THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY, AND HUMAN RESOURCES

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED SIXTH CONGRESS

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THE NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1999

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY,
AND HUMAN RESOURCES,
COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 2154, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. John L. Mica (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Present: Representatives Mica, Cummings, Souder, Turner, Terney, Barr, Ros-Lehtinen, Portman, Hutchinson, Ose, and Kucinich.

Staff present: Sharon Pinkerton, staff director and chief counsel; Steve Dillingham, special counsel; Gill Macklin, Mason Alinger, and Carson Nightwine, professional staff members; Charley Diaz, congressional fellow; Lisa Wandler, clerk; Cherri Branson, minority counsel; and Jean Gosa, minority staff assistant.

Mr. MICA. We don't have a gavel this morning, and we don't have all of our members, but I would like to go ahead and start the hearing this morning and call this meeting of the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources to order.

I would like to get started. We are expecting our ranking member and will be joined by other Members, but we do have, I believe, three panels today, and we want to keep the proceedings moving.

I will start with an opening statement, and hopefully we will be joined in a few minutes, as I said, by our ranking member, and we can move the hearing along.

Today's topic is the national youth anti-drug media campaign, and a review of what has been taking place with that campaign.

Today, our subcommittee is conducting this oversight hearing as the first in a series of hearings to examine that national youth anti-media drug campaign.

It is vital that this program be administered both effectively and efficiently, and also in keeping with the intent of Congress.

I do want to inject at this point a little bit of my concern, and I will express it to the Director of ONDCP, right at the outset that we have had some difficulty in obtaining information to conduct this hearing and to perform our Constitutional duties of oversight and our particular responsibilities because we have been unable to obtain some information from ONDCP.

Our staff has compiled a list of documents, including subcontractors' monthly activity reports, evaluation reports, and project sta-

tus reports which have been requested but not submitted by ONDCP to date.

Now, we had first requested information, I believe, back in March. We have delayed conducting this hearing on several occasions. We wanted to give the ONDCP an opportunity to first complete a full year of activity in the program, and, second, to also compile and provide us with that information.

So today's hearing will be somewhat preliminary in that we have not had an opportunity to review all of the documents that we requested, nor have we received those documents.

It is my hope that we can work cooperatively with ONDCP to both secure those documents, records, and information, and have them provided to the subcommittee so that we can conduct our proper oversight role.

In addition to our oversight responsibilities for the Office of National Drug Control Policy, our investigative venue extends to a host of departments and agencies that partner with ONDCP to fight illicit drug use.

ONDCP is responsible for the policy guidance that is incorporated into our national drug control strategy and for assisting in the coordination of Federal, State, and local anti-drug efforts.

Early in this administration, drug issues were largely neglected, and in an effort to reduce White House staff, the Office of National Drug Control Policy staff was dramatically slashed, down from more than 100 staff positions to only a couple of dozen.

Congress has acted to reinvigorate the national anti-drug effort by putting pressure on the White House to adequately staff the office.

I might say, too, under the leadership of our new drug czar and Director, General McCaffrey, that we have dramatically brought up staffing. With a staff today of nearly 150, ONDCP is many times the size it was after the slash and burn activities back in the early part of this administration.

Congress continues to increase the Nation's anti-drug budget, which now exceeds $17.8 billion. Just since 1996, our anti-drug budget has grown by $4.3 billion. That is just since 1996, a $4.3 billion increase. Most of this increase, 55 percent, has funded more prevention and education programs.

ONDCP's budget for fiscal year 1999 was $350 million, with about $200 million being spent on the high-intensity drug traffic areas [HIDTAs], and $185 million, more than 40 percent of the total budget, on the media ad campaign.

ONDCP's performance of its responsibility to promote anti-drug messages nationwide is the focus of today's hearing. ONDCP refers to the effort and they have given it the title, "The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign," or some refer to it as "the campaign."

The campaign is no small program. At nearly $1 billion over 5 years, this is one of the largest advertising campaigns ever launched. One advertising executive recently noted that there are only a handful of ad campaigns in excess of $1 million a year, and cited New York, where $30 to $40-million accounts are fought for, as he said, tooth and nail.

In fiscal year 1998, Congress appropriated $195 million to ONDCP. I might add that that was $20 million over the President's

request. That $195 million was to support this national anti-drug media campaign.

In fiscal year 1999, $185 million was appropriated, and another $185 million will be provided for in fiscal year 2000.

The predecessor to the campaign was developed and run from 1987 to 1997 free of charge to the taxpayers by the Partnership for Drug-Free America.

As we are here today, experience has shown that when a strong anti-drug message is commercially nationally communicated and media time is maximized, drug abuse begins to drop.

Before 1998, the partnership, the private partnership, donated air time from the big three television networks to disseminate anti-drug messages nationwide. Creative talent was donated to develop and produce anti-drug ads. In 1991, the estimated value of these donations exceeded $350 million annually.

Increased competition from the industry deregulation in 1991 resulted in the beginning of a decline in donated media time. As a result, the partnership and others worked to convince Congress to appropriate Federal dollars to continue media buys so that the anti-drug message might continue.

During this time, I proposed to ONDCP and the FCC, Federal Communications Commission, that the public had a right, as owners of the public airwaves, to require a minimum level of public service announcements on this issue. However, a compromise was reached that Congress would fund media buys that would be matched by donated broadcast time and space.

I should note that in the early 1980's First Lady Nancy Reagan contributed immensely to an anti-drug awareness campaign through her "just say no" campaign efforts. That simple yet powerful message reached the entire Nation without cost to the taxpayers.

In the absence of such a clear message today and recognizing the need for a strong anti-drug message, Congress agreed to commit substantial tax dollars to replace previously donated media time.

Again, this decision was made as a result of a proven media track record and congressional appreciation for the urgency to respond to a growing drug crisis.

As shown in the 1999 national drug control strategy on page 12, based on a national household survey data from 1985 to 1992, use of illicit drugs declined in that period by 50 percent, from about 12 percent to about 6 percent of households. However, since this administration took office in 1992, the declining trend in illicit drug use reversed direction.

Throughout the 1990's, reports of the National Institute of Drug Abuse [NIDA], indicate that, overall, illicit drug use rose at an alarming rate among our young people during the beginning of this administration. Now skyrocketing heroin use and addiction are threatening our young people more than ever before.

From 1993 to 1997, the number of Americans reporting heroin use in the past month rose from 68,000 to 325,000. That is more than a quadrupling.

In 1998, over half of our Nation's 12th graders reported trying an illicit drug, according to the University of Michigan's report, which is entitled, "Monitoring the Future: A Study." This has taken

place and, in fact, has occurred since this administration took office in 1992. The fact is that lifetime marijuana use has nearly doubled among 8th and 12th graders, and gone up over 50 percent among 12th graders.

Since this administration took office, lifetime crack cocaine use has more than doubled among 8th and 10th graders and has gone up nearly 70 percent among 12th graders.

Since this administration took office, lifetime use of cocaine has more than doubled among 10th graders, and gone up nearly 60 percent among 8th graders, and over 50 percent among 12th graders.

The need for action is abundantly clear.

In appropriating moneys for the media campaign, conditions were placed on funding uses. The Office of Drug Control Policy was instructed not to supplant community-based coalitions or pro bono public service time and not to use funds for politically partisan purposes or to feature elected or administration officials.

ONDCP was asked to plan for securing private contributions and having qualifications of fund recipients, and also to have a system to measure outcomes.

As a consequence of funding this media effort, this subcommittee is responsible for ensuring that the campaign is both effective and efficient and that taxpayer dollars are maximized and not wasted.

We cannot afford wasteful or inefficient government practices in saving our youth from drugs.

Today, as this subcommittee learns more about ONDCP's administration of the media campaign, we must examine both the progress that is being made and the areas where improvements are needed in this program.

Based upon available information, there are some signs of some significant progress, and there are also some signs that raise doubts as to the media campaigns effectiveness and also its efficiency.

Again, I have requested important contract information from ONDCP that our investigative staff has not yet received. This is not a national security issue and neither is the information that they have something that deals with our national security. I will withhold final judgment regarding this initiative for now. Still, based upon information that I have, I have numerous concerns regarding the campaign's effectiveness and efficiency, and I think some of the information we have already received also makes me question some of the expenditures. But, again, I am going to withhold judgment until we get all the facts and information and document in hand.

I do consider it a positive sign that ONDCP budget figures indicate that significant media buys have been made, and that we have had very significant donated match services received. Still, I am concerned about paying for production costs that were donated in the past. I don't have a complete accounting of all these expenditures at this point, but I have a number of other concerns.

One expectation that I had about this initiative—an expectation that I believe was shared by others in Congress—was that the funds were to go to media buys. That was the need articulated to me and to other Members of Congress. Therefore, I envisioned a

media effort, simple in design and easy to administer. After all, ONDCP is a policy office and part of the White House.

Congress—wisely, I think—generally does not have the White House administer government programs. The departments and agencies generally administer sizable programs, as they have inspector generals, established procedures and safeguards, and more experience and resources.

Accordingly, I envisioned, perhaps, a single competitive contract award for buying media time with donated matches, and a concise plan for possible private contributions. After all, a proven and tested media approach was in place, based on studies and experience.

Instead, what we have seen so far is a very tangled web of contracts that appears overly complicated, expensive, somewhat bureaucratic, and, unfortunately, untested. And I might add, it is very difficult for our investigative subcommittee staff at this point to sort through these expenditures and, again, this tangle of contracts.

The media campaign has now been divided into dozens of contracts, subcontracts, interagency agreements, and transfers for a wide assortment of purposes. Why was a media buy converted into a very complicated and expensive programmatic activity? Was this approach necessary and the most effective and cost-efficient course to take? I am not quite certain.

I question the need for a $10 million reimbursable work agreement with a contractor to provide contract and administrative support services. Why is this needed?

Why was $750,000 sent to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration [SAMHSA], to develop innovative and effective approaches to the prevention of substance abuse? Doesn't SAMHSA already do this? If not, why not?

ONDCP is responsible for guiding and leveraging these agencies to contribute to anti-drug efforts. I know that the National Institute for Drug Abuse [NIDA] sends instructional packages to every middle school in the Nation. I have one with me today, and I assure you that I have plans for learning more about what SAMHSA is or is not doing.

I suggest guidance and coordination with our Education Department, which has a half-billion-dollar-per-year safe and drug-free school program.

Are we duplicating that effort? It, too, is designed to fight drugs in schools. Our oversight of that program reveals a strong need for quality guidance.

In particular, I question the award of almost $10 million per year over a 5-year period totaling more than $48 million to a public relations firm, apparently with little Federal contract experience, as part of a non-advertising campaign.

Wasn't the whole purpose of this campaign to advertise more extensively?

I realize that ONDCP sought and received the advice of others in planning these activities on how funds might be divvied up. Still, Congress is responsible to all the taxpayers and citizens for ensuring that these funds have been used effectively and efficiently and in accordance with congressional intent.

Congress is also responsible for ensuring that all agencies contribute their fair share and do not skim moneys from this media effort. It appears to me that many of the non-advertising campaign activity should be conducted by other well-funded Federal agencies.

I also am concerned about recent contract reimbursement issues resulting from non-reimbursements and about delays in deliverables such as non-advertising campaign evaluation due last month. It is my understanding that one of these evaluations was due September 4th. We were given conflicting information as to whether ONDCP had that report, and we certainly have not been able to get a copy of that report. That is troubling to me.

A more complete discussion of the funding and contract concerns may have to wait until later hearings, again because we don't have the information from ONDCP or access to records.

I will be requesting additional information from ONDCP, but available information raises some very serious questions.

Was it necessary to spend $1 million for a 50-page communications plan? Are the expensive evaluations truly needed, including a $4.5 million evaluation of cities, that reaffirm the obvious—that the anti-drug message can increase awareness and perception of risk? That was a $4.5 million expenditure. What do we expect from the projected 5-year, $35 million national evaluation?

I agree that we need to evaluate the effectiveness of our efforts. That is very important. However, we already have federally sponsored research of the monitoring of the future project. That project has been monitoring attitudes and drug abuse trends for decades. In fact, its surveys are being used in this effort.

Again, I support reasonable evaluation research and can understand dedicating funds for this purpose and that they are, in fact, needed.

In fiscal year 1999, for example, $100,000 of the ONDCP was earmarked for evaluating the Drug Free Communities Act. It appears to me that spending and media evaluations may be running amuck.

If you wave large amounts of money in front of contractors and consultants and researchers, I can assure you that they will come and they will be attracted to these opportunities.

Finally, I am skeptical of the effective and efficiency of Internet celebrity chats. My staff has identified public figures and celebrities who are willing to share their anti-drug messages to much larger audiences without cost to taxpayers.

I would encourage ONDCP to identify celebrities who will volunteer anti-drug messages through donated media productions.

There are also questions raised about the credibility of celebrities who are being paid for these messages, particularly in this setting.

In sum, I support ONDCP's media buys and donated time and talents, efforts to date. We have seen positive impacts of effective media messages and donated time and talents in the past.

Past successes clearly motivated Congress to fund this media buy initiative, but I am very concerned about the questionable expenses and uses of tax dollars that could be spent directly for media buys and their value more than doubled by donated matches.

I do not consider it appropriate for ONDCP to become a program office. That is why the "P" in ONDCP stands for "policy," not for

"programs." ONDCP, as a component of the White House, is not well-situated, suited, or equipped to manage complicated programmatic activities.

Most Federal programmatic activities require a multitude of administrative duties and bureaucratic tasks, including developing programs and projects, devising and implementing plans, monitoring deliverables, conducting cost-effective evaluations, and ensuring fiscal accountability and integrity.

In my opinion, Congress never intended for ONDCP to undertake major program activities or to fund a multitude of contracts, subcontracts, and agreements. If the media campaign truly requires a complicated approach and a multitude of contracts and financial agreements for non-media buys—something I am not aware of or convinced of—then Congress could specify such an approach and assign it to an agency with media experience. After all, nearly $17 billion in anti-drug activities are now managed outside of ONDCP.

As I see it, Congress does not intend to create a bureaucratic monster to fund a study, and also plan and contract, coordinate, evaluate, and chat the anti-drug message to death.

I feel that a truly integrated campaign should emphasize partnering rather than paying other Federal agencies, nonprofits, corporate sponsors, and interested public figures and celebrities.

Congress and ONDCP need to work together on many fronts involving supply and demand. We agree that much more coordination and resources are needed to respond to the Colombian situation and to our southwest border crisis. I am convinced that many of these issues could have been avoided had there been closer coordination by ONDCP with Congress and this subcommittee, both with the majority and the minority.

I look forward to closer communications and coordinations in the future.

I hope we find common ground today in recognizing that the protection of our Nation's youth from drugs is our paramount concern, and that decisive and effective action is needed.

I am interested in hearing from our witnesses. I apologize for the length of this opening statement, but we have spent a considerable amount of time. This is the largest program that we have ever undertaken. It was undertaken, I think, with good will on both sides, and we want it effective.

We are spending more money, as I said in my opening statement, than we probably ever had on any media campaign in the history of the Congress, and we want to look on it with pride and also with success in that it is effective in addressing this terrible problem that we face.

With that long opening statement, I am pleased now to hear from Mr. Cummings.

[The prepared statement of Hon. John L. Mica follows:]

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The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

OPENING STATEMENT

Chairman John L. Mica

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources

October 14th, 1999

Our Subcommittee is conducting this oversight hearing today as the first in a series of hearings to examine the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. It is vital that this program be administered effectively and efficiently, and in keeping with Congressional intent.

In addition to our oversight responsibilities for the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP), our investigative venue extends to a host of departments and agencies that partner with ONDCP to fight illicit drug use.

ONDCP is responsible for the policy guidance that is incorporated into our National Drug Control Strategy, and for assisting in the coordination of federal, state and local anti-drug efforts. Early in this Administration, drug issues were largely neglected and, in an effort to reduce White House staff, the ONDCP staff was dramatically slashed down from more than one hundred staff to only a couple of dozen. Congress acted to reinvigorate the national anti-drug effort by putting pressure on the White House to adequately staff the office. With a staff of nearly 150 today, ONDCP is many times the size it was in 1994. Congress continues to increase the nation's anti-drug budget, which, now exceeds **$17.8 billion**. Just since 1996, our anti-drug budget has grown by $4.3 billion. Most of this increase, 55%, has funded more prevention and education programs. ONDCP's budget in FY-99 was $350 million, with about $200 million being spent on the High Intensity Drug Trafficking Areas (HIDTAs) and $185 million --more than 40% of the total budget -- on the Media Campaign.

ONDCP's performance of its responsibility to promote anti-drug messages nation-wide is the focus of this hearing. ONDCP refers to the effort as "The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign" (or "the Campaign"). The Campaign is no small program. At nearly **$1 billion** over five years, this is one of the largest advertising campaigns ever launched.

One advertising executive recently noted that there are only a handful of ad campaigns in excess of $100 million a year and cited New York where "$30 million to $40 million accounts are fought for tooth and nail."

In FY-98, Congress appropriated $195 million to ONDCP ($20 million over the President's request) for a national anti-drug media campaign. In FY-99, $185 million was appropriated, and another $185 million will be provided for FY-2000.

The predecessor to the Campaign was developed and run from 1987 to 1997 -- free of charge to taxpayers -- by the Partnership for a Drug Free America (the "Partnership"). As we will hear today, experience has shown that when a strong anti-drug message is communicated nationally and media time is maximized, drug abuse drops.

Before 1998, the Partnership acquired donated airtime from the big three television networks to disseminate anti-drug messages nation-wide. Creative talent was donated to develop and produce anti-drug ads. In 1991, the estimated value of these donations reached $350 million annually.

Increased competition from industry deregulation in 1991 resulted in a decline in donated media time. As a result, the Partnership and others worked to convince Congress to appropriate federal dollars to continue media buys so that anti-drug messages might continue. During this time, I proposed to ONDCP and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) that the public had a right as owners of the public airwaves to require a minimum level of public service announcements on this issue. However, a compromise was reached that Congress would fund media buys that would be matched by donated broadcast time or space.

I should note that in the 1980s, First-Lady Nancy Reagan contributed immensely to anti-drug awareness through her "Just Say No" campaign. That simple, yet powerful, message reached the entire nation without cost to taxpayers. In the absence of such a clear message today, and recognizing the need for a strong anti-drug message, Congress agreed to commit substantial tax dollars to replace previously donated media time. Again, this decision was made as a result of a proven media track record, and Congressional appreciation for the urgency to respond to a growing drug crisis.

As shown in the 1999 National Drug Control Strategy (p. 12), based upon National Household Survey data, **from 1985 to 1992, use of illicit drugs declined by 50%** (from 12% to about 6% of households).

However, since this Administration took office in 1992, the declining trend in illicit drug use reversed direction. Throughout the 90's, reports of the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) indicate that overall illicit drug use rose at an alarming rate among our young people. Now skyrocketing heroin use and addiction are threatening them more than ever before. From 1993 to 1997, the number of Americans reporting heroin use in the past month rose from 68,000 to 325,000 - more than quadrupling!

In 1998 over half of our nation's 12th graders reported trying an illicit drug according to the University of Michigan's "Monitoring the Future Study," survey. Since this Administration took office in 1992, lifetime marijuana use has nearly doubled among 8th and 10th graders, and gone up over 50% among 12th graders. Since this administration took office, lifetime crack cocaine use has more than doubled among 8th and 10th graders, and has gone up nearly 70% among 12th graders. Since this Administration took office, lifetime use of cocaine has more than doubled among 10th graders and gone up nearly 60% among 8th graders and over 50% among 12th graders. The need for action is clear.

In appropriating monies for the media campaign, conditions were placed on funding uses.

ONDCP was instructed ***not to supplant*** community based coalitions or pro bono public service time, ***not to use funds*** for politically partisan purposes or to feature elected or senior administration officials, ***to plan*** for securing private contributions and for the qualifications of fund recipients, and to have a system ***to measure*** outcomes.

As a consequence of funding this media effort, this Subcommittee is responsible for ensuring that the campaign is effective and efficient, and that taxpayer dollars are maximized, not wasted. We cannot afford wasteful or inefficient government practices in saving our youth from drugs.

Today, as this Subcommittee learns more about ONDCP's administration of the media campaign, we must examine both the progress that is being made and the areas were improvements are needed. Based upon available information, there are signs of progress, and there are also signs that raise doubts as to the media campaign's effectiveness and efficiency. Again, I have requested important contract information from ONDCP that I have not yet received. This is not national security information. I will withhold final judgment regarding this initiative for now. Still, based upon information that I have, I have numerous concerns regarding the campaign's effectiveness and efficiency.

I do consider it a positive sign that ONDCP budget figures indicate that significant media buys have been made, and donated matches received. Still, I am concerned about paying for production costs that were donated in the past. I don't have a complete accounting of these amounts yet.

I have a number of other concerns. One expectation that I had about this initiative, an expectation that I believe was shared by others in Congress, was that the funds were to go to media buys. That was the need articulated to me and Members of Congress. Therefore, I envisioned a media effort simple in design and easy to administer. After all, ONDCP is a policy office and part of the White House. Congress -- wisely I think -- generally does not have the White House administer government programs. The departments and agencies generally administer sizeable programs, as they have inspectors general, established procedures and safeguards, and more resources and experience. Accordingly, I envisioned perhaps a single competitive contract award for buying media time with donated matches, and a concise plan for possible private contributions. After all, a proven and tested media approach was in place, based upon studies and experience.

Instead, I now see a very tangled web of contracts that appears overly complicated, expensive, bureaucratic and untested.

The media campaign has now been divided into dozens of contracts, subcontracts, interagency agreements and transfers, for a wide assortment of purposes. Why was a media buy converted into a very complicated and expensive programmatic activity? Was this approach necessary and the most effective and efficient course to take? I think not.

I question the need for a $10 million reimbursable work agreement with a contractor to provide contract and administrative support services. Why is this needed? Why was $750,000 sent to the Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) "to develop innovative and effective approaches to the prevention of youth substance abuse?" Doesn't SAMHSA do this already? If not, why not? ONDCP is responsible for guiding and leveraging these agencies to contribute to anti-drug efforts. I know that the National Institute for Drug Abuse (NIDA) sends instructional packages to every middle school in the nation. I have one with me today. I assure you that I have plans for learning more about what SAMHSA is or is not doing. I also suggest more guidance and coordination with the Department of Education's **half-billion dollar** per year Safe and Drug-Free Schools program. Are we duplicating that effort? It too is designed to fight drugs in schools. Our oversight of that program reveals a strong need for quality guidance.

In particular, I question the award of almost $10 million per year over a five-year period (totaling more than $48 million) to a public relations firm, apparently with little federal contract experience, as part of a "non-advertising campaign." Wasn't the whole purpose of this campaign to advertise more extensively.

I realize that ONDCP sought and received the advice of others in planning these activities and how funds might be divvied up. Still, Congress is responsible to all taxpayers and citizens for ensuring that funds are used effectively and as efficiently, in accordance with congressional intent. Congress is also responsible for ensuring that all agencies contribute their fair share, and do not skim monies from this media effort. It appears to me that many of the "non-advertising campaign" activities should be conducted by other well-funded federal agencies.

I also am concerned about recent contract reimbursement issues resulting in non-reimbursements, and about delays in deliverables, such as the first "non-advertising campaign" evaluation due last month.

A more complete discussion of the funding and contract concerns may have to wait until later hearings. I will be requesting additional information from ONDCP. But available information raises serious questions. Was it necessary to spend a **million dollars** for a 50-page communications plan? Are the expensive evaluations truly needed, including a $4.5 million evaluation of cities that reaffirmed the obvious -- that anti-drug messages can increase awareness and perception of risk? What do we expect from the projected five-year $35 million national evaluation?

I agree that we need to evaluate the effectiveness of our efforts. However, we already have the federally sponsored research of the "Monitoring the Future" project. That project has been monitoring attitudes and drug abuse trends for decades. In fact its surveys are being used in this effort. Again, I support reasonable evaluation research and can understand dedicating funds where needed. In FY-99, for example, $100,000 of the ONDCP budget was earmarked for evaluating the Drug-Free Communities Act. It appears to me that spending and media evaluations are running amuck. If you wave large amounts of money in front of contractors, consultants and researchers, I can assure you **they will come**.

Finally, I am skeptical of the effectiveness and efficiency of Internet "celebrity chats." My staff has identified many public figures and celebrities who are willing to share their anti-drug messages to much larger audiences without cost to taxpayers. I would encourage ONDCP to identify celebrities who will volunteer anti-drug messages through donated media productions.

In sum, I support ONDCP media buys, and donated time and talents. We have seen the positive impacts of effective media messages and donated time and talents in the past. Past successes clearly motivated Congress to fund this media buy initiative. I am very concerned about these questionable expenses and uses of tax dollars that could be spent directly for media buys and their value more than doubled by donated matches.

I do not consider it appropriate for ONDCP to become a program office. That is why the "**P**" in ONDCP stands for "**Policy**" not "**Programs**." ONDCP, a component of the White House, is not well situated, suited or equipped to manage complicated programmatic activities. Most federal programmatic activities require a multitude of administrative duties and bureaucratic tasks, including developing programs and projects; devising and implementing plans, monitoring deliverables, conducting cost-effective evaluations, and ensuring fiscal accountability and integrity. In my opinion, Congress never intended for ONDCP to undertake major program activities or to fund a multitude of contracts, subcontracts and agreements.

If the media campaign truly requires a complicated approach and a multitude of contracts and financial agreements for non-media buys -- something I'm not aware of or convinced of -- then Congress could specify such an approach and assign it to an agency with media experience.

After all, nearly **$17 billion** in anti-drug activities are now being managed outside of ONDCP. As I see it, however, Congress presently does not intend to create a bureaucratic monster to fund, study, plan, contract, coordinate, evaluate and chat the anti-drug message to death. It is my view that a truly integrated media campaign should emphasize partnering with -- rather than paying -- other federal agencies, non-profits, corporate sponsors, and interested public officials and celebrities.

Congress and ONDCP need to work together on many fronts involving supply and demand. We agree that much more coordination and resources are needed to respond to the Colombian situation and to our southwest border crisis. I am convinced that many of these issues could have been avoided had there been closer coordination by ONDCP with Congress and this Subcommittee, both majority and minority. I look forward to closer communications and coordination in the future.

I hope we find common ground today in recognizing that the protection of our nation's youth from drugs is of paramount concern, and that decisive and effective action is needed.

I look forward to hearing from all of our witnesses today as we seek to learn more about the administration of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and how it can be improved.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you very much for holding this hearing.

As I sat there and I listened to you, I was saying to myself at one time, 3½ or so years ago I sat here as a new member of this committee and I didn't have an institutional history, but thank God this morning I do, and I remember some of the things that have happened.

As I listened to you—I will be very frank—I got kind of concerned because a lot of the things that you just criticized the agency for are the very things that this Congress told them to do. And that I find very interesting.

Like, for example, there was some talk about the anti-drug media campaign that was, prior to this, operated effectively using donated television time. But back in 1994, a 1994 hearing, the majority decried this dependency on donated time, and in 1998 the majority pressed for the creation of a paid media campaign.

Then, another thing that concerns me is this whole issue of evaluation. And General McCaffrey knows that he and I don't agree on everything, but I do believe in fairness. I am sure he will address these issues.

Back in October 1998 the Congress directed. We told them to do it. It wasn't like something that just fell out of the air. We said, "Do it." We directed ONDCP to implement a comprehensive communications strategy. Congress instructed ONDCP to purchase media time and space. But listen to what else we told them to do. He didn't do this, we told them to do it: to test and evaluate advertising; test and evaluate the entire campaign; forge partnerships with community, civic, professional, and government organizations; form collaborations with the entertainment industry. We didn't tell them who to go to in the industry; we told them to do it. Engage in interactive media activities—we told them to do it.

And now, a few years later, we turn around and we say, "We don't like the way you did it. You spent too much money here."

I don't know whether it is a question of micro-managing or not. I think that General McCaffrey will address these issues very effectively.

But I must tell you, Mr. Chairman—and I do appreciate and I know that your heart is in the right place, but one of the things that concerned me about the entire statement that you just made—and I think that you and many others have been very concerned about whether the rates of drug use have gone up or down, but it is interesting to note that not one syllable was mentioned about the fact that teenage drug use in the African American community is going up, not one syllable of that long statement.

