

Media Impact of Think Tank Education Publications 2001

Research Report

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This report examines the nature and scope of the media coverage of education-related documents and education spokespersons from the Heritage Foundation during 2001. It is the first in a series of reports on the impact of think tanks on education policy.

In *The Idea Brokers: Think Tanks and the New Policy Elite*, James Smith describes think tanks as “private, nonprofit research groups that operate on the margins of this nation’s formal political process.”¹ The first think tanks appeared in the 1950s. They proliferated in the 1970s and 1980s. Today, more than one thousand think tanks operate in the United States.²

The Heritage Foundation is often considered the “General Motors” of think tanks.³ Founded in 1973, it is one of the largest and best-connected think tanks in the United States. Moreover, it is widely regarded as the think tank most effective at getting media coverage for its publications, policy proposals, and spokespersons.⁴

The average American adult spends over two hours a day watching, reading or listening to the news.⁵ While Americans are often skeptical about news reports on education, they nevertheless want the news media to cover education more than it currently does.⁶ Therefore, when the news media select the Heritage Foundation as a source on education, they position it to play a prominent role in shaping the education debate.⁷

Since Americans rely on the news media as a primary source for information on education issues, they indirectly vest news sources—in this case, the Heritage Foundation—with the power to help define the terms of the debate. It is not that, through

the selection of its sources, the news media tell Americans *what* to think, so much as frame what to think *about*.⁸ In other words, those education issues defined by the public and policy makers as problems and the types of solutions needed to address them are, to a large extent, influenced by the sources selected by the news media.⁹

Methodology

The Nexis database at www.nexis.com was searched for news entries that concerned education and included references to the Heritage Foundation. (See Appendix A) The search was conducted for the period January 1 – December 31, 2001.¹⁰ The entries returned by Nexis were then reviewed for relevance to eliminate any “false positives.”¹¹ One hundred fifty-nine relevant entries were found and coded. (See Appendix B) These entries are every media citation to the Heritage Foundation as a source on education contained in the Nexis database.¹²

In addition, the Heritage Foundation web site (www.heritage.org) was searched for information on the foundation’s media practices, publications, personnel and organizational structure.

The Heritage Foundation: Marketing Values

Media attention is vital to the Heritage Foundation’s goal of the “retail and wholesale marketing” of conservative values.¹³ Describing itself as “a secondhand dealer of ideas,”¹⁴ its mission “is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values, and a strong national defense.”¹⁵ In “Selling Ideas in a Rationally

Ignorant World,” the Heritage Foundation argues that the best method for conservatives to influence public opinion is to use a “values-based (rather than a fact-based) marketing strategy.”¹⁶ To this end, the Heritage Foundation devotes approximately 35% of its roughly \$30 million budget to public relations.¹⁷

Its strategy appears to be paying dividends in the news media. The Heritage Foundation had its first news media citation related to education in 1979. In that year, it was cited once in the *Washington Post*.¹⁸ In 2001, 159 news items related to education drew on the Heritage Foundation as a source.¹⁹ In total during 2001, it received over 2,000 media citations.²⁰

“Education” is listed as one of the Heritage Foundation’s 29 “key issue” subject areas.²¹ During 2001, 26 different authors wrote 43 education-related publications. (See Appendix B) The Heritage Foundation listed seven of these authors—Krista Kafer, Megan Farnsworth, Stuart Butler, Robert Moffitt, Mike Franc, Kirk Johnson and Tom Hinton—as “Experts on Education.”²² Education-related publications represented about 5% of the total papers, studies and books produced by the Heritage Foundation during 2001.²³ Nevertheless, education-related citations accounted for approximately 8% of its news citations.²⁴

The Heritage Foundation: Media Presence

Often and Everywhere

During 2001, the Heritage Foundation blanketed the United States with its views on education. As Figures 1 and 2 illustrate, the Heritage Foundation was cited by 81 media sources in 159 news items. It was cited in the print, television, and radio media

on a variety of education topics in both general news and opinion formats. Excluding news wire services, which do not publish directly to the public, the Heritage Foundation was present in the media debate on education on average more than once every three days. Interestingly, only seven news items, or 4%, of the total news items on education that referenced the Heritage Foundation came from the education press.²⁵ Three of the seven education press items included criticisms of the Heritage Foundation, a much higher percentage than in the popular press.²⁶

Heritage Foundation Citations Related to Education 2001

<u>News Items</u>		<u>Media Sources</u>	
General news	75	General news newspapers	39
Op-ed	71	Television programs	13
Personnel	11	Policy publications	9
Event calendar	2	News wire services	7
<i>Total</i>	<i>159</i>	Business publications	6
		Radio programs	4
		Education publications	3
		<i>Total</i>	<i>81</i>

Figure 1

Number of News Entries by Main Topics 2001

Curriculum and school governance	54
School choice	22
Education spending	21
Heritage Foundation activities	21
Role of government in education	14
Education legislation (ESEA)	16
Testing	11
Other education issues	5

Figure 2

During 2001, the Heritage Foundation received the greatest attention from the East coast national newspapers. Figure 3 shows that *The Washington Times* cited the Heritage Foundation 17 times during 2001, more than the combined totals of the next two highest concentrations, the *New York Times* (8) and the *Washington Post* (7). On the other coast, the Los Angeles Times cited the Heritage Foundation only once.²⁷ The next two concentrations of citations were in the *Chattanooga Times/Free Press* (7) and the *Dallas Morning News* (6), both regional newspapers.

Top Citations of the Heritage Foundation by Media Source 2001

Washington Times	17
New York Times	8
Washington Post	7
Chattanooga Times/Free Press	7
Dallas Morning News	6
United Press International	5
Gannett News Service	4
Fox News Live	4

Figure 3

Local newspapers from Florida to California also cited the Heritage Foundation, though mostly only once or twice. (See Appendix B)

In addition, Heritage Foundation personnel were granted 15 opinion bylines and were television or radio guests on 17 occasions. Of the 15 bylines, eight were in the *Washington Times*, while the remaining seven bylines occurred once each in seven different newspapers.²⁸

In its citations, the Heritage Foundation presented its views on 8 general topics (see Figure 2) encompassing 42 subtopics. (See Appendix C) The topics included such

commonly debated issues as school choice (yes), testing (more), and education spending (too much already), as well as less-debated issues like the relationship between marriage and educational achievement of children (it helps) and private-public partnerships in school construction (they are needed). Almost half (44%) of the citations were in editorial and opinion formats.²⁹

At times, the Heritage Foundation itself was education news. Figure 3 shows that the Heritage Foundation was the topic of 21 education news items. Six of these news items headlined the Heritage Foundation.³⁰ For example, the two news articles from the *Education Technology News* were discussions of the Heritage Foundation's on-line school report cards. Both articles described how the Heritage Foundation's Report Card Report site will improve school performance by providing parents and policy makers with data for comparing the differences between high-performing and low-performing schools.³¹

Figure 1 shows that 11 news reports featured personnel changes at the Heritage Foundation related to education. The *Washington Post* article of April 2, 2001, is typical. Under the headline "Appointment" and located in the financial section, this article announced the hiring of Krista Kafer as a policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation.³²

The Heritage Foundation: Image versus Reality

The news media presentations of the Heritage Foundation, with rare exception, repeated or enhanced the Heritage Foundation's presentation of itself. As shown below, it did not matter whether the source was a spokesperson or a document—almost none of the news media presentations were more restrictive or limiting than the Heritage

Foundation's own descriptions of its people and its work. Furthermore, the news media descriptions provided the reader with scant, if any, information to determine for themselves the character of these sources.

Spokespersons: Experts Without Expertise

Generous media characterizations of their expertise were certainly the norm for Heritage Foundation personnel. During 2001, Krista Kafer was the Heritage Foundation's most cited source on education. She was cited in 47 news items, more than twice as often as the next most cited source.³³ On the Heritage Foundation webpage, Krista Kafer is presented as an "expert on education" and a "senior policy analyst, education" with "expertise [in] school choice, education standards and testing, charter schools, [and] federal education programs."³⁴ In the news media during 2001, she was presented most often in the same terms, as an "education analyst" (14), a "policy analyst" (9) or "of the Heritage Foundation" (19).³⁵ Whatever title the media gave her, not one of the news entries explained the derivation of this title or Krista Kafer's qualifications.³⁶

According to her Heritage Foundation biography (see Appendix D) and an article in *Roll Call*,³⁷ Krista Kafer graduated from the University of Colorado with a B.A. in history in 1994. She then worked for the Colorado chapter of the National Right to Life Committee, Rep. Dave McIntosh (R-IN) and Rep. Bob Schaffer (R-CO) as well as Sen. Bob Dole's 1996 presidential campaign. According to the *Washington Post*, she joined the Heritage Foundation in the Spring of 2001.³⁸ It appears that Krista Kafer has never studied or worked in education.

