

# The John and Mary R. Markle Foundation

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Sesame Street at Ten  
by Lloyd N. Morrisett

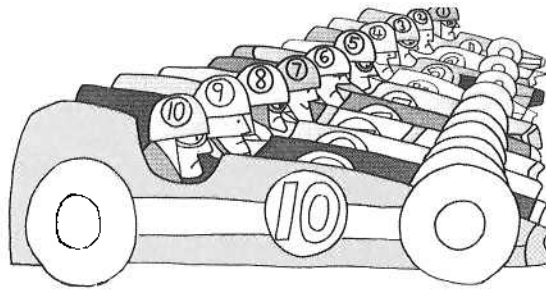
50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N.Y. 10020

# President's Essay

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*Lloyd N. Morrisett is President of the Markle Foundation. His association with Children's Television Workshop began over a decade ago. While a Vice-President of the Carnegie Corporation, Mr. Morrisett and Joan Ganz Cooney originated the idea for Sesame Street. Mr. Morrisett presently serves as chairman of the Board of Trustees at CTW.*



## Sesame Street at Ten

The media of mass communications, particularly television, offer powerful means for reaching the American public. Each year many creative people dream of putting mass communications to work in the service of humane goals — using communications to bring education, information, or culture to the public.

While the visions of those who would use mass communications in new ways are compelling, most of those visions remain unfulfilled. The Markle Foundation, along with other foundations and government agencies, reviews many television, radio, or publishing projects. Few are funded, and those that are funded often do not achieve their goals. In many ways Sesame Street has proved to be an exception. The story of Sesame Street has been well told in several studies,<sup>1</sup> but there is still reason, I think, to ask whether conclusions drawn from the Sesame Street experience can provide guidance for others who wish to turn the power of mass communications to new social goals. While factors of timing and sheer luck account for much of the success of Sesame Street, there seem to be a few lessons that have broad applicability.

Sesame Street was born in a favorable hour. In the late nineteen-sixties, public and governmental attention was focused on the early educational experience of children. It was becoming well known that many children from poor and culturally deprived families started school without enough motivation or skill to take full advantage of their educational opportunities. After entering school at some disadvantage, these children tended to fall further behind as they got older. One proposed solution was to make preschool

education, nursery school as well as kindergarten, available to all children. While the National Education Association endorsed this idea, the cost of classroom construction and additional teachers' salaries was too great for already strained school budgets. Experiments with special forms of enriched instruction for preschoolers seemed promising. There was no way, however, to expand those experiments from the few hundred children involved to the millions who might benefit.

Recognition of these problems, along with the failure to find any reasonable solutions, created a hospitable climate of opinion for the Sesame Street concept. In 1966 the Carnegie Corporation of New York underwrote a feasibility study by Joan Cooney on the use of television for preschool education. The study recommended a daily, hour-long television series that combined education and entertainment and aimed at preparing preschool children for entry into school. In 1968, to provide an organizational home for the television program that was to become Sesame Street, the Children's Television Workshop was formed. In 1970 the Workshop applied for independent corporate status under the education laws of New York State, and a charter was submitted for approval which was intended to encompass not only the continued production of Sesame Street but also other activities that the Workshop might attempt in the future. The principal goal stated in the charter is to produce and distribute educational television and radio programs primarily for children and young adults. Secondary goals are the development and dissemination of supporting materials for such programs. In addition, CTW engages in other activities that relate to or support the production and distribution efforts of the Workshop.







*Top: Preschool children played an important role in shaping Sesame Street. Researcher Dr. Edward Palmer reported on children's interest.*

*Bottom: Children of migrant workers are among the target audiences.*

Despite the broad mandate in its charter, CTW in the beginning was actually an organization with a single purpose — the production of Sesame Street. In its first operating year, 1969-1970, the Workshop had 36 employees and a budget of \$6.8 million. Almost all this money came from three sources: the Office of Education, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and the Ford Foundation. The Workshop itself was able to provide only \$119,000 from its own income. Although production of Sesame Street remains central to CTW's purposes and strength, the Workshop is no longer a single project organization. CTW has also produced The Electric Company, and two other major series, Feeling Good and The Best of Families. An animated version of C.S. Lewis' The Chronicles of Narnia has been completed by a subsidiary of CTW and was aired in prime time on CBS, and work is underway on a major new science series. Other activities include foreign productions of Sesame Street in several languages as well as several projects in publishing and other fields.

