deficit issue as well today, accusing the Reagan administration of building as she put it, a credit card recovery on a mountain of unpaid bills and IOU's. Lynn Sherr reports however, that while Miss Ferraro was talking deficits, others have been more interested in her stand on abortion.

ABC 23
Sept 10, M
SHERR: [Hecklers chanting "life yes, Ferraro no"; and abortion signs "save the children"] The issue has followed her almost everywhere she's campaigned. And as the controversy flaired one of the usually polite protesters interrupted her today in Kentucky while she was speaking on the deficit.

FERRARO: Together we can build an American future where our children will be free from the burden of debt [unintelligable heckler interruption] and our parents will live with dignity.

SHERR: But the real heat was coming from New York where Archbishop John J. O'Connor charged this weekend that Ferraro a practicing Catholic has misrepresented the church's position.

O'CONNOR: If Congresswoman Ferraro or anyone else states that abortion is not absolutely categorically forbidden by the Catholic church then that's wrong.

SHERR: But Ferraro has consistently spoken only of her own positions, not those of the church.

FERRARO: My policies are not the policies of the Catholic church. If I were ever to be raped and became pregnant as a result of that rape, I don't think I'd be so self-righteous.

SHERR: Today during a campaign stop in Indianapolis Ferraro telephoned the Archbishop in what she called a cordial, direct, and helpful conversation. In a written statement she said she told him it's her duty as a public official to uphold the constitution which
guarantees freedom of religion. I cannot fulfill that duty if I seek to impose my own religion on other American citizens. But today's statement will probably not keep the well-organized demonstrators away. A group Ferraro says she has learned to ignore.

FERRARO: I have to tell you I don't look at those signs. I mean, I know where they are and I deliberately do not look at them and I do not seek them out. I don't like seeing them obviously they're meant to upset me. They don't, it's an issue I've made my peace within myself that I'm doing the right thing. And, the signs are not going to change my opinion.

SHERK: Ferraro said she believes she's been targeted in part because she's a woman. In other words, the first national candidate who can talk about abortion and use the word I.

ABC 24
Sept 10, M
JENNINGS: Tonight we welcome a new contributor to this program. And for the first time since ABC World News Tonight began we are adding commentary on a regular basis. ABC's George Will is already well known across the country; his views are often a surprise. Tonight from Washington George comments on religion and politics.

ABC 25
Sept 10, M
WILL: Not long again theologians were reporting that God is dead. Why then has religion suddenly become a sizzling issue? Well, that hasn't happened suddenly. Jimmy Carter wore his religion on his sleeve as a qualification for office. In the 60s, liberal clergy were not bashful about identifying their politics, civil rights, and Vietnam with the will of God. Now the religious right is at it -- not surprisingly. A nation that suddenly and in the name of liberal values legalizes abortion and pornography can expect a reaction from the right. But, religious motives have permeated our politics since the Puritans splashed
ashore in Massachusetts. The nation has always known that material wealth is no measure of national health.
So, let politicians talk about religious values, but surely they can talk as carefully about those as they do about tariffs or soybean subsidies. Walter Mondale has been selectively indignant objecting to the self-righteousness of clergy who disagree with him but not of clergy on his side, and he has his share. Ronald Reagan suggests that people are intolerant of religion if they oppose what he calls voluntary school prayer. But there are two religious reasons for opposing that. It cannot be voluntary and it cannot be prayer. Peer pressure on children imposes conformity. And any prayer acceptable to all American families, Baptist and Buddhists, will not be prayer, it will be bland rhetorical mush. Americans do eat instant mash potatoes and frozen waffles, but do they want instant freeze dried religion? Maybe they do. Polls show that more Americans favor prayer in school than pray regularly in churches. Which suggests that God isn't dead -- just annoyed.

ABC 26
Sept 12, W
SHERR: While she may be unable to shake the financial issue from her campaign, Ferraro, today spoke out decisively on the other controversy that has followed her around the country. In Scranton, Pennsylvania, former home of the New York Archbishop who's been attacking her pro-choice position on abortion; the Vice Presidential candidate, a practicing Catholic told several thousand people her duty as a public official overrides her personal religious beliefs.
FERRARO: When I take my oath of office I accept the charge of serving people of every faith not just some people of my faith.
SHERR: But that didn't quiet the demonstrators. [visuals of chanting/sign carrying demonstrators "Reagan, Reagan"] And the man who replaced the Archbishop here held his own news conference.
BISHOP JAMES TIMLIN: Well, she would have to come out and say she is personally against abortion, and she would do all that she can within the law to stop the slaughter of innocent human beings.
SHERR: [standupper] Ferraro's staff said they weren't seeking a confrontation on the abortion issue -- the stop here in Scranton was scheduled last August. But, they also believe that by plunging into the heart of anti-abortion country she also showed she is not afraid of the issue, even though it too will probably be with her until the election.

ABC 27
Sept 12, W
JENNINGS: Vice President Bush has been getting a lot of questions about his views of abortion, specifically on how he differs from the President. Four years ago Mr. Bush said he opposed abortion except in the cases of rape, incest, or where the life of the mother is in danger. The President says abortion should only be permitted to protect the mother's life. Mr. Bush has gotten testy with reporters who've been asking the questions, and today in Atlanta he suggested they concentrate on more good news about the Reagan/Bush ticket.

ABC 28
Sept 12, W
DONALDSON: [Reagan getting into limo -- question being shouted off camera] Mr. President, George Bush says he favors abortion in the case of rape do you agree? REAGAN: Sam I can't talk about that. [as he was shielded by security guards with a loud crowd in background]

ABC 29
Sept 13, H
HUME: Walter Mondale tried today to sharpen the contrast between himself and President Reagan. There he was, coat off and sleeves up in a sweltering high school gym taking questions from all comers -- friendly and unfriendly.
UNIDENTIFIED MALE YOUTH: The party platform that you represent and are accountable for is pro-abortion, pro-gay rights, and anti-religion.
MONDALE: Alright now, the last point you made is about anti-religious. Where do you get that? You know I . . . [crowd breaks in with "yeah" and cheers for Mondale as the camera shows youth standing with perplexed look on face]
ABC 30
Sept 14, F
JENNINGS: Politics and religion are as bound up as ever today. In Washington, a group called Christians for Reagan held a news conference to promote a new set of television commercials. [visuals of ad -- including Cheryl Prewitt, 1980 Miss America] They feature Cheryl Prewitt who was Miss America in 1980. In the commercials Miss Prewitt criticizes Geraldine Ferraro as being against school prayer, who votes for abortion and supports gay rights. [visual of Cuomo speaking at N.D.U.] New York's Governor Mario Cuomo is fully in the fight over religion, politics and abortion. Last night at Notre Dame University, Cuomo who's a Catholic said the way to stop abortion was not by trying to make laws for others to live by, but by living the laws already written for us by God. [back in studio] Cuomo tried to donate the $1500 fee from the lecture to a Catholic home for unwed mothers. The home turned the money down because of its opposition to Cuomo's views on abortion.