General McCaffrey knows that this is a great concern of mine, and he has agreed to come to my District to sit down with some young African American children to address this issue so that they can let him know why, perhaps, this media campaign has not affected them the way it has affected others.

And the other thing that I was very impressed with—and, you know, I know we sort of glance over sometimes the achievements of folks when we are trying to make sure we make our point. But the fact is that General McCaffrey has done a good job. I mean, there is a 13 percent drop in the number of teens using drugs.

And, as much as I want to give credit to the "just say no" campaign—and I will tell you, I don't know how effective it was. I am going to be frank. I just don't know, somebody just saying no. But I applaud every single person who stands up and tries to do something about drug use. But I don't know. I don't have a barometer that says, "Just say no says something to the children that I represent." I don't know whether it affected them or not.

But one thing I do know is that when you give children a good education and when you do the preventive things that the general is trying to do, I think you stand a better chance of reducing drug use and preventing drug use.

And so I am excited about this hearing. I am looking forward to hearing the response.

I think we have to be very careful. I have seen us spend, as a new Member of this Congress, billions of dollars, and it doesn't seem like there is very much oversight at all in some areas.

On the other hand, we have an area where there seems to be—and, general, you can address this—there seems to have been some effectiveness with the spending of these dollars, but we sit here and say, "Well, maybe you aren't doing it right. Maybe you ought to tweak it here, tweak it there, tweak it everywhere." But the fact is that there has been progress.

Last, but not least, as a member of this committee I have, over and over again, said this, and I mean it. While I may disagree with the general and his staff on some issues, there are very few human beings that I have more respect for than this agency. I think they have one of the toughest jobs in America. And it is so easy to sit up here and say things should be different, but when you are in the streets, when you are so often sadly dealing with parents, sometimes, who don't take the responsibility that they should take, when you are dealing with substances which are often almost dropped in communities, and the things that I see, where wholesale sale of drugs, where drugs are marketed as if you are marketing some great product for headaches or something, it is a tremendous thing that we have to address.

I mean, when we think about all the drugs that folks are trying to float into this country, fly into it, send by train and cars, it is a tremendous responsibility.

And I just wanted to take a moment, General, to thank you for what you do. I could probably say this at the end of the hearing, but I thank you for what you are doing. It is a very, very difficult job, and I applaud you and I applaud your staff.

I do have my concerns. I want to thank you for agreeing to try to address them as best you can. And I look forward to your testimony and the testimony of the other witnesses.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Elijah E. Cummings follows:]

Hearing Statement – Congressman Elijah E. Cummings

Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources
October 14, 1999
2154 Rayburn House Office Building

Mr. Chairman,

I'd first like to mention that although we may sometimes disagree, I have great respect for General McCaffrey. I am pleased that he recently agreed to come to Baltimore to speak with the children in my district about drugs.

Before I address an issue I have about the Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, I have to question the motives of my Republicans colleagues in regards to this hearing. My understanding is that they do not to intend to get an update on the campaign, hear about its successes and next steps. Rather, they plan to criticize and scrutinize every expenditure made by ONDCP, to lend credence to their argument that the government should not pay for previously donated services.

My understanding is that prior to the initiation of the paid media campaign, the anti-drug media campaign was operating effectively using donated television time. However, in a 1994 hearing, the Republicans decried this dependency on donated time and in 1998, pressed for the creation of a paid media campaign. So, I don't understand the intensity of the scrutiny of the campaign expenditures.

I believe that the ONDCP is doing a good job and I will continue to support their efforts. I believe the program we're discussing today along with anti-drug coalitions, the safe and drug-free schools program and drug interdiction is instrumental in reducing teen drug use. Also, just as important are the government and community partnerships like the media campaign which focus on drug education, prevention and treatment.

A few months ago, I received the 1998 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse. I have grave concerns about the reported increase in drug use among minority teens. Specifically, the 1998 Household Survey reported an overall 13% drop in the number of teens using illegal drugs. Sadly, it also revealed an alarming increase in marijuana and cocaine use among African-Americans and Hispanic teens.

As you know, one of the greatest obstacles to the realization of a young person's dreams is drug use. We have a responsibility as a nation to reduce drug use among all youth, no matter their ethnic background. The Congressional Black Caucus and I have shared our concerns with General McCaffrey on this issue. I hope that today he will share his perspective on the causal factors of the apparent racial disparity and how the media campaign will address this issue.

I look forward to hearing from today's witnesses.

Mr. MICA. I thank the ranking member, or acting ranking member today, and recognize the vice chairman of our subcommittee, Mr. Barr, the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your calling this hearing. It is always an honor to have General McCaffrey with us, and I look forward to hearing from him and the other panelists that you have in the other two panels.

We, of course, share much in common, those of us up here, with you, General McCaffrey—certainly a commitment to our young people, our abhorrence of mind-altering drugs, and our commitment to continue to wage an unrelenting battle against their usage.

We also share a common understanding that both of us are stewards of the public's money, and, while some on the other side may not view exercising that stewardship in oversight is important, I know that you know that it is and the chairman and we do, also, so I appreciate your being up here to discuss with us some of the specifics about how the moneys are being spent, and I have no prejudgments at all on it. I think it is an important part of our oversight to periodically look and hear from you as one of the prime administrators of these anti-drug moneys to see that they are being spent most wisely.

There are a lot of questions that we have, and you are always very forthcoming, except when it relates to some political issues that are difficult for you to deal with, and I understand that, and I will get into another one of those, which is the D.C. legalization initiative again today, and hopefully you will be able to share with us some thoughts on that, since we have progressed down that road a little bit since you appeared last here before the Congress.

But I do appreciate our different witnesses today and think that this is a very important hearing, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate your convening this.

Thank you.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman and recognize now the gentleman from Texas, Mr. Turner.

Mr. TURNER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Welcome, General McCaffrey. We appreciate all of your good work and efforts over the years to combat drug abuse.

I come here today, Mr. Chairman, with no preconceived notions about our efforts. I am very supportive of the fact that we at the Federal level are committing significant dollars in trying to combat drug abuse and to the advertising effort that is being made.

Those of us who hold political office all have different opinions about the effectiveness of advertising because we have to engage in purchasing advertising every 2 years, and we all struggle to be sure the advertising is out there where people can see it and that we don't spend an inordinate amount of our funds on consultants and other expenses that never actually get out there where the rubber meets the road, so it is an interesting subject for us to undertake.

I am certainly supportive of the continued efforts to try to involve the private sector and to secure private donated funds and donated media. It is a very important part of the effort, and I want to be sure that we are continuing to encourage it.

But, in the final analysis, I think the commitment that we are making, both publicly and privately, to communicating an anti-drug message to young people is a very important effort and should be continued, should be subject to review and oversight by this committee, and I commend you, Mr. Chairman, for holding the hearing for this purpose.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman and now recognize the gentlelady from Florida, Ms. Ros-Lehtinen.

Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Chairman. I congratulate you for holding this hearing, because I think all of us in Congress, and especially this committee and this subcommittee, have an important oversight task, and that is to carefully look at and monitor how our scarce taxpayer dollars are being spent, and I think this hearing today should help us to do that, but I am going to say some positive statements about this media campaign. I know a little bit about it because this national campaign kicked off in my Congressional District. I am not going to speak about what they did in other areas, but I would like to just briefly talk about the great efforts that this campaign did in my area, where we have an overwhelming number of Hispanic children in our public and private school systems.

This campaign reached out to the Hispanic community, especially. They got very good support from our Spanish-language press. They were all out there saying what a positive message it is to have kids talking to other kids about why it is wrong to take drugs.

Not only is that an encouraging message to me, as a Member of Congress, but as a mother of a 13-year-old and a 12-year-old, I know how pervasive this message of, "It is OK to take drugs" is to young people. They see it all the time in television, in MTV, on the Internet, and they actually pay money to hear the message that drugs are OK, because if you pay attention to the kind of movies that are out there—and I do—when was the last time that you had the hero or the heroine of that movie be someone who is doing well in school, that academic achievements are applauded and that drugs are terrible?

All around our children today is this culture in which drugs are OK. What a shame that we actually have to pay to get a message out there saying that drugs are not OK.

I think that we, of course, must be careful with our tax dollars. Is this campaign the best use of our tax dollars? Is the message getting through? Are we doing enough? Are we reaching out to the partnership groups that are already out there? Is the drug czar doing enough to work with those anti-drug groups and get the free media exposure? Is Madison Avenue doing its part to get those ads out for free?

We want to make sure that we exploit whatever free media is out there, but, barring that, I think we need to reach out to the young people, we need to get the message that drugs are not OK.

I know from the kind of campaign that was done in Miami that it is a message that needs to be heard. I want my children to hear it. Too bad we have to pay to get them to hear it, but if that is the way it has got to be done, then that is what we must do. But let us monitor, let us make sure that it is being correctly used.

I know General McCaffrey is a semi-resident of south Florida, he goes down there so much. But I think every time someone goes out and says drugs are not OK, that is a positive message. I want Amanda and Patricia to hear that. If it is in Spanish, all the better. They have got to practice their Spanish.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentlelady and recognize the gentleman from California, Mr. Ose, for an opening statement.

Mr. OSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

As always, I welcome the opportunity to participate in your hearings. I regret our good friend, Mr. Cummings, had to depart. I, too, share a specific interest in how minority groups are being affected, and I find it ironic, his testimony that use among minorities is growing, and his objection to our oversight over the matter which we are participating in an oversight hearing.

I look forward to the General's feedback, because I do think that if use is growing in a particular sector, such as some of our minority groups, we do need to exercise oversight.

With that, as always, I learn something every time I have the opportunity to visit with the general. I thank you for including me.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Ose.

I am pleased now to recognize—he is not a member of our panel, but he is one of the three co-chairs appointed by the Speaker as the chair of our anti-drug effort in the House of Representatives, Mr. Portman.

Mr. Portman of Ohio has really been the leader in working on the demand side of the equation, and a close ally to this subcommittee and its efforts.

You are recognized, sir, if you want to make an opening statement.

Mr. PORTMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be very brief.

First, I would thank you very much for allowing me to be here today, not being a member of the panel, and, second, to commend you for holding this oversight hearing. I think it is extremely important that we have these hearings so that we can have the information out in the public and we can talk honestly about some of the issues that sometimes only get addressed behind closed doors.

I am very supportive of the campaign. I think Congress took a huge risk in 1996 by entering into this, which was unprecedented, setting up what is going to be, over time, the single largest campaign of any kind, largest media campaign not just in the country but in the world. We did it because we believe that the research indicated it was the right thing to do.

I believe that the campaign has made considerable progress. I know we will hear from Lloyd Johnston and others on that later, as well as General McCaffrey. However, I do think that oversight of a program of this magnitude is extremely important.

I see three challenges, Mr. Chairman, among the many before us that I would like to mention, if I could.

First is being sure that we continue to integrate the effort of the anti-drug media campaign with what is going on in our communities around the country, particularly the community coalition movement, which is now about 4,000 community coalitions strong, and we hope to double in the next 4 or 5 years.

I think we have made some progress in that regard, but I think we have considerable more progress to make.

Second would be working to mobilize and complement the work of the private sector. I have spoken with General McCaffrey about this. I know he is committed to this. But it is to keep the Partnership for Drug-Free America, keep all the other private sector entities that are working on this so diligently and have been over the last decade with this program, and use them, frankly, to maximize the impact of this program, use the creative talent on Madison Avenue, use the folks who have, again, spent years working on this, and to be sure that we are continuing to complement their work with the work that the Federal Government is supporting through this program.

The final one is evaluation, and this is one area where I want to particularly compliment ONDCP for taking this evaluation—what Mr. Cummings' earlier mentioned—mandated from Congress, which I think would have been probably been something the general would have done anyway, but taking it seriously.

I know Lloyd Johnston is going to address that in his statement.

I also know we have a GAO report, Mr. Chairman, I think, that you have been involved with coming out in March 2000, which I am anticipating eagerly.

But it is absolutely essential in the prevention area that we do a better job of evaluating the progress of taxpayer dollars being spent, particularly when it is of this magnitude.

So again, Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to be here today. I look forward to the testimony.

Mr. MICA. I thank the gentleman, and I would now like to turn to our first panel, and that consists of the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

Director McCaffrey has been with us before. If you would stand, sir, this is an investigations and oversight committee of Congress. Raise your right hand to be sworn.

[Witness sworn.]

Mr. MICA. Welcome again to our panel, Director McCaffrey. We are anxious to hear about the progress that has been made on this anti-drug media campaign. I think we have had about 1 year now under our belts. We have tried to allow as much time as possible for the program to run its initial course, and now have an update provided by you about its progress.

So you are welcome and recognized, sir.

STATEMENT OF GENERAL BARRY R. MCCAFFREY, DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

General MCCAFFREY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the chance to appear before you and to present some of our own insights, respond to your own questions.

Let me, if I may, with your permission, ask to enter into the record the written statement we have pulled together, as well as the copies of the charts that I am going to run through very quickly.

Mr. MICA. Without objection, that documentation and those reports will be made part of the record.

General McCaffrey. We have tried to pull together, and particularly in our written statement, some very detailed data that tries to get at the questions on what are we doing and how effectively is it working.

I say that, and excuse the props, but here are the initial evaluations of phase one and phase two, so I think we have gotten a very detailed and serious scientifically based evaluation of how we are conducting this campaign and to what effect.

Let me also, if I may, take note that this has been a team effort, and it is a team effort because here in the room you have wisely elected to have several of them testify. We have the Partnership for Drug-Free America. Dick Bonnett is down here with some of his people. We just had a very effective multi-hour session with Jim Burke and the others, one of our periodic updates. They are the right arm we have in this whole outfit.

The Ad Council is here, Jody Berkowitz, campaign manager. Peggy Collins, their new president, she came in with about 30 of their people and gave us a spectacular layout on their work, which I will talk about more later. But let me, if I may, underscore: the most important thing they are going to do is connect community coalitions and volunteers to the anti-drug effort. Wait until you see the work that they are about to start putting on the air. I thank them for their creativity.

The American Advertising Federation—Wally Snyder is the president and is here—do the heavy lifting in 102 local media markets. We couldn't get off the ground without their leadership on convening and facilitating the media match task forces.

As you know, by law Congress has required me to get at least 100 percent match, and that is where mechanically the leadership goes on in communities all across America.

You have elected to have testify one of the most brilliant people I have met in the last 4 years, Shona Seifert, who is the senior partner and project director of Ogilvy & Mather, our prime advertising contractor. I won't speak for her, but let me just say that her team has sparks jumping off them. We are very pleased with their efforts.

Fleishman-Hillard, although it only has about 5 percent of our money, will be represented by Harry Frazier, who I know will testify, and Bev Schwartz, who is our vice president and project director. Their rather modest funds arguably at the end of the day may turn out to be the biggest lever we apply on this whole effort, particularly when it comes to the Internet.

I am not sure any of us yet appreciate the extent to which the adolescents in our country have moved away from television, radio, and other forms of communication and are in the Internet right now. Fleishman-Hillard has done truly brilliant work there.

Lloyd Johnston is here. He has been a source of wisdom on the drug issue since I picked up these responsibilities. University of Michigan Survey Research Center—there is no substitute for beginning with some facts, and Lloyd Johnston's analysis of his own data base has been instrumental.

A bunch of other folks are here, but let me, if I may, underscore Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America. Sue Thou is here, their public policy coordinator. They are instrumental. We don't

have a national drug problem; we have a series of community drug epidemics. That is where we are going to get at it.

There are also many other people here. I would just briefly mention that Dr. Linda Wolf Jones, Therapeutic Communities of America, reminds us that, although we are talking prevention and education, which ought to be about 85 percent of our efforts, we still have to be concerned with the 4 million of us who are chronically addicted to illegal drugs, and the work of her association and others has been instrumental in getting at that problem.

I am going to run through very quickly, just to show you sort of the architecture or the structure of this effort through a series of slides. You have copies, and I would like to end with a 2-minute video.

The first viewgraph—the strategy. I have to remind all of us that what we are doing is not random motion, it is part of the national drug strategy. This is an inter-agency process. There are 14 Cabinet officers involved in it, and I consult with Congress each year to make sure you have an influence over this document.

It is complemented by a communications strategy. This is a $2 billion, 5-year effort involving all means of communication. We are going to talk about some of these concepts around advertising, a 360-degree approach. It won't work if there isn't a blueprint on how we are going to address these challenges.

We are talking about the most important thing we are doing, which is goal No. 1. How do we shape youth attitudes to reduce the abuse of these illegal drugs?

This is borrowing from Dr. Lloyd Johnston. We have good data. Over time, youth attitudes shape how young people behave, and we are confident that, when you shape attitudes that essentially reject the abuse of illegal drugs from about age 9 through 18, drug abuse goes down. And when that happens, years out, a decade out, chronic addiction goes down, its enormous cost.

That chart is good news, as Congressman Cummings noted—Donna Shalala and I were really very proud to note a 13 percent reduction in youth drug abuse last year.

I say that. That was not a creature of the media campaign. That was only—about half of it was influenced by phase two media. So this is old work, old data, but drug abuse is going down, and I would argue much of it, Congressman Portman, is due to the work of the 40 great civic, patriotic organizations, and the more than 33 other NGO's who are associated in communities across America with addressing this problem. But it is moving in the right direction, thank God.

Basically, we are just going to take and show you a series of bar charts. This isn't the light at the end of the tunnel. What this indicates is the slope of the curve has changed. It was getting worse from 1990 on, youth attitudes followed by youth behavior. Attitudes are getting better and behavior is starting to change. But we clearly still have unacceptably high rates of drug abuse.

Here is what you told me to do. And I appreciate Congressman Cummings reminding us that we have to take into account, there are 154 people in ONDCP. You have given me program management of a half billion dollars a year of programs. It is not the case that I am just acting as a policy spokesman for the administration.

I am now organizing and running the high-intensity drug trafficking program, the media campaign, the Safe and Drug-Free Communities Act, as well as other very useful tools.

I do this, obviously, not by running it myself, but by using contractors and by organizing other agencies of government. But clearly you have made me accountable for a half billion dollars in program activity, a responsibility I take quite seriously.

Here is the guidance you gave me on this one—next chart.

This is not a simple activity. It is coherent, it can be understood, but it requires a lot of study, and you have to listen to people who know what they are talking about. Fortunately, on these issues, arguably, one of the most creative industries in America are those associated with advertising and communications. Thankfully, we have had benefit of some very serious people who have spent their lives in this field.

I do need to underscore right off the bat that this is a good news story, and I will just tell you quite bluntly, we know what we are doing and we are proud to explain how it is going and how we are organized. But it isn't just a buying a Seinfeld 30-second spot. It is more than that. And if you want to talk to children and their adult mentors in today's America, you can't go to the Super Bowl and buy million-dollar ads. You have got to understand more about the issue. You have got to see the change in the communications industry, and you do have to be sophisticated in your thinking. That is exactly where we are. We intend to document how we are doing this and to what impact.

Let me just throw that up as a snapshot. That is astonishing. We went out and we tested it in 12 cities, and we got some pretty good snapshots—and that is all they were—12 control cities, 12 test cities. The message got heard. We were astonished when we found out it actually started to change thinking.

Phase two, we went out and took a snapshot. Mind you, our goal was 90 percent market penetration and four times a week contact. Those are the results we got in phase two, and that was using PDFA's old material.

Now we are into phase three. September 6 we started with the print media, September 20th with television. It is incredible what we have now got on the air.

If you are an old guy, you are not seeing a lot of it. If you are a 14-year-old black kid, last week we probably got to you as much as 12 times a week with a market message. This is brand new.

We put $33 million in the minority outreach. We are in 11 languages. We have a different strategy in 102 different media markets. This effort does not look the same in Orlando, FL, as it does in Hawaii and Newark and Cleveland, OH. But that is a snapshot.

In phase three, the fully integrated campaign is now up and running, and that is the one to watch.

We argued at the beginning that it is a 2-year impact, the elasticity between action and shaping attitudes. But I would expect you should see this thing accelerate over time.

We have got to take into account America's diversity. We are different people. If you want to talk to a Hispanic kid in the L.A. basin, if you want to talk to somebody in North Dakota, you have got to go where they are. You have to take into account that the

drug threat they see is quite different. If it is Boise, ID, it is white kids and it is methamphetamines. We have to understand the nature of the drug threat, the nature of the ethnic group we are talking to, and that is why we are in Tagalog. That is why we are using ads in Cantonese, in Vietnamese. That is why we are out in the Pacific islands with a very different message than one we crafted for the midwest.

We have got to learn while we are doing this. There is no blueprint for what we are up to. But, fortunately, we have people like Dr. Alan Leshner, NIDA, and his colleagues. We have the behavioral science expert panel. We have paid a decent amount of attention to chronicling how these things are working. We are focus group testing these ads, and then we are watching the feedback, and if they are not working we are going to eliminate them, and where they are working we are going to try to enhance them. We are going to produce 130 new ads in the next 2 years.

By the way, we are doing that pro bono. The advertising companies of America, more than 200 of them, are doing this for free. We are covering the actual production cost, only. The actors you say that you talk about, the celebrity outreach, they are not getting paid for their work. The Actors Guild of America has waived their fees. They are not getting paid for this work. We are enormously proud of their response in the Entertainment Industry Council, as example.

Public/private partnership—huge, important contribution. I won't go through it verbally, but I would be glad to provide for the record the enormous generosity of Disney, ABC, America Online, computer corporations, never mind the actual broadcast media, because public/private partnership—we are not running things at 2 a.m. now. These are prime time pro bono matching component. We are up to 109 percent matching. It is $175 million to which we have gotten access, and we are very grateful for what they are doing. We have also got more than $40 million in other kinds of pro bono response.

Now, let me, if I may, rap up with four 30-second spots that I think you will enjoy and learn from.

I must admit, Mr. Chairman, if you would permit me, it is enormously important to me, personally, that I be viewed as responsive to Congress, in general, and to this committee.

By law, I am a nonpartisan officer of government. I take that responsibility very seriously. This is the sixth time I have appeared in front of this committee this year. This is the fourth time since June.

I have provided your staff with more than 12,000 documents. It cost me over $10,000 to do this. We have brought my agency to a halt for the better part of 2 weeks. I take offense at the notion that the somewhat ham-fisted raids on ONDCP over the last 2 weeks were nonresponsive to your concerns. I will comply with the law. That means I have to roll personally and be held accountable on Privacy Act and proprietary information, and I will not violate that responsibility.

So I will make myself available personally to you. That may have been part of the problem, that I didn't pick up the phone and call you to find out what it is you want and help shape your staff's

thinking so they can come over there and not have what I would call unprecedented oversight and interference, particularly in the activities of these contractors.

I do not want payroll information or names released from this committee or from my office. I have told my own people they will not send anything out of the building until my lawyers have reviewed it and I am satisfied that I am in compliance with the law.

But let me just say that I will take this as a challenge to make sure that I can earn your trust personally and be viewed as responding to what I view as one of my principal responsibilities, which is to be accountable to congressional oversight.

Now, finally, I would also tell you that there was almost a tone that no good deed will go unpunished by your opening statement. This campaign is working. This thing is not screwed up. We are proud of what we are accomplishing. I am following the directions of Federal law, put together by Congressman Colby and his committee.

So if there is a different viewpoint now I want to listen very closely and we can rewrite the law, but rest assured that is where we are going.

On that, note, I again appreciate the chance to talk to you. That is a layout of the money. It shows you our focus. And this isn't words; those are dollars. That is where the effort is going. And I can track those dollars, each one of them, back into a piece of paper—more than 100,000 documents which are on file at ONDCP.

We have a contractor who does this work for us, so I know where the dollars are going.

Let's run a couple minutes of that video clip. I think the committee will find that instructive.

Thank you, sir, for the chance to appear here.

[Video presentation.]

General MCCAFFREY. You are seeing, among other things, two concepts there—one flighting and the other branding. And I am sure most of us are sort of instinctively familiar with this, but flighting is powerful. Rather than randomly produced events, what we now have is a concept that you can't escape, both the children and their adult mentors. The first ones are parent effectiveness, for example. The second concept is branding.

The resiliency of the message will be enhanced by this approach.

So, Mr. Chairman, again I thank you for the chance to be here, and I look forward to responding to you or your committee members' questions.

Mr. MICA. I thank you, General, for your presentation, and also for your work and the campaign.

[The prepared statement of General McCaffrey follows:]

Statement by Barry R. McCaffrey
Director, Office of National Drug Control Policy
Before the House Committee on Government Reform,
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy, and Human Resources
The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign
October 14, 1999

Introduction

All of us in the Office of National Drug Control Policy thank the Committee for the opportunity to testify today about the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. This anti-drug campaign is an integrated youth and adult marketing and public-health communications effort to reach American audiences with traditional and modern communication strategies to influence attitudes and action regarding drug use.

Chairman Mica, Representative Mink, distinguished members of the subcommittee, your interest in all aspects of drug control policy and your commitment to bipartisan support of the *National Drug Control Strategy's* number one goal – *to Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco* – are much appreciated. We welcome this opportunity to explain important aspects of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign and to urge you to continue supporting its science and research-based communication strategy.

I would like to recognize several individuals and organizations that have played important roles in shaping and conducting this vital drug-prevention campaign. We are all indebted to **Mr. Jim Burke and the Partnership for a Drug Free America**. The Partnership has been our lead partner in implementing the Campaign. The ads they have produced are helping change how our young people view drugs and drug use.

Dr. Alan Leshner and the National Institute on Drug Abuse play a critical role in the evaluation of the Campaign, helping to ensure that we are producing the results we need. Dr. Leshner is, without question one of the world's leading authorities on drug abuse. NIDA sponsors roughly 85 percent of the world's research into drug addiction.

Major General Art Dean and the **Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America** (CADCA) are also key partners. For this Campaign to succeed, we need to reach people not only via the airwaves, but also in their communities. Through the help of CADCA, and others such as the **Prevention Through Service Alliance** (an alliance of 47 service groups ranging from the Improved Benevolent and Protective Order of the Elks of the World, YMCA of the USA, Boys and Girls Clubs, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., to 100 Black Men, Inc.), we are "localizing" the Campaign. We are developing ways, from parenting programs to anti-drug soccer tournaments, to reach Americans, where they live, work and play.

Peggy Conlon of the Ad Council is the quarterback of the anti-drug campaign's public service component. The Ad Council is the nation's largest clearinghouse for public service advertising. Through the Ad Council's help, the Campaign has succeeded in actually building new opportunities for Campaign-related public service advertising efforts, even in a time of declining PSA air time.

Part I of this testimony **summarizes the research base** of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. **Part II** provides an **overview of the integrated campaign**. **Part III** addresses **the results attained to date by the campaign. Part IV** summarizes the **contributions of** ONDCP's **principal partners**.

I – The Research Base for an Integrated Media Campaign

- **The campaign was built and is guided by extensive behavioral research**

Nearly a year of research went into designing the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Hundreds of individuals and organizations were consulted, including experts in teen marketing, advertising, and communication; behavior change experts; drug prevention practitioners and representatives from professional, civic, and community organizations. These findings resulted in a comprehensive communication strategy that uses a variety of media and messages to reach young people, their parents, and other youth-influential adults.

Media play an important role in public health campaigns because of their wide reach, real time impact and ability to influence behavior.[1] There is convincing evidence that carefully planned, scientifically-based mass media campaigns reduce substance abuse by countering false perceptions that drug use is normative and by influencing personal beliefs that motivate drug use. Several recent media campaigns have successfully prevented or reduced consumption of illicit drugs and cigarettes, and risky behaviors such as driving under the influence of alcohol.[2]

For all their power to inform and persuade, the media alone are not likely to bring about large, sustained changes in drug use behavior. This campaign will be truly successful only if media efforts are supported and coordinated with person-to-person initiatives in homes, schools, and communities. Research shows that media programs work best in conjunction with other community- and school-based anti-drug programs, when consistent messages are conveyed through a variety of channels and in several different contexts and key "influencers" and entire communities mobilize around the program.[3]

[1] Flora, Maibach, & Maccoby, 1989; Maibach & Holtgrave, 1995.
[2] Flay, 1987; Flynn, et al., 1995; Montgomery, 1995; Popham, et al., 1994; Worden, et al., 1996.
[3] Flay & Sobel, 1983; Maccoby, 1990; Schilling & McAllister, 1990; Sloboda & David, 1997.

