

## Polarized Publics in 2004?

by Dietram A. Scheufele, 2004 Program Chair

On November 19 and 20, about two weeks after Election Day, the Midwest Association for Public Opinion Research will hold its annual meeting in Chicago, IL. At that point, the election will hopefully be decided and pundits will either try to explain a surprising Kerry/Edwards comeback or comment on a Bush/Cheney victory that was based to a large degree on victories in key states.

In other words, public opinion in the Midwest will matter more during this election season than it has in a while. Interestingly enough, some of the more recent polls differed significantly with respect to their predictions for Election Day in November. The fact that Bush seems to open up a bigger lead among likely voters may just mean that Kerry is not as successful as he would like to be in mobilizing volatile constituencies, such as African Americans and younger voters. It could also be an indication, however, of substantive differences in how different polling organizations tap likely voters. Either way, the discrepancies between different polls once again highlight the importance of careful measurement and conceptualization for public

opinion researchers. And this year's conference will devote much of its programming to measuring and explaining the public opinion dynamics surrounding this campaign.

Our luncheon keynote speaker is **Frank Newport** who is the Editor-in-Chief of the Gallup Poll and Vice President of **the Gallup Organization**. His articles and reviews have appeared in the American Sociological Review, the New York Times, The American Journalist Quarterly, the Journal of Political and Medical Sociology, Social Forces, Public Opinion Quarterly, and Public Perspective. He is the co-author of *The Evangelical Voter: Religion and Politics in the U.S.* and contributed to both the 1996 and 1997 editions of *Where America Stands*, published by John Wiley. He currently is the featured analyst on the Gallup Poll segments on CNN which appear regularly from Gallup's own studio at its Princeton world headquarters. Newport has appeared on many other broadcast and cable programs, including NBC's Today Show, CNBC, the Fox News Channel, the McNeil Lehrer Report on PBS, NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw, the BBC, and CBC.

The same afternoon, we will have a panel on "Battleground states in the 2004 election," organized by **Dave Tewksbury**, University of Illinois-UC, and **Ward Kay**, Adirondack Communications Inc. Among the panelists are **Gerald Kosicki** of The Ohio State University, **Nick Panagakis**, Market Shares Corporation, and **Kathy Frankovic**, Director of Surveys for **CBS News**, who will speak about public opinion dynamics in key battleground states leading up to election day.

The second panel devoted exclusively to the campaign and to public opinion in the context of the 2004 presidential race will take place early Saturday afternoon. Directly addressing this year's conference theme, the panel is titled "Polarized publics or polarized elites: Elites, media, and public opinion during the 2004 election." The panel was organized by **Weiwu Zhang** of Austin Peay State University and includes **Gerald Kosicki**, The Ohio State University, **Doris Graber**, University of Illinois-Chicago, and **Jack McLeod**, University of Wisconsin, Madison as panelists.

Of course, the election theme runs through most panels and presentations at this conference. As you can see from the program in this newsletter, this year's

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## The President's Column . . . .

By Allan L. McCutcheon

Election and public opinion researchers are running in high gear. The 2004 elections are only weeks away and the presidential race still appears to be too close to call, except, of course, by the “talking head” pundits who have the luxury of never having to say they’re sorry. Unlike the entertainment industry, researchers remain alert to the quality issues demanded of their work, and continue to seek ways to improve on the impressive quality of their past performances—whether in pre-election or exit polling. This is the autumn of the four-year presidential election cycle that finds many public opinion researchers with heightened adrenalin levels!

Preparations are also underway for the annual MAPOR conference—“Polarized Publics? Opinion and Measurement in the 2004 Election”—to be held on November 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> at our usual haunt, the Radisson Hotel and Suites, Chicago. Dietram Scheufele, this year’s Conference Chair, and Dave Tewksbury, our Conference Co-Chair, have put together an excellent program from a large number of submissions.