ABC 31
Sept 25, T
MONDALE: My dad was a Methodist minister. And he once told me to be skeptical of deadbed conversions. [laughter]
HUME: Mondale said Mr. Reagan has not only changed his attitudes toward the Soviets but toward Democratic presidents all of whom Mr. Reagan opposed for a generation.
MONDALE: Six weeks before the election he sprinkles his speeches with Roosevelt quotes, gives a medal to Humphrey, invokes Truman's name in Missouri, Kennedy's in Connecticut, asks Democrats to become Republicans as if it didn't matter. We know the difference.
HUME: But the line the students liked best was this.
MONDALE: This election is not about Republicans sending hecklers to my rallies. It is about Jerry Falwell picking justices for the Supreme Court. [cheers and applause]
WOOTEN: [visuals graphic on entire screen of registration in South] In fact, according to election boards across the old Confederacy, whites who favor the President are now registering in greater numbers than blacks that back Mr. Mondale -- a potential difference of as many as 3 or 4 hundred thousand new Republican voters in November. [leaves graphics and shows Falwell at pulpit of TV program "Old Time Gospel Hour" -- on screen] Many credit this surge to this preacher/politician -- the Reverend Jerry Falwell, the evangelical champion of the New Religious Right. [visual of voters registering] His Moral Majority has used North Carolina as a prototype for it's voter registration drives. And they've been richly productive for Republican candidates like Jesse Helms seeking a third senate term, and Bill Cobey running for congress. [visuals of inside of church with politicians] In their campaigns the churches play a critical role.

COBEY: The pastors I think have been telling the Christians in our area that its important for them to be involved as citizens and register to vote.

JENNINGS: That enthusiastic response to Mr. Mondale in Cleveland today was a far cry from what took place last week in California. Remember the hecklers there? [visual in upper right of screen of hecklers with signs] Geraldine Ferraro has had plenty of confrontation as well. The hecklers and protestors have hardly missed a stop. The Democrats have long suspected that much of the heckling has been organized in the White House itself. ABC's Dean Reynolds has been checking on the accusation.

REYNOLDS: [visuals of hecklers with signs] They were there again today at a big rally in Boston in the rain -- abortion demonstrators dogging Geraldine Ferraro. [visual of lady with sign "Ferraro " standing quietly] But this time demonstrators were quiet for the most part perhaps in response to warnings like this, just added to the local anti-abortion telephone hotline.
RECORDING: [visual of tape recorder up close] Remember, we come not to heckle but to witness. Respect the speakers right to speak.

REYNOLDS: Their careful preparations for her visit have been underway for days, [visuals of signs being painted] leading to Democratic party charges that the Republicans are behind them. The demonstrators deny it.

ANNE FOX (Chairperson, Mass Citizens for Life): No group political or otherwise within the state or outside the state has urged us to be at this rally.

REYNOLDS: Nonetheless, charges of White House orchestration persist. This is an audio tape provided by a participant at a seminar for conservatives last month. The seminar was conducted by the Washington based Leadership Institute headed by former White House aide Morton Blackwell. The tape appears to suggest a link between demonstrators and the Reagan campaign.

TAPE: [visual reel-to-reel tape up close--words on screen since audio tape quality was poor] When the press starts asking around about who's holding up these signs, about what group you represent; just say that I'm just a concerned citizen . . . Don't say I'm with students for Reagan.

REYNOLDS: Blackwell, who has no connection to the Reagan/Bush campaign insists he's had no hand in the heckling incidents.

BLACKWELL: American people do not like rudeness and unpleasantness and I make that very clear in all my schools.

REYNOLDS: [visuals of crowds with banners at rallies] But Reagan/Bush officials, apparently trying to distance themselves from the flap, now acknowledge Blackwell's independent efforts may have provoked disruption. [standupper] If the protests and heckling continue the charges of a Republican conspiracy will probably be kept alive by the struggling Democrats. But what's less clear, is whether the Democrats can make something out of it and turn the issue to their advantage.

ABC 35
Oct 1, M

O'BRIEN: On its first day of the new term the high court disposed of roughly a thousand cases denying review to the vast majority including its most sensational criminal case. The justices refused to reinstate the conviction of Claus von Bulow who'd been accused of
attempting to murder his wife. Rhode Island will now retry von Bulow. [visuals of demonstrators in front of Sup Ct. with signs chanting "What do we want? Civil rights! When do we want it? Now!"] But as these demonstrators outside the court today illustrate the focus of this term is likely to be civil rights. [visuals of gays marching] The justices indicated this morning they'll make their first statement in 15 years on gay rights; [visuals of teachers in schools] the case whether public school teachers may be fired or denied employment for advocating homosexuality. [visuals of children reading Bibles in school] The justices have also agreed to decide whether the public schools may begin their day with a moment of silence for mediation or prayer, and whether teachers may search their students even if they lack probable cause to believe the students have done anything wrong. [visual of police shooting down the street] And deadly force -- may the police shoot a non-violent felony suspect solely to keep him from getting away? The justices came down hard last term against the rights of criminal suspects and cut back on affirmative action, leading to speculation that unprecedented upheaval in constitutional law may be in the works. It delighted the Reagan administration, but insensed [visuals: photos of three justices] three of the justices enough to take the most unusual step of publicly criticizing the court, accusing the new conservative majority of undermining the Bill of Rights. [Picture/drawing of dissenting justice] Perhaps most bitter is Justice Harry Blackmun, a Nixon appointee, who said the court was going to the right by hook or crook adding that his job, the most prized in the legal profession, had become a rotten way to make a living. [standupper] That kind of talk and the advancing age of the justices have fueled speculation that some of them may be thinking retirement. No one is talking publically about leaving, but it's clear that whoever is president the next four years, could be appointing more justices than any president in 40 years; that voters might not only be electing a president next month they may be indirectly be electing a supreme court too.
WOOTEN: [visuals from the debate] This is Jim Wooten. Most of those who favored Mr. Reagan as invincible in debate don't any more -- not after last night.