- **The role of a media campaign**

The news media shape our decisions and actions by informing and alerting us to what is going on in our communities as well as telling us about trends in our culture. The entertainment media also help influence our beliefs about the world around us.[4] Advertising stimulates our interest in commercial goods and services, and influences how and where we shop. It is also used to create or change perceptions and beliefs about specific issues (seatbelts, drunk driving, etc.).

Health information, including drug use issues, is provided through all forms of media including news, entertainment programming, and advertising. This information is so pervasive that most people report the media as their primary source of information about health issues.[5] Unfortunately, this does not mean that placing drug prevention and health information in the advertising media necessarily influences people to behave in more healthful ways.

Before we embarked on the campaign, we evaluated the potential and limitations of a media campaign. Our objective was to establish what we could realistically expect to accomplish through the media, and over what period of time.

- **The potential and limitations of media campaigns**

Media campaigns can be a powerful force for social change and have great potential to raise awareness of an issue, enhance knowledge and beliefs, and reinforce existing attitudes.[6] In situations where the recommended behavior change is relatively simple and of obvious benefit to members of the target audience, media campaigns can affect large-scale changes in behavior. Two successful examples are campaigns to prevent Reyes Syndrome and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome.[7] In both cases, modestly scaled media campaigns produced large-scale behavior changes among the parents of young children.

Many behaviors such as drug use, however, are not so easily changed. Behavior is the result of a complex combination of people's beliefs and motivations, and their social, cultural and physical environment.[8] In some situations, people are not motivated to change because the perceived benefits of recommended behavior fail to outweigh the perceived social, cultural, or economic costs. In other situations, people are motivated to change behavior but are unable to do so because they lack necessary skills or resources. Overcoming such social, environmental, and psychological barriers to behavior change is a complex and formidable task, and one not easily achieved by a media campaign alone.

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[4] Brown, Childers, & Waszak, 1990; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signiorelli, 1986; Marc, 1984.
[5] Freimuth, Stein, & Kean, 1989.
[6] Alcalay, 1983; Gandy, 1982; Klapper, 1960; McCombs & Shaw, 1972; Wallack, 1990.
[7] Soumerai, Ross-Degnan & Kahn, 1992; Engelberts, de Jonge, & Kostense, 1991.
[8] Bandura, 1986.

- **Challenges in marketplace decrease the impact of single-strategy campaigns**

Because of the "clutter" and noise in today's media environment, targeted populations are harder to reach. Rising media costs, a growing number of media options, audience fragmentation, and greater emphasis on behavioral (vs. attitudinal) outcomes have prompted commercial marketers to reduce reliance on only mass media-based advertising campaigns. The menu of social marketing activities to move beyond raising awareness and changing attitudes to influencing behavioral change now includes media advocacy, interpersonal and group outreach programs, "edu-tainment" initiatives, public/private and community partnerships and the utilization of new media technologies like the Internet.[9]

- **Changes in the state-of-the-art Integrated Marketing Communications (IMC) strategies**

IMC research asserts that communication plans are more effective when they evaluate and strategically coordinate elements from a variety of communication disciplines (e.g., advertising, public relations, direct communications) in a clear, consistent, and audience-driven manner than when disciplines work in isolation.[10]

- **Examples of integrated campaigns**

HIV/AIDS prevention programs found multiple messages, activities and media channels were necessary to achieve even modest behavioral outcomes.[11] The California and Florida Tobacco-Free Campaigns, Henry J. Kaiser's Project Lean Campaign, the CDC's America Responds to AIDS Campaign, and HRSA's Healthy Mothers Healthy Babies Campaign all use an integrated communications approach that includes advertising, public outreach, partnership development and community outreach initiatives. The goals of these campaigns are similar to ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign: to change social norms and environment influencers thereby creating long-term and large-scale behavioral modifications.

[9] Backer, Rogers & Sopory, 1992; Freimuth, Cole & Kirby, 1998.
[10] Caywood, 1997; Novelli, 1989
[11] Carleton, Lasater, Assaf et al., 1995 ; Kegeles, Hays & Coates, 1996.

- **The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign's Design Principle**

After extensive research, we concluded that campaign messages must reinforce prevention messages delivered in other settings including schools, community organizations, and homes, and be linked to existing prevention resources in communities. Therefore, we developed a communication strategy based on proven integrated communications approaches. The integrated communications approach we embrace encourages adoption by community organizations, professional groups, and government agencies. This communications strategy is fully explained in the *Communication Strategy Statement* prepared by ONDCP and submitted to this subcommitttee in 1997.[12]

- **Congressional guidance to ONDCP reflects this research base**

Our communications strategy adheres to congressional intent articulated in the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999 (P.L. 105-277, October 21, 1998). This legislation directed that ONDCP funds in support of a national media campaign be used for:

- ✓ Purchase of media time and space.
- ✓ Testing and evaluation of advertising and the entire campaign.
- ✓ Partnership with community, civic, professional, and government organizations.
- ✓ Entertainment industry collaborations to fashion anti-drug messages in movies, television programming, and popular music.
- ✓ Interactive (Internet and new) media activities.
- ✓ Public information (news media outreach).
- ✓ Corporate sponsorship/participation.

II – The Integrated Nature of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

- **The anti-drug media campaign is anchored by a broad advertising effort**

Advertising (both purchased and pro-bono) on TV, radio, print and on the Internet is the cornerstone of the media campaign. We programmed $153.017 million in FY 1998 for advertising and **increased allocations for advertising by 16.7 percent to $178.584 million in FY 1999.** The national advertising follows specific anti-drug themes each month across 102 local markets with more than 2,250 media outlets. The strategic use of advertising increases the

[12] ONDCP, *The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign: Communications Strategy Statement,* 1997.

reach and frequency of our key messages. We currently reach **95 percent of 12 to 17 year-olds an average of 8.3 messages per week**.

- **Complementary communications activities**

The non-advertising component of the anti-drug campaign delivers our messages through radio and television, print media, the Internet, faith communities, health professionals, community coalitions, schools, parents, coaches, and organized sports. The drug prevention campaign also includes an entertainment industry component to ensure that drug use is depicted accurately on television and in film and music. We programmed $12.778 million in FY 1999 to anti-drug outreach media campaign programs that include the following activities:

Partnerships w/Community/Civic and other Organizations. To extend and amplify the reach of campaign messages, the non-advertising component builds support for prevention programs with organizational and community partners; increases public information and news coverage about drug prevention issues and risks to target audiences; harnesses the power of the Internet and collaborates with the entertainment community.

We have attracted thousands of partners in our effort to reach youth and adults – allowing a wide variety of public and private organizations to participate in and extend the reach of the Campaign. Here are some examples:

- **Blast e-mail system**. There is a media campaign blast e-mail system that keeps more than 45,000 stakeholders aware of campaign activities and outreach. The 45,000 stakeholders we reach directly with these emails in turn generate more readers and viewers of campaign products through their own communication channels that reach literally millions.

- **YMCA of the USA**. Another example is our partnership with the YMCA of the USA, which reaches out to sixteen million people (eight million kids). As a result of this partnership, for the first time in their history, the YMCA is incorporating drug prevention resources and messages into their publications and curriculum materials.

- **Youth Service America**. Similarly, the Media Campaign is collaborating with Youth Service America – an umbrella organization of two hundred youth service groups representing thirty million young Americans – to regularly disseminate Media Campaign information through their network.

- **National Future Farmers of America**. The National FFA is co-sponsoring a national PSA contest incorporating campaign themes.

- The campaign is also working through national organizations like the **Boys and Girls Clubs** and the **National Middle Schools Association** to strengthen anti-drug efforts at the local level.

Entertainment Industry Collaboration. ONDCP and PDFA are engaging the entertainment industry to ensure that when drugs are portrayed in programming, an accurate depiction is communicated – including risks and consequences. We are also conducting content analysis studies to determine how drugs are portrayed in entertainment media.[13] We are meeting regularly with producers and entertainment executives in Hollywood to offer factual medical and behavioral perspectives on drug use.

[13] See for example *Substance Abuse in Popular Movies & Music,* Office of national drug Control policy & U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, April 1999.

We have been well received in the television industry in particular where there is an openness to accurately depict the real-life risks and consequences of drug use. Meetings and discussions with producers, writers and studio executives have yielded strategic anti-drug messages and accurate depictions of substance abuse into more than fifty television shows like *ER, Chicago Hope, Cosby, Sports Night, NYPD Blue* and *The Practice.*

Interactive (Internet/New Media) Projects/Activities. This is the most comprehensive interactive media effort ever launched by the federal government. There are several reasons the Internet is a powerful vehicle for delivering our campaign messaging. In sum, they are: the medium is growing; our target audience's use of the medium is growing; the medium enables targeted, personalized messaging; success measures are granular and immediate; the internet is extremely cost effective; and synergies with the overall media plan are considerable.

Internet usage growth has been 100 percent over the past two years, and is likely to continue to grow at a compounded annual growth rate of 53 percent over the next four years.[14] The Internet's expansion outpaces that of television and radio following their introductions. The penetration attained by the Internet in its first five years was matched by television after thirteen years and radio after thirty-eight years.[15] Users spend an average of 7.5 hours on-line each month, and this time is increasing.[16]

While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 34 percent of 12 to17 year-olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.[17] Parents are also on-line during work-hours; the Internet is the most accessible communications medium in the workplace. Parents access the web primarily for information. Health data is second only to news in terms of the reasons they log on.[18]

The World Wide Web, with eight million sites, allows for much narrower targeting than other media. Internet technology is becoming an integral component of other entertainment/infotainment vehicles (e.g. games, CDs, CD-ROMs, DVD), further increasing target breadth/engagement. Technology enables users to delve deeply and immediately into subjects of interest, with the potential for immediate two-way dialogue/response.

A distinct benefit of advertising on the Internet is the ability to closely track its effectiveness in reaching the target audience through site-specific information (e.g. clicks, page views, time visited). The power of the Internet experience is in the length and intensity of the interaction. Internet visitors tend to spend longer and get more involved in the subject matter than they do with printed or other non-interactive methods.

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[14] EMarketer, September 20, 1999.
[15] Meeker, Mary and Pearson, Sharon, Morgan Stanley, *U.S. Investment Research: Internet Retail,* May 28, 1997.
[16] Jupiter Digital Kids, 1999.
[17] EMarketer, September 20, 1999 - While 22 percent of households with children are on-line, 48 percent of 12 to 17 year olds have access to the Internet today, and 60 percent are expected to have access by the year 2002.
[18] Media Metrix, August, 1999.

The Media Campaign manages eight web sites where parents, teens and tweens can learn, play and interact with others. The sites are widely publicized, including references and links through hundreds of other web sites focused on parenting, education, sports and general teen outreach. Current site statistics follow:

Freevibe:
Since its launch in March of 1999, Freevibe.com has received 1,847,313 page views.
Average Number of Page Views Per Day - 10,669.
Average User Session Length - 7 minutes and 46 seconds.

Projectknow:
Since its launch in July of 1998, ProjectkNOw.com has received 5,535,840 page views.
Average Number of Page Views Per Day - 15,465.
Average User Session Length - 10 minutes and 29 seconds.

AOL PDRC:
Since the launch of the Parents' Drug Resource Center area, the area has received 432,630 member visits.
Average User Session length - 6 minutes and 20 seconds.

In addition to the web sites for which we have direct responsibility, we are now linked to many other government websites. You may recall that Representative Matt Salmon led the way by introducing legislation to include anti-drug messages on NASA's website – the government site most visited by young people. Since NASA agreed to carry anti-drug messages and link to our web sites, more than twenty other federal agencies have added anti-drug messages to their websites.

Beyond government sites, we are adding an average of three more web site links per week to educational groups, non-governmental organizations, advocacy groups and others in the prevention community. The campaign has developed and continues to develop on-line interactive resources for all campaign audiences, both on its own and in collaboration with major on-line media companies such as **AOL** and ***SONY***.

News Media Outreach. Central to the media campaign are Public Information activities dealing with the news media, direct outreach, and special events to generate a steady flow of campaign messages to youth and adult audiences. Campaign news media outreach in 1999 alone has generated more than 124 million media impressions. Outreach ranges from national print and broadcast outlets to local community (and even school) newspapers in order to provide context, relevance and repetition for campaign messages, educate reporters, and leverage current events and trends. Additionally, program activities and outreach initiatives have been developed to reach adults and kids where they spend the majority of their time - at work and in school.

We have partnerships with the ***Chicago Tribune, New York Times,*** and ***USA Today***. The campaign created the **Straight Scoop School News Bureau** as a resource for middle and high school journalists. Seven television networks produced their own anti-drug PSAs as a result of ONDCP outreach.

Some examples of public information outreach are:

- **Cub Reporters**: A major cable company, **MediaOne**, and ONDCP co-sponsored a "Cub Reporter" bus tour from Miami to Washington, DC in the last week of August. The cub reporters talked with and filmed other kids' experiences and opinions about drugs. A 30-minute documentary based on their experiences will be broadcast in November.
- **School-based programs**: In August, ONDCP unveiled a package of school-based programs for the 1999-2000 school year and beyond. They include:

  The Straight Scoop News Bureau, a resource for middle and high school journalists to give them factual "straight scoop" information on drugs and drug use. Partners in the new bureau include the **Annie E. Casey School of Journalism for Children and Families**, ***Chicago Tribune*** and the ***New York Times***. News bureau resources can be found at www.straightscoop.org.

  Just recently, the Straight Scoop News Bureau teamed up with **Sun Microsystems**, **OpenVoice** and **Athlete Direct** to host a live online chat with **San Francisco 49'ers Quarterback Steve Young**. Young discussed the importance of living a healthy, drug-free lifestyle. Student journalists were encouraged to ask Steve Young questions and publish articles in their school papers. This event was broadcast live via satellite to more than 250 cities across the country. Altogether, the online and satellite-link audience was estimated at over 3 million.

Corporate Sponsorship/Participation. ONDCP and PDFA are increasing the number of strategic campaign partners – both organizations and businesses – that help us deliver anti-drug information. **America On Line** created the Parents' Drug Resource Center **(AOL Keyword: Drug Help)** to help parents influence their children to remain drug free. Many **National Football League, Major League Baseball, National Basketball Association**, and **Major League Soccer** teams show our anti-drug ads during games.

III – Results of the Anti-Drug Campaign

- **The anti-drug media campaign is surpassing initial expectations**

PHASE I. During the initial twenty-six-week pilot in twelve cities (Phase I, January through June 1998), we exceeded our goal of reaching 90 percent of the overall target audience with four anti-drug messages a week.[19] The campaign's Phase I message delivery rate follows:

Overall

Teens 12 – 17:	95 percent viewed an average of 8.5 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	95 percent viewed an average of 7.5 messages a week.

African-American

Teens 12 – 17:	96 percent viewed an average of 9.4 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	96 percent viewed an average of 8.4 messages a week.

Hispanic

Teens 12 – 17:	90 percent viewed an average of 5.9 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	85 percent viewed an average of 5.8 messages a week.

We are extremely encouraged to note that significant increases in awareness of anti-drug ads occurred among the target audiences. The evaluations ONDCP submitted to Congress showed that youth and teens demonstrated significant increases in ad recall in the target versus the comparison sites -- youth increases ranged from 11 to 26 percent, teens ranged from 13 to 27 percent. Parents in target sites had an 11 percent gain in awareness of the risks of drugs and said that the Campaign provided them with new information about drugs (a 7 percent increase). Meanwhile, the number and frequency of PSAs for other related social issues increased, demonstrating no interference from the paid ad campaign.[20]

PHASE II. When the anti-drug media campaign was expanded to a national audience (Phase II, July 1998 through June 1999), we maintained our planned message delivery rates:

Overall

Teens 12 – 17:	95 percent viewed an average of 6.8 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	92 percent viewed an average of 4.5 messages a week.

African-American

Teens 12 – 17:	96 percent viewed an average of 7.6 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	95 percent viewed an average of 7.2 messages a week.

[19] Findings regarding the effectiveness of Phase I were presented to Congress in September 1998 and March 1999, see *Testing the Anti-Drug Message in 12 American Cities: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase I (Report No. 1),* September 1998 and *(Report No. 2,* March 1999.
[20] Ibid.

Hispanic

Teens 12 – 17:	88 percent viewed an average of 4.8 messages a week.
Adults 25 – 54:	84 percent viewed an average of 4.8 messages a week.

The anti-drug campaign's messages also began to influence attitudes. The percentage of youth who agreed that the ads "made them stay away from drugs" increased from 61 percent to 69 percent. The percentage reporting they "learned a lot about the dangers of drugs" from TV commercials also increased from 44 to 52 percent.[21]

PHASE III. (July 1999 - Present) Our broad-based advertising effort continues to exceed planned message delivery rates. As a result of the leverage the campaign is providing to other organizations and causes through the required pro-bono matches, we are increasing the number reach of the campaign.

Teens 12 – 17:

Paid	91 percent viewed an average of 4.4 messages a week.
Paid & anti-drug match	95 percent viewed an average of 5.2 messages a week.
Paid & all match	95 percent viewed an average of 8.3 messages a week.

Adults 25 – 54:

Paid	82 percent viewed an average of 3.5messages a week.
Paid & anti-drug match	92 percent viewed an average of 3.7 messages a week.
Paid & all match	95 percent viewed an average of 5.9 messages a week.

The television industry continues to support our communications strategy. Our meetings with producers, writers, and studio executives have contributed to: anti drug messages included "in-program;" more accurate/fact based depictions of substance abuse; and inclusion of campaign-related themes in shows such as *Cosby. ER, Chicago Hope, NYPD Blue, Home Improvement, 7th Heaven.* These programs are conservatively estimated to have generated more than **100 million** teen impressions and **250 million** adult impressions.

The campaign's pervasive presence has also been manifested in increased demand for anti-drug information. Since the national launch of the campaign in July of 1998, inquiries received by the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information (NCADI) have increased dramatically. The number of inquiries received between July 1998 and June 1999 increased by 159 percent over the corresponding 1997-1998 period. NCADI also responded to 102 percent more requests for information and distributed more than sixteen million items between July 1998 and June 1999. On peak days – which corresponded with specific anti-drug campaign events (e.g. an article in *Parade* magazine, media coverage of national launch, and media "roadblocks")

[21] ONDCP submitted an evaluation of Phase II to both Congressional Committees on Appropriations. See *Investing in our Nation's Youth: National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Phase II Final Report,* June 1999.

– requests surged by 367 percent over pre-campaign levels. Per month Internet requests for substance abuse information have increased tenfold since July 1998.[22]

To date, the campaign has exceeded its pro-bono match requirements; we have accomplished 107 percent of the media match at a value of $213 million. We formed partnerships with seven television networks that have produced their own anti-drug PSAs consistent with campaign themes. We attained 168 million pro-bono Internet impressions. The campaign's strategic messages have been supported in more than fifty TV scripts that incorporated science-based anti-drug story lines.

- **Additional indicators of success**

We are reaching nearly every single American child on a regular basis with anti-drug information. We are putting this information in front of them at a rate of roughly twice our goal. We are buying advertising in 2,250 media outlets nationwide (newspaper, TV, radio, magazines, billboards, movie theaters, and others). From the start of the anti-drug campaign through September 1999, we project roughly 25 billion teen and adult anti-drug message impressions.

No child or adult "influencer" is being left behind. The campaign is reaching minority youth and parents at unprecedented levels, delivering $33 million worth of anti-drug messages. By any standard, this is the strongest multi-cultural communications effort ever launched by the federal government; it rivals that of most corporate efforts. ONDCP is the largest governmental advertiser in African-American newspapers. We are now developing campaign materials in eleven languages.

Private sector support is exceeding ONDCP's goals and expectations. The anti-drug campaign's target is a one-for-one match; for every taxpayer dollar we spend, we require an equal added dollar's worth of anti-drug public service, pro *bono* activity. The campaign's private sector match is now at the 109 percent level (or $149 million gross) for the broadcast industry (matches of ad time on TV and radio). Overall, the corporate match for all campaign efforts is at the 107 percent level (or $213 million). Since July 1998, over 190,000 national and local broadcast (TV and radio) PSAs have run because of the campaign. In addition to the pro bono match, we have received over $42 million of corporate in-kind support.

Companies, such as **Gateway** and **UPS**, were quick to join our team. More than fifty network television episodes have aired (more are on the way) – on the shows our young people most watch, using the stars they most know – that have included the campaign's strategic anti-drug message points. Major corporations, such as **ABC**, **Disney** and **AOL**, whose products are part of the lives of our nation's children, are participating in and giving to the campaign. With the help of **Disney** and now **SONY**, we launched a new teen website and with the help of **AOL** we launched a new parenting website. Our corporate efforts are as diverse as the rest of the Campaign; we have productive partnerships in place with **BET**, **Univision**, **Telemundo**, and numerous other specialized ethnic media outlets.

[22] SAMHSA/NCADI briefing to ONDCP Director Barry McCaffrey, September 2, 1999.

As we move into an integrated campaign we are reaching young people throughout their lives not just through television ads (they are light TV viewers). The number of Internet hits to ONDCP's campaign site, *www.projectknow.com*, has reached over 5.5 million impressions. The number of campaign Internet advertising impressions (ad "banners" on web sites) has reached an astounding 203,579,175 total. National outlets, such as ***USA Today, the New York Times, Parade Magazine***, and ***Scholastic*** are developing school-based anti-drug materials for distribution to our nation's schools.

The campaign is getting the nation's attention and getting a response. Based on expert analysis of drug-use trends and media campaign impacts, we do not expect to see appreciable impacts on drug use until two years into the campaign. However, we are already seeing some behavioral impacts. We are already seeing changes in certain more easily tracked behaviors, such as the demand for anti-drug information. For example, the number of calls to the National Clearinghouse for Alcohol and Drug Information has increased by 318 percent since the anti-drug campaign's inception – even though the Clearinghouse's number is not on all our ads. Some local coalitions are experiencing fourfold increases in the number of calls for anti-drug information they are getting since the Campaign started.

We are now poised to implement all elements of the anti-drug media campaign (Phase III), including:

- Expansion of Web-based components.
- More outreach to multicultural audiences through expansion to eleven languages to reach Hispanic, Native American, and Asian-American and Pacific Islanders.
- Greater corporate participation.
- Continued development of partnerships with news media, the entertainment industry, sports, civic, community, faith, and professional groups.

IV – Contributions of major partners

- **The Partnership for a Drug-Free America (PDFA)**

The **Partnership for a Drug-Free America** is a private, non-profit, non-partisan coalition of professionals from the communications industry. Best known for its national, anti-drug advertising campaign, its mission is to reduce demand for illicit drugs in America through media communication. PDFA has generated more than $2.8 billion in media exposure and created more than five hundred anti-drug ads. Its long-standing national campaign is the single, largest, public service ad campaign in history. For twelve years, PDFA's process was the paradigm for a public service campaign. No other organization was as successful in generating high-quality free ads and placing them pro-bono in the media.

PDFA is a key campaign partner. Mr. Jim Burke, Chairman of the Partnership has been one of the strongest advocates for this public-private media campaign. The Partnership had concluded that intense competition, brought on by the splintering of the media, brought new economic realities to the media industry in the 1990s. It became quite clear to PDFA that the glory days of 1989 and 1990 - when its combined, estimated media exposure reached $1 million a day - were simply not going to return. Indeed, with media donations to the Partnership down by more than $100 million since 1991, the outlook for national media giving was not at all promising. The ONDCP campaign promised something unprecedented for PDFA's public service advertising effort: precise placement of the right ads, targeting the right audience, running in the right media, consistently, over time. With first-rate anti-drug messages produced by advertising agencies through PDFA's creative process, that is exactly what the campaign is now delivering. Presently, PDFA has developed 37 television commercials, 36 print ads, and 21 radio spots for parents ad 37 TV commercials, 35 print ads, and 35 radio spots for youth.

- **Ogilvy & Mather**

Ogilvy & Mather is one of the largest and most respected advertising companies in the world.[23] Ogilvy's media company, "**MindShare**", is by far the largest media organization in the world ($16 billion in worldwide billings). Ogilvy buys more national broadcast media in the U.S. than any other company and is the nation's number one radio buyer. Ogilvy's interactive company, **OgilvyOne**, is the largest purchaser of advertising in the world. The company is also third largest print buyer in the country. This gives Ogilvy very significant negotiating leverage, which results in the lowest possible market rates and access to substantial and unique media match opportunities. The Company also has considerable experience in social marketing campaigns having been responsible for the highly successful "America Responds to AIDS" campaign.

[23] Ogilvy's 377 offices in 98 countries service more Fortune 500 clients in 5 or more countries than any other advertising agency.

Ogilvy & Mather performs the following tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign.

- ✓ Media planning and buying.
- ✓ Oversight, negotiation, and implementation of media match.
- ✓ Internet media planning and buying.
- ✓ Strategic planning and consumer research.
- ✓ Creative development for advertising "gaps."
- ✓ Development of advertising copy rotation plans.
- ✓ Trafficking all advertising materials to media outlets.
- ✓ Management of the Behavior Change Expert Panel.
- ✓ Management of six multicultural subcontractors.
- ✓ Management of three target audience specialist subcontractors.

In its role as the primary advertising contractor on the ONDCP contract, Ogilvy offers added value to both ONDCP and PDFA in the following areas:

Media Planning and Buying. With buying leverage based on handling the world's largest aggregate media budget and widely acknowledged planning and buying expertise, Ogilvy can secure the highest quality media for the lowest possible price. For the taxpayer, this means that ONDCP saves 10 cents to 50 cents or more for every taxpayer media dollar invested (compared to topnotch media buyers, Ogilvy saved a documented 17.6 percent, or over $25 million for comparable broadcast buys). If the match is included in the calculation of savings, the government is getting their media three-to eight times cheaper than a normal commercial advertiser. Moreover, Ogilvy's media plans and buys are creative and savvy, selectively identifying effective, intrusive and relevant vehicles from the plethora of media opportunities available to a contemporary advertiser

Ogilvy's superior media planning and buying enables PDFA to achieve greater visibility than they have ever had in their history, getting more television in better time slots, for instance, than any other agency could have achieved for them. In addition, PDFA's volunteer agencies have many more media vehicles with which to show off their talents. This range of vehicles is an unprecedented opportunity to build the individual portfolios of agency creative personnel and expand an agency's new business book and reel of great advertising.

Creative Executions. The pre-testing, planning, and research regimen that Ogilvy is working to put in place greatly raises the odds of developing more effective creative material that will help prevent drug use among youth. Pre-testing will help hone specific messages, while generating learning that will inform ad creators. Ogilvy manages an array of planning resources – from full-time agency planning staff to Target Audience Specialists to the BCEP – that provide invaluable input to the creative development process. No private sector marketer would mount an effort of this scope without conducting such extensive research.

Strategic Counsel. Ogilvy's strategic and planning resources not only have enhanced the creative message; they have also improved the development and implementation of the overall marketing plan. **Branding** and **flighting** are two useful examples.

Branding is universally acknowledged by sophisticated marketers and leading advertisers a the way to ensure long-term, sustainable success, and to multiply the impact of advertising dollars. Branding increases consumer mind share of anti-drug messages; maximizes the impact of advertising dollars; creates synergy between advertising and non-advertising messages; and unites an organization's messages. Branding is a business proven concept. Ogilvy's four-month Brand Stewardship research process (which entailed interviewing adults and youth of all ethnicities) led to the adoption by ONDCP of "*The Anti-Drug*" As the campaign's brand. Phon call response to the new branded ads has been excellent.

Ogilvy's **flighting** plan will enable ONDCP to focus all elements of the integrated communications plan on strategic message platforms that have been identified by ONDCP's behavior expert panel. As opposed to the first two phases, each individual platform will receive sufficient media exposure to change attitudes and ultimately behavior. Moreover, disparate local coalitions and community efforts can work synergistically with this focused national campaign to increase the effectiveness of the effort. PDFA and its Creative Review Committee have endorsed this strategic approach.