A lack of relevant expertise is consistent across the Heritage Foundation's seven "experts in education." Reviewing the staff biographies on the Heritage Foundation website, it appears that, like Krista Kafer, Stuart Butler, Robert Moffitt, Michael Franc, and Kirk Johnson have never studied or worked in education.³⁹ One "expert in education," Thomas Hinton, has a B.A. in political science and Christian education and no work experience in education.⁴⁰

Megan Farnsworth appears to be the most qualified "expert in education." According to her Heritage Foundation biography, she has worked as a teacher, curriculum specialist and school evaluator, and she holds a master's degree in education from UCLA and an unspecified degree from Harvard's Graduate School of Education.⁴¹

Documents: Media Conferred Social Science Legitimacy

During 2001, the news media presented Heritage Foundation publications as sound social science research conducted by qualified experts, characterizations more generous than the Heritage Foundation's own characterizations of its work. For example, fifteen Heritage Foundation publications were cited by the news media.⁴² Ten of these were "Backgrounders." Neither the "Backgrounders" themselves nor the Heritage Foundation website describes what the Heritage Foundation intends a "Backgrounder" to be. David Ricci, author of *The Transformation of American Politics: The New Washington and The Rise of Think Tanks*, describes them as "essays, thoroughly researched and fully footnoted, [that] were usually written in six to eight weeks but could be produced if necessary within days."⁴³ A representative of the Heritage Foundation described a "Backgrounder" as a "general recommendation" publication.⁴⁴

The news media, in contrast, described a “Backgrounder” most often as a “report” (8) or “study” (5), a description that would lead one to conclude that they are more scientific and “objective” than either “essay” or “general recommendation.”⁴⁵ Seven of the 20 news media descriptions, “backgrounder”(1), “analysis” (2), “survey” (2), “document” (1), and “paper” (1), were generally synonymous with those provided by Ricci and the Heritage Foundation.

Documents and Spokespersons: Unquestioned authority

During 2001, 97% of the citations to the Heritage Foundation as a source on education presented the Heritage Foundation in a manner similar to or in a more generous manner than it presented itself.⁴⁶ Less than three percent voiced any criticism of the Heritage Foundation or its work.⁴⁷

No Excuses was the only Heritage Foundation source to receive a negative presentation in the news items. *No Excuses* was initially released on April 18, 2000. Since then, it has gone through several editions and is now the focal point of a national “No Excuses” campaign.⁴⁸ *No Excuses* or its author, Samuel Casey Carter, were cited in 18 news items in 12 news media outlets from January through November 2001.⁴⁹ Four of those citations included critical comments. A review of these critical articles is instructive.

On January 1st, *Phi Delta Kappan*, an education magazine, published its first of three lengthy criticisms of *No Excuses* during 2001. In this edition, author Gerald Bracey, a research psychologist with a Ph.D. from Stanford University, criticized the methodology, analysis and conclusions of *No Excuses* and the subsequent claims of

Heritage Foundation “education expert” Megan Farnsworth.⁵⁰ In a *New York Times* article dated January 3rd, Richard Rothstein presented several criticisms of the research and conclusions in *No Excuses*.⁵¹ While Rothstein also made positive comments, the overall thrust of his article was that *No Excuses* was inspired by “ideology, not evidence.”⁵² In the March edition of *Phi Delta Kappan*, Bracey presented additional examples for why he believed that *No Excuses* was poor research that presented inaccurate and misleading conclusions.⁵³ In this article, Bracey cited extensively from Rothstein’s January 3rd article in the *New York Times*. In November, *Phi Delta Kappan* published an article entitled, “Point of View—No Excuse for No Excuses.”⁵⁴ In this article, George Schmidt, editor of *Substance*, an independent newspaper devoted to public education in Chicago,⁵⁵ presented numerous examples of what he believed were errors in the *No Excuses* research in the Chicago area. George Schmidt concluded his article with these words

For more than 20 years, the Heritage Foundation has been promoting myths . . . Now, in *No Excuses*, Heritage rehashes discredited nonsense. The sad thing is that these claims and the shoddy numbers that underpin them are still widely publicized.⁵⁶

None of these criticisms—either of *No Excuses* specifically or the Heritage Foundation generally—found its way into any of the other 155 education news items that referenced the Heritage Foundation. No hint of the *New York Times* critique of *No Excuses* and by implication of the Heritage Foundation on January 3rd ever emerged in the subsequent six *New York Times* citations to the Heritage Foundation during 2001.⁵⁷ Interestingly, Rothstein’s article appeared the day after another *New York Times* article citing *No Excuses*. In that article, published on January 2nd, the *New York Times* gave a

supportive citation to *No Excuses* and a glowing report on a Harlem school featured therein. Criticism of the Heritage Foundation’s work on education, it appears, did not reach across a single newsroom.

Documents: News as Stenography

On several occasions, newspapers across the country broadcast a single Heritage Foundation statement to tens of thousands and even hundreds of thousands of readers. The three most extensive examples are shown in Figures 4 and 5 below.

The first example, set forth in Figure 4, began as a Heritage Foundation opinion piece entitled “Look Who’s Supporting School Choice Now.” Written by Jennifer Garrett, it was released by the Heritage Foundation on April 25, 2001.

Bylines and Quotes

Bylines

Repetition of Jennifer Garrett’s
“Look Who’s Supporting School Choice Now”
Heritage Foundation, April 25, 2001

“Hypocrisy on Vouchers”	4/26/01	Scripps-Howard News Service
“Hypocrisy on School Choice”	4/27/01	Deseret News (Salt Lake City)
“Hypocrisy Rife on School Vouchers”	4/29/01	Chattanooga Times/Free Press
“Hypocrisy on School Vouchers”	5/8/01	The Washington Times

Figure 4

This Garrett piece was distributed nationally by Scripps-Howard News Wire on April 26, 2001, as “Hypocrisy on Vouchers.” Over the next two weeks, Garrett’s opinion appeared virtually unchanged as “Hypocrisy on School Choice” in the *The Deseret News* (Salt Lake City, UT) on April 27th, as “Hypocrisy Rife on School Choice” in *The*

Chattanooga Times/Free Press on April 29th, and as “Hypocrisy on School Vouchers” in the *Washington Times* on May 8th. In addition, Garrett’s opinion piece in the *Washington Times* was later cited by name on May 27th in a *Washington Times* opinion column entitled “Children yes, Unions no.”

Statements: Magnifying Legitimacy Through Repetition

The legitimacy of Heritage Foundation statements was enhanced through the repetition of key phrases. The two examples set forth in Figure 5 below are comments made by Krista Kafer and Stuart Butler regarding the recently released NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) scores.

Quotes

Repetition of the Heritage Foundation’s Position
on the NAEP Report on Education

Heritage Foundation Position:
NAEP Report demonstrates lack of
results from Title I money

From Mike Kelly’s Syndicated Column

“And, as Krista Kafer of the Heritage Foundation has noted, \$80 billion of this sum was spent in the past decade, largely in the Clinton years.”

4/11/01 Times Union (Albany, NY)
4/11/01 The Washington Post
4/12/01 Dayton Daily News
4/15/01 South Bend Tribune
4/16/01 Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

Heritage Foundation Position:
NAEP Report demonstrates failure of
federal education programs

From Cal Thomas’ Syndicated Column

“The Heritage Foundation’s Dr. Stuart Butler says that serious studies of major federal education programs either don’t exist or suggest that the programs are unsuccessful.”

4/11/01 Washington Times
4/11/01 Milwaukee Journal Sentinel
4/11/01 Chattanooga Times/Free Press
4/12/01 South Bend Tribune
4/13/01 Augusta Chronicle

Figure 5

Both statements criticized the use of Title I money to support the education of poor students. Syndicated columnists Michael Kelly and Cal Thomas used these quotes to support their contentions that recently released NAEP scores demonstrated that Title I money had not produced results. During a one-week period, these Heritage Foundation statements were repeated 10 times. Readers of the *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel* and *South Bend Tribune* saw both of these comments.