DAVID GERGEN: Reagan did not play for the win, Reagan played for the draw, and that's basically what he got.

WOOTEN: David Gergen who once worked in Mr. Reagan's White House. He just couldn't bring himself to concede anything more or less than that. And neither could this ardent presidential fan. [visual of Falwell]

FALWELL: I don't think Mr. Reagan won the debate, but neither of them lost it; and that is all that we in the Reagan camp are hoping for that our man would not lose it.

WILL: Look how things have changed Peter in one week. Last Friday Ronald Reagan to the extent he was running at all was running against Jimmy Carter in a kind of lethargic way. Walter Mondale couldn't get Ronald Reagan to pay any attention to him so he seemed to be running against Jerry Falwell. It was widely said that Miss Ferraro was running for the senate in 1986 and George Bush was running against or perhaps away from the Internal Revenue Service. Now as a result of the various debates, all four of them, we have clearly concentrated race between the tops of the tickets.

JENNINGS: That Al Smith dinner that Sam referred to is going to be held in New York. Mr. Mondale was also supposed to be at the dinner but decided not to attend in order to prepare for the debate. He suggested that Miss Ferraro attend in his place. The Roman Catholic archdiocese of New York which sponsors the dinner said no. And a spokesman said the decision was based on precedent, not on Miss Ferraro's views on abortion. Miss Ferraro said today that she is disappointed.
JENNINGS: As we noted earlier President Reagan is in New York today to attend the Alfred E. Smith dinner for Catholic charities. It's his only campaign event before the debate on Sunday. He was greeted late today by New York's Archbishop John O'Connor. It's a big political event which is also supposed to include the presidential challenger. This year, as Sander Vanocur reports, it didn't quite work out.

VANOCUR: The controversy began when Walter Mondale turned down an invitation to the biggest Catholic dinner in New York -- and a political tradition. The dinner memorializes Al Smith, the first Catholic presidential candidate. Smith left the Democratic party after the election of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The most memorable Al Smith dinner was in 1960 when the late Francis Cardinal Spellman played host to rivals John F. Kennedy and Richard Nixon. Twenty years later Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan were also there. The only time a candidate didn't show up was when Spiro Agnew was allowed to replace Richard Nixon in 1972. But when Mondale's New York campaign offered to have running mate Geraldine Ferraro attend in Mondale's place -- she was turned down.

FERRARO: I have no idea who's made the determination. But I am disappointed.

VANOCUR: But some Mondale supporters think this man, New York Archbishop John O'Connor, snubbed Ferraro, a Catholic, because of their continuing battle over abortion policy. New York governor Mario Cuomo has been feuding with the Archbishop on the politics of abortion as well.

CUOMO: I'm disappointed that she didn't get the treatment that apparently Agnew did. I don't understand why but that's the Archbishop's decision.

VANOCUR: But the Archbishop said today he hoped Mondale wouldn't suffer from the decision not to attend.

O'CONNOR: People would be very, very petulant if they voted for or against an individual because he or she does or does not come to a dinner.
WILL: They're tired, they're overworked -- they're -- many of them very old. After all you have 5 justices now 75 or older. It's inevitable, that being the case, that there's going to be a lot of interest in who the next president is. Because the court on many issues from race to abortion have been much more important than the congress that sits right across the street. Justice Rehnquist wasn't saying, if I read him correctly, that he wants justices that will legislate their preferences, that's the accusation conservatives make against the Warren court. Rather a particular kind, a conservative kind constitutional reasoning.

SIMPSON: [visual of Bush with reporters] And chilling relations with his traveling press corp when reporters tried to point up differences he used to have with Ronald Reagan on issues like abortion.

BUSH: Just take what I said. Take it literally, figuratively, anywhere else.

AARON: [visual of singing black choir inside black church] This is Betsy Aaron. They sang for him in Memphis. Walter Mondale the minister's son had a sermon to deliver.

MONDALE: [at church pulpit] We got some serious business. And the Bible says, by their fruits ye shall know them. And the fruits of this administration have been the grapes of wrath.

AARON: Branding Reagan policies nothing less than official cruelty Mondale delivered this warning.

MONDALE: And they're turning their backs on civil rights. You know it, I know it. Don't let 'm get away with it. Don't let 'm do that to our nation. [applause as camera shows him at church pulpit]
APPENDIX D

TRANSCRIPT OF CBS REPORTS
CBS News Reports

CBS 1
Aug 9, H
SCHIEFFER: [photo/graphic: Malone - upper right] Bishop James Malone, the head of an American Roman Catholic bishops group said today it is a bad idea to inject religion into a political campaign. But he also said some moral positions such as an anti-abortion stand are so basic that they cannot be separated from a candidate's policy positions. Bishop Malone mentioned no names, but his remarks were seen by some as a reference to Geraldine Ferraro. [photo/graphic: Ferraro - upper right] Among others she says she is against abortion personally but does not feel it is right to force her view on other Americans.

CBS 2
Aug 11, Sa
BOB SCHIEFFER: Six American lawmakers arrived at the United Nations Population Conference in Mexico City today to take issue with the administration over it's abortion policy. Before their arrival, the main committee of the conference adopted a Vatican backed policy that governments should not promote abortion as a method of family planning.

CBS 3
Aug 11, Sa
RICHARD C. HOTTELET: This polluted, scrolling conference city is a reminder that the growing population of poor people in great cities is cause for concern. Early this morning a bi-partisan group of congressmen flew in to take issue with the administration's plan to cut off all US funds to family planning organizations that provide abortion as a birth control choice.
JOHN PORTER (Representative - R-Illinois): It's clear that members of congress have not been consulted about the policy that has been expressed here. And many of us have a viewpoint that is somewhat different from that that our delegation has projected to the conference. And I think it ought to be stated.
JAMES SCHEUER (Representative - D-NY): Remember, US policy on population development assistance abroad is a function of both of the executive branch and the legislative branch.