Given that 2004 is an election year, we have also lined up speakers and panelists who will stimulate thought and discussion among MAPOR members. I am delighted to

announce that Dr. Frank Newport, Editor-in-Chief of the Gallup Poll, will be the speaker at the annual MAPOR Luncheon and Award ceremony. A graduate of Baylor University and the University of Michigan, Frank is one of the most widely recognized experts on pre-election polling and American public opinion; he has been a frequent guest on network and cable television, and is widely cited in the media. He is author and co-author of a number of papers and articles on pre-election polling, and is author of the new-released book *Polling Matters: Why Leaders Must Listen to the Wisdom of the People* (2004, Warner Books). Frank will be speaking on “The Election, Polling and Democracy.”

In recent years, the Pedagogy Hour has focused on issues related to the numerous difficulties that researchers can encounter in the data collection stage of research. In keeping with that tradition, I have invited Dr. Robert Groves, Director of the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, who will be speaking on “One Hour of What We Seem to Know about Survey Nonresponse.” Bob is one of America’s leading survey methodologists, and has published widely in the field. He is currently Councilor-at-Large of American Association for Public

Opinion Research (AAPOR), and has served in nearly every elected office of AAPOR, including President, and has won numerous AAPOR awards for contributions to the field of survey research. Bob is also the founding director of the Joint Program in Survey Methodology.

We will also have a number of issues to discuss at our business meeting. Among the issues, we will want to discuss the Board’s decision to begin to formalize the terrific service Steve Everett has contributed to MAPOR in his fund-raising efforts. Steve’s efforts have moved us a log way toward stabilizing MAPOR’s finances, and we are hopeful that we can find ways to help him with this important work.

I hope to see all of you in November, when we can reflect on the results of the upcoming elections. If you have any ideas or concerns, please feel free to email me at [amccutcheon1@unl.edu](mailto:amccutcheon1@unl.edu).

**MAPOR  
2004 Elections**

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1:30 pm – 3 pm

**Paper Session 4 Measurement Issues – Measuring Opinions Online**

“Can’t get no satisfaction: A comparison of the uses and gratifications of traditional and new media channels,” **Bracken, C. C.**, Cleveland State U  
 “Cutting up the pie? Young internet users’ media use,” **Zeng, L.**, Arkansas State U  
 “Make way for plug-in based web surveys: A new multimedia design approach,” **Nagarajaroo, K.**, U of Lincoln-Nebraska  
 “It’s in the way that you use it’: The impact of tailoring internet survey recruitment to how we use email,” **Basson, D., Boulianne, S.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison, & **Klofstad, C. A.**, Harvard U

**Discussant:** **Kay, W.**, Adirondack Communications Inc. (wkay@adirondack-inc.com)

1:30 pm – 3 pm

**Paper Session 5 Measurement Issues – Sampling I**

“Random access to random digit telephone lists: A retrospective analysis,” **Ehrlich, N., & Hembroff, L.**, Michigan State U  
 “Availability as a mediating factor in response rate estimation,” **Hembroff, L., & Ehrlich, N.**, Michigan State U  
 “Sample contacting of sensitive institutional entities post September 11, 2001: Building the World Trade Center Health Registry,” **Trevarthen, N., Dolan, M.,** RTI International, & **Brackbill, R.**, NYC Department of Health and Mental Hygiene  
 “Why walked away from our survey? A study of non-respondent profiles in mail surveys between 1994-2004,” **Aida, M.**, U of Michigan, **Kobayashi, T.**, U of Tokyo, Japan

**Discussant:** **Loft, J.**, RTI (jloft@RTI.ORG)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

**Panel 2 Polarized Publics? Battleground States in Election 2004**

**Moderator:** **Tewksbury, D.**, U of Illinois-UC

**Panelists:** **Kosicki, G.** The Ohio State U  
**Panagakis, N.**, Market Shares Corporation  
**Frankovic, K.**, CBS News

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

**Paper Session 6 Talk, Silence and Censorship**

“Faces of censorship: Willingness to censor, willingness to self-censor, and support for First Amendment rights,” **Reineke, J. B.**, The Ohio State U  
 “Self-censorship through nonparticipation in political activity: Results from a national poll,” **Hayes, A. F.**, The Ohio State U  
 “Democratically structured deliberation: A new solution to democracy’s problem of scale,” **Pingree, R.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison  
 “Measurable hesitation as a precursor to self-censorship: Replication and extension of the minority slowness effect,” **Huge, M.**, The Ohio State U  
 “The spiral of silence and fear of isolation,” **Neuwirth, K.**, U of Cincinnati, **Frederick, E.**, U of Wisconsin-Eau Claire, **Mayo, C.**, U of Southern Mississippi