The original Carnegie and Ford support for the Workshop ended in 1973. The Ford Foundation did make an important additional \$6 million grant to CTW for subsidiary activities, but major foundation support for operating expenses and the production of Sesame Street ceased after only three years. Even though the Office of Education has supported the production of Sesame Street throughout the decade, the level of support is less in 1978 than in the program's first year. The additional funds for the production of Sesame Street have been generated by other Workshop activities, primarily the licensing of products such as books, toys, games, records, and overseas sales of CTW's American productions. The Workshop has evolved from a single-purpose

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organization with a budget almost totally funded by foundations and the Office of Education to a multi-purpose organization with a growing budget and an increasing capacity to support itself from its income-producing activities.

To the extent that organizational success can be measured by growth, increased stability, diversification, and independence, the Children's Television Workshop has made substantial progress. For CTW, organizational success would mean little unless it also achieved a measure of success in its attempt to enhance the lives of young children through education and entertainment. There is good evidence that Sesame Street has met the expectations of those who gave it life. A television program must first attract an audience. In 1978 the A.C. Nielsen Company conducted a survey that showed that in areas where Sesame Street is broadcast, four out of five households with a child under six years old tuned in the program during a selected six-week period. That represented the largest audience ever recorded for the program. Moreover, Sesame Street reached more households with children under six than any other daytime show. The Nielsen survey also revealed that over 90 percent of children in low-income, inner-city households watch the program regularly. Sesame Street is obviously reaching its audience. There is also evidence that Sesame Street is fulfilling its educational mission. Research has shown that the more children watch the program, the more they learn from it, and they learn those skills that the program is designed to teach.<sup>2</sup>

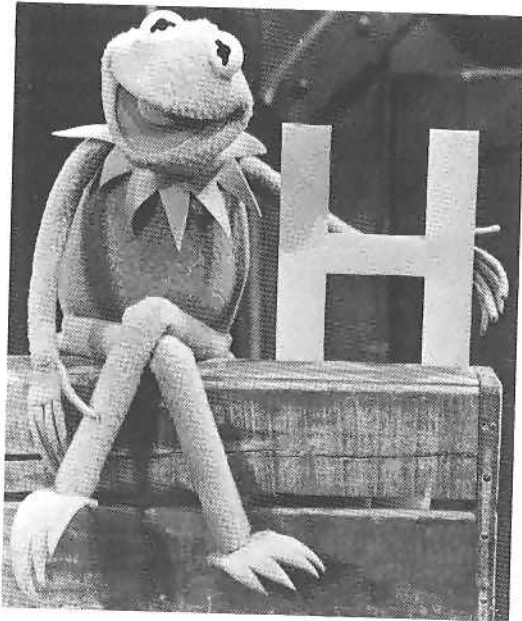
Sesame Street's record of success is clear. Some of the attitudes and decisions contributing to the project's achievements contain lessons that might be useful for others who wish to use broadcasting for important

social purposes. There is something to be learned from looking at how those responsible for Sesame Street approached issues concerning the audience, the medium of television, and the consequences of success.

### **The Audience**

Although it seems logical to consider the potential audience when thinking about a project that will use television or any other medium, it is not always easy to say exactly whom you want to reach. Some program objectives refer to a seemingly undefinable audience: for instance, to reach as many people as possible or to attract a new audience for dance or drama. The first step in forming a real definition is to begin asking questions along familiar lines: do you want to reach children, adults, or an audience of all ages? men, women, or both? people with a certain level of education? those with previous interest in the subject, new recruits, or both? people with special concerns? Such questions may reveal that a program which seemed at first to be designed for everyone is really aimed at a specific segment of the public.

After the potential audience is defined, it is possible to estimate its size and to find out how it presently uses various media. Both kinds of information have a vital place in the planning process. The size of the target audience will help determine whether television, radio, or print is the most appropriate medium. Production and broadcast costs are much greater for television than for radio, and a book or pamphlet can be produced for a fraction of the cost of a television program. In most instances the target audience must amount to several million viewers in order to justify the costs of television. Television is glamorous, but failure is expensive. Knowing how the people you want to reach use the



*Letters are taught by Muppets such as Kermit the Frog, a regular guest on the series.*

*Facing page:  
Animator T. Collins was one of scores of filmmakers commissioned to make learning enjoyable.*

*Sesame Street's writing staff includes, from left, Emily Perl Kingsley, David Korr, Judy Freudberg, Tony Geiss, Ray Sipherd, and Sara Compton.*