HOTTELET: The head of the US delegation, James Buckley announced the tightening of restraints on Wednesday. Since 1974 the US has not paid for abortions abroad. Now it will not pay for other forms of birth control if the organization provides or promotes abortion. Dozens of US lobby groups were among the observers who heard the speech.

SHARON CAMP (Population Crisis Committee): In our own country majority opinion believes that abortion should remain legal. And so we are imposing on the world a view that is not really widely held in our own country. And we are doing it because the Reagan administration needs the Right To Life constituency to get itself elected in November.

PAUL BROWN (American Life Lobby spokesman): I was thrilled by it because he reinforced the morality of the Reagan administration which we are trying to reinstill in the American public and the world.

HOTTELET: Did he go as far as you would have liked to hear him?

BROWN: No had he cut off money totally, no money for family planning it would have been better.

HOTTELET: [visuals of staving children] The fact of continuing rapid growth in the world's population in its poorest parts weighs heavily on the conference. [visual changes from children to hordes of people in downtown large cities] The United States has tried to inject optimism by citing statistics on rising per capita income and declining fertility rates. It also wants the conference to endorse economic growth through private enterprise as helping to lower birth rates. Other delegations are cool to this effort.

GERTRUD SIGURDSEN (Swedish delegate): They now talk more about everything, about economic and social development that be more free enterprises in the world. They don't talk that much about the real need of family planning programs. I think that's a change in the attitude.

HOTTELET: A change for the better?

SIGURDSEN: Sorry to say, I don't think so.

HOTTELET: [standupper] If the politics of population were not enough, the conference is having problems with the Soviet demand to include disarmament, and American
insistence that a controversial item on the Middle East be deleted from the voluntary world population plan of action being drafted here. Reservations by the United States, the largest contributor to world family planning, would cast a shadow on the whole enterprise.

CBS 4
Aug 14, T
BRUCE MORTON: The Republicans here at the Dallas convention center began drafting their platform today with taxes as the most controversial issue. And the economic subcommitte started by coming out harder against a tax increase than President Reagan would want.

*** Tape had been edited here ***

[detailed graphics outlining the "Platform Differences" here to end] In economics and in other areas the two party platforms differ sharply. Democrats -- for the equal rights amendment, for equal pay for women in jobs comparable to work done by men. Republicans -- no mention of ERA, against a comparable worth idea. Democrats would let women choose to have an abortion. Republicans -- a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. Democrats -- for the nuclear freeze. Republicans -- the freeze favors the Soviets. Democrats -- would cancel the MX and the B-1 bomber. Republicans -- praise for the President's arms build up, a pledge of armed forces second to none and a policy for peace through strength.

CBS 5
Aug 19, Su
JACQUELINE ADAMS: Ferraro also faced another troublesome issue when she defended her approval of federally funded abortions; a practice opposed by the Catholic church.

FERRARO: [clip from ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley" interview] I'm a public official of the government not of my church.
ADAMS: [visuals of demonstrators with signs] A handful of anti-abortion demonstrators greeted Ferraro upon her arrival home. They drifted away once sure they'd made their point. Ferraro hopes questions about her family's finances will drift away too once she and her accountants give their explanations this week. She is however somewhat philosophical saying, that as the first woman running for national office, people aren't quite sure how to deal with her.

CBS 6
Aug 23, H
RATHER: Good evening this is the CBS evening news. Dan Rather reporting again tonight from CBS News convention headquarters. The ballotings over, the balloons are ready, it's acceptance speech night for Ronald Reagan. But before accepting the Republican presidential nomination, President and candidate Reagan spent a busy day of it. A day featuring the power of politics and the power of prayer and Mr. Reagan said there was no reason to separate the two. Bill Plante reports.

CBS 7
Aug 23, H
BILL PLANTE: [visual: the Reagans holding hands looking at each other and singing, "... and crown thy good with brotherhood . . ."] Ronald Reagan's day of triumph began on a emotional note at an Ecumenical prayer breakfast. The President and first lady appeared to be deeply moved by what they heard at the enormous gathering. [visual of holding hands again and shot of large gathering] After affirming his belief that religion has a place in the nation's political life, Mr. Reagan turned the rest of his day to good old fashioned politics.

CBS 8
Aug 23, H
BRUCE MORTON: Republicans have stressed family and the flag but so did the Democrats. No sane politician is going to run against the family or as some kind of anti-patriot. Both parties also stress the value of religion.
REAGAN: The truth is politics and morality are inseparable.

MORTON: The religious theme is complicated, neither party is against religion, of course, but the Republicans are in favor of government prescribing behavior in church related areas like school prayer, abortion and pornography. The Democrats by and large are not.

Bruce Morton, CBC News, Dallas.

[visual/audio -- "Battle Hymn of the Republic" played under story with camera panning on choirs singing at Dallas Prayer Breakfast]

CBS 9
Aug 25, Sa
BOB SCHIEFFER: [visual in upper right -- "Religion and the Republicans" with an elephant with stars and stripes and a white cross] People used to say the way to avoid controversy was to avoid discussion of religion and politics, but lately a lot of politicians are talking a lot about religion and a lot of religious leaders are talking politics. And as you might expect, its causing a fair amount of controversy as Bruce Morton learned this week in Dallas.

CBS 10
Aug 25, Sa
BRUCE MORTON: [church singing, "America"] Sunday service at Dallas' 1st Baptist Church, the Reverend Jerry Falwell a guest speaker endorses the President.

FALWELL: I think we have the finest President since Abraham Lincoln. [applause]

MORTON: There has been a lot of evangelical Christianity at this convention, on the podium with ministers like James Robison

ROBISON: (In prayer) We thank you Father for the leadership of President Ronald Reagan.

MORTON: There are born-again positions in the platform on issues like abortion and pornography. Some evangelical groups are planning pro-Reagan ads.