Multicultural Resources. Both ONDCP and PDFA have gained access through Ogilvy to substantial multicultural resources, from target audience specialists to ethnic advertising experts. Indeed, Ogilvy's subcontractors have helped PDFA develop much of the work that has been created to address critical ethnic "gaps."

Accountability. Ogilvy has helped ONDCP fulfill its responsibility to the public and its mandate from Congress that the National Youth Anti-Drug media effort be a completely transparent operation. Through sophisticated and proprietary methodologies like the econometric analysis of Pathways Plus and initiatives like the Tracking Study, Ogilvy will be able to monitor the campaign's successes and failures – and refine and improve its execution.

- **The Advertising Council**

The **Advertising Council** is a private, non-profit organization, which has been the leading producer of Public Service communications programs in the United States since 1942. The Advertising Council's mission "*is to identify a select number of significant public issues and stimulate action on those issues through communications programs that make a measurable difference in our society.*' To that end, the Ad Council marshals volunteer resources from the advertising and communications industries, the media, and the business and non-profit communities for the public good. As the nation's largest producer of PSAs, the Ad Council has created more than 1,000 multi-media public service advertising campaigns addressing critical issues.[24] During 1998 alone, the Ad Council advertising received $1.2 billion in donated media in support of these efforts.

The Ad Council performs three crucial tasks in support of the anti-drug media campaign on a pro-bono basis.

- ✓ Oversee the National Media Match Clearinghouse.
- ✓ Production Review.
- ✓ Create an Anti-Drug Coalition Recruitment Campaign.

- **Fleishman-Hillard**

Fleishman-Hillard is one of the largest and best-respected communications firms in the world. Fleishman-Hillard has a 53-year history of delivering results for some of the world's best-known brands like McDonalds, Wal-Mart Levi-Strauss and United Airlines. It is no accident they represent nearly a fifth of the top 100 of *Fortune* magazine's annual list of "Most Admired Companies". Their network of eighteen fully owned domestic agency offices and more than 850 employees are ready to support the needs of this challenging campaign.

For the fifth year in a row, a 1999 Harris-Impulse Poll rated Fleishman-Hillard as having the best reputation of any of the major public relations firms. This year they also rated Fleishman-Hillard as the top agency in the Washington, DC market. It is also the only agency to be ranked either first or second for overall quality of service by the industry's leading trade publication, *Inside PR,* for nine consecutive years.

[24] Ad Council campaigns, characters and slogans are more than memorable -- they raise awareness, inspire individuals to take action and save lives. Campaigns the Ad Council has conducted include Smokey Bear and his famous words of wisdom, "Only you can prevent forest fires," (USDA Forest Service); "Friends don't let friends drive drunk" (DOT/NHTSA) McGruff the Crime Dog, who urged Americans to "Take a bite out of crime," (National Crime Prevention Council); and "A mind is a terrible thing to waste" (United Negro College Fund).

The Fleishman-Hillard team has managed research-based social marketing and communications efforts for non-profit organizations and partnerships to educate Americans about health and social issues ranging from safe food handling, improving nutritional content in Americans' diet, to protecting our children from danger online.

Fleishman-Hillard performs the following task for the media campaign:

- ✓ **Media outreach** to generate earned media placements of key campaign messages and improve accuracy in coverage of facts and issues to educate the media about youth drug use.

- ✓ **Partnerships and alliance building** with government, non-profit, professional, community and civic organizations designed to reach members of the target audiences with credible campaign messages and other programmatic activities to extend the impact of campaign messages.

- ✓ **Internet and other "new media" activities** including strategic analysis and use of "new media"; web site design and maintenance; coordination with Internet advertising; other Internet, CD-ROM, and other interactive activities capable of delivering high impact campaign messages or coordinating campaign stakeholders.

- ✓ **Outreach to and collaboration with the entertainment industry** including television, movies, music, interactive games for the purpose of encouraging media depictions that "denormalize" drug use and accurately portraying the negative consequences of drug use.

- ✓ **Graphics support and materials development** for press kits, fact sheets, publications, exhibits, and coordination of materials development by partner organizations.

- ✓ **Meeting and event planning** support on an as-needed basis.

- ✓ **Stakeholder communications** including a bi-monthly newsletter, update letters, meetings and briefings, interactive media, and other communications to keep stakeholders abreast of developments in the campaign and to generate further involvement and support.

Conclusion

1. We are creating an anti-drug environment:

In less than two years, drug prevention has become extremely visible in the lives of America's youngsters and their parents. From network television advertisements to school-based educational materials, from youth soccer tournaments to Internet websites, and from community coalition activities to the YMCA and Boys and Girls Clubs, the campaign's messages reach Americans wherever they are.

2. The campaign is firmly grounded in science:

The hallmark of this effort has testing and evaluation. Among those consulted by ONDCP in the design and implementation of the campaign are experts in behavior change, drug prevention, teen marketing, and communications as well as representatives from professional, civic, and community organizations. The anti-drug media campaign will be continually monitored and evaluated by the **National Institute on Drug Abuse** and its contractors, **Westat Corporation**, and the **University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications**. ONDCP has programmed $23.709 million over the past two years to support this front-loaded research and evaluation strategy.

3. Bipartisan congressional support is the backbone of the campaign:

All of us at the Office of National Drug Control Policy appreciate this opportunity to provide the Congress additional information about the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. As you know, this anti-drug campaign was created in 1997 with broad bipartisan support. ONDCP appreciates the brilliant leadership of Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, Senator Byron Dorgan, Representative Jim Kolbe, Representative Steny Hoyer, and all the members of Congress who have provided continuous oversight for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. The commitment of Congress to this anti-drug campaign has made possible a seamless transition from a twelve-city test phase, to a year of nationwide testing and evaluation, and now a fully integrated media communications effort. We are grateful to all subcommittee members for your support of the campaign and our broader efforts to reduce drug use and its consequences in America.

Science and research must continue to determine how we conduct the campaign. The Director of ONDCP must be held accountable for making the management decisions to achieve our performance measures of effectiveness. He must also retain the flexibility to make these critical decisions. We appreciate Congress' continued confidence in ONDCP's stewardship of this important prevention initiative. Indeed, we view the FY2000 appropriations bill and accompanying instructions to ONDCP as another endorsement of the communications strategy that guides the campaign.

45

We intend to continue to reduce drug use in America through another three years of steady focus and continuous science-based communication with America's sixty-eight million children. This integrated approach is an essential component of our ten-year *National Drug Control Strategy*. Thank you for your continued support.

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

Making a Difference for America's Kids and Families

National Drug Control Strategy
Five Goals

I: Educate and enable America's youth to reject illegal drugs as well as alcohol and tobacco.

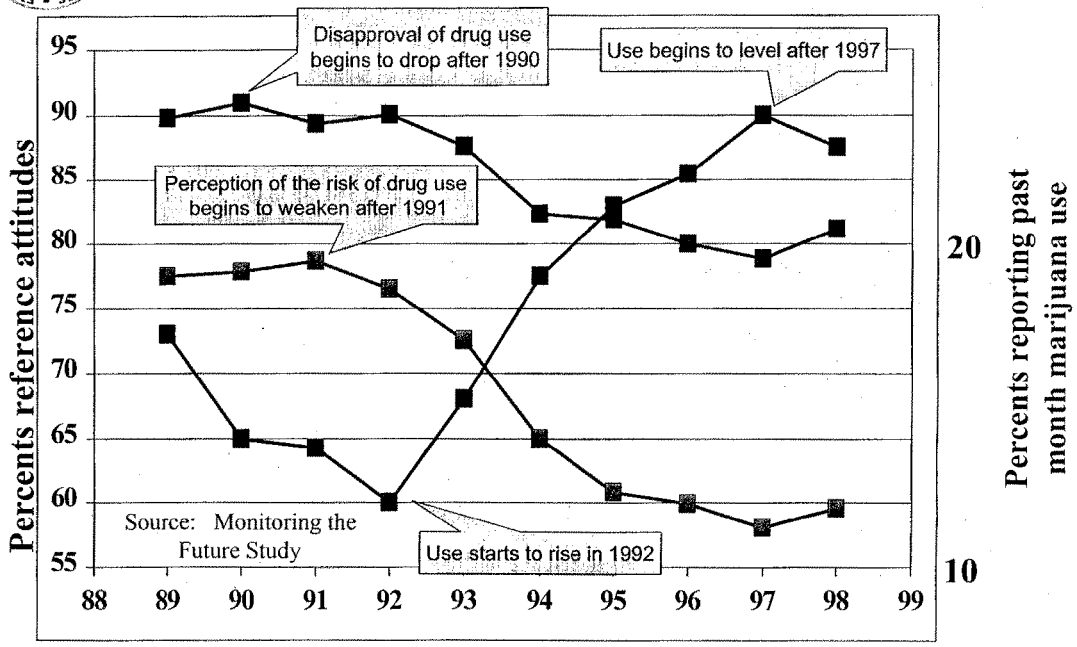
II: Increase the safety of America's citizens by substantially reducing drug-related crime and violence.

III: Reduce health and Social costs to the public of illegal drug use.

IV: Shield America's air, land, and sea frontiers from the drug threat.

V: Break foreign and domestic drug sources of supply.

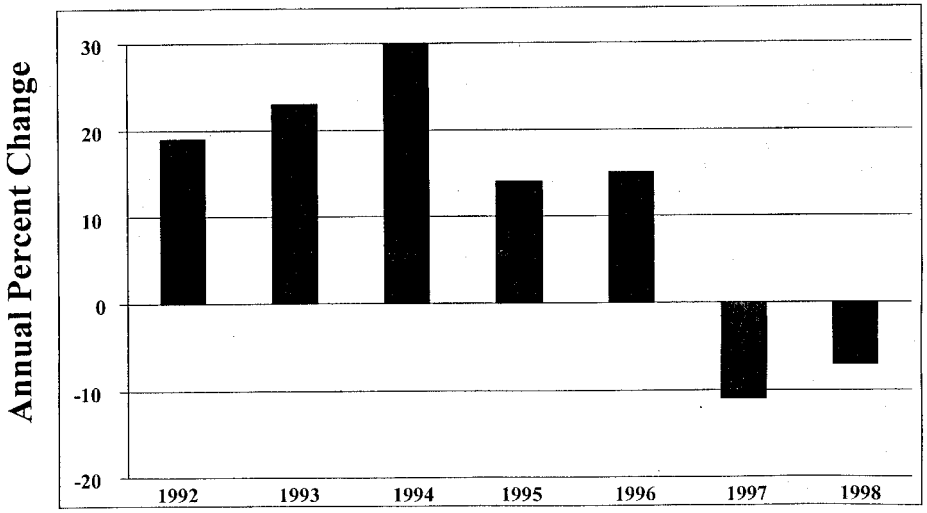
Youth Attitudes Drive Drug Use.



ONDCP 10/14/99

1999: A More Optimistic Situation Among Our Youth

Annual Percentage Change in 30-Day Drug Use Rates Among 8th Graders



Source: Monitoring the Future Study

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Congressional Guidance on ONDCP Media Campaign

P.L. 105-277 (Oct 21, 1998) directed that ONDCP funds in support of a national media campaign be used for:

- **Purchase of media time and space**
- **Testing & evaluation of ads and entire campaign**
- **Entertainment industry collaborations**
- **Interactive media activities**
- **Public information**
- **Corporate sponsorship**
- **Partnership and alliance with organizations**

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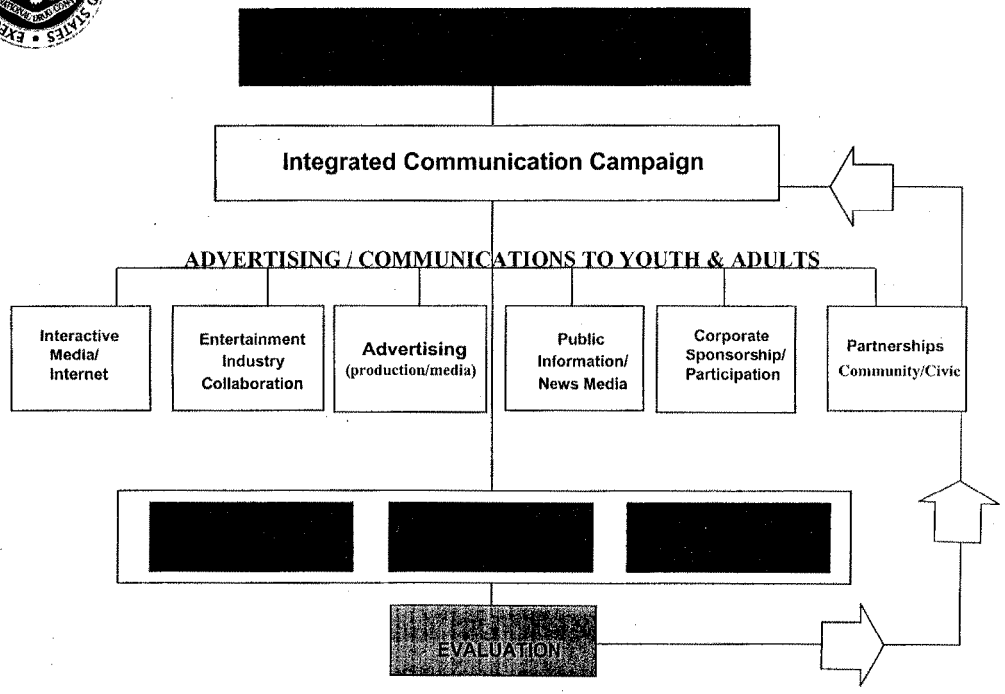
National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign



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Campaign Message Delivery Rates

Phase I: (Twelve City Test)

Teens 95% viewed 8.5 messages a week
Adults 95% viewed 7.5 messages a week

Phase II: (National Test)

Teens 95% viewed 6.8 messages a week
Adults 92% viewed 4.5 messages a week

Phase III: (Fully Integrated Campaign)

Teens 95% viewed 8.3 messages a week
Adults 95% viewed 5.9 messages a week

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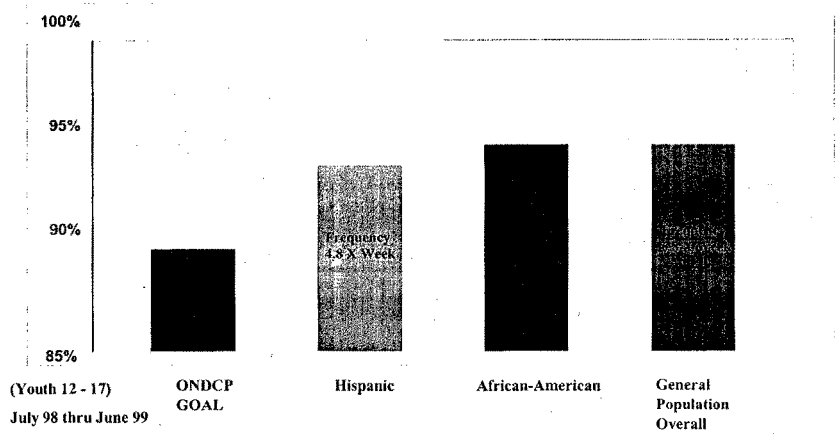
Everyone is Included

Minority Reach and Frequency Exceeds All Goals



Developing Materials in 11 Languages
$33M in Anti-Drug Messages to Ethnic Young People and Adults
Largest governmental advertiser in African American newspapers
10 Multi-Cultural Firms on Our Team

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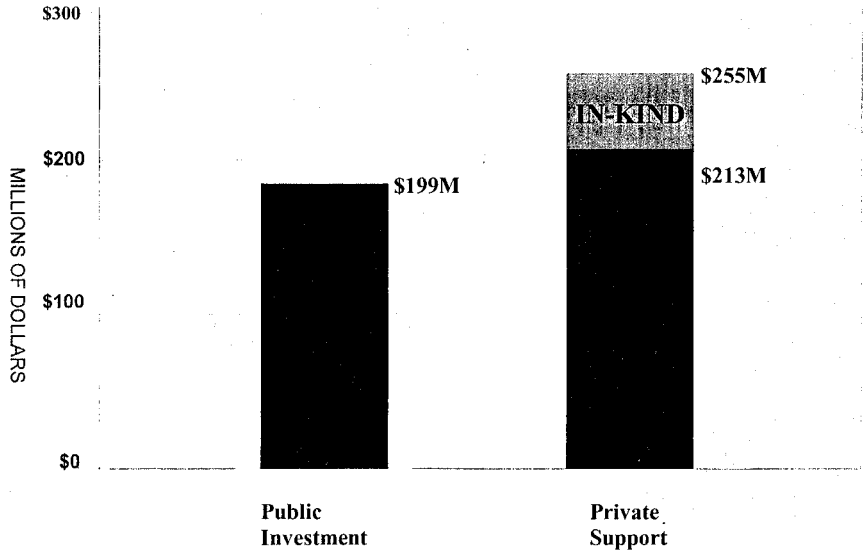
Private Sector Support is Strong

Since January 1998, Media Match Exceeds Goals



Private Sector Support Eclipses Public Investment

Overall match at 107%

(period Jan 1998 to Jun 1999)

ONDCP 10/14/99

Major *ONDCP* Tasks

- Conduct a national media campaign for the purpose of reducing and preventing drug abuse among young people

- Establish partnerships with community, civic, and professional groups, as well as other government organizations

- Secure matches for public funds with funds or in-kind contributions

ONDCP 10/14/99

Major *Ogilvy & Mather* Tasks

- **Media planning and buying**
- **Oversight of media match**
- **Strategic planning and consumer research**
- **Ad rotation planning**
- **Manage Behavioral Change Expert Panel**

ONDCP 10/14/99

Major *PDFA* Tasks

- Serve as a key partner and strategic advisor
- Liaison to advertising industry
- Quarterback for paid creative work
- Manage Creative Review Committee

ONDCP 10/14/99

Major *Fleishman-Hillard* Tasks

- **Media outreach**
- **Partnerships and alliance building**
- **Internet and other "new media" activities**
- **Outreach & collaboration with entertainment industry**
- **Stakeholder communications**

ONDCP 10/14/99

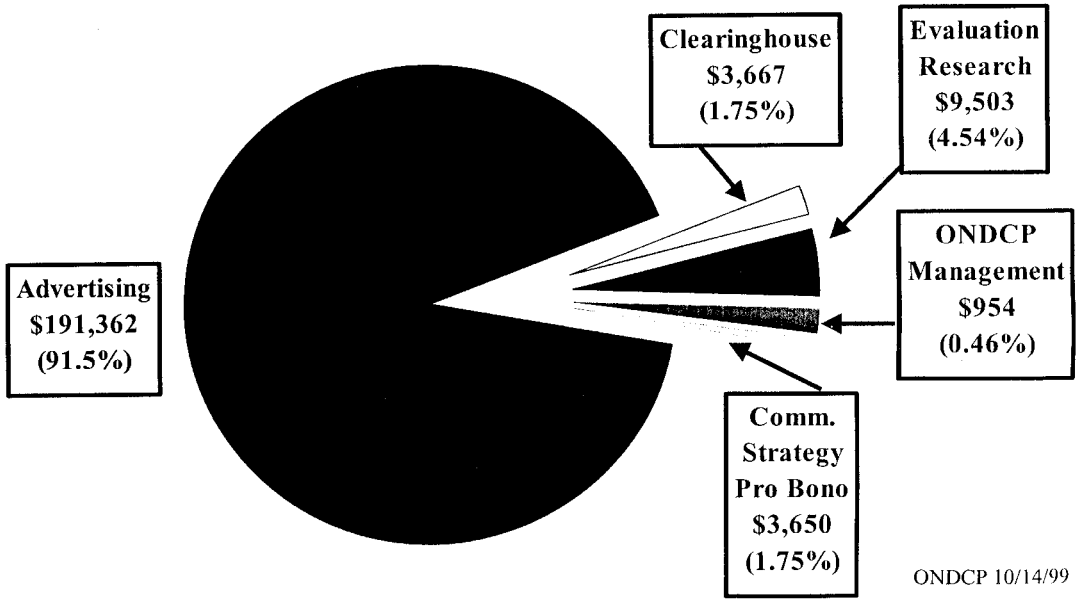
Major *Ad Council* Tasks

- **Oversee National Media Match Clearinghouse**
- **Ad Production Cost Review**
- **Create Anti-Drug Coalition Recruitment Campaign**

ONDCP 10/14/99

Allocation of Funds In Support of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Fiscal Year 99

(in thousands)



ONDCP 10/14/99

Mr. MICA. I do have some questions.

First, let me say, in response to your last comments about our requests for information, Mr. Colby has his responsibility in funding this program. The founding fathers set up this trilateral system of operation where we have the appropriators funding, authorizers authorizing, and we conduct investigations and oversight.

This started in 1808, and I think it is one of the great things about our system versus other systems, and some have adopted even the same basic system that don't have the oversight responsibility.

So our responsibility isn't to be bad guys or to give you a hard time, but when you have a billion-dollar program—it was done somewhat in a hurry because Congress wanted immediate attention to this, and now we do have an oversight responsibility.

We only asked for the documents and the reports that we think substantiate and document how those funds were expended, and we will do that.

In the beginning, we thought that we would have open access. Some of the vendors and others indicated, "Anything you want, you can see," and then suddenly there was a shroud around all of the information.

I do know that there are some constraints by which you can provide—some legal order in which you can provide the information to Congress, but we will get the information. If it requires subpoenas, we will get the information. If it requires working with your staff, we will get the information. And I don't think that we are interested in revealing anything confidential about payroll or names and things of that sort, it is just basic information to find out how the program is run and the cost effectiveness of it and how dollars are expended.

I do have some specific information. I have sent repeated requests for specific information—project status reports, evaluation reports—I will give you copies of these—subcontracts and subcontracting reports, none of which I think we should have a problem with, of which we still haven't received to date.

But we will continue and we will have additional hearings and go over how the money has been expended.

For example, I might cite one area. In the beginning—and I think you testified in one of the—you said you had been here five or six times.

General MCCAFFREY. This is the sixth time.

Mr. MICA. OK. In one of the previous hearings you had yourself testified—I can get the transcript of it—that the initial efforts were somewhat disorganized, I think you said, on the campaign, that you stayed up late at night and bantered about how to approach this. And then I guess the Porter and Novelli contract was one of the initial ones that helped in organization.

In the beginning of ONDCP's effort to jump start a media campaign—that was back in September 1997—a contract was let to Porter and Novelli to develop an integrated strategy for this effort. According to your staff, later in 1997 ONDCP, who had already had a contract with Porter and Novelli, transferred funds to the Department of Veterans Affairs. The Veterans Affairs Department then contracted with ABT Associates for $1.9 million. ABT later subcon-

tracted back to Porter and Novelli for a contract worth $1.91 million. The result, as far as we can tell, is that ABT Associates received funds, but for what? And we are trying to figure out what the difference was in the money there.

This is one example of the very beginning and core of this and how money went from agency to agency or contractor. So that is one question. I don't know if you want to address that now or could provide us with that information.

General MCCAFFREY. The request for subcontracts you made on October 7, 1999, an oral request for a series of requests which we are now working on. We will provide all that. I will be glad to provide it. I don't think there is anything really sensitive in any of it unless it is covered by proprietary information or payroll data or something.

You requested the initial stuff the first part of September, the contracts. You wanted them faxed down to you in your office in Florida. We delivered them on September 16th. As you know, it is a stack that high.

You asked for the next series of information on September 29th. We delivered it on October 7th.

Basically, I have five guys, three lawyers. That's it. Sooner or later we are going to get you every bit of information you want. We are happy to show it to you, a successful campaign.

I guess I am just asking from you, Mr. Chairman, an understanding that having groups show up unannounced to fish through the files, we can't do business that way.

Mr. MICA. First of all, Mr. Director—and I will submit to the record a request February 24, 1999. "Please provide a list of all the contracts that have been signed related to this campaign. Indicate the name of the contractor. Describe the work provided and the terms of the contract." February 24, 1999.

So, again, we are requesting——

General MCCAFFREY. I think we have the same——

Mr. MICA. I have in March another request, March 31st. I would be glad to put that in the record.

All we would like is some basic information about how the money has been spent, copies of the contracts.

General MCCAFFREY. You have that now, right?

Mr. MICA. We also——

General MCCAFFREY. You have all the contracts and you have 12,000 documents relating to expenditures.

Mr. MICA. Well, we have found that. Now we have the problem that we found that the contracts lead to subcontracts.

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. And we would also like——

General MCCAFFREY. Glad to give you that, too.

Mr. MICA. Because there are huge amounts of money here, and then they go on down——

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. To other folks or to agencies.

Then the other thing that we would like to see, for example, we have the—one of the contracts is with the National Institute of Drug Abuse [NIDA]. HHS awarded a $34.8 million contract to Westat to provide evaluation of phase three of the campaign.

Our subcommittee requested from NIDA and Westat the required monthly reports of activities. Our staff was informed that, while Westat does submit monthly financial documents, they have not submitted monthly activity reports.

This is in direct violation of the deliveries and reporting requirements, as stated in the RFP—and I have a copy of that attachment.

So what we would like this is see what we can figure out is required by these RFPs, by the way things were supposed to be, and then the evaluations of the report.

We are told in some cases ONDCP has not gotten copies of some of these reports.

So this is another concern. It is a sizable chunk of money.

General MCCAFFREY. Sure. Now, that Westat Corp. evaluation is extremely important to us, and I would be happy to share it with you either in raw data form or periodically, as we have a more informed and thoughtful analysis. But I absolutely look forward to providing you with Westat information.

Mr. MICA. Then we have another contract. I try to take them in size. Fleishman-Hillard has a $48.7 million contract over 5 years, and they are supposed to do the non-media-type campaign. Fleishman-Hillard was required to report and provide report to ONDCP on September 4, 1999, a report on basically what they had done as far as their annual report.

At our last inquiry, it hadn't been provided to ONDCP, and neither could our subcommittee staff get a copy of that.

Can we get a copy of that, and have you gotten that yet?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, you know, the day before yesterday your staff asked. I have been informed about it. This is their requirement, which is a superb briefing by about 35 people with charts, slides, et cetera, and I would be glad to give you a copy of the slides.

There will be a subsequent written evaluation we will get in the coming weeks, which I would be glad to provide you, too. But they are right on target. They are absolutely focused on this mission. My guess is I am getting damn near more than I can absorb from these superb people.

But this is the presentation right here. It is in slide form.

Mr. MICA. One of my concerns is, again, we have identified 19 different contracts and agreements, and, I mean, this is a huge program——

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. With an incredible amount of money. What we don't have is a complete list, and we have been unable to get a complete list of how many contracts and subcontractors the campaign has, who is in charge of these, and who monitors the deliverables. Each of these have deliverables.

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. Would it be possible to provide this subcommittee with a complete list of the contracts, the subcontracts, and also something on the deliverables, and then a little chart as to who is in charge of——

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. Making sure that X, Y, and Z——

General McCAFFREY. Well, let me work through this with your staff.

Let me, if I can, I am going to come over here and sit down and listen very carefully for a good bit of time to what you want me to do, and then I will go make it happen. All those deliverables are in that stack of contracts your staff got. That is where they are. They are defined in the law.

Mr. MICA. Yes. But that is not the question. The question is whether you are monitoring this, ONDCP, because we see that—and I have cited a couple——

General McCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. Of deliverables, and your staff says, "Well, they aren't delivered," or, "We don't know," or "We don't know who is in charge."

General McCAFFREY. Must have been confusing, because we do know what we are doing, and I am in charge. I am accountable for this stuff.

Mr. MICA. Well, do you have on one paper all the contracts and subcontracts?

General McCAFFREY. That is a very complicated thing. It might be a good idea to do this, put it on a computer program, let you all have access to it.

Mr. MICA. Another thing, too, even with smaller agencies and smaller amounts of money, we have someone who conducts the oversight. Now, we are conducting oversight from a congressional standpoint.

General McCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. But within agencies they have IGs and others who do go in to look at has this been done, has that been done.

General McCAFFREY. Well, I am using the department IGs all throughout government, by the way——

Mr. MICA. All right.

General McCAFFREY [continuing]. To check expenditures.