*Creator of the Muppets Jim Henson (right) and his chief assistant, Frank Oz, rehearse early versions of Ernie and Bert in a studio mirror.*

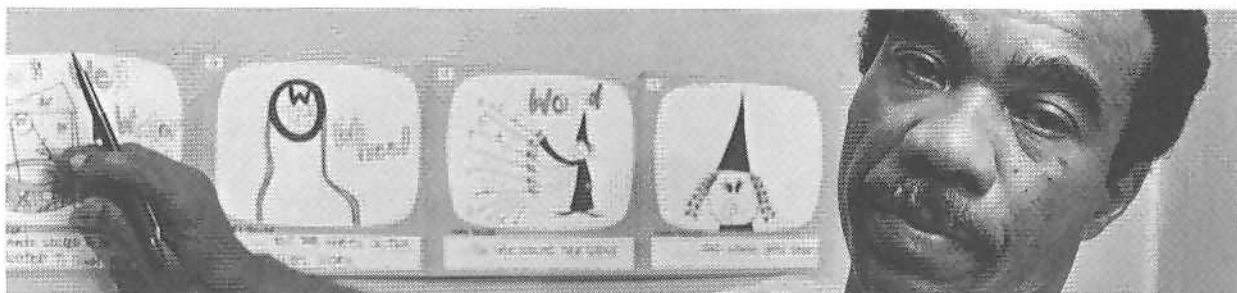
*The senior staff in early 1969 watch footage from the series. From left, Joan Cooney, Sam Gibbon, David Connell, Jon Stone.*

media should also influence the choice of a medium. The essential question is whether your potential audience makes use of the medium you wish to use. Unless your audience is already using a particular medium, it is unlikely in the extreme that one effort, however well done, will successfully change those habits.

Since Sesame Street began with the question of whether television could effectively teach preschool children, there was no difficulty in determining the primary audience — children under six years of age. The next question was whether children watched television; in the late 1960s the evidence was overwhelming that young children were avid television viewers. In fact, they watched more television than almost any other demographic group. This meant that Sesame Street did not have to take on the additional challenge of attracting children to a new medium. The job was to attract an audience that, for the most part, was already there.

Defining your audience is only a prologue to analyzing what your particular audience is like. In the case of Sesame Street, definition of the audience was relatively easy, but understanding young children was much harder. What skills help children build more complex skills? What kinds of knowledge are they likely to possess? How do they relate to other children, to their families, to adults? What visual and audio materials are likely to appeal to children? To answer such questions, CTW has relied on its research division headed by Edward Palmer. In addition, a board of advisors under the chairmanship of Professor Gerald Lesser of Harvard has actively assisted every facet of program production and design. What Sesame Street should teach as well as how the program can best be designed to appeal to children is





guided by what is known about the Sesame Street audience.

To 'teach' anything, television must present material that the audience not only can use but also actively desires. At about six years of age almost all American children enter first grade. 'School' means many different things, but it is something that many preschool children look forward to because they will have a chance to learn adult skills, particularly reading. By presenting some of the prerequisites for successful school performance in an attractive, entertaining fashion, Sesame Street was able to utilize the societal imperative of schooling as well as children's and parents' desires for competence.

Learning the characteristics of the audience was an important aspect of the development of Sesame Street; the knowledge gained provided the background for the creative production of the program. Nevertheless, the writers and producers eventually had to turn directly to the audience for answers to the next set of questions: would their ideas work? would they be effective in attracting an audience? would the audience learn what was intended? CTW began to assess audience reactions, investigating the attractiveness of the program and what was learned from it. The knowledge gathered about audience response was used as a corrective device in the development of the show. The role that the audience was able to play in the creative process undoubtedly increased the show's chances of success.

### **The Medium**

If the first principle of effective media use is to understand and respect the audience, the second is surely to understand and respect the means of communication. Anyone who wants

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to use television for social purposes must compete in the present television environment. The rules are set by the structure of commercial television. The likelihood of success has little or nothing to do with the social or moral merit of an idea. It has much more to do with accepting and working with all contemporary aspects of the medium.