AD: [ad shown as created for airing -- photos of Reagan and then Mondale] Ronald Reagan if re-elected can stop this senseless killing of innocent babies. Walter Mondale if elected will vigorously oppose any action to overturn the Supreme Court's decision allowing abortion.

MORTON: [closeup visual of Biblical Scorecard] Another group publishes a Presidential Score-Card -- Reagan wins.
BUSH: Oh Lord, give us peace.
MORTON: The President himself outlined his views on religion before a massively attended ecumenical prayer breakfast.
REAGAN: I believe that faith and religion play a critical role in the political life of our nation and always have.
MORTON: All this has some Republicans worried that the traditional separation between church and state is breaking down and that theirs is becoming a religious party.
WEICKER: What we're doing now is like putting nitroglycerin on a burner and it's only a matter of time before its going to blow up in somebody's face.
FALWELL: Admittedly, the Judeo-Christian philosophy is the prevailing philosophy in this country and certainly right now in the Republican party.
MORTON: Martin Marty is a professor of American religious history at the University of Chicago.
MARTY: There's quite a retreat from faith in the persuasive power of religion. Instead of trying to persuade me to live a certain way there's an impulse to try and coerce.
MORTON: [visuals of registration outside church] Certainly, evangelical Christians are mobilizing. They were registering voters outside that Dallas church last Sunday. Falwell says 5 million new voters have signed up nation wide.
FALWELL: I see a sleeping giant having stood up now. Conservative, religious Americans.
MORTON: Standing up -- yes. Taking over -- maybe not. [visual of a church steeple/cross against a new skyscraper]
MARTY: They will probably remain as a kind of a permanent, one of the groups that all politicians and all sides have to reckon with. I don't think they're going to run the country, but you're going to have to notice them.
MORTON: [large choir singing, "Glory, Glory, hallelujah] It is essentially a drive to have the government prescribe social values; to have the government tell people how to live. It is centered for now in the Republican party. And it's voice this week in Dallas has been strong. (Battle Hymn continued under entire remarks with visuals of choirs)
CBS 11
Sept 3, M
SPENCER: She accused the President of flirting with nuclear war of unfair economic policies and with trying to interfere with religious freedom.
FERRARO: I agree that the values we get from our different religions underpin our thinking about the great public issues. But you don't have to impose your religion or your morality on others in order to be religious or moral. [visuals of crowd cheering, "yeah"]

CBS 12
Sept 4, T
RATHER: Good evening, this is the CBS Evening News, Dan Rather reporting. It was campaign trail combustion by long distance today for Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale. Both had high octane rhetoric ready about who was mixing politics and religion improperly and who has the tax policy that will sock it to those least able to pay. For his part, when asked tonight in Chicago why he hasn't even mentioned Walter Mondale by name for two days running, President Reagan responded, Why should I? For his part, Walter Mondale said Reagan economic policy makes him, quote, "Damn mad." For all the evenly matched rhetoric this day, Bill Plante reports on a Reagan campaign running smooth from the start. And Susan Spencer reports on a Fritz Mondale campaign still running in fits and starts.

CBS 13
Sept 4, T
BILL PLANTE: President Reagan mixed some religion into his politics today. First, a courtesy call on officials of the Mormon Church. [visuals of Reagan greeting Mormon clergy] A spokesman said Mr. Reagan told the elders that he felt Divine providence had intervened in his life as President. The Church says it has invited Walter Mondale to drop by as well. So has the American Legion. Mondale speaks to them tomorrow, but today they were a sympathetic audience for the President as he denied charges by Mondale and Ferraro that he doesn't understand the separation of church and state.
REAGAN: [before the Amer. Leg. with service cap] Now I can't think of anyone who favors the government establishing a religion in this country. I know I don't. But what some would do is to twist the concept of religion, freedom of religion, to mean freedom against religion, so. [applause]
PLANTE: The President called religion a traditional value to be strengthened, but he pledged religious freedom as well.

REAGAN: The unique thing about America is that every single American is free to choose and practice his or her own religion or to choose no religion at all. And that right must not and shall not be questioned or violated by the State.

PLANTE: That's how the President will respond to Mondale and Ferraro when he chooses to do so -- without mentioning them by name and without saying too much about the specifics of their charges; just setting his own tone above the fray.

CBS 14
Sept 5, W
SPENCER: [end of a longer report] Tomorrow chances are plenty to continue swinging as Mondale appears before a Jewish audience to talk about President Reagan, religion and politics.

CBS 15
Sept 6, H
RATHER: Good evening, this is the CBS Evening News. Dan Rather reporting. The differences between President Reagan and former Vice President Walter Mondale over the proper place of religion and politics and in American society today came to a boil. In separate appearances before the B'nai B'rith Jewish organization each man talked of his own beliefs about the constitutional separation of church and state, what form that separation should take, and how strong it should be. Bill Plante reports on today's poles apart Reagan, Mondale views on the issue, and Bob Schieffer looks at the chapter and verse behind those views.

CBS 16
Sept 6, H
MONDALE: Most Americans would be surprised that God is a Republican.

REAGAN: The United States of America is and must remain a nation of openness to people of all beliefs.
PLANTE: An impassioned Walter Mondale tried to engage the President on the role of religion in politics. Mondale is upset and angry over Mr. Reagan's earlier assertion that religion and politics are necessary related. Today Walter Mondale accused Mr. Reagan of trying to wrap the flag in Christian scripture.

MONDALE: No President should attempt to transform policy debates into theological disputes. [applause] We must not let it be thought that political dissent from him is unchristian.

PLANTE: Since his Dallas speech President Reagan has stressed tolerance when he talks of religion, and today he did not repeat his usual appeal for prayer in the schools.

REAGAN: The ideals of our country leave no room whatsoever for intolerance, antisemitism or bigotry of any kind — none. The unique thing about America is a wall in our constitution separating church and state.

PLANTE: Mondale maintained that the President has insulted the motives of those who disagree with him and he looked with alarm on Mr. Reagan's right-wing Christian supporters.

MONDALE: A determined band is raising doubts about peoples faith. They are reaching for government power to impose their own beliefs on other people and the Reagan administration has opened its arms to them.

PLANTE: Democratic house speaker Thomas P. O'Neill called the President's motives purely political.