Impact: The power of one statement, constantly repeated

Whether as a spokesperson or document, inclusion in the news media magnified the Heritage Foundation's impact on the education debate.⁵⁸ Figure 6 sets forth the average daily circulations for the newspapers that published the three Heritage Foundation statements discussed above.

<u>Name of Media Source</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
Augusta Chronicle	54,600
Chattanooga Times/Free Press	65,000
Dayton Daily News	135,000
Deseret News (Salt Lake City)	68,000
Milwaukee Journal Sentinel	278,000
South Bend Tribune	73,000
Times Union (Albany, NY)	99,500
Washington Post	762,000
Washington Times	103,000

Figure 6 ⁵⁹

Taken together, Jennifer Garrett, Krista Kafer and Stuart Butler had their opinions presented to 236,000; 1,347,500; and 573,600 news readers, respectively. During the height of the Congressional and White House debates on education spending and the

place of vouchers in US public education, these three Heritage Foundation staff members told 2,157,500 news readers, including members of Congress and the White House who read the *Washington Post* and *Washington Times*, that Title I is a failure and that Americans want vouchers. At the same time, these articles provided virtually no information for the reader to discern the quality of these statements or the expertise of these spokespersons.

Putting It All Together

During 2001, the Heritage Foundation was cited

1. regularly and often;
2. in print, television and radio news sources across the country;
3. through Krista Kafer, who was presented as an education expert without disclosing her lack of expertise; and
4. virtually without criticism.

This resulted in a news image that often enhanced the Heritage Foundation's presentation of itself as a think tank that produced "objective," scientific research.

One further example illustrates the character and extent of the Heritage Foundation's presence in the news media as an expert source on education during 2001. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), enacted in Congressional bills H.R. 1 and S. 1 and titled the "No Child Left Behind Act" dominated the political debate on education for much of 2001. In its coverage, the news media utilized the Heritage Foundation a key source for commentary and information on ESEA. The Heritage

Foundation was cited in 28 news items, of which 21 were general news items and seven were opinions or editorials.⁶⁰ The Heritage Foundation appeared most often in the *New York Times* (4) and the *Dallas Morning News* (4), followed by the *Washington Times* (2). Krista Kafer or her work were cited in 25 of the 28 news items. Each news item presented the Heritage Foundation as a knowledgeable source of “objective” research information and analysis. It is hard to imagine a more generous presentation.

Conclusion

The Heritage Foundation was created to promote conservative values and ideas. Emphasizing marketing over research, the foundation aggressively promotes publications and “experts” with little apparent expertise to policy makers and the press. This research suggests that the press, at least in the area of education, uncritically utilizes a good deal of the Heritage Foundation’s work. During 2001, the news media presented a Heritage Foundation statement on education more than once every three days. Moreover, virtually every news item presented the Heritage Foundation in a favorable light. Scientific words such as “study” and “analyst” appeared in almost every citation. Words such as “marketer” never did.⁶¹

If parents and policy makers who look to the media for news about schools and education need information for judging its quality, this research shows that they did not receive it in the press use of Heritage Foundation sources. If sound public policy decisions on education depend, in part, on a citizenry informed by news that provides a rigorous examination of the issues and a wide range of informed opinions, these findings suggest that the news media have fallen well short of the mark.

Endnotes

¹ Smith, J., 1991, p. xiii

² Smith, J., 1991

³ Spring, 2002, p. 51

⁴ Smith, J., 1991

⁵ National Science Foundation, 2000

⁶ Farkas, 1997

⁷ Cuban, 1998; Farkas, 1997

⁸ Cuban, 1998

⁹ Lawrence, 2000; McChesney, 1999; Davis & Owen, 1998; Fairclough, 1995; Herman & Chomsky, 1988

¹⁰ The destruction of the World Trade Center buildings on September 11, 2001, impacted the news media coverage of events during the last quarter of the year. It is not clear how this might have affected the news coverage of education issues, but it mostly likely diminished it to some degree.

¹¹ False positives were news entry references to the Heritage Foundation or to names of individuals that did not refer to both the Washington-based think tank and education.

¹² We believe that the entries examined in the report are the vast majority of the education-related items published in the United States during 2001 that referenced the Heritage Foundation. It is likely that some media pieces are not present because the Nexis database does not contain every media source. The Nexis database does provide access to over 30,000 information sources and 2.8 billion documents; however, it does not contain, for example, *The Arizona Republic* or *The Detroit News*. In addition, since the Supreme Court decision in *The New York Times Company v. Jonathan Tasini*, 533 U.S. 483 (2001), it has eliminated many of the freelance articles published in the sources that it does contain.

¹³ Bozell, 1992, *on-line*

¹⁴ Smith, 1991, p. 201, quoting Heritage Foundation president Edwin Feulner

¹⁵ The Heritage Foundation mission statement is available on its website at <http://www.heritage.org/whoweare/mission.html>

¹⁶ Smith, F., 1999, *on-line*

¹⁷ Smith, J., 1991; Ricci, 1993, p. 171; Ricci also states that the Heritage Foundation appears to spend an exceptionally high percentage of its budget on public relations, noting that the American Enterprise Institute apportions only 10% of its budget to public relations. (p. 171)

This research uses the budget figure of \$30 million because it is the latest figure from the Heritage Foundation (Heritage Foundation website at <http://www.heritage.org/staff/farnsworth.html>). Others put the foundation's budget at \$45 million (Education Watch, available on-line at <http://www.educationwatch.org>) and \$102 million (National Council of Women's Organizations, commenting in "Clearing the Air on Women and Smoking," *Washington Post*, A16, April 16, 2001).

¹⁸ According to a search of the Lexis/Nexis Database with the terms "Heritage Foundation and (educat! or school!)," the first article relating to education that cited the Heritage Foundation was "'New Right' Figure Sees McCarthyism in NEA's Conference on Conservatives," *Washington Post*, A2, February 24, 1979. It was the only article relating to education that referenced the Heritage Foundation during 1979.

¹⁹ See the section "The Heritage Foundation: Media Presence" set forth below

²⁰ Dolny, 2002

²¹ Heritage Foundation website at <http://www.heritage.org/library/keyissues/>

²² Heritage Foundation website at <http://www.heritage.org/library/keyissues/education/>

²³ According to its website, the Heritage Foundation released the following number of documents in its 29 "key issue" areas as set forth below. The 35 documents released in "education" are 5% of the total.

Heritage Foundation Studies by Key Issue for 2001

ABM/Missile Defense 33 Africa 3 The American Founding and History 15 Asia and the Pacific 36 Budget 28 Crime 12 Education 35 Energy and Environment 22 Europe 11 Family 15 Government Reform 16 Health Care 45 International Organization 31 Internet and Technology 2 Labor 10	Latin America 35 Legal issues 11 Middle East 33 National Security 70 Political Philosophy 28 Regulation 9 Religion 18 Russia and Eurasia 15 Smart Growth 3 Social Security 33 Taxes 62 Trade and Foreign Aid 47 Urban Issues 3 Welfare 3 TOTAL: 684
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²⁴ The 159 education-related entries retrieved from Nexis are 7.7% of the 2044 total entries found by Dolny (2002).

²⁵ The Heritage Foundation was cited in seven different news items in the education press. This is 4% of the total 159 entries retrieved from Nexis. The news items were in three education publications, *Phi Delta Kappan* (3), *Education Technology News* (2), and *Leadership* (2).

²⁶ Three of the seven education press items were critical. This is 43%. (See Endnotes 50, 53-56) On the other hand, only one of the 152 non-education press items were critical. This is less than 1%. (See Endnote 51)

²⁷ The only education-related citation of the Heritage Foundation in the *Los Angeles Times* during 2001 was "Bush: The First 100 Days; Bush Compassion Reined By Fiscal Conservative Side," A26, April 29, 2001.