Mr. MICA. Well, that would be great, and if we can get any communications or agreements——

General McCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. For them to conduct that, just so——

General McCAFFREY. Fortunately, you also let me hire a contractor, so I have an accounting firm that actually watches every piece of paper. So we have $175 million in requests. We have, on delay, $4.6 million. We will require each contractor to come back and answer to us. So we are doing just that kind of thing. It is very important we do that.

Mr. MICA. And that is part of what we need to conduct our responsibility, which is oversight.

Well, I have taken more than my time. I have additional questions and requests. We will submit them to you.

Again, we aren't trying to be hard-nosed about this. We do have an oversight responsibility——

General McCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. And we want to do it in a proper fashion, and we do need to make certain that these huge amounts of money are accounted for.

I have some questions, too, about the largest amount of money, which is $684 million over 5 years to Ogilvy & Mather, and we want to find out a little bit more about the structure of the contract and expenses, et cetera, and how that money is flowed through, and percentages of money spent on actual hard media buys. But we will get into that at a later point.

At this time, I will yield to the gentleman from Maryland, Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

General MCCAFFREY. Mr. Chairman, if I could, I will give each of your committee members—this is the easiest way, it is dated, that I found to follow it. It talks about, both in dollars and percent, the amount we use on advertising versus other things—advertising, $191 million, for example, fiscal year 1999. Then it shows you, when you get into the advertising piece of it, how much goes on production media time.

So it is a good way to follow it, and we can take these pie charts and follow them back into line item layout.

Mr. MICA. Well, just in quick response, we do have the general numbers, the large numbers.

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

Mr. MICA. What we are trying to do is look beyond that. And there are other elements in there. We have questions about commissions, about subcontracting, about production costs. But, again, we won't get into them at this point until we get all of that information in hand.

General MCCAFFREY. Well, I am going to have the contractor—I will come over, make sure I understand what you want, and then I am going to task my contractors to respond specifically to any question you have, and we will be responsive to your information.

Mr. MICA. That would be great, and we look forward to receiving that information and cooperation.

Mr. Cummings.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I wanted to make it clear that I do agree that this is an oversight committee and we should have oversight. I don't want anybody to be under the misconception that that is what I believe. I certainly do.

But I want to—you know, there have been a lot of questions here, General, and the chairman said something that I am just kind of concerned about just a few moments ago. He talked about making sure that he received these documents that you all just discussed, and he would do whatever was necessary to get them, and I certainly understand that. But I would feel—I would be more than remiss if I didn't ask you this question. I think it would bother me.

You don't have any problem providing documents to this committee, do you?

General MCCAFFREY. Not at all.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I mean, it——

General MCCAFFREY. We are proud of what we are doing.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So it is not a thing of trying to hide any information. You know, so often, I guess, when I come here—I keep saying I am a new Member, but I guess I am feeling kind of old at this

now, but it just seems like so often, you know, we subpoena this and we subpoena that, and we have somebody here who wants to cooperate, has a limited staff, as I understand it, and just want some kind of structure in trying to get the information and some understanding. Is that—I mean, is that a fair statement?

General MCCAFFREY. I think so. We would be glad to respond. As a matter of fact, I think I ought to remind myself that I have learned a tremendous amount from these congressional staffs. I think there are some real experts over here, and some of the Congressmen have been involved in this longer than I have. So I am glad to come over here and respond and learn from congressional leadership.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Now, some concerns have been expressed about using a paid media campaign instead of a donated air time and commercials. Can you tell the subcommittee why the administration embarked upon a paid media campaign?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, a lot of what I initially knew about the issue and continuing huge influence on my own thinking comes from Jim Burke and the Partnership for Drug-Free America. These people have been at it for a decade and know what they are talking about.

Their efforts were coming down year after year in support. We used to have three major networks, 85 percent of the media time. Now there are seven major networks, and they got under half the attention of the American people.

So the thing is changing, and we need to respond with it. Our kids went to the Internet. We have to go there with them.

It is a very sophisticated industry, and we wanted to influence youth attitudes, so PFA and ONDCP really have put this effort together, along with the Ad Council, which has been a huge impact on us, too.

Mr. CUMMINGS. The media campaign seems to be targeted to deterring first-time drug use and casual drug use. Is that a fair statement?

General MCCAFFREY. No question. The biggest payoff, we think, in America is to save $2 million a head by not having kids get involved in extensive gateway drug-using behavior. If you don't get addicted, that is your savings to me as a taxpayer. So this is a prevention/education program aimed at children and their mentors. Quite correct.

Mr. CUMMINGS. So if we have someone who has already started, and not necessarily hard core, but just kind of experimenting, I mean, is there any of this aimed at that youngster, too?

General MCCAFFREY. No, sir. We do have a series of measures that we are enormously proud of. Secretary Shalala, Attorney General Reno, and I have put together now more than a $3 billion program which involves treatment interventions through a variety of systems that are linked to the criminal justice system, health system, and welfare system. That is where we get at a young person who is encountering chronic drug abuse.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Now, there have been some questions this morning about Ogilvy & Mather and Fleishman-Hillard. What kind of oversight controls do you all have in house to control what they do, because I think the committee is—I think all of us have said this

in one way or another. We want to make sure—and I think you share this concern—we want to make sure that our tax dollars and our constituents' tax dollars are spent in a cost-efficient and effective way, and so I am just wondering what kind of in-house oversight do you have over these folks who are being paid so handsomely?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, probably the best thing we did is we took about 6 months and had a contractor write our RFP, so I have contracting authority that—by analogy, I tell them I am going to act as if I was a CEO of a corporation and I am going to demand results out of these people. I have performance measures of effectiveness, and if they don't produce, each year that contract is redoable, and I expect them to produce results.

We do have measures in place to chronicle whether they are achieving their goals.

Now, having said that, let me hasten to add I think I am getting a lot more than I am paying for. I am proud of what both these corporations are doing, and the results are starting to show up.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Why do you say that, what you just said? I mean, that is a very interesting statement. So often the public gets the impression that we are not getting our dollars' worth.

General MCCAFFREY. Well, one of the things we did is we wrote a cost-plus contract. I mean, there is really no one—you would say no incentive for any waste, fraud, and abuse here.

Having said that, Fleishman-Hillard, just as an example, is under allocated cost.

I also look at the kind of work hours. These people are working 18-hour days on these issues. I know I am getting lots of corporate support out of Ogilvy & Mather and Fleishman-Hillard and their worldwide organizations. These are two industry giants. These are some of the best people in the global community on these issues, and they are really going to the wall for us.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I am about to run out of time, but just one question about the minority teen use of drugs going up. Can you comment on that for me?

General MCCAFFREY. I think we ought to be really concerned about it. I have been holding a mirror up to America for the last 4 years reminding Americans that everyone is involved in drug abuse.

One of the talking points was to say, "Look, lifetime exposure rates to drugs go white, black, Hispanic." And if you look at young people 30 and under, African Americans have lower rates of drug abuse than any other segment of American society.

The kids are going in the wrong direction. Now we are seeing—to include cigarette smoking. We are seeing African American youth moving up to get in the same statistical threat group that other Americans are, and I think it is a concern.

We have some wonderful subcontractors with ethnic advertising focus.

The African American/Hispanic piece gets about 78 percent of the $33 million focus on ethnic outreach, but we have an evaluational loop in place.

The new material you will see coming out this year we hope will better respond to the needs of these diverse communities.

Mr. CUMMINGS. I noticed in the ads that you just showed us, if I remember correctly, all of them dealt with parents; is that right, all four of them?

General MCCAFFREY. We were flighting these ads so that there will be periods where the central component will be parent effectiveness.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Right.

General MCCAFFREY. But there is also a teen-to-teen component.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

General MCCAFFREY. So it depends on which medium we are in.

Mr. CUMMINGS. Yes.

General MCCAFFREY. When they briefed me—when Partners for a Drug-Free America comes in, they will tell me, "Here is who the target is. It's the 14-year-old age group, and this one is aimed at Asian American." So they will show me the copy with who they are targeting, and it is a very sophisticated approach. It then gets tested before we go to production.

Mr. CUMMINGS. This is my last question. I guess we will get somebody on another panel maybe to tell us this, but when you have an ad like the one where these people—like the guy was doing the e-mail, and it is the end of the day, and they are talking about, "You need to get a hold of your kid," that is supposed to affect a parent and a kid?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, parent effectiveness. Part of the message is to make sure parents are aware that when they talk to their kids with a no drug use message, children actually are listening to it and are affected by it. We know that from National Institute of Drug Abuse studies. But we have to make sure parents understand that, because you will hear conversationally, "Well, we shouldn't talk about it. It just piques their curiosity, and more will use drugs if you mention that." That is a silly argument. If you applied the same thing to drunk driving or shoplifting or unprotected premarital sex, it is just a—but those ads right there are after parent effectiveness.

Mr. CUMMINGS. OK. Thank you.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

I will now recognize the gentleman from Indiana, Mr. Souder.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

Thank you for being here today, General McCaffrey. We appreciate your continued efforts.

I have a couple of different questions, and a few very specific questions.

We are working through the Drug-Free Schools and Safe Schools Act, which hopefully will get done this fall, but it may spill into next spring. And one of the things we are trying to do is tighten up that program to where it has more direct anti-drug and safe messages. Sometimes it gets pretty fragmented. In addition, our juvenile crime task force is proceeding ahead.

I applaud, in going through the details of your statement, your interactiveness, and I hope that, particularly with the continued concerns about juvenile crime and what some have focused on coming from that are the character counts programs and a lot of the basic social fabric breakdown.

I hope, in the mix of what you are doing with the direct anti-drug groups, as well as the YMCA, and so on, we are seeing a big revival of concern right now in this country about the general character, and to see, in as many of those programs as we can, that we get it slipped in the anti-drug, anti-alcohol, tobacco, marijuana messages, too.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. And I just wanted to say we are pursuing that, and, as we see this, it is likely to blossom in the next year as far as where Congress is focused. I wanted to emphasize that.

I am intrigued and am unclear a little from your statement and also, as comparing it to the statement that Dr. Johnston has presented later about what the free media program is working.

He states in his testimony that it has dropped from 1991 to 1997 from $365 million to $220. In your statement, I believe you said it is 109 percent, which you had at, like, $145 million, and had the in-kind from the industry basically agreeing with his $220.

General MCCAFFREY. His figure was dropped on pro bono?

Mr. SOUDER. From $365 to $220 from 1991 to 1997.

General MCCAFFREY. That is $365 million?

Mr. SOUDER. Yes.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. To $220. And your figure——

General MCCAFFREY. But that is PDFA data, isn't it? That is Partners for Drug-Free America data?

Mr. SOUDER. I don't know.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes. That is Jim Burke's number. It is a good number. That is what happened. That was the problem that caused us to come ask you all for help.

Mr. SOUDER. And in his testimony he mentions things like the Gulf war, and we have had a proliferation of other social problems that they are focused. At the same time, when we put this amount of media in, in effect we are getting back to where we were in 1991 figures, if you take the ad buy plus the pro bono.

Do you believe that can be leveraged more, or do you think—how can we continue to push back to 1991 levels?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, I——

Mr. SOUDER. I don't want to seem ungrateful for what they are giving.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. But the fact is it is a substantial drop, and, if necessary, Congress can take actions to force mandatory time.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes. Well, Mr. Congressman, thanks for your work on safe, drug-free schools. It does need a re-look. Secretary Dick Riley and I did as best we could, put together a package. Those were good hearings you all had.

I don't have a fixed view. I do think it needs to be re-looked. We need accountability. Governors ought to be in charge, not Secretary Riley and I, and we need reports. And I think we need prioritization.

So your leadership on that—I will look forward to hearing how Congress comes out on the bill.

Your comments on matching character ads, alcohol is a good one. That 109 percent match includes 33 different organizations. Three

of them are anti-alcohol in nature. We got $12 million worth of anti-alcohol underage drinking ads on already. This is a huge contribution from the Advertising Council.

They have a Creative Review Committee, too, so these ads have to pass muster as being scientifically accurate. They are tested, and then they go out to media markets all over the country, and they are getting used.

Unlike 10 years ago, they are stimulating, because, by law, we tell them, "If you want a matching credit, you can't put it on at 2 a.m. There are some rules here." The media is responding magnificently.

So we are moving in that direction. When you see their work that will come out shortly, you are going to be thrilled with it.

The question on whether or not we are getting—do we spend $195 million and get back where we were in 1991? No, sir. This is enormously different. This is not just TV ads on national media. This isn't throwing things to the wind and seeing if they get used. This is a very carefully planned, calibrated campaign with 102 different strategies where the media buy—when you talk to our leader, Shona Seifert here, you ought to ask her how do we go about planning these media buys so we know where the target audience is and we are going there with a message that they are going to hear and shape their thinking.

I might also add that when we buy this stuff and we do it 18 months in advance, we get huge increases in coverage. That's another thing that doesn't come out in some of these briefing charts. We essentially, if I remember, it was more than a 30 percent reduction in cost because of our buying plan.

Mr. SOUDER. Perhaps we will be able to followup some later in this meeting, but I have a couple of specific questions that, if you can't respond here, if you can get back to me on. One is—and this is a real fast one—the Partnership for Drug-Free America commercials were developed pro bono. I can't tell, from looking through your detail. It looks like a lot of what you are contracting out at this point are placement, research, and so on. Are the actual creative development things—are we paying for that, or is that still pro bono? And do you feel that, if we are paying for it, that the qualitative difference beyond—there is some targeting, but could that not have been done pro bono?

I know we have had extensive discussions here about particular media subcontracts, but I am concerned in some of the dollars that are showing up on Media Scope, in particular, and, without knowing a lot of the detail, the reports here are, on the surface, disturbing, because I can see that they have been challenged to some degree internally, and that's one of the specifics that I, too, am concerned about as you proceed.

I have no idea. And let me just say, as a general rule—and I would like to say this clearly for the record—I am most concerned that the dollars get maximized. And I understand that that takes research, auditing, placement costs, and all that kind of stuff, but the particular sales that we made in going around the Authorizing Committee and putting it in an appropriations bill, which is the way this program was done, and the way Congress accepted it was that this was going to actually be media time.

Now, I understand that media time spent unwisely is wasted, and you have had to try to balance some of those, and I understand the development of the Internet and so on. I also understand the importance of internal accounting and auditing, and I don't want to have the questions that we are asking become such a drain that we are not accomplishing our first goal.

At the same time—and I have nothing but complete respect for you, and I understand the frustration, but you also have to understand some of our concerns in this committee.

I tell you, in category after category, as we've looked at Interior Department, as we've looked at the Justice department, as we've looked at different things, there have been questionable contracts.

I don't know how to balance this. I absolutely am not making a single accusation. I am concerned that we are going to bog you down for 2 weeks in paperwork instead of being out doing. But there is one that the Media Scope comes under entertainment. It's $30,000 a month. We couldn't get an explanation for it. We'd like to have some kind of explanation. It may be a very logical explanation.

General MCCAFFREY. Well, Mr. Congressman, I think your concerns are appropriate. We should be able to answer all these questions.

I don't think there is any—I don't think we really have many questions, that we see clearly what we are doing. We can identify the various subcomponents. They are based on studies. There is a very specific oversight responsibility.

That Media Scope, for example, we wanted to go get scientifically valid data about the nature of drug abuse in music, movies, television, and we did it. We are doing it.

So it is important to us really to have a handle on—when I go out to the Entertainment Industry Council and try to influence the actual production of TV series—and we are doing that. We are not violating first amendment rights, but we've gone out there. Fleishman-Hillard is doing a lot of this for us. We are conducting seminars so that writers, directors, and actors get a good insight into the nature of drug abuse among adolescents.

We told them, "Put anything you want into this stuff, but make it look like it really does in real life."

That's a lot of what is going on with those kinds of programs.

But I would be glad to respond.

Let me make one statement categorically, though. We are not buying ads. We are paying production costs, particularly when you talk about 11 languages and going after the Hispanic market in Spanish. By the way, we did that more than four times a week last week. If your native language was Spanish, we talked to you four times last week in Spanish.

And so we got to do production costs, particularly the struggling minority advertising firms, but this is pennies on the dollar. We get a huge impact for going about it this way.

By and large, though, the huge chunk of the dollars is still advertising media buy. Shona Seifert is the quarterback, and they do know what they are doing, and I spend hours listening to her team tell me until 11 p.m., where this stuff is going. We are following it real closely.

Mr. SOUDER. Thank you.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

Mr. Kucinich from Ohio.

Mr. KUCINICH. If Mr. Barr wants to go first, it is OK with me.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Barr.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the gentleman from Ohio.

As I mentioned to you, General McCaffrey, I remain very concerned, as I know you are, about the drug legalization initiative in the District of Columbia. It is these sorts of things, when the President issues a public statement that is very properly and accurately read as supportive of that initiative in D.C. when he cites the efforts here in the Congress to block that as one of the reasons why he vetoes the spending bill, that can undo tremendous gains that are made through programs such as those that we are discussing here today.

Have you, since the President's veto message on the D.C. appropriations bill, had any discussions with the President or the White House about that? Have you voiced your concern or opposition to it?

General MCCAFFREY. Absolutely. I mean, it was very closely followed by us.

I sent my Deputy to testify in Congress for the committee. I was glad to be able to do that. And I asked Dr. Don Vereen to come over because it really made the point. He is a nationally known drug research expert, a former NITA research scholar. He is a psychiatrist, a physician, a public health guy. And we wanted to unmistakably communicate—and we provided our briefing charts to Congress. We want medical drugs decided by the National Institute of Health and the Food and Drug Administration, not by political referendum. This is not the way to go. This is a mistake.

We got a good study out of the American Academy of Sciences. That's what we support, not these referendum.

To be honest, in the short run it is sort of a crock. I hate to be rude about it, but we got synthetic PAC, marinol, available in pharmacies right now with a doctor's prescription. We'd be glad to study other canabanoids and see if they have symptom management capability, but smoked pot, a blunt stuck in your face in an ICU, is unlikely to be medicine. That's what the American Academy of Sciences said.

Now, on the other hand, Mr. Congressman, with your permission, I would rush to avoid getting involved in a legitimate debate between Congress and the administration over home rule, et cetera. I've tried to stay out of that and focus on the medical marijuana issue.

Secretary Shalala and I and others are on the record and our position is unwavering.

Mr. BARR. I agree with your perspective. It is an issue about the drugs and not about home rule. But it is just very disappointing that the tremendous gains that can be made, whether it is through a just say no or just say no type program or some of the ad campaigns that I think are effective that we've talked about here this

morning can be undone by the position the President has taken on this particular issue.

I also think that it would be a tremendous benefit to the education effort in which you and those with you here today and those of us here in the Congress who believe in the anti-drug message are trying to engage in if the President would take up this ball and run with it, which he will not do, apparently.

I think the number of major speeches that this President has given on addressing the issue of mind-altering drugs is less than six in 7 years.

If the President would take to the airwaves, use the bully pulpit of the White House, rather than indicating his support for a drug legalization effort in the District of Columbia to get the message out there that you are trying to get out and that these ads are trying to get out, it would help tremendously, I think.

I know or at least I presume that you've talked to him about this and encouraged him to speak out on this issue, and I hope others have, as well. It just doesn't seem to be getting through, and I think it is unfortunate, because it really could aid our effort, and I would certainly encourage you to continue in those efforts to get the President to speak out against mind-altering drugs with greater frequency and much more loudly.

Down in my District in Georgia, which is included in the Atlanta media market—while I don't have the opportunity to watch much TV, I do listen to the radio occasionally when I am driving the District, and I have heard the ONDCP ads, and I think they are very, very good. I hope we can do more of them.

As many of us in politics know, radio can be a very, very cost-effective means of getting a message out. Is radio being utilized in these efforts that we are talking about here today to the fullest extent?

While the TV ads I think are very effective in their own right, you can get a tremendously larger bang for the buck in radio advertising. And is radio advertising, in your view, through this campaign, being utilized to the fullest extent? And if you could give me some idea—it may be in some of the materials here—some idea of the dollar amounts that are being spent on radio versus TV advertising.

And, by the way, one thing I would—and I don't know whether you have done this, but I would like to hear you on some of those radio ads. I think the prestige that you would bring to it, being identified as who you are and what you are doing, would be very, very effective.

I know that other private groups use celebrities to do that. I'd like to hear you on some of those ads. Is this something that you would consider, or is it being done in some markets?

General McCaffrey. Well, Mr. Congressman, I thank you for those remarks.

Let me, if I can, briefly talk about the President's role in this. And, again, I tell you bluntly I am a nonpartisan officer of government.

In 4 years, the President has supported me on this issue without stint, and at times when it was politically tough on him to do it—needle exchange, medical pot, et cetera.

Mostly, what I tell people is, "Look, at the end of the day in a balanced budget environment, we went from $13.5 billion to $17.8 billion." I know congressional leadership was vitally important to that, but I got that out of OMB and the President.

I am appreciative of his support, and he has also allowed me the leadership responsibility of getting Janet Reno, Dick Riley, Donna Shalala, the police, et cetera, involved in this. And he has spoken out on medical pot, and we've got an administration position. This isn't mine, this is ours. Now——

Mr. BARR. Yes, but when he speaks out on it 2 weeks ago and giving as one of his reasons explicitly for vetoing the D.C. appropriations bill the fact that Congress, on behalf of the people of this country, included a measure against the legalization of marijuana in D.C., it, at best, presents a contradictory or muddled message, and I think it presents the wrong message.

General MCCAFFREY. There were these other issues, and it is unfortunate they all got cluged together, but I hear you, I recognize what you are saying. I do want to, in all fairness, say the President and his OMB Director have stood with me for 4 years and I am appreciative of it.

Now, let me, if I can, go on to your other two comments.

Is radio effective? Absolutely. Huge leverage, targeted market, local radio—they know who is listening to various kinds of shows. They are on the air in Cantonese in San Francisco. If you want to talk to moms and dads of first-generation families, you've got to go on Chinese-language radio. Same thing in some Native American dialects. So it is a huge tool.

Mr. BARR. Does that include southern in Georgia?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, that's even different dialect, right. It's a nice dialect. But I will give you a breakout.

We are using that tool and it is very flexible, and the Advertising Association has been a huge help in that, too.

On me being on ads, I am—we will take that into account. That may be a good idea. I've done some pro bono with Montel Williams, with a lot of the gold medal athletes. What a thrill to be with Frank Shorter and some of these other national heros, Donna Verona. So we can look at that.

But, by and large, what we are doing is we are going to this behavioral science expert panel. We are saying, "How do you influence a 12-year-old kid?"

For example, you want to talk to a 12-year-old, go get a 14-year-old actor. That's who they want to be like, not like the drug policy director.

And we are pretty sophisticated in our thinking.

Mr. BARR. They might surprise you. Maybe we ought to be doing something very subtly to make them want to be more like you than some of these other folks.

General MCCAFFREY. Well, I clearly talk to kids all the time. A couple weeks ago, one of the high points of my life, 17,000 kids, L.A. Coliseum, the DARE Convention. So I talk routinely to groups of as many as 10,000 children—pride organizations, any group of kids that show up here, we are engaged with them. We are on video. We do videos all the time. If you are having a conference, I will talk to the conference over video if I can't get there.

So your point is a good one. And Donna Shalala has been a tremendous partner doing the same thing with me.

Mr. BARR. Did you say, General—and I apologize and I appreciate the indulgence—that you would get me—do you have the figures on the breakdown on how much is being allocated to radio as opposed to television?

General MCCAFFREY. Well, one of the problems is we've got 102 different media buying strategies, and essentially the note I got is 15 to 20 percent of the budget, depending on the State.

So, for example, in Congressman Mica's District in south-central Florida we go after heroin abuse at a very high rate. It's a huge problem to young people in that State. So the nature of the ads, the very ads you are hearing or seeing, are different than the ads you might see in Georgia. But 15 to 20 percent of the budget, depending on the State.

And it is very important—and our African American audience is an example. That's the way to talk to African American adolescents.

Mr. BARR. Thank you, General.

Mr. MICA. If I may, I am going to yield 2 minutes to Mr. Kucinich, and then we will get the balance before the vote to you.

Mr. Kucinich.

Mr. KUCINICH. Thank you, and thank you, General McCaffrey, for the work that you've been doing. I've worked with you on the high-intensity drug trafficking matter, and I appreciate your help there.

I saw the commercials when you ran them, and I've seen some of them on TV in the market that I live in Cleveland. You know, I think that this kind of an undertaking is so enormous that it has to be regarded, the kind of effort that goes into it, so I wanted to thank you and all those who are part of it.

You can understand, though, the chairman's concern. There has to be accountability on this, there's so much money involved, so that's what we are here for, to ask questions.

I have a very brief question, and that is: the amount of money that is being spent, the hundreds of millions of dollars in buying this time, who is buying the time, and are they commissioned when they buy the time or do they buy the time pro bono?

General MCCAFFREY. I am sorry, Mr. Congressman, would you repeat that question?

Mr. KUCINICH. Somebody buys the time.

General MCCAFFREY. Right.

Mr. KUCINICH. Do they get a commission on the time that they buy?

General MCCAFFREY. No. I think we ought to give you a detailed layout on how the media buy is done, both mechanically and over time.

Mr. KUCINICH. That would be nice. I used to do that. That's why I am curious about that.

General MCCAFFREY. I see.

Mr. KUCINICH. Because usually there is a 15 percent commission involved.

Mr. MICA. Could you answer or somebody tell us if there is any commission involved, because that is a $684 million——

General McCAFFREY. Well, let me give you a detailed answer.

Ogilvy & Mather gets a fixed fee on the contract.

Mr. KUCINICH. Does that include—is that exclusive of or does it include the commission on the time that they buy? For example, if someone buys $1 million worth of TV time, there are contracts where they get 15 percent or $150,000.

General McCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. KUCINICH. Is this already included in their contract, or do they get something over and above it, just out of curiosity.

General McCAFFREY. Yes. Let me give you an answer for the record on exactly how the fees are allocated.

Mr. KUCINICH. That would be fine. I appreciate it.

General McCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. KUCINICH. Again, thanks. This is very interesting. Keep up the good work.

Mr. SOUDER. Mr. Chairman, may I add one subpoint, because I think it is what the Congressman was trying to get to.

Mr. MICA. Yes.

Mr. SOUDER. For example, as somebody who also placed media buys—and I am sure this is a fairly easy thing to answer—but the commission is usually around 15 percent. Sometimes they will kick it down to 7 or 5. And, in fact, if you don't take the commission, they will lower your rates 15 percent, and that's the difference in the amount of contribution that you could——

Mr. MICA. Yes. Well, we also want to know if the $40 million was paid to them and then subcontracts and then commissions on top of that. It could mount up with a $684 million contract, a sizable amount. But those are some of the questions we are trying to get answered to Mr. Director.

Mr. Ose.

Mr. OSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will be brief, and I will submit these for the record, given the time.

My concern has to do with the nicheing of the ads. That is, who is taking, for instance, the 12 to 14-year-old Hispanic market, who is taking the 14 to 16-year-old white market as it relates to these contracts over here? I will submit that question for the record.

The second question has to do with the actual measurements of effectiveness of the different ads and how to quantify that.

It would seem to me that the bottom line is: do the ads reduce use of drugs?

General McCAFFREY. Right.

Mr. OSE. And I am trying—I see the empirical evidence on the charts as they exist, but I am trying to figure out how we could get a quantification——

General McCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. OSE [continuing]. Of the impact.

Mr. Chairman, if you will, I will submit that for the record, also.

General McCAFFREY. Yes. Well, that is a question. You are right. One is do they hear the ad, is it credible, does it influence their attitudes, does it then influence their behavior, and that's exactly what we owe you over time, but not just from a macro level. We have to see inside the target evidence.

Mr. OSE. You bring up an interesting point, because the graph you showed us is a compilation of different, if you will, markets.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. OSE. And we might be very effective in one market——

General MCCAFFREY. Absolutely. Good point.

Mr. OSE [continuing]. But not effective in another.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. OSE. And I'd like to correlate the relative effectiveness of those markets to these different contracts.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes. That's a good point.

Mr. OSE. For instance, Bates Advertising might have this market and it is doing very well, and CSR might have that market and it's not doing very well at all.

General MCCAFFREY. That's a good point.

Mr. OSE. That would be informative to me.

General MCCAFFREY. I think next year we will have a fight going on over who gets credit for reducing youth drug abuse. That's what is going to happen, and trying to disentangle to what extent is this community coalitions, is this the ad campaign, is this good law enforcement, is this the Rotary Club, YMCA. That's what's going to happen.