**Discussant:** **Neuendorf, K.**, Cleveland State U (k.neuendorf@sims.csuohio.edu)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

**Paper Session 7 Public Opinion, 9/11, and Other Current Issues**

“Media, anxiety and international support for the Iraq war,” **Willnat, L.**, George Washington U  
 “Trust in other nations among the American public,” **Brewer, P. R.**, U of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, **Vercellotti, T.**, Elon U  
 “One nation indivisible?: Relationships between media use and political opinions in historical perspective,” **Long, C., & McLeod, D. M.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison  
 “Nationalistic ambiguity in the shadow of occupation: Opinion discourse as meaning-maker in a post-Iraq war context,” **Berkowitz, D., Youssef, M., & Ismail, A.**, U of Iowa  
 “Taxing all of the people some of the time? Seniors speak out on how to raise government revenues,” **Hushbeck, C., Sauer, J., & Silberman, S. L.**, American Association of Retired Persons

**Discussant:** **Nisbet, M. C.**, The Ohio State U (nisbetmc@yahoo.com)

3:15 pm – 4:45 pm

**Poster Session**

“Mass media use, social capital, and enlightened political engagement,” **Lee, E.**, Cornell U  
 “Public opinion about foreign direct investment: On the future of India’s print media,” **Colaco, B. P.**, Southern Illinois U-Carbondale  
 “Dissatisfied residents, expressive citizens: The role of community satisfaction and efficacy in promoting political expression,” **Nisbet, E. C. & Besley, J.**, Cornell U  
 “Attitudes toward the obese as expressed by television humor,” **Muller, S., & White, H. A.**, Murray State U  
 “Convergent and divergent narratives: Testing Chaffee’s predictions,” **Jensen, J. D., & Hurley, R. J.**, U of Illinois-UC  
 “Public opinions in cyberspace: The case of China,” **Yuan, X.**, Southern Illinois U-Carbondale  
 “How motives for going online for sports information are linked to Internet activities,” **Johnson, T. J.**, Southern Illinois U-Carbondale, & **Jaye, B. K.**, U of Tennessee  
 “Over the electronic backyard fence: reader emails to a local columnist,” **Page, J. T., & Wanta, W.**, U of Missouri

5 – 6 pm  
(Symphony A)

**Cocktail Pedagogy Hour**

Presiding: **Allan McCutcheon**, MAPOR President

Speaker: **Bob Groves**, Director,  
University of Michigan Survey Research Center,  
Institute for Social Research

7 pm

**Welcome Dinner (Dutch treat)**

New and longtime members are invited to join MAPOR's President, Allan McCutcheon, and other MAPOR members for dinner. This will give everyone a chance to meet other MAPOR members and participants.

Saturday, Nov. 20

8:00 am – noon

**Registration (coffee, tea, bakery)**

8:30 am – 10 am

**Paper Session 8 Social Context and Public Opinion**

"The effects of residential context on political judgment and roles of communication: A multilevel approach," **Seo, M.**, & **Kosicki, G.**, The Ohio State U

"The differential roles of network size and network heterogeneity in civic participation," **Wang, Z.**, Cornell U

"The role of social networks in news learning," **Thomson, T. L.**, The Ohio State U

"Conceptualizing contextual effects in communication research," **Paek, H.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison

**Discussant:** **Tewksbury, D.**, U of Illinois-UC (tewksbur@uiuc.edu)

8:30 am – 10 am

**Paper Session 9 Studying Demographic Differences**

"The politics of gender in the 2004 election," **Burrell, B.**, Northern Illinois U

"Rockin' the teenage vote: A real-life civic 'experiment' in Baltimore, MD and its effects on the political socialization of 16- and 17-year-old voters," **Horowitz, E. M.**, Cleveland State U, **Haigh, M. M.**, **Wanstrom, J.**, & **Parker, K. A.**, U of Oklahoma

"Inter-racial differences in an increasingly inter-racial world: Unfolding factors of white, black, and latino public opinion toward government spending and social welfare issues," **Greer, C. M.**, Columbia U