A successful television program is a remarkably efficient way to reach the American public. Most comparisons show that, on a cost per thousand basis, television is the cheapest means available to reach the public. This is because one program, or advertising message, can be seen and heard by many millions of people. The aggregation of large audiences gives television its efficiency; the need to attract large audiences gives television its appetite for talent; and the success of television as an advertising medium pays for this talent. Whether it be in writing, directing, producing, acting, camera work, or set design, television is able to pay for the best talent. Simply putting the talent together does not ensure a hit, and each season the television landscape is littered with the remains of unsuccessful programs. Yet almost every program that is finally broadcast displays evidence of high priced talent and the best or most popular techniques of contemporary production.

Often the talented and intelligent people chosen to translate a socially valuable idea into a television program have little or no experience in the medium. Unfortunately, creativity in other artistic endeavors does not necessarily transfer easily to television. A poet or novelist may not be a good script writer. An experienced director of live drama may not be a good television director. Finally, it takes money to buy talent and intelligence that knows how to work with the television medium, and then it takes even more money

to pay for quality production.

All these considerations obviously helped determine the organization and funding of Sesame Street and the Children's Television Workshop. With the encouragement of advisors and funders, Sesame Street began with an \$8 million budget over an eighteen month planning and development period that included the first year's production. Actual costs for the first year's program amounted to \$27,000 per hour for production. In 1968 that was not a large amount for an hour of television, but it was an extremely high amount for children's programming. With this budget CTW could employ the services of a top-flight, experienced team of producers, directors, and writers — David Connell, executive producer; Samuel Gibbon, producer; Jon Stone, head writer; Jeff Moss, writer; Joe Raposo, musical director; and Jim Henson, puppeteer and creator of the Muppets. These talented individuals had all long been involved in commercial television, several with the long-running and highly rated children's program, Captain Kangaroo. They were intrigued by the idea that television could be educational and entertaining, and they were challenged by the opportunity to turn their creativity in new directions.

There is more to understanding and respecting the medium than accepting television as a large, wealthy, highly competitive industry and playing according to its rules. Two other important characteristics of the medium must be taken into account: the voluntary nature of television viewing and television's identity as a primary form of popular culture.

Television is a pastime; viewing is a matter of individual choice. If someone is to watch a television program they must know it is available. Promotion and advertising are the



usual means for announcing television programs, and they proved to be very important for Sesame Street. Because Sesame Street was designed for young children, the advertising and promotion were largely aimed at parents in the hope that they would bring the program to the attention of their children. Factors that affect the television viewing of the potential audience should also be considered, and the decision to create Sesame Street as a one-hour, daily show was based on several such factors. For instance, it was thought that young children would need to identify Sesame Street with a particular time, day after day, to enable them to turn it on at the right time. While there is now some evidence that television audiences are becoming more selective, it is clear that people still depend on established habits in determining when they watch television as well as what they watch. Sesame Street was targeted at children three to five years of age. We believed they would most likely watch television around nine o'clock in the morning and around four o'clock in the afternoon. These hours did not interfere with meal or nap times, nor did they conflict with the prime viewing time of older children or adults. If the Public Broadcasting stations had not been, on the whole, willing to broadcast the program at these hours, Sesame Street's chances for success would certainly have been diminished.



What was understood about children's viewing habits exerted an influence even over program content. In designing the curriculum of Sesame Street, a debate developed over the amount of continuity that should be built into the program. One curricular model holds that some things are learned early, and then that learning is used as the basis for more advanced learning. Another model claims that each learning session should be relatively independent from

*Bill Cosby depicts emotions from fear to glee in a sequence for the show's second series.*

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another; later sessions, therefore, should not depend on earlier ones. The producers of Sesame Street had no basis for assuming that a child would watch a given show or would watch regularly. As a result, the debate over curricular models was decided in favor of independent programs. If a child missed one program he or she would not be penalized in trying to learn from the next one. This decision was based on informed guesses about how children use television, which were later confirmed by studies, showing that, over a wide range of audiences and programs, only about 50 percent of the people who watch one program can be expected to watch the succeeding episode.<sup>3</sup> Although the total audience size may remain the same, there is a 50 percent turnover in audience composition.