At that point, we are going to have some tough—that's why Westat Corp.'s evaluation contract is important to us, to try and understand that process.

By the way, Mr. Chairman, if I can, although I encourage you to ask Ms. Seifert of Ogilvy & Mather—the note they passed me was, "No commission on any buys."

Mr. OSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MICA. Thank you, Mr. Ose.

Mr. Director, we do have additional questions, and we will be submitting them both from the minority and majority to you, but, again, we are not trying to be tough guys or mean guys in this process; merely just sort through how some of these very substantial expenditures have been made, and some others that raise questions.

I didn't get into it, but we had one instance here where our staff talked to Mr. Richard Pleffner—is it Pleffner, your ONDCP contracting officer?

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. About an aspect of a Fleishman-Hillard contract in the amount of $186,000-plus, which then, I guess, they subcontracted to Media Scope in the amount of—and there were expenditures in the amount of $156,000 for entertainment, and we asked for some documentation on description of the services that were provided. Mr. Pleffner could not tell us exactly what that was for.

These are just basic questions on, in some cases, very significant amounts of money. The questions I also raised about the subcontract for Porter Novelli, what happened to the $50,000, the difference in that contract, and some of the other questions that we've raised, particularly the NITA contract and the funds that went back and forth through that agency.

So, again, we are not trying to be mean or ornery or overreaching our bounds, but merely trying to find out how these funds are expended.

General MCCAFFREY. Yes.

Mr. MICA. So we look forward to receiving answers and replies and working with you and, again, seeing that this program is effective and has effective oversight.

General MCCAFFREY. Sure.

[The information referred to follows:]

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QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES
OCTOBER 14, 1999 HEARING

QUESTION:

1. WHAT ASSURANCES CAN ONDCP GIVE THIS SUBCOMMITTEE THAT ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN EFFORTS ARE "SUPPLEMENTING" AND NOT "SUPPLANTING" EXISTING ANTI-DRUG EFFORTS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ONDCP'S LEGISLATIVE MANDATE?

ANSWER:

ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is supplementing other anti-drug efforts in numerous ways. The following are examples of how the Media Campaign enhances community anti-drug efforts:

- Creation of the media match component of the anti-drug campaign has increased the reach of PSA's by opening up different segments of the day, including primetime, where public service has traditionally been underrepresented.

- The President of the Advertising Council, the nation's oldest and largest producer of Public Service campaigns, issued a statement on August 2 at the public launch of Phase III of the Media Campaign that the Media Campaign has "revitalized the public service community by increasing awareness of existing programs that aid in youth drug prevention."

- Of significance, Fox, WB and UPN television networks did not have a PSA policy prior to their involvement in the implementation of the Media Campaign. They began to air PSA's as a result of the ONDCP effort.

- Forty-three national organizations have been able to avail themselves of increased visibility from over 190,000 TV and radio time slots from the pro- bono match effort.

- In over 100 markets, local organizations will be able to access the pro-bono match by working through the American Advertising Federation.

- A study by the American Association of Adverting Agencies cited in the trade publication, *Advertising Age* attributed recent increases in television advertising "clutter" to the proliferation of PSA activity from the campaign. "Clutter" is defined as the barrage of media messages surrounding individuals other than TV programming that compete for the listeners or viewers attention.

- A new component of ONDCP's Media Campaign is a major effort to promote community anti-drug coalitions. ONDCP has contracted with the Ad Council, the nation's oldest and

largest producer of public service messages, for this purpose. Many leaders in the community anti-drug coalition field are involved in the Ad Council's work in this area. The campaign will be presented at the December Conference of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America (CADCA).

- Forty-three national organizations and scores of local organizations have shared in 265,000 ONDCP (pro-bono) time slots achieving air play for their own television and radio public service messages on substance abuse drug related issues.

- Numerous national organizations with local affiliates with drug prevention programs have partnered with ONDCP's media campaign. This includes YMCA, Future Farmers of America (FFA), Girls and Boys Club and other organizations with chapters throughout the country.

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QUESTION:

2. WHAT IS THE STATUS OF THE CORPORATE SPONSORSHIP PLAN AND HAS ONDCP ENCOUNTERED ANY PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPING THE PLAN? IS THERE A TIMELINE AND WHEN CAN THE SUBCOMMITTEE EXPECT TO SEE THE PLAN?

ANSWER:

Involving and securing the commitment of a range of US corporations in the Youth Media Campaign in order to maximize the reach and penetration of a potent anti-drug message is an integral part of achieving the goals set out by Congress in the original legislation for FY 98 and each subsequent year. Corporate sponsorship and support are among the highest priorities ONDCP has for achieving the effectiveness required to make the changes in awareness and attitude, and behavior by America's youth.

The Corporation sponsorship plan is the third leg (or third pillar) of the campaign that must compliment our strategy of securing a pro-bono match for all the media buys done by Ogilvy & Mather. That necessitates the recruiting of a top-notch firm with expertise and proven track record in developing corporate involvement in a public service effort. Thus, ONDCP is developing a Request for Proposal (RFP) to hire such a firm. We will issue the RFP in January 2000. We anticipate selecting a vendor, approving its corporate involvement plan and commencing implementation by Spring 2000.

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QUESTION:

3. NOW THAT OGILVY & MATHER WILL BE CONDUCTING THE MEDIA BUYS FOR PHASE III, HAVE THERE BEEN ANY CHANGES WITH REGARD TO PROCESS FROM PHASES I & II? HOW MUCH MONEY WILL GO TOWARD PURE MEDIA BUYS OF AIR TIME AND SPACE **(EXCLUDING OTHER COSTS SUCH AS PRODUCTION AND OVERHEAD COSTS)?**

ANSWER:

There have been several changes with regard to the media buying process now that Ogilvy & Mather is implementing the buy. Key changes are as follows:

- In its role as the primary advertising contractor on the ONDCP account, Ogilvy has added particular value to ONDCP efforts in the media planning and buying effort. With buying leverage based on handling the world's largest aggregate media budget and widely acknowledged planning and buying expertise, Ogilvy can secure the highest quality media for the lowest possible price. For the taxpayer, this means that ONDCP saves 10 to 50 cents or more for every Congressionally appropriated media dollar invested. Ogilvy's media plans and buys are creative and savvy, selectively identifying effective, intrusive and relevant vehicles from the plethora of media opportunities available to a contemporary advertiser.

  The local broadcast buying unit implemented multi-station deals to secure preferential pricing and more cohesive and effective pro bono soft match programs with similar themes across several markets. The local buying unit also negotiated multi-quarter deals, which provide ONDCP with better pricing and more flexibility to implement custom-tailored soft match opportunities.

- Ogilvy's media planning and buying has enabled ONDCP to achieve greater visibility.

- Ogilvy implemented a media strategy known as "flighting" to provide better levels of exposure for each of the message platforms from our communications strategy. Flighting focuses on specific message platforms across all media vehicles for specific scheduled periods, concentrating message delivery behind one single platform at a time to maximize communication/learning during the specific time period.

- Ogilvy & Mather scheduled meetings for the first time with key vendors prior to the launch of the Phase III campaign. Key representatives attended the meetings from ONDCP, Ogilvy & Mather and the vendors. The vendors were briefed on the overall objectives of the

campaign and the specific pro bono match guidelines. These meetings resulted in both a strategically focused media buy, more effective pro bono negotiations and a more thorough understanding of ONDCP's objectives within the media community.

- Ogilvy & Mather media works closely with Strategic Planning and Research to implement strategically focused plans. This deeper approach to media planning and buying combines the learning from previous ODNCP activity with the proprietary resources of the agency: proprietary tools such as Pathway Plus TM and SuperMidas TM provide sophisticated accountability and measurement systems for tracking campaign impact and effectiveness.

- Ogilvy One worked more closely with O&M planning to integrate Interactive/Internet opportunities into the mainstream media buy.

- Ogilvy's contract is for one year - January 4, 1999 to January 3, 2000. The anticipated campaign media time and space spending level (excluding production costs, overhead costs, etc.) is $139,000,000.

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QUESTION:

4. AS THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN MOVES INTO PHASE III, PLEASE DESCRIBE THE PROCESS FOR EVALUATING THE REAL "IMPACT" OF THE ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN. WHAT WILL BE MEASURED?

ANSWER:

The National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) is managing the evaluation of Phase III of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. The Phase III evaluation, to be conducted by WESTAT and its subcontractors, the Annenberg School of Communications and NDRI, Inc., is designed to determine the extent to which changes in drug-related knowledge, attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors can be attributed to exposure to anti-drug messages. The Phase III evaluation design includes:

- The National Survey of Parents and Youth, a continuous series of cross-sectional surveys that will be conducted at 6-month intervals over a 4-year period. Approximately 64,800 total interviews of families, both parents and their children will be conducted over the evaluation period.

- The Community Longitudinal Survey of Parents and Youth which will consist of surveys conducted in four longitudinal sites located in different geographic regions of the country with each site representing a particular mix of demographic groups and community characteristics. Approximately 27,050 interviews will be conducted over the evaluation period.

  The Phase III survey instruments currently are being field tested. The first wave of data collection is occurring in Fall 1999.

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QUESTION:

5. WHAT WAS LEARNED FROM THE PHASES I & II EVALUATIONS, AND HOW WILL ONDCP APPLY THOSE LESSONS LEARNED IN PHASE III EVALUATION?

ANSWER:

This campaign is built and guided by extensive behavioral research. In addition, the on-going lessons learned during the implementation of the Phase I and II of the campaign have acted, in effect, as additional research, allowing for continuous improvement and strengthening of the effort. Examples of the lessons learned and the subsequent application of that learning is as follows

- It is possible to improve on ads used in Phases I and II ads. Actions have included:
  - Featuring more peer-to-peer communication. This continues to be done with the development of new advertising for Phase III
  - Provide parents with advice on how to best communicate with their children. The current flight of Parent/Adult influencer targeted advertising is a direct outgrowth of this learning. In addition refined fulfillment material has been developed to supplement the ad communication
  - Include more customization of more ads to specific ethnic and age groups. This continues to be done with the development of new advertising for Phase III

- Parents are in a difficult situation, under-informed, but ready to learn more about the problem and how to communicate better with their kids. Actions have included:
  - Development of additional materials to assist parents in talking to their children about drugs, including booklets providing facts about illegal drugs and suggestions for parents on how to establish dialogue with their children.
  - Augmentation of media reach and frequency of ads targeted towards adults
  - Development of the Internet delivered Parent Drug Resource Center on AOL

- There are many confounding societal and contextual issues. The target audiences are subject to an array of pressures and influences—Internet, song lyrics, and TV shows that "normalize drug use. Influence of existing alcohol and tobacco advertising. Recognition of the stresses, pressures and conflicts our targets face has been applied to on-going design and implementation of the media campaign. Actions have included:
  - Working with the Behavioral Change Expert Panel and target audience specialists to advise on how best to reach the target audiences based on research
  - Refining the targets to focus more on the "sensation seekers, and middle school kids most at risk

- Creating adverting that speaks even more clearly to the targets by developing clearer, more behaviorally astute briefs
- Development of a more refined internet strategy including the youth web-site *Freevibe.com* and *the antidrug.com*
- Working with the various networks on both PSA and programming input to create more multi-faceted communication
- Forming alliances with media companies to avail ourselves of the wide range of communication vehicles and their extensive experience

- Listen carefully to the targets and seek to refine and improve the program at every step, working with the best possible resources. Actions taken include:
  - Implementation of *branding* as part of the campaign to ensure long-term, sustainable success, and to multiply the impact of advertising dollars. Branding increases consumer mind share of anti-drug messages; maximizes the impact of advertising dollars; creates synergy between advertising and non-advertising messages; and unites an organization's messages. A four-month Brand Stewardship research process, lead by Ogilvy, (entailed interviewing adults and youth of all ethnicities) led to the adoption by ONDCP of "The Anti-Drug" as the campaign's brand.

  - Implementation of media *flighting* plan will enable ONDCP to focus all elements of the integrated communications plan on strategic message platforms. Under this plan, each individual platform will receive optimal media exposure –using fewer ads to achieve better communication.

- The campaign has resulted in an increase in anti-drug activities in communities. This finding is a positive indicator that the campaign may be spurring community anti-drug efforts. Actions taken to expand on this grassroots growth include:

  - Development of a plan, through Phase III contractor, Fleishman-Hillard to facilitate community-level efforts including the development of turn-key kits.
  - Work with the Ad Council to develop recruitment program to increase volunteerism to community based anti-drug programs

- School-based surveying is fraught with executional problems. In planning the Phase III evaluation, ONDCP and the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) convened experts in survey design to develop recommendations for the Phase III evaluation design. As a result, the Phase III design incorporates a household-based survey.

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QUESTION:

6. HOW DOES ONDCP DETERMINE WHETHER THE MEDIA BUY CONTRACTOR IS DELIVERING AS PROMISED? DOES ONDCP INDEPENDENTLY AUDIT THE MEDIA BUYS? HOW ABOUT WITH SO-CALLED SPOT MARKETS (AS OPPOSED TO THE BIG NETWORKS) – IS ONDCP INDEPENDENTLY AUDITING THOSE MEDIA BUYS?

ANSWER:

The buy contractor (Ogilvy and Mather) provides detailed reports to ONDCP by media type which list each vendor being utilized, minutes of negotiation, buy order and contracts. Additionally, post buy analysis and reports are provided by the contractor indicating the delivery of the buy vs. the planned activity for all national and local broadcast activity.

For the spot markets, in addition to the post buys described above, the buying contractor receives affidavits from each individual station, which provide proof that this activity has aired. These reports, along with local station contracts, are supplied to the ONDCP Project Officer. Affidavits are supplied to the Project Officer when the contractor invoices for the particular activity. Within the print area, tear sheets are provided by vendors which prove that the ad activity ran in newspapers and magazines. A position report is provided for the print schedule, which summarizes the activity supplied in the tear sheets. All the above reports are recorded in binders and organized by media type for periodic review by the ONDCP Project Officer.

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QUESTION:

7. IN THE BEGINNING OF ONDCP'S EFFORT TO "JUMP START" A MEDIA CAMPAIGN IN SEPTEMBER 1997, A CONTRACT WAS LET TO PORTER-NOVELLI TO DEVELOP AN INTEGRATED STRATEGY FOR THIS EFFORT. ACCORDING TO AN ONDCP STAFF MEMBER, LATER IN 1997, ONDCP, WHO ALREADY HAD A CONTRACT WITH PORTER-NOVELLI, TRANSFERRED FUNDS TO THE DEPARTMENT OF VETERAN'S AFFAIRS (VA). THE VA THEN SUBCONTRACTED WITH ABT ASSOCIATES, FOR $1.96 MILLION. ABT LATER SUBCONTRACTED BACK TO PORTER-NOVELLI FOR A CONTRACT WORTH $1.91 MILLION. THE RESULT, AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL; IS THAT ABT ASSOCIATED GOT $50,000. FOR WHAT? WHAT DID THE GOVERNMENT GET FOR ITS $50,000.

ANSWER:

The general scope of the contract awarded to Porter-Novelli in September 1997, was for the development of strategic objectives for the Media Campaign; preparation of a media plan and corporate sponsorship plan; preparation of the Request For Proposal for the Campaign's implementation; limited administrative support necessary to implement the Campaign.

Through an existing contract, the VA issued a "task order" to Abt Associates which provided for consulting services critical to implementing the Media Campaign at the national level. The consulting services included strategic oversight of new advertising creation; quantitative evaluation of ads to determine if they were consistent with the Campaign's communication strategy; formal analysis of prevention activities; consulting support during implementation of the integrated communications plan; managing stakeholder relations; strategic communication counseling; and consultation on Campaign related issues and activities. This task order required Abt Associates to oversee and coordinate the work of an experienced media strategy contractor. They subcontracted to Porter-Novelli for accomplishment of the specific tasks. Abt's fee was for assigning, managing and coordinating all work assignments with Porter-Novelli. Abt was also responsible for reviewing deliverables and providing written comments to the ONDCP Project Officer.

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QUESTION:

8. PLEASE EXPLAIN WHAT SERVICE OR PRODUCT A F-H SUBCONTRACTOR FOR THE ONDCP MEDIA CAMPAIGN NAMED MEDIA SCOPE PROVIDES?

ANSWER:

Under ONDCP's contract for the Non-Advertising component of the National Youth Anti-Drug Campaign, Mediascope works with Fleishman-Hillard's Los Angeles-based subcontractor Rogers & Associates to coordinate outreach to the entertainment industry. The principal goal of Mediascope's efforts is to raise awareness of issues associated with drug use among those in the entertainment industry who are responsible for the creative content of television programming and films to encourage them to create more accurate depictions of substance abuse in their work. To achieve this goal, Mediascope undertakes a number of activities. These include, but are not limited to:

- Convening special events, including briefings and roundtables targeting the Hollywood creative community;
- Conceptualizing and participating in meetings with entertainment industry representatives;
- Representing the Campaign and providing Campaign presence at entertainment industry events such as trade shows, conferences, and other entertainment industry-sponsored forums;
- Producing special publications on substance abuse aimed at the entertainment industry;
- Identifying and securing experts in the area of public health, policy, and medicine, who can participate in industry events/briefings on drug abuse and provide one-on-one expertise to scriptwriters, directors, and producers;
- Recommending other strategies to achieve the stated goals of ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign;
- Conducting and disseminating academic research, such as content analyses;
- Providing support, advice, and counsel to Rogers & Associates, Fleishman-Hillard, and other campaign associates as needed;
- Making their Advisory Board available to the Campaign's Entertainment Team to provide advice and counsel on how Campaign activities can be effective within the entertainment community.
- Making the Mediascope website available to promote Campaign messages.

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QUESTION:

9. PLEASE PROVIDE THE STATUS OF THE FLEISHMAN-HILLARD ANNUAL EVALUATION REPORT WHICH IS DUE TO ONDCP ON SEPTEMBER 4, 1999? ACCORDING TO TESTIMONY AT THE OCTOBER 14TH HEARING, A SENIOR F-H OFFICIAL STATED THAT THIS REPORT WAS SUBMITTED TO ONDCP IN SEPTEMBER 1999 (ALBEIT ONE WEEK AFTER THE DEADLINE). YET THIS SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF WAS INFORMED BY ONDCP THAT, "THIS DOCUMENT IS NOT YET AVAILABE FROM THE CONTRACTOR" IN A LETTER DATED OCTOBER 8, 1999. PLEASE EXPLAIN THE INCONSISTENCY?

ANSWER:

Fleishman-Hillard provided an oral briefing to ONDCP on September 13 outlining all their activities in support of the Media Campaign. A follow-up written report was provided to ONDCP on October 29th

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QUESTION:

10. HOW DOES ONDCP TRACK ALL OF THE VARIOUS CONTRACT DELIVERABLES – HAS ONDCP DEVELOPED A "MASTER LISTING" OF ALL DELIVERABLES? IF NOT, HOW DOES ONDCP ENSURE THAT ALL CONTRACTORS ARE MEETING CONTRACT OBLIGATIONS? IS THERE A SINGLE PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS ASPECT OF THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN?

ANSWER:

The advertising contract deliverables for ONDCP are broken down into three primary categories:

1) Media – This category covers the costs for all advertising media communications vehicles (e.g., TV, radio, print, outdoor) recommended for purchase by ONDCP's prime advertising contractor and its multicultural subcontractors. Cost details on all of these vehicles are assembled in a media master list and compliance report that is updated weekly. This list shows exactly when the Government's funds are obligated and expended across time so that all media deliverables can be anticipated and tracked with ease. In addition, each media invoice is attached to detailed TV and radio affidavits e.g., print tear sheets and other materials as proof of performance.

2) Production – This category covers the costs associated with physically making the advertising (e.g., "shooting" TV, recording radio, printing magazine, newspaper and outdoor ads) that will be placed or run in the media vehicles above. A master list or binder of all production jobs is kept, with detailed background materials pertaining to each line item of production attached to each element of each job by number. Each phase of a 23-step review and approval process is carefully monitored to ensure that production jobs are delivered on time, on budget, and on strategy.

3) Labor – This category covers all costs associated with the labor hours from various categories associated with the media planning and buying tasks above. Each contractor issues detailed labor reports based on timesheets. Each invoice is checked against actual pay slips to ensure accuracy in billing and payment.

The ONDCP Project Officer responsible for business and finance issues, supported by ONDCP financial staff and on-site accounting subcontractors administers the tracking of deliverables. This ONDCP team assures compliance from the advertising contractors and subcontractors with its careful tracking system.

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QUESTION:

11. IS THE CONTRACTING FOR THIS $1 BILLION EFFORT STREAMLINED ENOUGH? ARE THERE IMPROVEMENTS THAT CAN BE MADE?

ANSWER:

The advertising and non-advertising components of Phase III were separately competed under the Federal Acquisition Regulation (FAR) in separate announcements. Although the government could have awarded both contracts to one contractor, the combination of Ogilvy and Fleishman-Hillard presented the best value to the government. Another contract has been let to WESTAT. WESTAT evaluates the media campaign independent of either Ogilvy or Fleishman-Hillard. Similarly, the Ad Council, a non-profit organization, provides independent production cost review. The tasks performed by WESTAT and the Ad Council are not inextricably linked. It should be noted that ONDCP followed the letter and the spirit of the acquisition laws when it entered into the various contracts that make up the media campaign. The FAR discourages unnecessary bundling.

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QUESTION:

12. THE SUBCOMMITTEE REQUESTED FROM NIDA AND WESTAT THE REQUIRED MONTHLY REPORT OF ACTIVITIES. THE SUBCOMMITTEE STAFF WAS INFORMED THAT WHILE WESTAT DOES SUBMIT MONTHLY FINANCIAL DOCUMENTS, WESTAT HAS NOT SUBMITTED THE MONTHLY ACTIVITY REPORTS. THIS IS IN DIRECT VIOLATION OF THE DELIVERIES AND REPORTING REFQUIREMENTS STATED IN RFP N01DA-8-5063, ATTACHMENT 2, WHICH STATES THAT MONTHLY PROGRESS REPORTS SHOULD BE SUBMITTED:

"WITHIN THE FIRST TEN WORKING DAYS AFTER EACH CALENDAR MONTH, THE CONTRACTOR SHALL SUBMIT COPIES OF A REPORT ON ACTIVITIES DURING THE PRECEDING MONTH, MAILED TO THE NIDA PROJECT OFFICER. IN THE MONTHLY REPORT, THE CONTRACTOR SHALL BRIEFLY DESCRIBE ANY WORK COMPLETED, ACTIVITIES PLANNED, PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED AND THEIR SOLUTIONS. FIVE COPIES ARE TO BE SENT TO THE NIDA PROJECT OFFICER AND ONE COPY TO THE CONTRACTING OFFICER. THE MONTHLY REPORT SHALL NOT BE SUBMITTED WHEN AN ANNUAL REPORT IS DUE."

WHY ARE THESE CONTRACTORS/SUBCONTRACTORS BEING ALLOWED TO IGNORE THE CONTRACT REQUIREMENTS?

ANSWER:

The NIDA Project Officer and Deputy Project Officer have been in continuous, almost daily, contact with WESTAT staff in regard to program design, planning, and implementation by email, telephone and in person since the inception of the contract. It is our understanding that NIDA staff considered themselves to be fully informed about contract activities at all times. WESTAT has provided briefing materials to inform NIDA and ONDCP leadership of contract plans and progress several times. WESTAT has also prepared a lengthy draft Evaluation Plan of approximately 300 pages which describes all aspects of the evaluation, both present and future. In terms of monthly reporting, ONDCP considered the financial report as the critical formal submission necessary to meet contract reporting requirements. WESTAT has submitted to NIDA monthly financial reports since the contract began in September 1998. Subsequent to the Subcommittee's original request for monthly reports, ONDCP asked WESTAT to submit reports covering each month of the contract. These reports have since been submitted and currently reside in ONDCP files and are attached to these answers for the record.

ONDCP
QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES
OCTOBER 14, 1999

QUESTION:

13. THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN ATTEMPTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH YOUNG PEOPLE OF VARYING AGES AND BACKGROUNDS AS WELL AS PARENTS. ONDCP PROVIDED THIS SUBCOMMITTEE WITH A LIST OF THE VARIOUS CONTRACTS UNDER THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN. PLEASE EXPLAIN THE SPECIFIC MARKETS TARGETED BY THE RESPECTIVE CONTRACTS UNDER THIS MEDIA CAMPAIGN.

ANSWER:

The audiences for this campaign include youth, parents and other primary care givers, and other youth influential adults. Specifically, the target audiences are:

- Youths, age 9 to 18 segmented into three age groups:
  - Middle school-aged youth
  - Late elementary school-aged youth
  - High school-aged youth
- Parents of youths ages 9 to 18:
  - Parents of middle school-aged youth
  - Parents of late elementary school-aged youth
  - Parents of high school-aged youth

- Other youth-influential adults (e.g., coaches, teachers)

Activities under the following contracts targeted <u>all</u> of the audiences listed above::

Bates Advertising – Phase I
Bates Advertising – Phase II
Ogilvy & Mather – Phase III
Fleishmann-Hillard – Phase III
Ad Council

Clearinghouse activities performed by HHS/NCADI and DOJ/NIJ will reach primarily parent and other youth influential audiences, as well as campaign stakeholders.

The contracts with CSR, Inc., HHS/SAMHSA and HHS/NIDA are for research and evaluation of campaign activities.

The Porter-Novelli and Cox contracts support consulting and administrative requirements for the management of the media campaign.

ONDCP
QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT REFORM
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES
OCTOBER 14, 1999

QUESTION:

14. ON WHAT BASIS DOES ONDCP EVALUATE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF EACH OF THE CONTRACTS ISSUED UNDER THE MEDIA CAMPAIGN? ARE THE STANDARDS OF PERFORMANCE THE SAME ACROSS ALL CONTRACTS?

ANSWER:

ONDCP assessed the performance of contracts/contractors for the campaign in accordance with Federal Procurement requirements. Of specific interest are the following measures of contracting performance:.

Effectiveness. Effectiveness will be evaluated by:

- Assessing the Contractor's actual program implementation against the Contractor's proposal, as accepted by ONDCP, as well as judging the contractor's positive impact on campaign objectives
- The Contractor's ability to suggest and implement, on a regular basis, imrovements in all elements of the plan.
- Demonstrations of flexibility and in response to unanticipated events.
- Responsiveness to input and concerns expressed about the campaign by community organizations and other stakeholders. (e.g. CADCA, Future Farmers of America, YMCA)
- The Contractor's ability to solicit input from appropriate community representatives in the top 75 media markets across the U.S. in order to ensure responsiveness to conditions in those communities.

Timeliness and Proactivity. While timeliness is a factor of effectiveness, it is of such importance to the execution of the campaign and ONDCP's goals that it will be judged as a separate performance measure.

Productivity and Cost Efficiency. Productivity and cost efficiency are key factors in judging the performance of contractors. For example, the Contractor shall maximize the effective use of advertising and non-advertising messages, including, but not limited to, achieving high levels of reach and frequency of advertising and non-advertising messages with all target audiences. Contractors are also evaluated on their ability to ensure that effective cost-containment measures are incorporated in all tasks. It is imperative that all cost and budgeting actions be conducted

within the applicable laws and regulations, conforming to the highest ethical standards of both the advertising industry and the Federal Government.

Mr. MICA. So we thank you for your cooperation and we thank you for your efforts in getting this campaign kicked off and working with us to date.

Without objection, the record will be left open for 30 days to submit additional questions to this witness by both the minority and the majority. So ordered.

I thank you, Mr. Director. We are going to excuse you at this time.

We have a vote, and the subcommittee will stand in recess for approximately 15 minutes and we will reconvene with the panel at that time.

[Recess.]

Mr. MICA. For our second panel—and we welcome them—this afternoon we are going to hear on our second panel from Ms. Tinker Cooper, who is with Families Against Drugs from Orlando, FL. We are also going to hear from Mr. Harry Frazier. Mr. Frazier is senior vice president of Fleishman-Hillard, Inc., Washington, DC. And then we are going to also hear from Ms. Shona Seifert of Ogilvy & Mather of New York City.