"Longitudinal study of aging, cohorts, media effects and the stability of sociopolitical attitudes," **Chang, M. Y.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln

**Discussant:** **Blanks Hindman, D.**, Washington State U (dhindman@mail.wsu.edu)

8:30 am – 10 am

**Paper Session 10 Measurement Issues – Interviewing and Wording**

"Interviewer effects in an RDD telephone pre-election poll in Minneapolis and St. Paul: An analysis of the combined effects of interviewer race and gender," **Callegaro, M.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln, **Krosnick, J. A.**, Stanford U, **De Keulaner, F.**, U of Antwerp, Belgium, & **Daves, R.**, Minneapolis Star Tribune

"Verbal behaviors in event history calendar and question-list interviews: Interactions with respondent characteristics," **Callegaro, M.**, **Belli, R. F.**, & **Liao, D.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln

"Cognitive Interviewing: Developing a probing model that yields valid data," **Hjermstad, E.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln

"Pilot study heuristics: Applying theory to develop a methodological map," **Chew, F.**, Syracuse U, & **Tote, R.**, Frank N Magid Associates

"Bilingual interviewer selection and training: More evidence and questions," **Sha, M. M.**, & **Athey, L.**, NORC

**Discussant:** **Everett, S.**, The Everett Group (steve@everettgroup.com)

10:15 am – 11:45 am

**Paper Session 11 New and Traditional News Media**

"Online reading styles and audience engagement with the news," **Tewksbury, D.**, & **Bibart, A.**, U of Illinois-UC

"New media/old media: Comparing use by young adults in Germany, the US and New Zealand," **Davis, D.**, **Broege, S.**, Otago U, New Zealand, **Raman, V.**, Pennsylvania State U, **Steinmetz, R.**, U of Leipzig, Germany

"What are they thinking? Internet use, opinions, and attitudes of young Europeans," **Goh, D.**, Indiana U

"Use of Google newsgroups and mainstream news media to predict opinions and behaviors regarding cigarette smoking," **Fan, D.**, **Nordgren, L.**, & **Finnegan, J.**, U of Minnesota

"Online news credibility: An examination of the perceptions of newspaper journalists," **Cassidy, W. P.**, U of Wisconsin-Whitewater

**Discussant:** **Johnson, T. J.**, Southern Illinois U-Carbondale (tjohnson@siu.edu)

10:15 am – 11:45 am

**Paper Session 12 Media, Mobilization, and Participation**

"Mobilizing information online: The effects of primary-source and secondary-source website use on political engagement," **Hardy, B.**, Cornell U

“Post-9/11 civil liberties attitudes and their effects on civic participation,” **Zhang, W., & Kanervo, E.**, Austin Peay State U  
 “Mobilizing information as a link to political participation: A content analysis of online and print newspapers,” **Hoffman, L. H.**, The Ohio State U  
 “Communication and citizen participation: A conceptual & empirical review and suggestions for future research,” **Kanervo, E., & Zhang, W.**, Austin Peay State U  
 “Social capital: Community engagement vs. political participation,” **Jeffres, L. W., Neuendorf, K., & Bracken, C.**, Cleveland State U  
**Discussant: Kosicki, G.**, The Ohio State U (kosicki.1@osu.edu)

**10:15 am – 11:45 am**                      **Paper Session 13 Measurement Issues – Sampling II**  
 “Predicting sampled respondents’ likelihood to cooperate,” **Lavrakas, P. J., Burks, A. T., Bennett, M., & Usmanova, N.**, ACNielsen  
 “Presenting response rates in telephone and face-to-face surveys,” **Owens, L. K., Foote Retzer, K., & Johnson, T. P.**, U of Illinois-Chicago  
 “Cash vs. sweepstakes incentives in a web-based survey: Quality implications,” **Crawford, S.**, Market Strategies Inc., **Johnson, E. O.**, Henry Ford Health Sciences Center, **Pope, D.**, Market Strategies Inc., & **Esteban McCabe, S.**, U of Michigan  
 “Breaking off in the middle: Partial interviews in a large telephone survey,” **Olson, K.**, U of Michigan, **Murray, M. C., Cardoni, J., Battaglia, M.**, Abt Associates, & **Lepkowski, J.**, U of Michigan  
**Discussant: Daves, R.**, Minneapolis Star Tribune (daves@startribune.com)