Another question was whether one set of programs would be enough. If Sesame Street worked, could it not simply be rerun year after year, especially since new children would always be taking the place of the three- to five-year olds who were growing up? Despite its apparent reasonableness, the question failed to recognize that television is a form of popular culture. One of the most significant aspects of popular culture is the rapidity with which it changes. The style, sound, and look of popular culture today is not what it was even a short time ago. Popular heroes, songs, dress, automobiles, food, billboards, advertisements, and innumerable other aspects of popular culture constantly change. The look and sound of television programs vary from year to year, and the differences are quite obvious over a five or ten year period. It is absolutely necessary to recreate television programs so that they remain contemporary with the rest of popular culture. Evidence of a program's harmony with prevailing cultural styles has a great influence on audience acceptance as well as the willingness of stations to broadcast

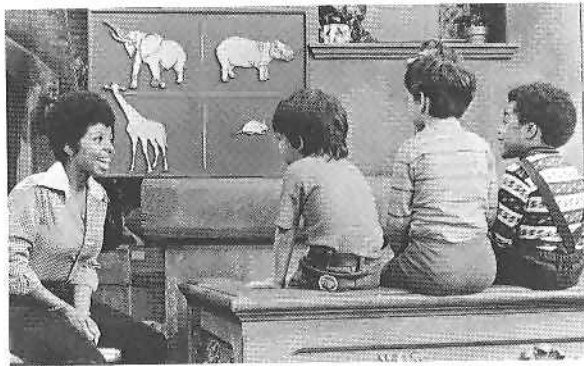
programs. Whenever programs are rerun, audience interest inevitably drops. Success in television depends upon the subtle blending of the new and unexpected with the old and familiar.

Accepting television as a form of popular culture led the producers to conclude that Sesame Street would constantly need to be refreshed with new educational material and methods, in order to sustain the interest of children and their parents. A somewhat new series would have to be produced each year. The 1978 audience figures describe a success shaped by an informed respect for the television medium.

### **The Consequences of Success**

The cooperative encouragement and the \$8 million given by Carnegie Corporation, Ford Foundation, Office of Education, and Corporation for Public Broadcasting made the first year of Sesame Street possible. These organizations were willing to gamble on an untried idea and hope that young children might benefit from it. If the idea was poorly implemented or failed for any reason, there was no need to consider the future. The project would simply have been abandoned and everyone involved would have gone on to another dream. But what if the project were a success?

This issue was raised early in the life of the Children's Television Workshop. Television production is a lengthy process. In order to develop the project, an organization had to be created, contracts written, union arrangements negotiated, facilities located, and teams of writers, actors, researchers, financial and business people hired. A decision to go ahead for a second year's production could not be delayed until the end of the first year; it had to be made immediately after the first responses to



*Top: Lena Horne joins Muppets for lessons in the form of ballad about shyness and friendship.*

*Bottom: Susan (Loretta Long) and some neighbors sing a musical lesson that sharpens observation skills.*

Sesame Street. During that first season, the funding organizations were satisfied that the project had promise, and they agreed to finance a second season of production. It was a time of immense satisfaction at CTW. At the same time, signs of success raised the issue of the project's future. If a second season of production was warranted, then why not a third or fifth or tenth season? If the program was working, how could it be sustained?

The natural answer to the question of continuation would seem to have been that the organizations then supporting Sesame Street would continue to support it as long as it was fulfilling its purposes. Yet most foundations are not in the habit of providing sustained support for projects or organizations over the long term. Many foundations view their funds as support for new ventures; their ability to help new ideas would be severely limited if funds were dedicated to the maintenance of projects. The temptation is great to count on the continuation of foundation support, but those of us who were involved with Sesame Street knew from close experience that we could not succumb to that hope. Government funds were also uncertain over the long run. Governmental policies and policy makers continually change, and it was to be expected that federal support for Sesame Street would be reduced, if not withdrawn, at some point. As early as 1969 the Children's Television Workshop faced the prospect of loss of foundation funding and the reduction or loss of federal funds.

Public broadcasting was the one source of money that could be expected to provide funds as long as Sesame Street was well received. Public broadcasting routinely provides money for the programs it uses and has done so from the beginning with Sesame Street. As frequently documented, most

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recently by the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting,<sup>4</sup> public television is relatively poor. There is great competition for programming funds within the system and the amount of available money is grossly insufficient. In 1969 the money that public television could provide for the production of Sesame Street in return for broadcast rights was less than one-half of the production costs of the program. The economic realities of public television have changed little, and many would argue have gotten worse, between 1969 and 1979.

Details may vary from one organization to another, but the financial problems faced by the Children's Television Workshop will seem all too familiar to many people responsible for their organization's mission and future. Foundation funding is impermanent. Governmental funding is uncertain. Every organization needs a stable financial base in order to attract talented people and offer them reasonable levels of job security. Planning and future development heavily depend on predictable levels of financing. The question for CTW was: How could it diversify its financial base and become less dependent on its original funders?