²⁸ Heritage Foundation personnel published 19 opinion pieces, 15 in the general media and 4 with news wire services. They are the following:

General Media

"Backtalk: Response to a Criticism," *Phi Delta Kappan*, no. 5, vol. 82, p. 419, January 1, 2001

"Don't Throw Money at Schools," *Baltimore Sun*, 13A, March 6, 2001

"How Some Schools Beat The Odds and Succeed," *Washington Post*, B8, March 25, 2001

"Results as Simple as ABC," *Washington Times*, B3, April 1, 2001

"The More You Test, The Better Students Do," *South Bend Tribune*, B7, April 15, 2001
"High-Test Formula For Success," *Dayton Daily News*, 6A, April 17, 2001

"Hypocrisy Rife on School Vouchers," *Chattanooga Times/Free Press*, F1, April 29, 2001

"School Choice Benefits All," *Chicago Independent Bulletin*, vol. 29, no. 45, p. 12, May 31, 2001

"Hypocrisy on School Vouchers," *Washington Times*, A16, May 8, 2001

"Money and a Low Learning Curve," *Washington Times*, A14, June 18, 2001

"Education Reform's Final Odds," *Washington Times*, A18, June 19, 2001

"Zero Tolerance Adds Up to Zero Wisdom," *Washington Times*, A15, July 3, 2001

"Brother, Can You Spare A Programmer," *Washington Times*, B5, July 22, 2001

"Stifling Thought On Campus," *Washington Times*, B2, September 9, 2001

"A National Test Would Lift All Boats; National Standardized Student Testing," *World and I*, p. 58, November 1, 2001

News Wire Services

"Hypocrisy on Vouchers," *Scripps Howard News Service*, April 26, 2001

"Leaving No Child Behind," *Scripps Howard News Service*, June 19, 2001

"Heritage Foundation's top education Web Sites," *Gannett News Service*,

December 4, 2001

"Heritage Foundation's top education Web Sites," *Gannett News Service*,
December 5, 2001

Heritage Foundation personnel were television or radio guest on the following 17 occasions:

Television

"News 3 Nightside," January 5, 2001

"News at Sunrise," January 7, 2001

"KOVN News Tonight," January 9, 2001

"Fox News Live," January 10, 2001

"CNN Today," January 23, 2001

"Fox News Live," 12:00 pm, January 27, 2001

"Fox News Live," 1:00 pm, January 27, 2001

"Channel 9 News Weekend Report," February 17, 2001

"The Patrick Report," March 8, 2001

"Book TV," CSPAN-2, March 10, 2001

"Softball," April 18, 2001

"Book TV," CSPAN-2, May 5, 2001

"Book TV," CSPAN-2, June 9, 2001

"Barnicle," June 13, 2001

"CNN Talkback Live," June 14, 2001

"Fox News Live," June 14, 2001

"9 Eyewitness News at 9," July 16, 2001

"WB2Day," October 26, 2001

Radio

"Public Interest," National Public Radio, February 20, 2001

"The Connection," May 1, 2001

"All Things Considered," National Public Radio, July 11, 2001

"The Diane Rehm Show," July 16, 2001

²⁹ As shown in Figure 1, 71 of the 159 news entries are opinions pieces or editorials.

³⁰ The following news items on education headlined the Heritage Foundation:

"Foundation gives H.R.1 High Marks; Chairman Boehner Urges Colleagues to Read Heritage Foundation Paper on Education," *U.S. News Wire*, April 26, 2001

"Tech Groups Laud GOP Bill; Heritage Lambastes It," *National Journal Technology News*, PM Edition, April 26, 2001

"Heritage Foundation Puts School Report Cards in One Place Online," *Education Technology News*, no. 17, vol. 18, August 15, 2001

"'School Choice 2001' Released," *The Saturday Oklahoman*, October 20, 2001

"Heritage Foundation's top education Web sites," *Gannett News Service*,
December 4, 2001

“Heritage Foundation’s top education Web sites,” *Gannett News Service*, December 5, 2001

³¹ The Heritage Foundation’s “The Report Card Report: America's Best Web Sites for School Profiles” is located on-line at <http://www.heritage.org/reportcards/welcome.html>

The two *Education Technology News* articles are “Heritage Foundation Puts School Report Cards in One Place Online,” No. 17, Vol. 18, August 15, 2001 and “Schools Can Improve, Parents Get Informed When School Data Is Accessible Online,” No. 23, Vol. 18, November 7, 2001.

³² “Appointments,” *Washington Post*, E7, April 2, 2001

³³ The following news entries cited Krista Kafer:

“People for March 24, 2001”, *The National Journal*, March 24, 2001

“Advertising, Marketing and Public Relations”, *Washington Times*, March 26, 2001

“Appointments”, *Washington Post*, April 2, 2001

“Illiterate kids imperil our nation's future”, *The Times Union* (Albany, NY), April 11, 2001

“‘F’ for School Reform”, *Washington Post*, April 11, 2001

“Nation’s Educational Divide is of Crisis Proportions,” *Dayton Daily News*, April 12, 2001

“Gap separating readers, non-readers still remains,” *South Bend Tribune*, April 15, 2001

“Test results illustrate racial divide that can't be ignored,” *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, April 16, 2001

“Chairman Boehner Urges Colleagues to Read Heritage Foundation Paper on Education Plan,” *US Newswire*, April 26, 2001

“EDUCATION: Tech Groups Laud GOP Bill,” *National Journal Technology Daily*, April 26, 2001

“House conservatives chafe at compromise on education bill,” *The Hill*, May 2, 2001

“On Way to Passage, Bush's Education Plan Gets a Makeover,” *New York Times*, May 4, 2001

“Bush disappoints school voucher advocates; President's pullback on education bill expected by many,” *Plain Dealer*, May 4, 2001

“Vouchers nowhere to be found in sweeping education reform bills,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 7, 2001

“Bush losing vouchers, gaining an education deal,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 7, 2001

“House Votes for New Testing To Hold Schools Accountable,” *New York Times*, May 24, 2001

“Kennedy, A Wily Liberal Icon, Thrives By Outflanking GOP Foes,” *Cox News Service*, Television, June 8, 2001

“New Senate to feel clout of Kennedy,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, June 10, 2001

“Landrieu proposal retargets Title I; School allocations sometimes off mark,” *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), June 11, 2001

“Money and a low learning curve,” *Washington Times*, June 18, 2001

"Education reform's final odds," *Washington Times*, June 19, 2001
 "Federal education overhaul close, Bush says; Bill offers options for public school students," *The Times-Picayune* (New Orleans), July 5, 2001
 "Bush Seems to Ease His Stance On the Accountability of Schools," *New York Times*, July 10, 2001
 "House and Senate negotiate on education bill," *National Public Radio*, All Things Considered, Radio, July 11, 2001
 "Spending money alone will not improve education," *The Lancaster New Era*, July 14, 2001
 "Texan quietly shapes education bill; Kress to craft compromise for Bush," *The Houston Chronicle*, July 15, 2001
 "The children Congress left behind," *Washington Times*, July 16, 2001
 "Congress Keen to Protect Favorite School Programs," *Pittsburgh-Post Gazette*, July 22, 2001
 "Departments," *Forbes*, July 23, 2001
 "Powerful education lobbies thwart Bush plans," *Scripps Howard News Service*, July 23, 2001
 "With School Testing, Unresolved Questions; Hill, White House Differ Over Standards," *Washington Post*, July 24, 2001
 "Henpecked on the Hill," *The Women's Quarterly*, July 31, 2001
 "COMMENTARY," *Newhouse News Service*, August 2, 2001
 "Bush Urges Realistic Education Standards," *Washington Post*, August 2, 2001
 "'F' for education," *Washington Times*, August 7, 2001
 "Event: Discussion—Institute for Justice (IJ)," *FNS Daybook*, October 12, 2001
 "MSPAP debate is a test for Md.; Conflict: While hailed as a national model, the state's performance exam is the focus of a growing education battle in the state," *The Baltimore Sun*, October 14, 2001
 "Inmate Education Is Found To Lower Risk of New Arrest," *New York Times*, November 16, 2001
 "Prison Education Saves Tax Dollars," *The Ledger*, November 27, 2001
 "Pass It; Conference committee should OK school bill," *Dallas Morning News*, December 6, 2001
 "Pass it: Conference committee should OK school bill," *Dallas Morning News*, December 8, 2001
 "Revamp teacher certification," *United Press International*, December 11, 2001
 "Congress Reaches Compromise on Education Bill," *New York Times*, December 12, 2001
 "Reading, Writing & Reform," *New York Post*, December 16, 2001
 "A Bold New Lesson Plan for U.S. Schools," *Business Week*, December 24, 2001

After Krista Kafer, the next four most cited Heritage Foundation sources on education during 2001 were these:

Samuel Casey Carter or *No Excuses* (18)

"Backtalk; response to a criticism" *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 82; Pg. 419,

January 1, 2001

"A Model for Learning In a Harlem School; Tough Standards and High Scores" *The New York Times*, Section B; Page 1, January 2, 2001

"Poverty and Achievement, And Great Misconceptions" *The New York Times*, Section B; Page 8, January 3, 2001