O'NEILL: Any time you bring religion into a campaign, you bring bigotry and you bring bitterness, and it's the wrong thing to do. The President of the United States, in my opinion, by trying to be more Catholic than a Catholic has been wrong.

PLANTE: Sources close to Mondale say he intends to keep hammering away at the religion issue as he did again today before a convention of black Baptists hoping to needle Mr. Reagan into some reaction. But the President's campaign managers don't think that he'll take the bait. He'll just continue to advocate his school prayer amendment, to speak approvingly of religious values and attempt hold the moral high ground in this campaign.
CBS 17
Sept 6, H
SCHIEFFER: [visual of Kennedy in 1960] When candidate John Kennedy went to Texas in 1960 his mission was to tell Protestant ministers he'd never allow Catholic church leaders tell him how to run the presidency. But President Reagan's campaign manager Paul Laxalt took a different tact last month when he sent a Dear Christian leader letter to evangelical preachers, urging them to get on the Reagan team to quote "help assure that those in your ministry will have a voice in the upcoming elections . . . a voice that will surely help the re-election of President Reagan and Vice President Bush." [graphic on screen, with photo of Laxalt] That raised some eye brows, but it was a comment by the President himself at a Dallas prayer breakfast that really brought the issue to a boil.
REAGAN: [Dallas clip] And as morality's foundation is religion, religion and politics are necessarily related.
SCHIEFFER: Even some in the Reagan White House worry that the President's comments lately are edging too close to the line separating church and state as spelled out in the constitution. But not the pastor of Dallas' huge First Baptist Church.
CRISWELL: Well I think this thing of separation of church and state is the figment of some infidels imagination.
SCHIEFFER: And furthermore he says
CRISWELL: Now those Democrats they can organize every ghetto and every hispanic and every black and every down-and-outer and every welfare recipient. [close up on fingers entwined -- no particular reason] They can organize them all to get them all to vote and nothing's said about it at all. But here comes a man trying to get Christian people to vote and man alive that must be terrible. There's not anything wrong in trying to get God's people to vote.
SCHIEFFER: [visuals of Carter coming from church] Democrat Jimmy Carter made no secret of his fundamentalist faith, but some political scientists say the Reagan approach to the fundamentalists is different.
WILLIAM SCHNEIDER (American Enterprise Institution): Reagan endorses their social positions. Reagan says that he agrees with them on prayer and censorship and womens rights and gay rights and abortion. Very different from Carter. Reagan appeals to them on political grounds not on religious ground.
SCHIEFFER: [standupper - appears to be a church steeple in background] Although the President seldom attends church, his political strategist believe his appeal to the fundamentalist could cut into a blue collar vote that might otherwise go Democratic especially in some southern states. But the approach can also be a two edged sword. Some presidential supporters warn that Mr. Reagan's rhetoric could leave the impression that he wants a Christian Republican party. [visuals of speakers at table at B'nai B'rith] And various religious groups took issue with the President this week including speakers at the B'nai B'rith convention who were lambasting the Reagan view long before he and Mondale spoke today.

RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN: The fact is the President of the United States has explicitly chosen forums of people who are not committed to the separation of church and state, that have been spending much of their lives in battering down the wall separating church and state -- some of whom explicitly want to create a Christian country.

SCHIEFFER: [various campaign scenes of both candidates in crowds] A campaign that contrasted two candidates with clearly different philosophies was expected. What's surprising is that the sharpest differences to emerge thus far are not over issues such as war and peace and the need to control government spending but over their views on the relationship between church and state.


CBS 18
Sept 10, M
RATHER: [visual: upper right two photo -- Ferraro/O'Connor] More sparks today too on what's becoming a highly combustable election year mixture of politics and religion. Only this time the friction isn't between Walter Mondale and President Reagan but between Geraldine Ferraro and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York John J. O'Connor. Over the weekend, the Archbishop attacked Geraldine Ferraro saying she had misrepresented the Church's absolute position on abortion. Today, the Democratic Vice Presidential nominee said she telephoned the Archbishop denied mistating the Church's position and restated her own position. That she personally opposes abortion, but does not seek to impose those views on others. Said Ferraro, "when Bishops speak out they are doing their duty as church officials, when I speak out," Ferraro
continued, "I am doing my duty as a public official and my foremost duty is to uphold the U.S. constitution which guarantees freedom of religion," unquote. Ferraro said her phone conversation with Archbishop O'Connor was cordial, direct and helpful.

CBS 19
Sept 11, T
RATHER: [visual: upper right -- Ferraro] Geraldine Ferraro tried again today to get unstuck by the sticky mix of the pastoral and the political. As Phil Jones reports Ferraro's script today called for more criticism of Ronald Reagan, instead it was overshadowed by Church criticism of her and by what the church says is scripture on abortion.

CBS 20
Sept 11, T
PHIL JONES: [loud demonstrators with signs and chanting, "Life yes, Ferraro no"] The abortion issue and religion and politics continue to follow Ferraro where ever she goes. She describes the anti-abortion protestors as becoming more organized. And Ferraro, who supports a woman's right to an abortion, though personally opposing abortion, said today that only her church seems to have trouble accepting her position.

FERRARO: I am a public official. I swear to uphold the constitution and the laws of this land. Abortion is legal in this country and I will not impose my religious views on any other person.

JONES: [visual of O'Connor in church in full regalia] New York Archbishop O'Connor has accused Ferraro of creating the mistaken impression that Catholic teaching on abortion is open to interpretation. The archbishop has gone back to a letter signed by Ferraro in 1982 [graphic on screen with Ferraro photo above] stating, the Catholic position on abortion is not monolithic and ... there can be a range of personal and political responses to the issue. Even Ferraro's personal phone call to the Archbishop yesterday failed to resolve the dispute.

FERRARO: I respect his position. I have indicated to the Archbishop that what we are saying was that the Catholic tradition, meaning the views of other Catholics does exist on the issue.
O'CONNOR: [closeup with full head dress appearing very stern] The issue is that the teaching of the Catholic church is monolithic on the subject of abortion. And it is stated in a letter signed by Mrs. Ferraro that it is not monolithic. Now to me that's a pretty basic disagreement.

JONES: Congressman Leon Panetta who also signed the letter with Ferraro expressed concern that Catholic bishops have been too one sided on this issue.