You are all standing. You know that you are sworn. This is an investigative panel of Congress.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. MICA. The witnesses answered in the affirmative.

I would like to welcome all three of you here. We have, I think, the two major firms that have been contracted to provide assistance with our paid media campaign, and we also have one individual who is from central Florida who I have had the opportunity to know. Unfortunately, she is the mother of a victim of an overdose of heroin. Her son, Joe Stevens Cooper, died 2 years ago from a heroin overdose. She has taken that particular personal tragedy and turned her efforts toward trying to make positive progress in our war on drugs and her own effort, and she has combined her efforts with other parents of those who have lost loved ones in this tragic problem we face of illegal narcotics and its ravages. She is not only working with other parents and others in the community such as our sheriff, Kevin Berry, but also with Governor George Bush and others to bring the message to our community and across the State of Florida from the private sector and private individual efforts how we can bring attention to our young people and others in our community about the ravages and potential fatal damage that can be done by illegal narcotics.

So we are going to hear several different perspectives, and the first individual we will call on will be Ms. Tinker Cooper, and, again, she represents today before our subcommittee Families Against Drugs, and she is from Orlando.

Welcome, Ms. Cooper. You are recognized.

STATEMENTS OF TINKER COOPER, FAMILIES AGAINST DRUGS, ORLANDO, FL; SHONA SEIFERT, OGILVY & MATHER, NEW YORK CITY, NY; AND HARRY FRAZIER, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, FLEISHMAN-HILLARD, INC., WASHINGTON, DC

Ms. COOPER. Thank you.

I am a mother of one of the many young people that have died in recent years in central Florida from drug overdose.

After Joe died, I started doing drug education, and that's when I realized I really didn't know too much about the drugs of today. So I teamed up with Captain Ernie Scott of the Orange County Sheriff's Office narcotics unit, and I got myself educated. Together we have since formed the nonprofit organization Families Against Drugs, which initially was a support group for families of overdose victims, because society views the death of our kids as somehow less significant then a death of a child from any other means.

We have since turned into an action group. We didn't want to sit around crying and feeling sorry for ourselves. We wanted to do something about this drug epidemic. So we turned into an action group, and we do education, legislation and rehabilitation. At the moment we are currently working on developing an overdose hotline that is routed not through law enforcement but directly to fire/rescue so that the kids can feel comfortable in calling for help in an overdose situation without worrying about the law.

We have been concerned about the type ads that we are seeing on TV for anti-drug messages. The kids today are very sophisticated. They live in a high-tech world with the Internet and everything. These ads with pretty young women smashing up kitchens with a frying pan and dancing ballerinas on top of a jewelry box, have no meaning to them. They need to see reality.

We are under the impression—and hearing here today from Mr. Mica the amount of money that has been allocated for these ads and to the donated time and money, the figure is close to half a billion. That's a lot of money. We need to start putting that money into something that is really going to work with these kids. If anything is going to help, it has got to stop these kids now.

I, along with two other parents in central Florida, helped the Orange County Sheriff's Office make a video called, "Overdose: End of the Party." We used actual crime scene photos of young people as they were found in death, because we felt they needed to see the reality of drug overdose. It is not a pleasant video, but it really wasn't meant to be pleasant. It was to be a hard-hitting, in-your-face type thing to get their attention. And it is working.

These are not actors. They have real kids in them, real blood, and they are really dead. But we know of several young people that have gone into detox from heroin after seeing the video.

Every single time we show it in schools, rehabs, jails, anywhere that we show it, kids always come up to us and say, "If I had seen something like this before I got involved with drugs, I never would have started using."

We have three different versions of this. We have a youth version, an adult version, and a Spanish version to reach the Hispanic community, and we are currently working on another video that we hope will be equally as effective showing all aspects of drug use.

We have parents that have lost their kids to overdoses. We have parents that have their kids in rehab now, or still on the street using. We have parents that have lost children in car wrecks because they were drinking and drugging. We have parents who have lost kids to suicide because of alcohol and drug use. We even have a family that right now is living the nightmare of caring for their 20-year-old son, who has been a vegetable since April 11th from a drug overdose. And we have people in the group who have lost a

sibling or a spouse or a friend. We also have kids that have successfully completed treatment.

So we are putting together a video of this nature so that the kids can see reality. We feel that they need to see this. These are the things they need to see—reality of drug use, not fantasy. They need to know what each drug is going to do to their bodies and their minds. They need to know what their drug use is going to do to their personal life, their families, their friends. They need to know their options.

Their options are: death, coma, jail, rehab, wasted lives. They need to know that the drugs of today are so much more potent and dangerous than they were in the 1960's and the 1970's, and the chance of addiction is very high with these drugs.

The drug addicts of today are not people with shady pasts and no hope for a future. The drug addicts of today are my kids and your kids, and we need to do a better job of educating them and their parents, because I will tell you those parents don't have a clue what's going on out there. I thought I was pretty up on drugs, but after Joe died I didn't know anything.

We need to educate the parents as well as the kids.

Congressman Mica has asked me to show a 2½ minute excerpt from the video, "Overdose," and when we get enough funds to finish the one we are working on, I will see to it that he gets a copy of that to share with you, too.

I thank you for the opportunity to speak here before you.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Cooper follows:]

TESTIMONY OF Tinker Cooper October 14, 1999

My name is Tinker Cooper and I am the mother of one of the many young people who have died in Central Florida to drug overdoses. After Joe died, I started doing drug education and I realized how little I knew about the drugs of today. I have since founded a group called "Families Against Drugs" with the help of Capt. Ernie Scott of the OCSO narcotic's section. Initially, it was a support group for families of overdose victims because society perceives the death of our kids as somehow less significant than the death of a child by any other means. It, subsequently, has turned into an action group. We do education, legislation and rehabilitation. We are now in the process of developing an overdose hotline that is not routed through law enforcement but directly to fire/rescue so the kids can call for help in an overdose situation without fear of law enforcement.

We are very concerned about the anti-drug ads that we see on T.V. The kids today are very sophisticated and live in a high tech world. A pretty girl smashing up a kitchen with a frying pan and a ballerina dancing on top of a jewelry box has no meaning to them.

It has been brought to our attention that 195 million dollars has been allocated for these ads and when you figure in all the donated time and money, the figure is closer to a quarter billion. With this kind of money, let's put out something that is going to work.

I, along with two other parents, made a video for the OCSO entitled, "Overdose: end of the party". It uses actual crime scene photos of young people as they were found in death. It's not a pleasant video but it wasn't meant to be. These are not actors. They are real kids, it's real blood and they are real dead. We felt that young people needed to see the reality of death by drugs and it's working. We know of several young people who have gone into detox after seeing the video. When we show it in jails and rehabs, the kids always tell us that they would never have started using drugs had they seen this before they started using. There is a youth version, an adult version and a Spanish version.

We are now in the process of making another video that we feel will be as equally effective. It will show all consequences of drug use. We have members who have lost children to overdoses, those who have lost a child in a car wreck because they were drinking and drugging, one whose child committed suicide while in jail on a drug charge waiting for a bed in rehab, those whose kids are in rehab now, those who have kids still on the street using, those who have lost a spouse, a sibling or a friend. We even have a family who is living the nightmare of caring for their 20 year old son who has been in a vegetative state since April 11 due to an overdose. We also have kids who are in recovery. Kids talking to kids is very effective.

These are the things that our kids need to see—the reality of drug use—not fantasy. They need to know what each drug is going to do to their bodies and their minds. They need to know what their drug use is going to do to their personal lives, their families and their friends. They need to know their options—death, coma, jail, rehab, wasted lives. They need to know that the drugs today are much more potent and dangerous than they were in the sixties and seventies and the chance of addiction is very high.

The drug addicts of today are not people with shady pasts and no hope for a future as they were in past generations. The drug addicts of today are my kids and yours kids and we have got to start doing a better job of educating them and their parents.

Congressman Mica has asked me to show a two and a half minute excerpt from the video, "Overdose: end of the party". When we get the funds to finish our new video, I will give Mr. Mica a copy to share with you.

Mr. MICA. We will have questions, but at this time we will go ahead and show that 2½ minute segment.

[Videotape presentation.]

Mr. MICA. Thank you. Thank you for that segment and also for your personal and private sector efforts to get this message out.

Now we will hear from—I guess we will do this in order of magnitude of expenditures. Ms. Shona Seifert with Ogilvy & Mather from New York City, you are recognized.

Ms. SEIFERT. Good afternoon, Chairman Mica, representatives of the subcommittee. I am honored to be here today and I welcome the opportunity to share our insights with you and answer your questions on the national youth anti-drug media campaign.

As a context for discussing the campaign, I'd like to summarize my own background and the credentials of Ogilvy New York, the company I represent.

I have 16 years experience in the advertising industry, spanning three continents and every consumer product category. I've led and implemented campaigns for products as diverse as BMW automobiles, American Express charge cards, SmithKlein Beecham Pharmaceuticals, Huggies diapers, Gillette shaving systems. Almost every client I have worked for has been a Fortune 500 company, and I've consulted with several of the world's most respected pro bono organizations, including the World Wildlife Fund.

I spent 4 years with Ogilvy in London, 5 years working for Ogilvy across the Asia Pacific Rim, and the past 7 years in New York.

I have been personally involved in developing advertising in many of the world's languages—Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Malay, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese, and, obviously, English.

Ogilvy was appointed as the advertising contractor for the National youth anti-drug media campaign in January 1999. We were awarded the contract after an extensive 8-month review process involving hundreds of other communication companies.

Ogilvy was selected because of its unique credentials and market clout. Our media buying organization purchases more national broadcast media than any other advertising agency in this Nation. In fact, we buy more than $2 billion of air time every year.

This gives us unique access to the lowest possible pricing, and Ogilvy has generated broadcast media savings for ONDCP of over $25.6 million in this year, alone. And those are only the broadcast buy savings. There are more savings beyond those.

We know that such cost efficiencies are important to you, Mr. Chairman, and members of this subcommittee and to the constituents and taxpayers that you so ably represent.

Our global media buying organization buys more media than any other communications company in the world. This gives us unparalleled negotiating leverage in our dealings with global media vendors such as Time Warner and ABC Disney.

We are also the largest buyer of interactive media in the country. This allows us to maximize the efficiency and the reach of every taxpayer dollar.

In addition to negotiating and buying the paid media component of the campaign, Ogilvy is also responsible for negotiating and im-

plementing the media match. This is pro bono time, space, and programs donated by media vendors.

We've already negotiated $167 million in media match for phase three of the national youth anti-drug media campaign, which, as you know, began in September 1999. That's $167 million of free media. Nobody in the advertising industry does that for any other advertiser.

And I want to just point out, there was a question in one of the previous panels about commission. Ogilvy earns no commission on any of the media buying and planning. Our contract prohibits it. Our contract is a cost-plus fixed fee contract. And we earn a fixed fee which is equivalent to 1 percent of the contract. And, to give you a context, typically media commissions, when they are paid to advertising agencies in this country are between 12 and 15 percent of a contract, and we are earning 1 percent. And that's regardless of how much media we buy. So even if the media budget increases, our fee does not.

The national youth anti-drug media campaign is without precedent. It is truly the gold standard in leveraging private sector best practice and the world's leading behavioral science. No other client of Ogilvy anywhere in the world goes to the lengths that ONDCP does to make sure their campaign is science-based, measurable, totally integrated, and continuously improved.

For example, the process for advertising development ensures every advertisement is based on facts from behavioral science, insights from target audience specialists, feedback from our target audience, and the expertise of the best minds in the advertising industry through our partnership with the Partnership for Drug-Free America.

Ogilvy is extremely proud of our accomplishments to date for the national youth anti-drug media campaign. We are constantly searching for opportunities to make this campaign more effective. For example, we are deploying leading edge econometric modeling to develop optimal media plans, and a new tracking study to measure the success of every message against its target audience, as it airs.

In accordance with the goals of the national drug control strategy, we will make a difference in reducing drug use in this country. We have the resources and we have the know-how, and our entire company is committed to the success of this unprecedented landmark campaign.

Before I close, I would just like to make a few comments in response to the statement by Ms. Cooper.

And I wanted to say, Ms. Cooper, I am very sorry for your loss. I am even more sorry that the national youth anti-drug media campaign wasn't airing when Joe Cooper died, because maybe if it had been, this wouldn't have happened.

Ms. Cooper is totally right—we need to get kids' attention. She is totally right—we need the facts about drugs and we need to get those facts out to our kids. That's why we have an advertising development process that is incredibly rigorous.

Agencies are briefed by the Partnership for Drug-Free America with pages and pages of strategy and consumer insights. Those agencies present back to the Creative Review Council of the Part-

nership for Drug-Free America. They then have to present their work to a panel of behavioral change experts and target audience specialists who comment on the advertising and make changes. It is then presented to General McCaffrey, and then those ads that are seen to be suitable to move forward with are tested with a target audience, whether it is kids or adults or specific ethnicities, and we look to see whether those ads change kids' minds.

The advertising that Ms. Cooper has described, which we call "negative consequence" advertising, showing kids the consequences of drug use, is a very important message platform within our campaign, but it is only one of four platforms that we use to talk to kids, because all the behavioral science indicates you can't just show them what happens when you do drugs. And if we just show them that drugs may result in death, these kids—the kids that are primarily the target of this campaign are "tweens," they are 11 to 13-year-olds. They think they are invincible. They do not believe they will die if they do drugs, so we need other messages, too.

I will leave for the records this chart here, which shows the message platforms and the 360-degree approach that General McCaffrey was describing earlier. One of these message platforms—it will actually be airing in November of this year—is negative consequences. It's exactly the kind of ads Ms. Cooper was describing. And there are other platforms on here, too.

So I am so sorry for your loss, and I really hope that other kids will be prevented from using drugs by this campaign.

Mr. MICA. Thank you for your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Ms. Seifert follows:]

Statement by Shona Seifert
Executive Group Director and Senior Partner, Ogilvy New York
Before the House Committee on Government Reform,
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy,
and Human Resources

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign
October 14, 1999

Chairman Mica, Ranking Member Mink, distinguished members of the Subcommittee, I am honored to be here today and welcome the opportunity to share our insights with you and answer your questions on the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

As a context for discussing the campaign, I would like to summarize my own background and the credentials of Ogilvy New York, the company I represent.

My Background

I have 16 years of experience in the advertising industry spanning three continents and every consumer product category. I have led and implemented campaigns for products as diverse as BMW automobiles, American Express charge cards, SmithKline Beecham Pharmaceuticals and Gillette shaving systems. Almost every client I have worked for has been a Fortune 500 company and I have consulted for several of the world's most respected pro bono organizations including the World Wildlife Fund.

I spent 4 years with Ogilvy in London, 5 years working for Ogilvy across the Asia-Pacific rim and the past 7 years in New York. I have been personally involved in developing advertising in many of the world's languages -- Chinese, Vietnamese, Tagalog, Malay, French, German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Portuguese and of course English.

Ogilvy Credentials

Ogilvy was appointed as the Advertising Contractor for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign in January 1999. We were awarded the contract after an extensive 8-month review process involving hundreds of other communications companies.

Ogilvy was selected because of its unique credentials and market clout. Our media buying organization purchases more national broadcast media than any other advertising agency in the nation. In fact, we buy more than $2 billion of airtime every year. This gives us unique access to the lowest possible pricing and Ogilvy has generated broadcast media savings for ONDCP of over $25.6 million in this year alone. We know that such cost efficiencies are important to you Mr. Chairman and members of this Subcommittee and to the constituents and taxpayers you so ably represent.

Our global media buying organization buys more media than any other communications company in the world. This gives us unparalleled negotiating leverage in our dealings with global media vendors such as Time Warner and ABC/Disney. We are also the nation's largest buyer of interactive media which enables us to maximize the efficiency and reach of every taxpayer dollar.

In addition to negotiating and buying the paid media component of the campaign, Ogilvy is responsible for negotiating and implementing the media match. This is pro bono time, space and programs donated by media vendors. We have already negotiated $167 million in media match for Phase III of the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign, which as you know began in September 1999.

Ogilvy also has unparalleled expertise in reaching America's youth and their adult influencers. Our staff comprises Target Audience Specialists for tweens, (a group featured on the cover of the current issue of Newsweek magazine) teens and adults and experts who are specialists in targeting every ethnic group reached by this campaign.

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

The National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign is without precedent. It is truly the gold standard in leveraging private sector best practice and the world's leading behavioral science. No other client of Ogilvy anywhere in the world goes to the lengths that ONDCP does to ensure their campaign is science-based, measurable, totally integrated and continuously improved. For example, the process for advertising development ensures every advertisement is based on facts from behavioral science, insights from Target Audience Specialists, feedback from our target audience and the expertise of the best minds in the advertising industry.

Ogilvy is extremely proud of our accomplishments to date for the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. We are constantly searching for opportunities to make the campaign even more effective. For example, we are deploying leading edge econometric modeling to develop optimal media plans and a new tracking study to measure the success of every message against its target audience.

In accordance with the goals of the National Drug Control Strategy, we will make a difference in reducing youth drug use in America. We have the resources, the know-how and our entire organization is committed to the success of this unprecedented landmark campaign.

Mr. MICA. We will withhold questions until we've heard from all three witnesses.

The next panelist is Harry Frazier, and he is a senior vice president with Fleishman-Hillard from Washington.

You are recognized, sir.

Mr. FRAZIER. Thank you.

On behalf of Fleishman-Hillard, thank you, Chairman Mica, and the subcommittee for this opportunity to discuss our role in the national youth anti-drug media campaign.

We are the campaign's non-advertising or communications contractor. That means we manage all program and outreach initiatives that fall outside of paid advertising. We began work in December 1998, and are 10 months into building a landmark integrated communications program of which we are extremely proud.

We aggressively pursued this contract and greatly reduced our fee in order to ensure our bid was competitive. We did so because we recognized the national importance of the program, we believed in the campaign design, and we knew we would be effective.

The Fleishman-Hillard account team continually coordinates with advertising and other campaign contractors and partners. We share information, identify opportunities, and work together to deliver the same messages and same platforms to the same audiences.

I am co-director of our team, with primary responsibilities for account management, and Beverly Schwartz, a nationally recognized behavioral scientist, is our other co-director.

Although our contract only represents about 5 percent of the campaign's annul budget, it is an essential part of the overall communications strategy. Our contract and funding are totally separate from yet fully integrated with the advertising contract and other media campaign expenditures. Our goal is to complement the advertising with strategic communications that most effectively influence youth and parents. This is the same approach the Nation's top marketers use to promote products, services, and ideas. It is also the method behavior change experts prefer for public education.

By reaching beyond advertising to where youth and parents live, work, and play, the campaign literally surrounds them with anti-drug messages.

To be clear, Fleishman-Hillard does not do advertising for the campaign. We build sustainable programs and partnerships that motivate audiences to talk about and act on the campaign messages they see and hear through the advertising.

Our behavior change approach encourages audiences to adopt campaign messages into their daily lives and extend them into their own communities.

We also maximize the opportunities generated by the pro bono match requirement of the advertising contract. Every activity must be on message and on strategy. We strive to maximize the Federal Government's investment by developing the products, relationships, and advocates that will continue to deliver campaign messages well beyond our involvement and well after the media campaign's advertising program ends.

Our areas of work are outlined in ONDCP's testimony and in our written testimony; however, to briefly recap, we conduct outreach in four primary areas: public information, partnerships, entertainment, and interactive.

First, public information activities use the news media, direct outreach, and special events to generate a steady flow of campaign messages to youth and adult audiences. In 1999 alone, we've generated more than 124 million media impressions of these messages.

Second, we've enlisted thousands of partners who make it possible for a wide variety of public and private organizations to participate in and extend the reach of the campaign. A blast e-mail system regularly advises more than 45,000 stakeholders of campaign activities, and they, in turn, reach millions of their constituents.

We are having success partnering with national organizations such as the YMCA, which serves 18 million people and 9 million kids and has incorporated media campaign messages into their publications and curriculum and training materials.

Third, we work with the entertainment industry, both to help deliver messages through celebrity involvement and to deglamorize drug use through script suggestions.

Fourth, we take full advantage of the power of the Internet, in part by developing and maintaining multiple drug prevention websites where millions are visiting to learn and interact with others. Our sites link to hundreds of other parenting, education, sports, and health sites on the web.

We are very pleased to see, Chairman Mica, that the campaign's teen site, FREEVIBE.COM, is linked to the drug prevention area on your own website. We encourage other Members of Congress to follow your lead.

Finally, our activities reach diverse audiences, thanks to a team of minority-owned communications and social marketing agencies that know exactly how to communicate with African American, Hispanic, and Asian audiences.

Our ongoing relationship with ONDCP involves a greater level of technical and finance review, approvals, and reporting than any other Fleishman-Hillard client. We individually detail and budget our programs for approval prior to execution and have daily interaction with ONDCP staff, who review our projects in progress and participate in our internal and external meetings and activities.

In addition, we submit weekly and monthly written reports and conduct regular activity briefings for Director McCaffrey and his staff. These briefings include comprehensive progress reviews, program updates, reports on initiatives, and results, budget, and expenditure briefings.

In closing, we believe in working for a drug-free America and are committed to this campaign. We are proud of our accomplishments and are happy to answer your questions or further elaborate on our activities.

Mr. MICA. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Frazier follows:]

Statement of Harry Frazier, Senior Vice President, Fleishman-Hillard Inc. Before the Government Reform Committee's Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources' Hearing on the Office of National Drug Control Policy National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

October 14, 1999

On behalf of Fleishman-Hillard, I would like to thank Chairman Mica, Ranking Member Mink and the subcommittee for the opportunity to discuss our agency's important role in the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign.

Fleishman-Hillard was honored to be selected by the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) as the "non-advertising" or communications contractor for this effort. That means we are charged with managing all program and outreach initiatives that fall outside paid advertising. We were awarded this contract after a very competitive and arduous six-month proposal and review process. We started work in December of 1998 and are now 10 months into helping build a landmark integrated communications program of which we are extremely proud.

Fleishman-Hillard is a proven "blue-chip" provider of public relations and strategic communications services, with the largest nationwide network of any firm in our industry. We have demonstrated success at managing and coordinating a wide variety of major national communications programs, including public and consumer education campaigns designed to change behavior.

Ranked at the top of our industry by almost every measure by clients and competitors alike, Fleishman-Hillard was just rated the number one national agency in terms of quality by the Thomas L. Harris Client Survey for the seventh consecutive year. In addition, the Fleishman-Hillard Washington, DC office, which manages our Media Campaign activities on behalf of ONDCP, was recognized by the same survey as the best public relations office in Washington, DC.

The ONDCP Media Campaign is a prized contract for Fleishman-Hillard, despite the fact that it is does not meet our corporate profitability standards. We aggressively pursued this contract and greatly reduced our fee in order to ensure our bid was competitive. We did so for some very simple reasons:

- We saw this as an honor that would enable us to perform a critical national service that our company believes in and our people feel good about.
- We strongly believed in the integrated communications strategy driving this campaign and knew we could implement it effectively.
- We wanted to be a part of the most strategic, ambitious and potentially most effective public education effort the U.S. government has ever launched.

For these reasons, we have chosen to devote many of our very best people to this account and to substantially discount our services to the federal government.

Account Team

The Fleishman-Hillard Media Campaign account team is one of the strongest in our global agency. It is comprised of almost 30 of Fleishman-Hillard's communications and support professionals who are fully dedicated to this project, with a wide variety of regional and skill specialists from across our national network making regular contributions as well. In addition, our Media Campaign team includes dozens of people at six subcontractor agencies that provide additional expertise and resources in the areas of social marketing, partnership development and outreach to multicultural populations.

Because of the integrated nature of the Media Campaign strategy, the Fleishman-Hillard team regularly coordinates with the advertising component led by Ogilvy and Mather and other Campaign contractors and subcontractors. As a group, we share information, identify opportunities and work together to flood the same audiences with the same messages.

I am one of the co-directors of the Fleishman-Hillard Media Campaign account team, with primary responsibilities for team and account management. Beverly Schwartz, a behavioral scientist and national leader in social marketing, is our other co-director. She oversees our program and outreach initiatives and she is here and available to supplement our discussion today.

The Communications Contract

Although our contract represents only about five percent of the Media Campaign's annual budget, it is an essential component of the overall Media Campaign communications strategy. Our contract and funding are totally separate from the advertising contract and other Media Campaign expenditures. However, our contract's execution is fully integrated with the Media Campaign's other components by design.

The Media Campaign is structured to complement advertising with strategic communications to most effectively influence target audiences. This is the same approach the nation's top marketers now use to promote products, services and ideas. It also has emerged as the method behavior change experts prefer for effective public education. The most effective state youth anti-tobacco campaigns have gone well beyond advertising to achieve higher levels of success, and campaigns such as HIV/AIDS education and prenatal care have successfully embraced integrated communications as well. By broadening the menu of activities to include media advocacy, interpersonal and group outreach programs, edu-tainment initiatives, public/private and community partnerships and new media technologies, effective social marketers literally surround their audiences with messages in almost every aspect of their lives.

To be clear, Fleishman-Hillard does not do advertising for the Media Campaign. Our job is to build sustainable programs and partnerships that encourage audiences to talk about, and act on, the campaign messages they see and hear in print and broadcast advertising. We use a strategic, behavior-change approach that provides target audiences with opportunities to adopt messages into their daily lives and extend them into their own communities. The communications component delivers campaign messages through radio and television, print media, the Internet, faith communities, health professionals, community coalitions, schools, parents, coaches, and organized sports. It also includes an entertainment industry component to help ensure that drug use is depicted accurately on television and in film and music.

Another key Fleishman-Hillard role is providing the manpower and expertise to implement opportunities generated by the pro bono match requirement (which requires an in-kind donation of advertising space or other outreach for each dollar spent on ads) of the advertising contract. Our match-related activities have ranged from coordinating web site development, to developing special events, to identifying experts, statistics and other resources for media partners.

As we develop and implement Campaign initiatives, we are vigilant to ensure that every activity is on-message and on-strategy. We realize that program and outreach activities must not only get attention, but that they must specifically address the common communications objectives and message platforms that we share with the highly visible paid advertising campaign. We also strive to maximize the federal government's investment by developing products, relationships and advocates that will continue to deliver campaign messages well beyond our involvement, and well after the formal Media Campaign's landmark advertising program ends.

Outreach Activities

Our areas of work are outlined in some detail in ONDCP's testimony. However, to briefly recap, we conduct outreach in four primary areas:

Public Information

Public Information activities use the news media, direct outreach and special events to generate a steady flow of campaign messages to youth and adult audiences.

- News media outreach, which ranges from national print and broadcast outlets to local community newspapers, is designed to educate reporters and leverage current events and trends to provide context, relevance and repetition for Campaign messages.
- Media Campaign news media outreach in 1999 alone has already generated more than 124 million media impressions.
- In addition, a variety of programs and outreach initiatives are underway to reach kids where they spend the majority of their time – in school.

Partnerships

The Media Campaign has enlisted thousands of partners in outreach efforts to youth and adults – making it possible for a wide variety of public and private organizations to participate in and extend the reach of the Campaign. Some examples include:

- A blast e-mail system, which regularly keeps more than 45,000 stakeholders aware of Media Campaign activities and outreach – to drive participation in activities, generate more readers and viewers of campaign products, and extend the benefits of the campaign through their own communication channels that reach millions.
- Key partnerships with national organizations which enable the Media Campaign to tap into existing infrastructures to reach a broad range of individuals to deliver messages and encourage participation in Media Campaign activities. For example, the YMCA of the USA, which serves 18 million people (9 million kids) a year in out of school time, has incorporated Media Campaign information into its publications and training and curriculum materials. Similarly, the Media Campaign has started collaboration with Youth Service America – an umbrella organization of 200 youth service groups representing 30 million young Americans – to regularly disseminate Media Campaign information through their network.

Entertainment

Entertainment media have a profound impact on the lives of youth and adults alike. The Campaign works with the entertainment community to help them include the campaign's key messages in appropriate ways as they develop scripts. In return, the campaign provides training and technical assistance on the campaign strategy and the strategic message platforms to senior executives, producers, directors, and writers.