"Watson Out to Copy Bronx Winner; Middle School Held High," *The Commercial Appeal* (Memphis), B1, January 4, 2001

"From 'F' to Ace in 3 Years, Failing Pueblo School Has Become Governor's Model of Success," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 36A, January 14, 2001

"At the Beep, Pay Attention; influence of social factors on academic achievement and learning process" *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 82; Pg. 555, March 1, 2001

"The Patrick Report," Television, KTBU-TV, March 8, 2001

"Readers' Views," *The Capital* (Annapolis), A8, April 17, 2001

"The schools some liberals don't want America to see: minority, poor, successful" *Baltimore Sun*, Pg. 3B, May 6, 2001

"Will Standards-Based Reforms Improve the Education of Students of Color?" *National Tax Journal*, Vol. 54; Pg. 401, June 1, 2001

"Only Way to Begin is to Jump In; New Chief Tackles Pittsburgh Schools," *San Francisco Chronicle*, A11, July 10, 2001

"Program Tackles Literacy Problems Districtwide," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, A1, August 12, 2001

"Not Making the Grade," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, A7, August 12, 2001

"High-performing, high-poverty schools," *Leadership*, Vol. 31; Pg. 8, September 1, 2001

"Hyperbole to Hyperbowl to Tidy Bowl; discussion of 'underperforming' schools, plus list of Web sites on the topic," *Leadership*, p. 8, September 1, 2001

"Why No One Wins and America Loses" *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 83; Pg. 147, October 1, 2001

"Former Editor Continues Pursuit of Excellence—in Philanthropy," *Chronicle of Philanthropy*, p. 30, October 18, 2001

"Reading Taught to the Tune of The 'Scientific' Hickory Stick; ideology and reading research," *Phi Delta Kappan*, Vol. 83; Pg. 204, November 1, 2001

Megan Farnsworth (14)

"Backtalk: Response to a Criticism," *Phi Delta Kappan*, vol. 5, no. 82, p. 419, January 1, 2001

"Fox News Live," Television, Cable, January 10, 2001

"From 'F' to Ace: In 3 Years, Failing Pueblo School Has Become Governor's Model of Success," *Denver Rocky Mountain News*, 36A, January 14, 2001

"CNN Today: Will Voucher Programs Bolster Public School Performance?," Television, January 23, 2001

"Fox News Live," Television, Cable, 12:00 pm, January 27, 2001

"Fox News Live," Television, Cable, 1:00 pm, January 27, 2001

"Bush Plan Fuels Debate: Hypocrisy an Issues in Voucher Dispute," *The Daily News of Los Angeles*, News, February 4, 2001

"How Some Schools Beat the Odds and Succeed," *Washington Post*, B8,

March 25, 2001

“‘The More You Test, The Better You Do,’ Says Charter Chief,” *South Bend Tribune*, B7, April 15, 2001

“High Test Formula for Success,” *Dayton Daily News*, April 17, 2001

“Softball,” Television, MSNBC Cable Programming, April 18, 2001

“Barnicle,” Television, MSNBC Cable Programming, June 13, 2001

“CNN TalkBack Live,” Television, Cable, June 14, 2001

“Work Based Charter Schools an Answer?” *United Press International*, June 15, 2001

Kirk Johnson (11)

“News 3 Nightside,” Television, KVBC-TV, January 5, 2001

“News at Sunrise,” Television, KVBC-TV, January 7, 2001

“KOVr 13 News Tonight,” Television, KOVR-TV, January 9, 2001

“Channel 9 News Weekend Report,” Television, WCPO-TV, February 17, 2001

“Public Interest,” Radio, WAMU-FM, February 20, 2001

“Money and a Low Learning Curve,” *Washington Times*, A14, June 18, 2001

“Federal education overhaul close, Bush says; Bill offers options for public school students,” *Times-Picayune*, National, p. 1, July 5, 2001

“Spending money alone will not improve education,” *Lancaster New Era*, A-10, July 14, 2001

“Brother, Can You Spare a Programmer,” *Washington Times*, B5, July 22, 2001

“Other Comments,” *Forbes*, p. 44, July 23, 2001

“A National Test Would Lift All Boats; national standardized student testing,” *World and I*, vol. 11, no. 16, p. 58, November 1, 2001

Jennifer Garrett (8)

“Don’t Throw Money at Schools,” *The Baltimore Sun*, 13A, March 6, 2001

“Hypocrisy on Vouchers,” *Scripps-Howard News Service*, April 26, 2001

“Hypocrisy on School Choice,” *The Deseret News*, A17, April 27, 2001

“Hypocrisy Ripe on School Vouchers,” *Chattanooga Times/Free Press*, F1, April 29, 2001

“Hypocrisy on School Vouchers,” *Washington Times*, May 8, 2001

“Children yes, Unions no,” *Washington Times*, B2, Letter to the Editor, May 27, 2001

“Choice Benefits All,” *Chicago Independent Bulletin*, vol. 29, no. 45, p.12, May 31, 2001

“School Choice 2001 Released,” *The Saturday Oklahoman*, October 20, 2001

³⁴ Heritage Foundation website at <http://www.heritage.org/library/keyissues/education/> and <http://www.heritage.org/staff/kafer.html>

³⁵ Krista Kafer was described as

“of/from the Heritage Foundation” in 19 news entries (see example, “Illiterate Kids Imperil Our Nation’s Future,” *The Times Union* (Albany, NY), A13, April 11, 2001);

“education analyst” in 14 news entries (see example, “A Bold New Lesson for U.S. Schools,” *Business Week*, p. 36, December 24, 2001);
“policy analyst” in 9 news entries (see example, “House Votes for New Testing to Hold Schools Accountable,” *New York Times*, A1, May 24, 2001); and
“scholar” in 1 news entry (see “Spending Money Alone Will Not Improve Education,” *The Lancaster New Era*, A10, July 14, 2001).

³⁶ The only descriptions of her qualifications came in three appointment announcements, “People for March 24, 2001,” *National Journal*, vol. 905, no. 33, p. 12, March 24, 2001; “Movers & Shakers,” *Washington Times*, D14, March 26, 2001; and “Appointments,” *Washington Post*, E7, April 2, 2001.

³⁷ “Suddenly, Susan is the Chief of Staff for Frosh Lawmaker,” *Roll Call*, Hill Climbers, April 28, 1997

³⁸ “Appointments,” *Washington Post*, E7, April 2, 2001

³⁹ These Heritage Foundation biographies are located at the following locations:

Stuart Butler

<http://www.heritage.org/staff/butler.htm>

Robert Moffitt

<http://www.heritage.org/staff/moffit.htm>

Michael Franc

<http://www.heritage.org/staff/franc.html>

Kirk Johnson

http://www.heritage.org/staff/kirk_johnson.html

⁴⁰ The Heritage Foundation biography for Thomas Hinton is located at <http://www.heritage.org/staff/hinton.html>

⁴¹ The Heritage Foundation biography for Megan Farnsworth is located at <http://www.heritage.org/staff/farnsworth.html>

⁴² The following Heritage Foundation releases and publications related to education were cited in the Nexis news entries:

Carter, Samuel Casey (2000). No Excuses: Lessons from 21 High-Performing, High Poverty Schools. Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation

Dawson, T. & Zawadski, M. The Report Card Report: America’s Best Web Sites for School Profiles. Available on-line at <http://www.heritage.org/reportcards/welcome.html>

McGroarty, Dan (2001). Trinnietta Gets a Chance: Six Families and Their School Choice Experience. Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation

Moffitt, R, Garrett, J. & Smith, J (2001). School Choice 2001: What's Happening in the States. Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation

How Members of Congress Practice School Choice by [Nina Shokrail Rees](#) and Jennifer Garrett (Backgrounder #1377, June 14, 2000)

No. 00-08. Do Computers in the Classroom Boost Academic Achievement? by [Kirk A. Johnson, Ph.D.](#) (June 14, 2000) [note: the content of the study was referenced, but not by name]

How U.N. Conventions on Women's and Children's Rights Undermine Family, Religion, and Sovereignty by [Patrick F. Fagan](#) (Backgrounder #1407, February 5, 2001) [note: the content of the study was referenced, but not by name]

Encouraging Marriage and Discouraging Divorce by [Patrick F. Fagan](#) (Backgrounder #1421, March 26, 2001) [note: the content of the study was referenced, but not by name]

The New Definition of Standards in American Education by Virginia Miller (Backgrounder #1427, April 4, 2001)

B+ for H.R. 1's Education Reforms by [Krista Kafer](#) (Backgrounder #1434, April 23, 2001)

A Failing Grade for S. 1, The Senate Education Committee Bill by [Krista Kafer](#) (Backgrounder #1433, April 23, 2001)

Why Education Reform Without "Straight A's" Is Not Real Reform by [Krista Kafer](#) (Backgrounder #1436, May 8, 2001)

Why More Money Will Not Solve America's Education Crisis by [Kirk A. Johnson, Ph.D.](#) and [Krista Kafer](#) (Backgrounder #1448, June 11, 2001)

Still Leaving Children Behind: The House and Senate Education Bills by [Krista Kafer](#) (Backgrounder #1454, July 3, 2001)

New Tax Law Boosts School Construction with Public-Private Partnerships by [Ronald D. Utt, Ph.D.](#) (Backgrounder #1463, August 8, 2001)

⁴³ Ricci, 1993, p. 161

⁴⁴ Telephone and email communications with Derek Hunter of the Heritage Foundation's publications department, April 26, 2001.