**11:45 am – 1:45 pm**                      **Lunch (on your own)**

**1:45 pm – 3:15 pm**                      **Panel 3**                      **Polarized publics or polarized elites: Elites, media, and public opinion during the 2004 election**  
**Moderator: Zhang, W.**, Austin Peay State U  
**Panelists: Kosicki, G.**, The Ohio State U  
**Graber, D.**, U of Illinois-Chicago  
**McLeod, J.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison

**1:45 pm – 3:15 pm**                      **Paper Session 14 The Interplay of Media, Politics, and Public Opinion**  
 “The public image of polls and pollsters,” **Kennedy, C., & Traugott, M.**, U of Michigan  
 “Education, need for cognition, and interest as moderators of news use effects on political knowledge: The knowledge gap in the 2000 campaign,” **Liu, Y., & Eveland, W. P.**, The Ohio State U  
 “Information environments and voter deliberation: Unraveling the effects of campaign intensity,” **Xenos, M.**, U of Washington  
 “The influence of early-life health and social conditions on later health and morbidity,” **Chang, M. Y.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln, & **Belli, R.**, U of Nebraska-Lincoln  
**Discussant: Jeffres, L. W.**, Cleveland State U (l.jeffres@csuohio.edu)

**1:45 pm – 3:15 pm**                      **Paper Session 15 Perceptions of Public Opinion and Public Opinion Perceptions**  
 “Underestimating effects on self or overestimating effects on others? Exploring the psychological mechanisms behind the third-person effect,” **Paek, H., Sun, Y., Pan, Z., Abisaid, J., Ma, X., & Hwang, H.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison  
 “Academic vs. personal expertise: TPE implications,” **White, H. A.**, Murray State U, & **Andsager, J.**, U of Iowa  
 “Media and economic behavior,” **Scholl, R. P.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison  
 “Sports in the media: Perceptions of athletic behavior,” **Atkin, D., Jeffres, L. W., Lee, J. W., & Neuendorf, K.**, Cleveland State U  
**Discussant: Brossard, D.**, U of Wisconsin-Madison (dbrossard@wisc.edu)

**3:30 pm – 5:00 pm**                      **Paper Session 16 Cognitive Effects on Public Opinion**  
 “Revisiting priming effects: Comparing the role of temporary accessibility and chronic accessibility in political judgment,” **Ju, Y., & Song, H.**, U of Missouri-Columbia  
 “Tone of coverage, attitudes toward the president, and media priming effects,” **Song, H.**, U of Missouri-Columbia  
 “Argument repertoire and political efficacy: Exploring conceptual and empirical linkages,” **Manosevitch, E.**, U of Washington  
 “A new examination of media priming effects on presidential evaluations using survey data,” **Quian, Y.**, U of Michigan  
**Discussant: Hayes, A.**, The Ohio State U (hayes.338@osu.edu)

**3:30 pm – 5:00 pm**                      **Paper Session 17 Persuasion and Public Opinion**  
 “Using exemplar credibility to increase message effectiveness,” **Andsager, J. L.**, U of Iowa, & **White, H. A.**, Murray State U  
 “The boomerang effect of negative political advertising: A meta-analysis,” **Zhao, Y.**, Southern Illinois U-Carbondale  
 “The effects of internet advertising on movie consumers’ use and opinions of advertising media for movies,” **Hixson, T. K.**, U of Wisconsin-Whitewater  
 “Wartime presidents: Framing arguments to mold public opinion,” **White, H. A.**, Murray State U, & **Miller, M. M.**, Montana  
**Discussant: Perloff, R.**, Cleveland State U (r.perloff@csuohio.edu)

**5:00 pm - 5:30 pm**                      **Business Meeting**

**5:30 pm - 6:30 pm**                      **Social Hour**

## The Minnesota Poll

By Rob Daves

As I write this for MAPOR News, three dozen protesters fueled by partisan claims are outside my newspaper's offices in Minneapolis, waving signs, pounding on windows and intimidating employees leaving for lunch. The protesters want to persuade the newspaper to fire me, or, failing that, suspend the Minnesota Poll's publication until after the election.