PANETTA: You know there are Catholic doctrines dealing with the need for dealing with the poor and with poverty. And it seems to me that they could take the same position and criticize the President of the United States with regard to some of those positions -- but they aren't doing that.

JONES: [standupper] For Ferraro this is one of those no win issues. There are probably few votes to be gained by feuding publicly with an archbishop, but on the other hand, she doesn't want the image of someone in her own church pushing her around on a volatile campaign issue. Phil Jones, CBS News, Toledo, Ohio.

CBS 21
Sept 12, W
RATHER: Geraldine Ferraro's campaign problems today came on two separate fronts, church and state . . . [26 seconds cut -- topic: whether Ferraro would have to reveal her husband's finances and the senate's determination about it] . . . Also, Ferraro's stance on abortion was attacked again today. This time by a Catholic Bishop in Scranton.

CBS 22
Sept 12, W
JONES: [Demonstrators with Anti-abortion signs chanting "Four more years"] . . . Meantime, she was trying to put out another political fire -- her stand on abortion. In heavily Catholic Scranton, Pennsylvania a rally of thousands which included anti-abortion demonstrators, she attacked those who are as she put it are using religion for partisan political purposes.

FERRARO: When I take my oath of office I accept the charge of serving people of every faith, not just some people of my faith. I would resign my office before I would betray my public trust.
JONES: [visual in background – religious statue] Within moments after Ferraro's comments here at the Scranton chancellery her position was being attacked as absurd and not rational.

TIMLIN: She is actually saying she is pro-choice, which means that she is pro-abortion as far as we're concerned.

JONES: Ferraro had hoped that by taking this issue into the heart of the pro-life movement she might get beyond the abortion issue, but judging by today's reception, this and the financial matters will continue to follow her.

CBS 23
Sept 12, W
RATHER: Although campaigning today among Catholics, Italians, and Polish, Mr. Reagan downplayed religious themes in favor of economics.

CBS 24
Sept 12, W
RATHER: Politics and religion, God and country, the constitutional separation of church and state; they figured in the American scene from the start. In his commentary tonight, Bill Moyers explores whether and how the scene is changing during Campaign '84, Bill . . .

CBS 25
Sept 12, W
MOYERS: Dan, the free exercise of religion has long presupposed the right of believers to press their view in the public square. And politicians almost always go hunting for votes in the precincts of the faithful. Lyndon Johnson did not invite Billy Graham to skinny dip in the White House pool because he wanted to test the Baptist doctrine of total immersion -- he wanted to carry the Bible Belt. Jimmy Carter was elected with the born-again vote and then defeated when Ronald Reagan trumped him at his own game. Jesse Jackson orchestrates a black congregation as if it were the choir of heaven. So what's new in this campaign? This is new: conservative Catholics and Protestants have openly allied themselves with the Republican party in a way that threatens to turn the public debate on morality into a partisan crusade and make of Mr. Reagan's party the party of religion. That would be a
profound change in American politics in and of its self, but consider their ultimate goal. You will find it expressed in a column by the conservative journalist Patrick Buchanan himself a former speech writer for Republican politicians. Writing of the school prayer crusade, Mr. Buchanan says, and I quote, "It is the first great counter offensive of a badly routed Christian community to recapture their occupied public schools and reestablish their beliefs as the legitimate moral foundation of American society." He goes on to say that Christians have every right to do this and are under some obligation to try as many are trying already. In Minnesota, for example, conservative Christians have gained control of several local Republican organizations and are demanding that school board candidates meet a religious test. But the Christian community in America is not of one mind, and the Republican party has been a tent of many stripes. In time nothing but trouble is likely to come of a major political party's commitment to the doctrinal triumph of one sectarian notion of God's will for America. We have in this country an admirable alternative to civil war, and to holy civil war at that. It's called the constitution. Religion and politics mix in this delicate balance, but only if they serve to check one another's pretensions.

CBS 26
Sept 14, F
RATHER: For today the campaign debate still raging loudest, longest, and now deeper than ever, is the debate over politics and religion and much of it focused on the issue of abortion.

CBS 27
Sept 14, F
PHIL JONES: Religion in '84 politics today erupted into open internal struggle within the Catholic church over abortion. A group of Catholic theologians issued a statement saying a diversity of opinion regarding abortion exists among committed Catholics. A large number of Catholic theologians holds that even direct abortion though tragic can sometimes be a moral choice. [graphic on screen, over a stained glassed window]
DANIEL MAGUIRE (Marquette University): Is it right to say that the bishops are monolithic on abortion? You bet it is. But it is simply a misrepresentation of a very pluralistic, very dynamic church to say that whatever the hierarchy holds, theology is just counting bishops noses. That doesn't make sense.

JONES: Fifty-five theologians signed the statement, 2,000 had been asked. Some allegedly refused to sign fearing loss of their jobs in Catholics universities. All this came the day after the Bishops were attacked by New York Governor Cuomo. Cuomo, a Catholic, suggested some religious leaders are playing partisan politics with this issue.

CUOMO: The American people need no course in philosophy, or political science, or church history, to know that God should not be made into a Celestial Party Chairman.

JONES: Democratic Vice Presidential candidate Ferraro who has refused to press her own anti-abortion views on others would not comment today. But, she was the target for these newly released television spots by Christians for Reagan.

AD: Miss Ferraro is praised by the pro-abortionist as having a perfect pro-abortion voting record on 16 major congressional votes. [former Miss America, Cheryl Prewitt, but not identified]

JONES: And in the view of one prominent Catholic theologian these Christians for Reagan may not be the only ones supporting the President's re-election.

FATHER RICHARD O'BRIEN (Notre Dame Univ.): It's clear that some bishops have come very close to a kind of endorsement of the Republican ticket this year.

JONES: [standupper] Ferraro has now received some of the support she was hoping for but with those within the Catholic church publicly divided, and these new attacks by Republicans it may be even more difficult getting beyond this issue.