⁴⁵ These "Backgrounders" were described in the news entries as a "report" 6 times (see example, "No Lemons; It's All Lemonade in Bush's White House," *Washington Post*, B1, July 22, 2001);

a “study” 5 times (see example, “Good Shot at K-12 Education Reform,” *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*, B5, July 16, 2001),
 an “analysis” 2 times (see “Bush Seems to Ease His Stance on the Accountability of Schools,” *New York Times*, A1, July 10, 2001);
 a “survey” 2 times (see example, “Bush Plan Fuels Debate; Hypocrisy an Issue in Voucher Dispute,” *Daily News of Los Angeles*, NEWS, February 4, 2001);
 a “paper” 1 time (see “Foundation Gives H.R.1 High Marks; Chairman Boehner Urges Colleagues to Read Heritage Foundation Paper on Education Plan,” *U.S. Newswire*, April 26, 2001);
 a “document” 1 time (see “U.N. Would Rule World’s Children,” *Insight on the News*, p. 22, September 17, 2001); and
 a “Backgrounder” 1 time (see “New Partners for New Schools,” *Washington Times*, B2, September 9, 2001).

⁴⁶ Of the 159 news entries, only four contained statements critical of the Heritage Foundation. This is 2.5% of the total.

These four news entries were

“Backtalk: Response to a Criticism,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, no. 5, vol. 82, p. 419, January 1, 2001

“Poverty and Achievement, and Great Misconceptions,” *New York Times*, B8, January 3, 2001

“Research-At the Beep, Pay Attention; influence of social factors on academic achievement and learning process,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, no. 7, vol. 82, p. 555, March 1, 2001

“Point of View – No Excuses for *No Excuses*,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, No. 3, Vol. 83, p. 194, November 1, 2001

⁴⁷ *ibid*

⁴⁸ The Heritage Foundation operates a website for the No Excuses campaign at <http://www.noexcuses.org/>

⁴⁹ See Endnote # 33

⁵⁰ “Backtalk: Response to a Criticism,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, no. 5, vol. 82, p. 419, January 1, 2001

⁵¹ “Poverty and Achievement, and Great Misconceptions,” *New York Times*, B8, January 3, 2001

⁵² *ibid*

⁵³ “Research-At the Beep, Pay Attention; influence of social factors on academic achievement and learning process,” *Phi Delta Kappan*, no. 7, vol. 82, p. 555, March 1, 2001

⁵⁴ “Point of View – No Excuses for *No Excuses*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, No. 3, Vol. 83, p. 194, November 1, 2001

⁵⁵ Information on *Substance* can be found at their website at <http://www.substancenews.com/>

⁵⁶ “Point of View – No Excuses for *No Excuses*, *Phi Delta Kappan*, No. 3, Vol. 83, p. 194, November 1, 2001

⁵⁷ The following *New York Times* articles cited the Heritage Foundation on education during 2001:

“A New Model For Learning in a Harlem School; Tough Standards and High Scores,” *New York Times*, B1, January 2, 2001

“Poverty and Achievement, and Great Misconceptions,” *New York Times*, B8, January 3, 2001

“Cheney Assembles Formidable Team,” *New York Times*, A1, February 3, 2001

“On Way to Passage, Bush’s Education Plan Gets a Makeover,” *New York Times*, A16, May 4, 2001

“House Votes for New Testing to Hold Schools Accountable,” *New York Times*, A1, May 24, 2001

“Bush Seems to Ease His Stance on the Accountability of Schools,” *New York Times*, A1, July 10, 2001

“Inmate Education Is Found to Lower Risk of New Arrest,” *New York Times*, A22, November 16, 2001

“Congress Reaches Compromise on Education Bill,” *New York Times*, A1, December 12, 2001

Six of the eight citations came after Richard Rothstein’s article on January 3, 2001.

⁵⁸ Smith, J., 1991; Fairclough, 1995; Herman & Chomsky, 1988

⁵⁹ The newspaper circulations for these newspapers were gathered from the following sources:

Augusta Chronicle

SRDS Circulation 2002: The Complete Source for Newspaper Circulation Information, Des Plaines, IL: Standard Rate and Data Service

Chattanooga Times/Free Press

2001 Working Press of the Nation, vol. 1, Newspaper Directory, p. 2-212

Dayton Daily News

<http://uspolitics.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.infoplease.com%2Fipea%2FA0004420.html>

Deseret News (Utah)

2001 Working Press of the Nation, vol. 1, Newspaper Directory, p. 2-231

Milwaukee Journal Sentinel

<http://www.geocities.com/newspaperstats/>

South Bend Tribune

<http://www.geocities.com/newspaperstats/>

Times Union (Albany, NY)

2001 Working Press of the Nation, vol. 1, Newspaper Directory, p. 2-147

Washington Post

http://www.naa.org/info/facts01/18_top20circ/index.html

Washington Times

<http://www.geocities.com/newspaperstats/>

⁶⁰ The following news entries on the ESEA 2001 cited the Heritage Foundation:

“Bush to Set Scene for Congressional Fight Over Vouchers,” *Copley News Service*, January 22, 2001

“Bush to Fight for Education Vouchers, Aides Say; Full Schools Plan to Be Aired,” *San Diego Union-Tribune*, A7, January 23, 2001

“Compromise Strategy Gives Bush Winning Air; Tactic on Education: Aim High, Then Settle,” *Baltimore Sun*, 1A, April 24, 2001

“Foundation Gives H.R. 1 High Marks; Chairman Boehner Urges Colleagues to Read Heritage Foundation Paper on Education Plan,” *U.S. Newswire*, April 26, 2001

“Tech Groups Laud GOP Bill, Heritage Lambastes It,” *National Journal Technology Daily*, PM Edition, April 26, 2001

“House Gearing Up for Education Controversy of Its Own,” *National Journal Technology Daily*, PM Edition, April 27, 2001

“House Gearing Up for Education Controversy of Its Own,” *National Journal Congress Daily*, April 27, 2001

“House Conservatives Chafe at Compromise on Education Bill,” *The Hill*, May 2, 2001

“On Way to Passage, Bush’s Education Plan Gets a Makeover,” *New York Times*, A16, May 4, 2001

“Vouchers Nowhere to Be Found in Sweeping Education Reform Bills,” *Dallas Morning News*, May 7, 2001

“Bush Losing Vouchers, Gaining on Education Deal,” *Dallas Morning News*, 3rd Edition,

5A, May 7, 2001

“House Votes for New Testing to Hold Schools Accountable,” *New York Times*, A1, May 24, 2001

“Kennedy, A Wily Liberal Icon, Thrives By Outflanking GOP Foes,” *Cox News Service*, June 8, 2001

“New Senate to Feel Clout of Kennedy,” *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, 10A, June 10, 2001

“Education Reform’s Final Odds,” *Washington Times*, A18, June 19, 2001

“Federal Education Overhaul Close, Bush says; Bill Offers Options for Public School Students,” *Times-Picayune*, p. 1, July 5, 2001

“Bush Seems to Ease His Stance on the Accountability of Schools,” *New York Times*, A1, July 10, 2001

“House and Senate Negotiate on Education Bill,” *National Public Radio*, All Things Considered, July 11, 2001

“Texan Quietly Shapes Education Bill; Kress to Craft Compromise for Bush,” *Houston Chronicle*, A14, July 15, 2001

“Commentary,” *Newhouse News Service*, August 2, 2001

“Bush Urges Realistic Education Standards,” *Washington Post*, A2, August 2, 2001

“F’ for Education,” *Washington Times*, A14, August 7, 2001

“Pass It: Conference Committee Should OK School Bill,” *Dallas Morning News*, 30A, December 6, 2001

“Pass It: Conference Committee Should OK School Bill,” *Dallas Morning News*, Commentary, December 8, 2001

“Congress Reaches Compromise on Education Bill,” *New York Times*, A1, December 12, 2001

“Reading, Writing and Reform,” *New York Post*, p. 30, December 16, 2001

“A Bold New Lesson for U.S. Schools,” *Business Week*, p. 36, December 24, 2001

⁶¹ “Marketer” comes from the Heritage Foundation’s descriptions of itself. For example, James Smith quotes Edwin Feulner, the president of the Heritage Foundation, saying, “We specialize in the area of quick-response public policy research and in marketing the academic works for public policy consumption.” (Smith, J., 1991, p. 201) Smith also quotes Feulner characterizing the Heritage Foundation as a “secondhand dealer of ideas.” (Smith, J. 1991, p. 201)

Appendix A

The Nexis database at www.nexis.com was searched using a Power Search of the “News-All Files/News Group File-All” database file. This file contains “English language, full-text news sources.”