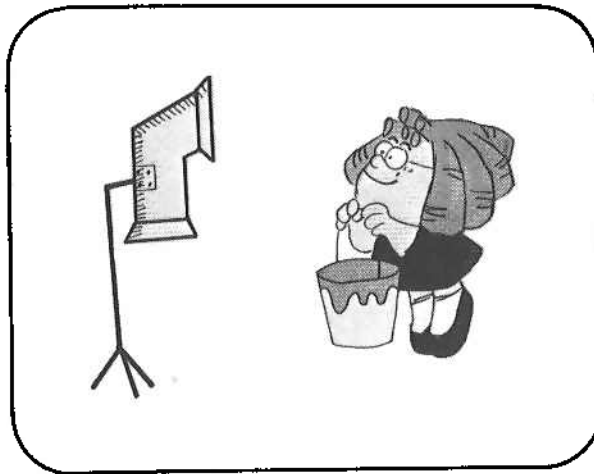
The possibilities for raising additional money seemed clear: other foundations, other government agencies, corporate philanthropy, direct appeals to the public, and lastly the development of income-producing opportunities. Sober analysis, however, suggested that additional foundations, government agencies, or corporate philanthropy could not be counted on for the magnitude or continuity in funding that the Workshop was likely to need.<sup>5</sup>

Regular appeals for contributions from the general public represented another possible way to raise the needed funds. There are many public charities, ranging from the

Heart Association to CARE, that depend on public generosity. Several factors militated against this approach. Since Sesame Street was already being broadcast and was therefore freely available, there was no direct tie between personal contribution and amount or quality of service. Sesame Street also did not have a strong and vocal constituency on which to base a national fundraising effort. Sesame Street was also shown generally on public stations, which were themselves dependent on contributions from the public. Moreover, the stations were already contributing to Sesame Street: a portion of the money they paid to the Public Broadcasting Service helped to buy the broadcasting rights for the program. A public appeal by the Workshop would have been in partial competition with the fundraising efforts of the stations broadcasting the program.

The remaining avenue and, in many ways, the most foreign was the concept of developing income-producing opportunities based on Sesame Street or otherwise related to the broadcasting and educational interests of CTW. The Workshop was, of course, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, and an immediate question was the extent to which it could engage in income-producing activities growing out of Sesame Street. CTW has established its status as a public charity under the Tax Reform Act of 1969. The value of the public charity classification to an organization such as CTW is that it allows the receipt of individual or corporate contributions on a fully tax deductible basis for the donor. It also facilitates philanthropic donations by foundations.

Broadly speaking, a charitable organization can engage in income-producing activities as long as they are contributing to the exempt purposes of the organization. If the



*Animation helps pre-schoolers learn. Baby Alice teaches different relational concepts.*

income-producing activity is 'business' and not related to the organization's exempt purposes, the income is subject to an 'unrelated business income tax.' The tax code excludes dividends, interest, rents, and royalties from the application of the unrelated business income tax. If an organization does carry out unrelated business activities to a degree that changes the charitable character of the organization, then loss of tax exemption may result. These legal and tax provisions defined the types of opportunity open to CTW. The point is that CTW found considerable latitude for a charitable and educational organization to engage in income producing activities and to use any profits for the furtherance of charitable activities.

Many charitable organizations have developed important income producing activities that both provide income and assist in the implementation of charitable purposes. Museums, for example, sell reproductions of art or greeting cards, and colleges sponsor profitable seminars. Even though the Children's Television Workshop was in no way unique in attempting to develop its own income-producing activities, it was very unusual for a nonprofit broadcasting organization to do this. The great popularity of Sesame Street gave the Workshop a rare opportunity to capitalize on whatever entrepreneurial ability could be found within or attracted to the Workshop. The first activities, and the ones that have proven most valuable so far, were the licensing of books, toys, games, and records developed and produced with the active involvement of Workshop staff. The Sesame Street and Electric Company magazines have helped extend the reach of the programs and have provided some income. More recent activities, pursued with varying degrees of success, have



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been an attempt to enter the motion picture business and investments in radio stations and cable television. The newest project is the development of educational and entertaining play parks for young children. The Ford Foundation gave the Workshop a \$6 million grant to help stabilize its base of income through the development of new activities. Experience seems to indicate that income-producing activities can become an increasingly important basis for CTW's fundamental educational and charitable purposes.