Of course it's a campaign tactic, ratcheted up a notch or two from the pollster pummeling many of us suffered in the 1990s. Obviously it's an attack born of the campaign's need to respond to any news perceived to have potential harm to their candidate. My editors know that, and have refused to bow to their demands, saying "We will not be taking direction from any political party on polling or news judgment."

It's sad times when people in powerful places feel that they have to denigrate others to make political hay. But it certainly isn't the first time, and won't be the last. Several AAPOR paper and panel sessions in the past decade grew from discussions that media poll directors had about how we've fared at the hands of partisans – Democrats, Republicans, and in

Minnesota, the Independence Party. (IP officials filed a News Council complaint prior to the 2002 election about our methods and the fairness of how the Star Tribune reported poll results; they eventually dropped the complaint after the election.)

Most would agree those attacks are bad for the image of polls, market research, and nearly everyone who does sample surveys, especially by telephone.

In fact, that's what AAPOR research is beginning to show. Under President Nancy Belden's guidance, AAPOR has begun a research program to examine the image of public opinion research, including polling. The initial findings were presented at the Phoenix conference, and already are yielding helpful results. For example, we know from focus group respondents that "market research" sounds better than "poll." And other evidence suggests that Lindsay Rogers' dream to denigrate us and the work we do has come true. It was Rogers who invented the word pollster, to rhyme with "huckster," in his 1949 book "The Pollsters."

We must do everything we can to stem this tide, and already we may be too late.

If you have the wherewithal, check with AAPOR President Nancy Belden to see if you and your research lab or company can help with any future AAPOR research.

AAPOR's public relations campaign initially will focus on journalists and opinion leaders. But there are things that those of us in the trenches can do. In the most recent AAPOR news Nancy identified five actions all of us could do. Those are outlined in the most recent AAPOR News, at <http://www.aapor.org>.

But we have to remember, too, that we can shoot ourselves in the foot.

Public opinion researchers, by their academic and curious natures, are apt to argue collegially about the fine points of the craft. That's all well and good. We learn from those discussions. But we must make sure that the public doesn't perceive those discussions as ship-sinking arguments against well-done polls.

Our course of action: Support AAPOR's research efforts and public relations program. Defend polling at every opportunity. Make sure we continuously improve our methods and measures.

And keep a stiff upper lip.

**(From Page One) Polarized Publics 2004?**

sessions and panels address measurement issues related election polling as well as theoretical issues related to turnout and the media landscape during election 2004.

As always, MAPOR meets at the Radisson Hotel & Suites in downtown Chicago. Please don't forget to register for the conference (see the registration form attached to this newsletter) and book your hotel room as soon as possible. We have reserved a block of rooms for MAPOR attendees at a special conference rate at the Radisson in downtown Chicago (<http://www.radisson.com/chicagoil>). The room rates are \$152 for a single and \$172 for a double (which is lower than even the prepaid Internet rates that the Radisson is posting for the MAPOR weekend). Please make sure that you do mention MAPOR when you make your reservation. All hotel reservations must be made by October 19, 2004. Please contact the Radisson directly at: Phone: (312) 787-2900 Fax: (312) 787-5158

Email: [radchicago@ihrc.com](mailto:radchicago@ihrc.com).

I look forward to seeing you all a week before Thanksgiving in Chicago!

**MAPOR Ballot 2004**

The MAPOR Ballot 2004 is inserted in the newsletter on florescent yellow paper.

The candidates for *conference co-chair/chair elect* are: **Ward Kay** and **Weiwu Zhang**. The candidates for *vice president/president-elect* are: **Dietram Scheufele** and **Tudor Vlad**.

Please take a few minutes and vote for one candidate for each office.

Return the ballot postmarked no later than October 31 to: Allan McCutcheon, Univ. of Nebraska-Lincoln, 200 North 11 St., Lincoln, NE 68588-0241 or via email by October 31 to: [amccutcheon1@unl.edu](mailto:amccutcheon1@unl.edu).

**2003-2004  
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**MAPOR 2004 Conference  
November 19-20, 2004  
Radisson Hotel & Suites Chicago**

**All hotel reservations must be made by October 19, 2004**

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