The following search terms were used to located sources that cited education-related statements by the Heritage Foundation published in the news media.

Search 1

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((CAPS(Heritage Foundation) w/20 report! or study or studi! or book or
opinion! or publicat!)
or
(CAPS(Heritage Foundation) w/20
(CAPS(A Failing Grade) or
(CAPS(Guide) w/3 CAPS(NAEP)) or
CAPS(A New U.S. Policy) or
(CAPS(Reopening)w/2 CAPS(Window)) or
CAPS(Costly Step Toward Reform) or
(CAPS(Simple) w/2 CAPS(ABC)) or
CAPS(H.R. 1's Education Reforms) or
CAPS(Competition Leaves No Child Behind) or
(CAPS(Dodging) w/2 CAPS(Issues)) or
CAPS(Education Statistics) or
CAPS(Education Lessons Learned) or
CAPS(Gender Equity Program) or
(CAPS(Good Policy) w/2 CAPS(Good Politics)) or
CAPS(Great Job You're Fired) or
CAPS(President's Education Reforms Behind) or
(CAPS(Cuba) w/3 CAPS(Regime)) or
CAPS(Rights Undermine Family Religion) or
CAPS(Every American Child) or
CAPS(It's Washington's Birthday) or
CAPS(It's George W's Birthday) or
CAPS(Look Who's Supporting School Choice Now) or
CAPS(New Tax Law Boosts School Construction)or
CAPS(Public-Private Partnerships) or
CAPS(No Excuses) or
CAPS(21 High-Performing High Poverty Schools) or
CAPS(One Last Chance) or
(CAPS(Priorities)w/3 CAPS(President)) or
(CAPS(Progress) w/2 CAPS(School Choice)) or
(CAPS(Envelope) w/2 CAPS(Religious Pluralism)) or
CAPS(School Choice 2001) or
(CAPS(What's Happening) w/3 CAPS(States)) or
CAPS(A High-Test Formula) or
CAPS(Stifling Thought) or
CAPS(Still Leaving Children Behind) or
CAPS(Target Education Dollars) or
(CAPS(New Definition) w/2 CAPS(Standards)) or
CAPS(The Other Education Crisis) or
CAPS(The Report Card Report) or
(CAP(America's Best Web Sites) w/2 CAPS(School Profiles)) or
CAPS(Tolerance for Terrorists) or
CAPS(Trinnietta Gets) or
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CAPS(Six Families) or
 CAPS(Wasting Education Dollars) or
 CAPS(Women's Educational Equity Act) or
 (CAPS(Why Congress Should Foster Research) w/2 CAPS(School Choice)) or
 CAPS(Why Education Reform Without Straight A's) or
 CAPS(Straight A's) or
 CAPS(Solve America's Education Crisis) or
 (CAPS(Zero Tolerance) w/2 CAPS(Try Zero Wisdom)))
 or
 ((Bob pre/2 Smith)or
 (Dan pre/2 McGroarty) or
 (Daniel pre/2 Fisk) or
 (Edwin pre/2 Feulner) or
 (Janice pre/2 Smith) or
 (Jennifer pre/2 Garrett) or
 (Joseph pre/2 Loconte) or
 (Kim pre/2 Holmes) or
 (Kirk pre/2 Johnson) or
 (Krista pre/2 Kafer) or
 (Mathew pre/2 Spalding) or
 (Megan pre/2 Farnsworth) or
 (Mike pre/2 Franc) or
 (Mira pre/2 Zawadzki) or
 (Nina pre/2 Shokraii Rees) or
 (Patrick pre/2 Fagan) or
 (Robert pre/2 Moffit) or
 ((Ronald or Ron) pre/2 Utt) or
 (Samuel pre/2 Carter) or
 (Scott pre/2 Jeffrey) or
 (Stephen pre/2 Johnson) or
 (Stuart pre/2 Butler) or
 (Thomas pre/2 Dawson) or
 (Tom pre/2 Feeney) or
 (Tom pre/2 Hinton) or
 (Virginia pre/2 Miller)) w/25 (Heritage Foundation))
 or (BYLINE
 ((Bob pre/2 Smith)or
 (Dan pre/2 McGroarty) or
 (Daniel pre/2 Fisk) or
 (Edwin pre/2 Feulner) or
 (Janice pre/2 Smith) or
 (Jennifer pre/2 Garrett) or
 (Joseph pre/2 Loconte) or
 (Kim pre/2 Holmes) or
 (Kirk pre/2 Johnson) or
 (Krista pre/2 Kafer) or
 (Mathew pre/2 Spalding) or
 (Megan pre/2 Farnsworth) or
 (Mike pre/2 Franc) or
 (Mira pre/2 Zawadzki) or
 (Nina pre/2 Shokraii Rees) or
 (Patrick pre/2 Fagan) or
 (Robert pre/2 Moffit) or
 ((Ronald or Ron) pre/2 Utt) or
 (Samuel pre/2 Carter) or
 (Scott pre/2 Jeffrey) or
 (Stephen pre/2 Johnson) or

(Stuart pre/2 Butler) or
(Thomas pre/2 Dawson) or
(Tom pre/2 Feeney) or
(Tom pre/2 Hinton) or
(Virginia pre/2 Miller)))

w/250

(educat! or school!))

and not (PUBLICATION(Heritage Foundation Reports))

Search 2

((BYLINE
((Bob pre/2 Smith)or
(Dan pre/2 McGroarty) or
(Daniel pre/2 Fisk) or
(Edwin pre/2 Feulner) or
(Janice pre/2 Smith) or
(Jennifer pre/2 Garrett) or
(Joseph pre/2 Loconte) or
(Kim pre/2 Holmes) or
(Kirk pre/2 Johnson) or
(Krista pre/2 Kafer) or
(Mathew pre/2 Spalding) or
(Megan pre/2 Farnsworth) or
(Mike pre/2 Franc) or
(Mira pre/2 Zawadzki) or
(Nina pre/2 Shokraii Rees) or
(Patrick pre/2 Fagan) or
(Robert pre/2 Moffit) or
((Ronald or Ron) pre/2 Utt) or
(Samuel pre/2 Carter) or
(Scott pre/2 Jeffrey) or
(Stephen pre/2 Johnson) or
(Stuart pre/2 Butler) or
(Thomas pre/2 Dawson) or
(Tom pre/2 Feeney) or
(Tom pre/2 Hinton) or
(Virginia pre/2 Miller)))

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(educat! or school!))

Search 3

BYLINE

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(Daniel pre/2 Fisk) or
(Edwin pre/2 Feulner) or
(Janice pre/2 Smith) or
(Jennifer pre/2 Garrett) or
(Joseph pre/2 Loconte) or
(Kim pre/2 Holmes) or
(Kirk pre/2 Johnson) or
(Krista pre/2 Kafer) or
(Mathew pre/2 Spalding) or

(Megan pre/2 Farnsworth) or
(Mike pre/2 Franc) or
(Mira pre/2 Zawadzki) or
(Nina pre/2 Shokraii Rees) or
(Patrick pre/2 Fagan) or
(Robert pre/2 Moffit) or
((Ronald or Ron) pre/2 Utt) or
(Samuel pre/2 Carter) or
(Scott pre/2 Jeffrey) or
(Stephen pre/2 Johnson) or
(Stuart pre/2 Butler) or
(Thomas pre/2 Dawson) or
(Tom pre/2 Feeney) or
(Tom pre/2 Hinton) or
(Virginia pre/2 Miller))

then searched within results using
FOCUS ((educat! or school!) and not (PUBLICATION (Heritage Foundation Reports))

Appendix B

The following 159 news entries that concerned education and included references to the Heritage Foundation during 2001 were retrieved from the Nexis database.