Although there have been many practical implications stemming from the decision to seek income-producing opportunities, the required adjustments in organizational attitude and outlook have been just as significant. Perhaps, most important was the recognition that it was not someone else's responsibility to keep Sesame Street on the air; it was the responsibility of the Workshop and public television — the responsibility of the people who had taken it as their job to produce and distribute the show.

While maintaining its public goal of producing educational and entertaining television material for young children, the Workshop is attempting to utilize methods of private business to help sustain the organization and ensure economic survival. Choosing this road to economic survival can be seen as one small effort in the direction recommended by economist Charles Schultze in his Godkin Lectures at Harvard.<sup>6</sup> Schultze focused on the large scale problems of society, arguing that, in many cases, personal and private interests could be used more effectively than bureaucratic and legislative controls to achieve broad public benefit. In subsidizing Sesame Street and other programs, CTW will try to replace government funding, and its attendant

controls, with income-producing activities.

Economic survival is only one of two principal concerns resulting from the success of Sesame Street; the other is creative survival. The lure of using their artistic creativity for social purposes brought many talented and creative people to the Workshop. While the heady excitement of developing and producing Sesame Street, and then seeing it broadcast, was a powerful force in the early years of CTW, it soon became clear that the initial excitement and novelty could not last. That realization raised a profound question for the future of the Workshop and Sesame Street. How could the Workshop continue to attract the talents of creative people? Ensuring the survival of creativity within an organization is a problem that needs to be faced with as much care as does economic survival. The solutions are deceptively simple. Creative people need the opportunity to use their talents in ways they will find socially and personally rewarding; they need new and exciting challenges, new problems to solve; they need to be rewarded for their efforts with critical acclaim; they need to be fairly compensated for their work.

Just as diversification of income sources has been CTW's approach to economic survival, diversification of projects and programs has been the approach to creative survival. The Electric Company, Feeling Good, The Best of Families, and The Chronicles of Narnia have given new opportunities to CTW's producers, writers, and directors as well as its management and staff.

CTW may have found a way to keep creativity alive, but the Workshop has learned that building and maintaining a whole creative environment is a difficult and risky task. A balance must be found between organizational mission and individual creativity, between necessary bureaucracy

and individual style, between social responsibility and popular acclaim, between financial means and maximum monetary rewards. Maintaining the balance requires constant attention.

Those who dream of using the media for new social purposes and are ready to take on the task of innovating might begin by thinking in fundamental ways about how to enhance their chances for success. Accepting some aspects of the media as they are is essential to making new things happen. The realities of television, radio, book publishing, and film can, if understood, provide a predictable context, guide planning, and help in the evaluation of a project. The rules of the game are fairly well set. Trying to change the rules is a discouraging process, but learning to play the game with new social outcomes as the goal can be an exciting and satisfying challenge.

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## Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> H.W. Land, *The Children's Television Workshop: How and Why It Works* (New York: Nassau Board of Cooperative Educational Services, 1972); G.S. Lesser, *Children and Television: Lessons from Sesame Street* (New York: Random House, 1974); R.M. Polsky, *Getting to Sesame Street: Origins of the Children's Television Workshop* (New York: Praeger, 1974).

<sup>2</sup> S. Ball and G.A. Bogatz, *The First Year of 'Sesame Street': An Evaluation* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1973); G.A. Bogatz and S. Ball, *The Second Year of 'Sesame Street': A Continuing Evaluation* (Princeton, N.J.: Educational Testing Service, 1971); *CTW Research Bibliography* (New York: Research Division, Children's Television Workshop, 1976).

<sup>3</sup> G.J. Goodhart, A.S.C. Ehrenberg, and M.A. Collins, *The Television Audience: Patterns of Viewing* (London: Saxon House-D.C. Heath, 1975).

<sup>4</sup> *A Public Trust: The Report of the Carnegie Commission on the Future of Public Broadcasting* (New York: Bantam Books, 1979).

<sup>5</sup> This assessment has not precluded strong efforts to raise money from philanthropic sources. Indeed, foundations and corporate philanthropy have made important contributions to various projects at CTW: The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, Exxon, and Aetna Life & Casualty for a series on health, United Technologies Corporation for a series on science, and Xerox Corporation for the production of Sesame Street in Spanish.

<sup>6</sup> Charles L. Schultze, *The Public Use of Private Interest* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1977).