CBS 28
Sept 15, Sa (only network covering this day)
BOB SCHIEFFER: [upper right visual of Ferraro] In Syracuse, New York today Miss Ferraro had sharp words for anti-abortion protestors who'd been showing up with increasing frequency at her rallies. If you want to make this an election referendum on abortion, she said, we'll make it a referendum on that.
PHIL JONES: [graphics: CBS/NY Times Poll with clear/large graphics] On the abortion controversy the polls shows that most Catholics agree with Ferraro's free choice position not the church hierarchy. Yet Mr. Reagan has a 17 point edge with voters . . . The error due to sampling in this poll could be plus or minus 3 percentage points.

BILL PLANTE: [ballons and crowd scenes] President Reagan almost literally wrapped in the flag made an unabashed pitch for the votes of conservative Catholic democrats, raising ethnic values and invoking Democrats of the past as if he had never criticized them. Mr. Reagan recalled the visit of John F. Kennedy to this same square during the 1960 campaign and talked about changing political parties. [visual of large sign "Assemblies of God"]

RATHER: [upper right governmental seal and "Ethics"] Edwin Meece's finances, closed meetings behind closed doors to set the regulations with the pesticide regulators being regulated, heckling politicians. Just tonight several of our reports in one way or another touched on issues of ethics in government. Bob Simon has been looking into the ethics of having the nation's candidates run not just under a spotlight but a microscope, and how this changing the nation's politics and politicians, even affecting who decides not to run at all.
CBS 32  Ethics in Government -- Only network doing this story
Sept 20, H

NOTE: (Time: 3:51) This report is interesting because of when it comes in an election. Wording is very careful not to mention NCR, but various references to "Kooks elected on a one issue basis," electing a "whole class of wimps," and references to "terminal purity setting in" is interesting. It seems that the report is damaging to those riding the conservative coattails of Reagan. Very negative in general against scrutiny often imposed by the media!! Strong implication at times was that the discouragement comes from NCR movement.

CBS 33
Sept 28, F
DAVID DOW: [Bush shaking hands] Some lessons -- Keep away from the issues that have troubled your opponent. Her finances for instance.
BUSH: I don't want to get into that. I don't have a dog in that fight as they say in Tennessee.
DOW: Or abortion.
BUSH: I've just answered for the day, until this afternoon, my last question on abortion. I'm exercising my rights as an American to remain silent.
DOW: And stand on the record.
BUSH: Well, my position is like Ronald Reagan's. Put that down, mark it down. You got it?

CBS 34  Supreme Court
Oct 1, M
MONDALE: If this administration is re-elected, what they're going to do to that Supreme Court -- watch out!
FRED GRAHAM: The re-election of Ronald Reagan could have a greater impact on the Supreme Court than on any other branch of the government. Mr. Reagan has all ready made major changes in domestic and foreign policy and with a few court appointments he could set the Supreme Court on a more conservative path for many years to come. [photos of Court and individual members past and present continue to end] The Supreme court has generally resisted President Reagan's most conservative legal policies by narrow margins. Four of the justices who have most consistently voted against Reagan positions, seem vulnerable to the in roads of time. William Brennan is 78 and has had a cancer operation.
Thurgood Marshall, 76, has had a series of ailments. Harry Blackmun, 75, was operated on for cancer of the prostate. And Lewis Powell, 77, is said to be considering retirement. Four justices have generally supported President Reagan's policies, Burger, White, Rehnquist, and O'Connor. So that one or two new Reagan appointments could swing the court to his conservative view on four crucial issues -- restricting women's abortion rights, allowing prayer in public schools, limiting school busing to achieve racial balance, and outlawing racial quotas in affirmative actions. This has prompted the Democrats to raise cries of alarm.

CUOMO: We must ask ourselves what kind of court and country will be fashioned by the man who believes in having government mandate peoples religion and morality.

GRAHAM: But Reagan's strategists see the court as a positive issue on the Republican side.

NOFZIGER: I'm perfectly willing to -- for the President or the Reagan Campaign to take the Democrats on on that issue. Do you want the kind of people Walter Mondale say would appoint to the Supreme Court or the kind of people Ronald Reagan would appoint? I think that's a good issue for us.

GRAHAM: President Reagan has at least three staunch conservatives waiting in the wings, Interior Secretary William Clark, Attorney General William French Smith, and U.S. Appeals Court judge Robert Bork. But liberal justices Brennan, Marshall and Blackmun have given subtle indication that they have every intention of trying to outlast even a re-elected Ronald Reagan. And, history shows that Supreme Court Justices can be very durable. Oliver Wendell Holmes stayed on the court until he was 90, a reminder that even the best laid court stacking plans can go awry.

CBS 35
Oct 6, Sa

BOB SCHIEFFER: [visual in upper right -- "Voter Registration" with check mark] There have been no shortage of voter registration drives this year. Both political parties, special interest groups of every persuasion and individuals ranging from Jesse Jackson to Jerry Falwell have been spearheading drives to register voters. The work is apparently paying off. Several states including New York have people working over time to process all the voter forms.
CBS 36  
Oct 6, Sa
BRUCE MORTON: . . . And evangelical conservatives are registering their people, this signup was at a Dallas Church after the Service.
[Visual -- Conservative with sign encouraging voter registration and person signing up on a Bible]

CBS 37  
Oct 10, W
RATHER: [visual in upper right - photo and label of Falwell] Moral Majority founder the Reverend Jerry Falwell is quoted as saying he expects a reshaped Supreme Court during a second term by President Reagan would outlaw most abortion. However, Falwell insisted that no matter what Walter Mondale claims he doesn't expect President Reagan to consult him about naming any new justices.

CBS 38  
Oct 16, T
NOTE:
Interesting choice of terms to describe the NCR. Also, an example of the impact the NCR has on a state wide level.
"New Evangelical Right," "White Fundamentalist ministers," "school prayer," "racial and religious politics," "When I see the Blood" right after a minister says he doesn't believe in murdering babies.
School prayer mentioned also.

CBS 39  
Oct 26, F
[Visuals -- Reagan with skull cap]
VANOCUR: But the White House did not object to a plank that calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion and another that supports the appointment of Federal judges that respect the sanctity of human life.
[graphics on screen: "Abortion" and "Federal Judges" with elephant]
ABC, "ABC World News Tonight."


CBS, "CBS Evening News."


"Falwell Forms Liberty Federation To Carry Flag." The Columbus Dispatch 4 January 1986, p. 9A.


NBC, "NBC Nightly News."