January 2001

"Backtalk; response to a criticism," *Phi Delta Kappan*, No. 5, Vol. 82; Pg. 419, January 1, 2001

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Appendix C

The 159 news entries retrieved from the Nexis database were coded using the following codes.

By Types of News Media

1. General News Newspapers
2. Education Publications
3. Business Publications
4. Policy Publications
5. Television Programs
6. Radio Programs
7. News Wire Services

By Types of Media Sources

1. General News Newspapers
 - a. Arkansas Democrat-Gazette
 - b. Atlanta Journal and Constitution
 - c. Augusta Chronicle (Augusta, GA)
 - d. Baltimore Sun
 - e. Boston Globe
 - f. Capital (Annapolis, MD)
 - g. Chattanooga Times/Chattanooga Free Press
 - h. Chicago Independent Bulletin
 - i. Commercial Appeal (Memphis, TN)
 - j. Daily News of Los Angeles
 - k. Dallas Morning News
 - l. Dayton Daily News (Dayton, OH)
 - m. Denver Rocky Mountain News
 - n. Deseret News (Salt Lake City, UT)
 - o. El Nuevo Herald (Spanish Language)
 - p. Florida Times Union (Jacksonville, FL)
 - q. Houston Chronicle
 - r. Insight on the News (published by The Washington Times)
 - s. Ledger (Lakeland, FL)
 - t. Los Angeles Times
 - u. Milwaukee Journal Sentinel
 - v. Modesto Bee (Modesto, CA)
 - w. Morning Call (Allentown, PA)
 - x. New York Post
 - y. New York Times
 - z. Pittsburgh Post-Gazette
 - aa. Plain Dealer (Cleveland, OH)
 - bb. Roanoke Times and World News (Roanoke, VA)

- cc. San Diego Union-Tribune
- dd. Saturday Oklahoman
- ee. South Bend Tribune
- ff. Sunday Gazette-Mail (Charleston, NC)
- gg. Times Picayune (New Orleans, LA)
- hh. Times Union (Albany, NY)
- ii. Topeka Capital Journal
- jj. Union Leader (Manchester, NH)
- kk. Washington Post
- ll. Washington Times
- mm. World and I (published by The Washington Times)

- 2. Education Publications
 - a. Leadership (official magazine of ACSA)
 - b. Phi Delta Kappan
 - c. Education Technology News
- 3. Business Publications
 - a. Bond Buyer, The
 - b. Business Week
 - c. Chronicle of Philanthropy, The
 - d. Forbes
 - e. Government Executive
 - f. National Tax Journal, The
- 4. Politics and Policy Publications
 - a. Federal News Service (FNS) Daybook
 - b. First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life
 - c. Hill, The (Washington, DC)
 - d. National Journal
 - e. National Journal's Congress Daily
 - f. National Journal's Technology Daily
 - g. Public Interest, The
 - h. Washington Internet Daily
 - i. Women's Quarterly, The
- 5. Television Programs
 - a. Television News
 - i. 9 Eyewitness News at 9:00, WUSA-TV
 - ii. Channel 9 News Weekend Report, WCPO-TV
 - iii. Fox News Live (Cable)
 - iv. KOVR 13 News Tonight
 - v. News 3 Nightside, KVBC-TV
 - vi. News at Sunrise, KVBC-TV
 - vii. The Patrick Report, KTBV-TV
 - b. Television Talk Shows
 - i. Barnicle, MSNBC Cable Programming

- ii. Book TV, CSPAN-2
 - iii. CNN Talkback Live (Cable)
 - iv. CNN Today (Cable)
 - v. Softball, MSNBC Cable Programming
 - vi. WB2Day
- 6. Radio Programs
 - a. Radio News
 - i. All Things Considered, National Public Radio
 - b. Radio Talk Shows
 - i. Diane Rehm Show, WAMU-FM
 - ii. Public Interest, WAMU-FM
 - iii. The Connection, WBUR-FM
- 7. News Wire Services
 - a. Copley News Service
 - b. Cox News Service
 - c. Gannett News Service
 - d. Newhouse News Service
 - e. Scripps Howard News Service
 - f. United Press International
 - g. U.S. Newswire

By Topics of Media Entries

- 1. Curriculum and School Governance
 - a. Reading
 - b. Zero tolerance policies
 - c. Technology in schools
 - d. Teacher certification
 - e. General criticism of failing public schools
 - f. General statements on the need for education reform
 - g. Food served in schools
 - h. Gender equity activities
 - i. Grove City College
 - j. Sex education classes
 - k. High-performing schools
 - l. Internet report cards on school performance
 - m. Grade inflation
 - n. High school marriage classes
 - o. Merit pay for teachers
 - p. Prison classes
 - q. Racial preferences in university admissions
 - r. School to work programs
 - s. Lack of free speech on college campuses
 - t. General statements on need for educational reform
- 2. Education Legislation

3. Education Spending
 - a. Federal education spending and grants to states
 - b. Public-private school partnerships relating to construction bonds
 - c. Spending on public schools
 - d. Spending and educational achievement
4. Heritage Foundation Activities
 - a. Publications itself as a topic
 - b. Publicized or media events
 - c. Personnel highlights
5. Role of Federal Government in education
 - a. Job Corps critique
 - b. US Department of Education use of student information
 - c. Head Start critique
6. School Choice
 - a. School Choice generally
 - b. Vouchers
 - c. Tax credits for ed-tech partnerships
 - d. Charter schools
 - e. School choice opponents
7. Testing
8. Other
 - a. Washington's Birthday
 - b. Marriage and educational achievement

By Heritage Foundation Sources

1. Specific Heritage Foundation Personnel
 - a. Bill Bennett (not named as a Heritage Foundation source)
 - b. Stuart Butler
 - c. Samuel Casey Carter
 - d. Thomas Dawson
 - e. Patrick Fagan
 - f. Megan Farnsworth
 - g. Al Felzenberg
 - h. Edwin Feulner
 - i. Michael Franc
 - j. Jennifer Garrett
 - k. Todd Goziano
 - l. Eugene Hickock
 - m. Tom Hinton
 - n. Scott Jeffrey
 - o. Kirk Johnson
 - p. Krista Kafer
 - q. Daniel McGroarty
 - r. Adam Meyerson

- s. Virginia Miller
 - t. Robert Moffitt
 - u. Nina Shokaii Rees
 - v. Robert Rector
 - w. Janice Smith
 - x. Virginia Thomas
 - y. Ron Utt
 - z. Mark Wilson
2. Publications
- a. New Tax Law Boosts School Construction with Public-Private Partnerships
 - b. No Excuses: Lessons from 21 High-Performing, High Poverty Schools
 - c. School Choice 2001: What's Happening in the States
 - d. Still Leaving Children Behind: The House and Senate Education Bills
 - e. The Report Card Report: America's Best Web Sites for School Profiles
 - f. Trinnietta Gets a Chance: Six Families and Their School Choice Experience
 - g. Why More Money Will Not Solve America's Education Crisis
3. Heritage Foundation cited as an entity
- a. Heritage Foundation study
 - b. Heritage Foundation speaking as an entity
 - c. Heritage Foundation study
 - d. Heritage Foundation report
 - e. Heritage Foundation researchers, non-specific

Appendix D

Heritage Foundation biography for Krista Kafer, <http://www.heritage.org/staff/kafer.html>



KRISTA KAFER

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Areas of Expertise

school choice, education standards and testing, charter schools, federal education programs

As Senior Policy Analyst in Education at The Heritage Foundation, Krista Kafer researches and writes on all aspects of education policy, including school choice, standardized testing and character education.

Before coming to Heritage, Kafer was legislative director for Rep. Dave McIntosh, R-Ind. Prior to that, she was a legislative assistant for Rep. Bob Schaffer, R-Colo. She also worked for Bob Dole's 1996 presidential campaign.

Kafer graduated from the University of Colorado-Denver in 1994 with a bachelor's degree in history. A native of Littleton, Colo., she now lives in Washington, D.C.

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