- Meetings and discussions with producers, writers and studio executives have helped to yield strategic anti-drug messages and accurate depictions of substance abuse into popular television shows.
- Celebrities have been enlisted to help deliver messages through online communications and special events.
- A substantial trade publication initiative is underway, through which campaign activities will be conducted jointly with the one of the most widely read and influential publications in the entertainment field.

Interactive

Working with ONDCP and our other partners, Fleishman-Hillard's interactive team is leveraging the Interactive medium in an unprecedented, multi-faceted effort that uses as many of the unique interactive tools and venues as possible to educate and empower parents and young people and impact youth drug use.

- Fleishman-Hillard serves as the content managers for eight web sites where parents, teens and tweens (ages 9-12) can learn, play and interact with others.
- Campaign web sites are widely publicized, including references and links through hundreds of other web sites focused on parenting, education, sports and general teen outreach.

- Following the lead of NASA, and through an idea introduced by Representative Matt Salmon, twenty federal agencies have recently linked their web properties to Campaign web sites and agreed to build drug prevention areas on their own web sites.
- The Media Campaign sites are generating considerable activity. For example, the Campaign's primary teen website called Freevibe.com, which was launched by ONDCP on Capitol Hill in March of this year, is promoted and maintained by Fleishman-Hillard and already has received more than 1.8 million page views, with an average user session of 7 minutes and 46 seconds.
- Interactive activities have also included events such as staging online concerts and interactive chats for parents and kids focused on Media Campaign themes.
- Anti-drug web sites in Spanish and Asian languages are on the horizon.

Fleishman-Hillard has taken special measures to ensure that all of our program and outreach activities reach minority and ethnic audiences. To do so, we have augmented our vast nationwide network with a team of minority-owned communications and social marketing agencies. Four subcontractors, reaching African-American, Hispanic and Asian audiences are a part of the F-H core team and coordinate regularly with minority specialists involved with the advertising contract.

Ongoing Media Campaign communications programs have been tailored to ensure multicultural relevancy and programs aimed at specific minority and ethnic communities have been developed as well.

Contract Administration

Our ongoing relationship with ONDCP requires a greater level of technical and financial review, approvals and reporting than any other Fleishman-Hillard client. This extensive oversight stems from the very public nature of the Media Campaign and the commitment to its success instilled in ONDCP staff by Director McCaffrey.

We initiated the year with extensive development and justification of our operational and activities plans for each program area. Upon approval of our overall approach, we have individually detailed and budgeted major expenditure programs for approval by ONDCP prior to execution. We have daily interaction with Media Campaign staff, who review all of our projects in progress and often participate in our internal and external meetings and outreach activities.

We submit written update reports on the activities of all Fleishman-Hillard staff and our subcontractors on a weekly basis, as well as a comprehensive monthly status report on all programs and initiatives. In addition, we conduct regular activity briefings to ONDCP senior staff, including a dozen briefings to Director McCaffrey himself, providing comprehensive progress overviews, program area updates, reports on specific initiatives and results, budget and expenditure briefings.

Our financial reporting requirements to ONDCP exceed any we've ever experienced as a firm. Not only do we provide the customary monthly invoices with a break-out of total labor and expenses, we also include an individual breakout of hours worked by each of our staff and documentation for every single expenditure, down to copies of, and explanations for, even cab receipts for a few dollars.

You may be interested to know that the extraordinarily high-level of client demand for accountability on this contract does not exceed the pressure we put on ourselves to succeed. Our staff is keenly aware that Fleishman-Hillard's corporate reputation is at stake with this Campaign. As I've referenced, we are ranked at the top of our industry due to our reputation for performance. This reputation is Fleishman-Hillard's most prized and valued asset and it will no doubt be influenced by our performance on this Campaign, which is arguably our most visible account.

We believe in working for a drug-free America and are absolutely committed to developing synergy among the myriad of drug prevention activities that represent our nation's best chance to significantly reduce youth drug use rates. That is what the media campaign is all about.

Fleishman-Hillard is extremely proud of our accomplishments to date and would be happy to further elaborate on our activities and to answer your questions.

Mr. MICA. I'd thank all of our witnesses for their testimony.

First of all, Ms. Cooper, this is a pretty big program we've undertaken at the Federal level, $1 billion. It's not quite in the expenditure category of your local effort. But this is public money, it is a public trust, and we want to make certain that it is spent effectively.

You've seen some of the ads that have been played to date. You've heard Ms. Seifert talk about your particular situation. What is your candid evaluation of what we've done to date? Would it have made any difference, in your estimation, in your son's case? Just tell us what you think about the campaign. And we spent several hundreds of millions of dollars so far, plus the donated component, probably a half a billion to date. Can you give us your candid assessment?

Ms. COOPER. Those of us that have already lost our kids and the families that I deal with whose kids are in rehab now or still on the streets firmly believe that they are just not strong enough. These ads, the information has to be pretty much in your face and reality, and we just feel very strongly that the ads to date are not strong enough to get to the kids.

Mr. MICA. Ms. Seifert said that part of their message, rightly, is geared at parents. And General McCaffrey also said they targeted Orlando. You must have seen some of those. You are a parent. What do you think of that effort in your setting with our problem with heroin there?

Ms. COOPER. Again, not strong enough. I think the parents definitely need to be educated.

Mr. MICA. Have you seen those ads geared at parents in Orlando?

Ms. COOPER. Not these particular ones, but I have seen and I did like a couple of them, one being a little girl being asked by somebody, "What has your mother told you about playing with matches? What has your mother told you about strangers? What has your mother told you about drugs?" And each time the little girl responded appropriately about matches and strangers, and when asked——

Mr. MICA. What about, again, directed toward parents and making a difference yet? If you had seen those ads that you have seen now, do you think they could have helped you with your son's situation?

Ms. COOPER. Well, not really. I did educate my kids about drugs, but I didn't educate them properly because I didn't know about the drugs today. I didn't know what was going on in the clubs downtown.

I think you may have seen the video on the undercover video of the raves downtown. I was blown away by this.

If I had seen that before Joe died, there's no way that boy would have been going to raves downtown. I don't think the parents have any idea.

I know we have parents in our group that actually paid, gave them the money to go to some of these zen festivals and the raves, not having any clue what was going on at them.

I think parents need to be educated about the drugs today and about what is going on, what their kids are actually exposed to, not just, "Hey, you need to talk to them."

Yes, they do need to talk to them, but they need to get educated what is out there, what are their kids exposed to.

Mr. MICA. Mr. Frazier or Ms. Seifert, before today have either of you talked to a mother who has lost a child to heroin overdose?

Ms. SEIFERT. Yes.

Mr. MICA. You have?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, we have. Interestingly enough, Ms. Cooper's—when I was listening to her testimony, it is the exact type of thing that we are doing.

A lot of people hear the term "PR" and think of something corporate or political, but what she is doing is classic, traditional PR. She's getting out to a community. She's trying to inform people. She's trying to give them real-life examples to make messages real for them and give them direction and some incentive to do something.

Mr. MICA. One other question about your experiences. Did you know the individual who lost a child or a relative to drug overdose?

Ms. SEIFERT. Yes.

Mr. MICA. You did?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes.

Mr. MICA. Well, what I think is absolutely startling is we have three people, one who has lost a son in this and we have two of our witnesses who are participating in this, and each of you know and have talked to families that have losses. This is an incredibly widespread problem.

The problem we have in central Florida is we have been losing almost one or two a week to heroin. We have had this campaign, and on the floor last week I cited several heroin overdoses, drug overdose deaths just in that past weekend, and it is not abating, even with the ad campaign. That's the scary part of it.

Let me, if I may, ask our two contractors a couple of questions.

First of all, Ogilvy & Mather have the largest share of this contract. It will be $684 million, I think, total, with a fixed fee of about $8 million over that period of the expenditure, and you said——

Ms. SEIFERT. Actually, Chairman Mica, it is an annual contract.

Mr. MICA. Yes.

Ms. SEIFERT. So the contract is currently valued at $152 million, of which about $1.5 is the fixed fee, so it is almost exactly 1 percent.

Mr. MICA. And you said it is cost plus the fixed fee. Is the cost only the cost for airing, or are there other costs like production and subtracted——

Ms. SEIFERT. The contract is for $152 million. The great majority of that expenditure is for the paid media, but out of our $152 million contract we also pay $3 million for production of the advertising.

But, as General McCaffrey explained——

Mr. MICA. Are there any——

Ms. SEIFERT [continuing]. It is not labor.

Mr. MICA. Right. Are there any other subcontracts or—what I am trying to do is look at the big picture, how much money is spent.

We commend you for offering your services in this fashion with a fixed fee, but we also want to find out exactly how the dollars are expended.

So there's $3 million, you said, in production, approximately?

Ms. SEIFERT. Yes.

Mr. MICA. And are there any subcontracts let on your contract?

Ms. SEIFERT. Yes. There are five subcontracts which—these are all mandated by the RFP that we were awarded by the contract. We have to have a——

Mr. MICA. And do we have copies of all of those subcontracts? Could you provide us with copies of the subcontracts?

Ms. SEIFERT. I can certainly provide copies of all the contracts to ONDCP so that—because we are contractually obligated to ONDCP, and I think they will forward them to you.

Mr. MICA. Right. And we will ask for copies of them.

Again, it is a little bit different client. It's the people of the United States. Our job is merely, when we appropriate a program of this magnitude—and it wasn't a rush fashion, but it was in an expedited fashion. We now want to see how the funds are expended. So if you could—and we will also ask the general for that.

And that's one of the problems we've had to date is just trying to get that information.

There are no other fees or commissions or costs other than those subcontracts and the production amount; is that correct?

Ms. SEIFERT. Anything that is not media would be production of the advertising, which is not labor. As I said before——

Mr. MICA. Right.

Ms. SEIFERT [continuing]. It is purely the actual third party production cost.

The cost of subcontractors is one subcontractor for each of the ethnic audiences that we need to reach with the campaign, so there would be one for African American audiences, for Asian, for Native Americans, and so forth.

Mr. MICA. What I am trying to get to really is I want to get to the rock bottom—and maybe you could provide the subcommittee with this—of how many dollars actually go on television or radio. You are doing television. Are you doing radio?

Ms. SEIFERT. Every single medium, because this is a surround campaign.

Mr. MICA. All right. What we want to find out is how many hard dollars are going into that and what other expenses there are. So if we have $195 million and we take $127, we have $40 over here next to you, or whatever is expended. I don't want to be exact here. But then we take out so much for production and so much for other expenses. We are trying to find out the bottom line of dollars going into that, so if you could provide——

Ms. SEIFERT. We can certainly provide that.

Mr. MICA. We would appreciate that.

Mr. Frazier, one of our concerns was, in talking with the ONDCP subcontractor, all of these contracts have reporting requirements. One of the major reports was the September 4th evaluation report, which we weren't able to get up until just before this hearing.

Did Fleishman-Hillard deliver a written evaluation report to ONDCP on or before September 4th, as required?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, sir, we have delivered dozens of reports——

Mr. MICA. No.

Mr. FRAZIER [continuing]. Including——

Mr. MICA. Did you provide an evaluation report on or before September 4th, as required under the terms of the RFP? Do you know?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. We did that in two ways. We did a full review of our activities in June to date, and we did another one in September. That one was, indeed, a week after the September 4th date.

Mr. MICA. OK.

Mr. FRAZIER. It was a comprehensive review.

Mr. MICA. It was delivered. But it was delivered afterwards. OK.

And one of the problems we've had—and we'd like to get copies of it, too—are, again, some of the subcontracts here. How many subcontracts do you have?

Mr. FRAZIER. We have six subcontractors.

Mr. MICA. Do we have copies of all of those now?

Mr. FRAZIER. I don't know what you do or don't have, but we are happy for you to have them if ONDCP——

Mr. MICA. I am seeing your head go in one direction, my staff going in another direction, and people in the audience going in two directions.

Do we have copies of all of those six subcontracts? My staff says no, we do not.

Could you provide us, through ONDCP, those six contracts?

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. And let me just state——

Mr. MICA. The reason, we have parts of the information. And, again, we are not trying to be hard guys, but you have categories of expenditures. For example, in a request—and I cited this to the drug czar, Mr. McCaffrey—we asked Richard Pleffner, who is the ONDCP contracting officer, for an explanation of a subcontract that went to Rogers and Associates, who went and, in turn, subcontracted to Media Scope. Media Scope submitted vouchers for entertainment in January for $27,000, approximately, for entertainment, in February for $29,000, approximately, and March for entertainment—I got two in March for entertainment for $33,000-plus. I've got, in May 1999, another $33,000.

What we are trying to find out is if, you know, was this a party, was this—it must have been a hell of a bash. But maybe it wasn't. Maybe, in fact, it was a very legitimate expenditure. But our job is to conduct some oversight.

And the problem we have is that your subcontractor, Rogers and Associates, has, in turn, subcontracted to Media Scope, and these things get further away from us. And these people may have done an incredible job that should be announced to the public. On the other hand, when we have these entertainment expenditures just in this short period for $156,000, we want an explanation.

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. I am happy to address. I know——

Mr. MICA. That's a specific request, so——

Mr. FRAZIER. Yes, sir. We are happy to fulfill that in writing.

Mr. MICA. You don't even have to submit that one to ONDCP. You can tell us directly. And we are leaving the record open for 30 days.

But you see our dilemma in this.

Let me ask you another question. You have offered——

Mr. FRAZIER. Do you mind if I just respond to that real quick?

Mr. MICA. Go ahead.

Mr. FRAZIER. To be clear—and I think this is kind of symptomatic of you perhaps not having all the information you need to understand what we do. Very simply, that was entertainment industry outreach they are doing. They are holding creative briefings for people like the Writers Guild. They held a workshop for children's television writers that was convened at the Disney Studios at no cost to the government. They are doing entertainment industry outreach, and perhaps it wasn't clear in the documentation that you saw, but that's what that is for.

Mr. MICA. Again, we'd like to get this.

And let me say that you, in particular—I haven't dealt with Ms. Seifert. We will get to know her better as this progresses. But you and your firm have been most forthcoming and open, and we appreciate that.

Now, let me ask you this. One of the problems we had is getting the information you submitted to ONDCP, and you say you have provided all of that information. Has ONDCP directed you not to provide us with any information?

Mr. FRAZIER. Not specifically, sir. In this process—and we've never been through a formal review process like this with a congressional committee—it was our understanding that contractually the way the process works is that you have to request those documents from ONDCP. They did not tell us not to give anything directly to you.

I was looking for clarification on what the exact rules were in that case, but let me state unequivocally we are happy for this committee to see anything that we have done and any of our records. We would prefer and request that any proprietary information about the salaries of our employees and that type of thing that obviously would pose competitive challenges for us not become public, but if your staff would like to see them we are happy to open our books behind closed doors.

Mr. MICA. We just would like explanations. I've got another example: entertainment, March 31, 1999, celebrity involvement, $5,682. It may be a legitimate expense, but what we want is some detail on how——

Mr. FRAZIER. We are happy to provide that.

Mr. MICA [continuing]. These funds were expended.

Now, you tell me there are six contracts.

Mr. FRAZIER. Subcontracts. yes, sir.

Mr. MICA. Subcontracts. Do you have any idea how many subcontracts there are to the subcontracts?

Mr. FRAZIER. Only one that we are aware of.

Mr. MICA. The Media Scope one?

Mr. FRAZIER. That's the Media Scope one.

Mr. MICA. All right. And we'd also, Ms. Seifert, like to know about any subcontracting that is done through any of your contracts.

Ms. SEIFERT. There are none, sir.

Mr. MICA. There are none? OK. All right. Thank you.

There are detailed reporting requirements in these RFPs. Again, other than the September 4th report, the evaluation that was due then, do you know of any other reports that have not been submitted on time?

Mr. FRAZIER. No, sir.

Mr. MICA. OK. And, again, this is a little bit different situation in the private sector, but we do have detailed reporting that is required. Do you find that overly cumbersome, or you are able to comply with that?

Mr. FRAZIER. Well, as I referenced before, the level of reporting in this particular contract is more extensive than anything we've ever experienced as an agency.

We do, by the course of our business, keep track of our time for every hour, every minute that our staff works, and I personally go through those records at the end of every month, before we send an invoice, and look at every single hour that our 30-plus people have spent on this at Fleishman-Hillard, and we ask our subcontractors to do the same.

We keep all of that. What's different in this contract is the level of detail that we are required to submit to the government. We are used to doing activity reports. In this case, we do them weekly and monthly, as well as regular briefings. Director McCaffrey, himself, has shown an incredible interest in this. He has given us a no fail mission, and I think I can politely say that he is a demanding client, which I think is his responsibility in this case. I've never had a client give us more scrutiny. He gets his staff to sit down, and when we do things we have to prove to him and his staff that they are going to work. We have to outline what the activity is, why we are going to do it, how much it is going to cost. His staff reviews it and they come back and ask us tough questions.

Sometimes we hope almost always—we have good answers for those, and sometimes we've adjusted our activities due to their oversight.

Mr. MICA. All right. Other than General McCaffrey and the contracting officer, who are the other individuals you've dealt with?

Mr. FRAZIER. Alan Levitt is the director of the media campaign. I would say that people on our staff, between Bev and I, we talk to him—including e-mails and phone calls probably in double digits each day. We interface with him and his staff everyday on some level or another. I think I'd probably be accurate in saying there is not a day since we won this contract that we haven't spoken with him or his staff.

We actually function as a team with them and we work together with them every day, as I referenced before.

Mr. MICA. And yours is the non-media——

Mr. FRAZIER. Non-advertising, yes.

Mr. MICA. And that would cover all of those aspects.

And who do you deal with as far as oversight? General McCaffrey and then a contracting officer, Ms. Seifert?

Ms. SEIFERT. Yes. It would be——

Mr. MICA. Could you tell us just who?

Ms. SEIFERT. The key contacts would be General McCaffrey—and we've met, since we were appointed, which was January 4th of this year, we've had 18 meetings with General McCaffrey. But, to give

you some context, he talked earlier about being the CEO of his campaign. There isn't a CEO that Ogilvy & Mather works for anywhere in the globe that meets with his advertising agency every 2 weeks, and 18 meetings in 2 months is about once every 2 weeks, so that's the level of contact we've had with General McCaffrey. And that isn't, "Hello, how are you" in the hallway. That's often 6, 7, 8-hour briefings on what we are doing. And he wasn't kidding when he said they go to 11 p.m.

So it is General McCaffrey. We are dealing on——

Mr. MICA. Contracting officer?

Ms. SEIFERT. The contracting officer, Rick Pleffner.

Mr. MICA. OK.

Ms. SEIFERT. Alan Levitt, the director of the media campaign; and Alan's staff, so Joe Bartholomew and Judy Costerman. And Janet Chris, the chief of staff; and Poncho Kinney, and many others, as needed, depending on the issues. Also Don Vereen, the deputy director.

Mr. MICA. All right. Well, again, we appreciate your coming in today. I am sure you never expected this level of scrutiny when you got involved in this, but it is important that we make this campaign as effective as possible, that we ensure that every taxpayer dollar is expended as efficiently and economically, that we do review these expenditures.

I am sure that both of your firms have tried to do an exemplary job in this most important national campaign. It is the first of its type. But we will continue to monitor these activities very closely, because it is not a small-ticket item. It is $1 billion of our money and we want it spent right, and it is combined with private sector donations.

Ms. Cooper, thank you so much. You have been incredible, again, turning tragedy into a public campaign, a private campaign to get the word out not only in central Florida, across our State, and the Nation today, and we thank you for your efforts, which were just invaluable.

I don't have any further questions at this time. I am sure you are pleased to hear that. But we will be submitting additional written questions to our witnesses and the record will be open for 30 days.

[The information referred to follows:]

Response to National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign Questions for the Record Submitted to Fleishman-Hillard by the Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources

November 15, 1999

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1) How does Fleishman-Hillard prioritize the numerous projects cited in your ambitious five year ($50 million) contract?

Fleishman-Hillard's (F-H's) "non-advertising" contract is directly tied to the Media Campaign's overall *Integrated Communications Plan*, which specifies four central communications components that must be addressed. These include, "media outreach, partnerships and alliance building, Internet and other 'new media' activities, and aggressive outreach to, and collaboration with, the entertainment community." These program areas are central to the Campaign's social marketing approach of surrounding parents and youth with Campaign messages wherever they live, work, learn or play. In planning activities, F-H developed specific objectives, strategies and tactical communications plans to help ensure success in each program area.

All F-H programs have been developed to satisfy one or more of the specific audience outcomes of raising awareness, changing attitudes and generating specific action. Priority is also placed on programs that best support F-H strategic imperatives based on ONDCP's goals. These imperatives include:

- Address the communications objectives for youth and adults specified in the *Integrated Communications Plan.*
- Engage and empower parents through education and resources.
- Involve youth as messengers and leaders.
- Take the messages to where Campaign audiences are.
- Generate broad national reach and local impact.
- Resonate with diverse audiences.
- Create sustainable activities and partnerships and deliver long-term value.

In addition, F-H uses specific evaluation criteria to assess programs under consideration (criteria specified in the evaluation question response on the next page). Also, a number of F-H Year I programs have been specifically developed as pilot programs under consideration for broad replication in Year II at greatly reduced cost to the Campaign.

2) There are lots of great projects out there, so how does Fleishman-Hillard evaluate/test a particular project (in advance) to make sure it worthy of undertaking? Does a program have to have a "proven track record" (like the success of TV ads), before it is undertaken by Fleishman-Hillard?

Before a program is undertaken by F-H, it is evaluated against specific criteria and often reviewed by external behavioral, issue or communications experts (including the paid advertising contractor, Ogilvy) to help assess both its feasibility and value. The following criteria have been used to evaluate projects under consideration:

- **Strategic Focus** – How well do the various programs work within the strategic plan?
- **Scale & Reach** – How well will the activity extend messages, frequently, to targeted audiences on a national and local level?
- **Cost effectiveness** – How much additional value does the program bring to the Campaign and how can we best leverage the pro bono match opportunities created by the media buy?
- **Systemic Value** – Are there opportunities to create sustainable momentum and extend the program's value beyond the Media Campaign's involvement?

Additional criteria have been used when partners and outside interests approach the Media Campaign with proposals for collaboration. These include:

- **Statement of Need** – Is there a clear rationale for the proposal?
- **Strategic Approach** – Is it aligned with the Campaign's goals and objectives?
- **Reach** – Will the program reach significant numbers in target audiences?
- **Focus** – Will the proposed activity work on youth, parent or substance abuse issues, or in congruence with them?
- **Leverage** – What resources are the partners contributing and what is their capacity for implementation?
- **Legal Implications** – Is it consistent with government policies and in compliance with contract terms and conditions?

Also, Fleishman-Hillard's 52 years of public communications experience and the hundreds of years of collective media, marketing and public education expertise of members of our team (including subcontractors) are major determinants of F-H program development. For example, one of the co-directors of the F-H team is a behavioral scientist and leading social marketer, with more than 20 years of experience in national prevention programs. Many of F-H's programs are custom-developed to specifically meet Campaign needs, but are also grounded in proven communications by:

- Benefiting from the precedent set by successful alcohol and tobacco education programs.
- Utilizing proven strategies employed on other successful high-profile social marketing campaigns.
- Replicating some of the most high-yield tactics employed by team members in dozens of successful consumer outreach and public education campaigns.

3) Are all of the F-H subcontracts competitively bid? If not, why not?

All six of F-H's major subcontractors (and their budgets) were specified as part of the F-H team as in our original proposal submitted to ONDCP during the competitive bidding process for the Media Campaign's non-advertising contract. These included:

- The Academy for Educational Development
- Rogers & Associates (and their subcontractor Mediascope)
- Roy Communications
- Sykes Communications
- Imada Wong Communications
- S&C Communications

All other F-H subcontracts over $2,500 are competitively bid to the most practical extent possible, with very few exceptions which are sole source contracts with organizations that have a unique capability, such as The Congress of National Black Churches.

4) Please explain the status of the report which was due to ONDCP on September 4, 1999? How does Fleishman-Hillard track its many deliverables?

Fleishman-Hillard provided the evaluation report in two ways:

- On September 13th a team of Fleishman-Hillard staff and subcontractors met with Director McCaffrey, the ONDCP project officer, Media Campaign staff and other senior ONDCP officials in a two-hour briefing. During this briefing, F-H presented a comprehensive report of the Media Campaign activities, including:
  - ✓ Execution of the contractual scope of work
  - ✓ Year-to-date achievements within each program area
  - ✓ Plans in each category for the remainder of the year
  - ✓ Evaluation criteria used by F-H
  - ✓ Incorporation of lessons learned into Year II planning
- As a follow-up, Fleishman-Hillard submitted a 28 page written evaluation report to ONDCP, restating and expanding upon the information presented in the September 13th briefing and providing additional analysis and recommendations. For example, the written report provides a more informed analysis of the series of school-based initiatives that were launched at the end of August but which had not generated feedback by the September 13th meeting. The evaluation report included:
  - ✓ Restatement of F-H's strategic imperatives and Year I approach
  - ✓ Summary of accomplishments in major program areas
  - ✓ Report on how strategic goals and objectives were addressed
  - ✓ Key measures of success
  - ✓ Areas for improvement and other lessons learned
  - ✓ Program and administrative priorities for Year II

Throughout the year, F-H tracks deliverables through the following:

- Comprehensive monthly activity reports to ONDCP in a standardized reporting format covering activities in each program area including: a list of activities in progress, current status, next steps, due dates and individuals responsible for managing the activity.
- Regular briefings to Media Campaign staff and other ONDCP staff (including a dozen meetings with Director McCaffrey from January through September 1999) to give update, progress and final reports.
- Written final reports on major events and completed programs and activities. These reports typically include: a summary of the activity, assessment of objectives met, audience/impression numbers, copies of news coverage and recommendations for next steps, follow-up with partners and value-added opportunities.

5) What service or product does a subcontractor for F-H named Media Scope provide?

Mediascope is a national non-profit, non-partisan, public policy organization founded in 1992 to promote constructive depiction of health and social issues in entertainment media, particularly as they relate to children and adolescents. The organization is well respected and trusted by the "Hollywood community," and greatly enhances the Media Campaign's ability to educate and influence the entertainment industry.

Under ONDCP's contract for the Non-Advertising component of the National Youth Anti-Drug Campaign, Mediascope works with Fleishman-Hillard's Los Angeles based subcontractor, Rogers & Associates, to coordinate outreach to the entertainment industry. The principal goal of Mediascope's efforts is to raise awareness of issues associated with drug abuse among those in the entertainment industry who are responsible for the creative content of television programming and films to encourage them to create more accurate depictions of substance abuse in their work. To achieve this goal, Mediascope undertakes a number of activities. These include, but are not limited to:

- Collaboration with Rogers & Associates to convene special events, including briefings and roundtables targeting the Hollywood creative community.
- Arranging and participating in meetings with entertainment industry representatives.
- Representing the Campaign and providing Campaign presence at entertainment industry events such as trade shows, conferences, and other entertainment industry-sponsored forums.
- Producing special publications on substance abuse aimed at the entertainment industry.
- Identifying and securing experts in the area of public health, policy, and medicine, who can participate in industry events/briefings on drug abuse and provide one-on-one expertise to scriptwriters, directors, and producers.
- Recommending other strategies to achieve the stated goals of ONDCP's National Youth Anti-Drug Campaign.

- Conducting and disseminating research on Campaign-related issues.
- Providing support, advice, and counsel to Rogers & Associates, Fleishman-Hillard, and other campaign associates as needed.
- Making their Advisory Board available to the Campaign's Entertainment Team to provide advice and counsel on how Campaign activities can be effective within the entertainment community.
- Using the Mediascope website to promote Campaign messages and activities.

6) In documentation submitted by ONDCP, ONDCP refused payment totaling $156,086.29 on Voucher #FH-7 submitted by Media Scope Study for entertainment expenses as follows:

$26,900.00 on 1/31/99
$28,900.00 on 1/28/99
$33,428.77 on 3/31/99
$33,428.76 on 3/31/99
$33,428.76 on 5/31/99

What were these expenses?

The Mediascope expenses referenced above are not "entertainment expenses" in the traditional sense, in that they are not for entertaining anyone. Rather, they are all for staff time associated with the entertainment industry outreach tasks outlined above, plus other direct costs associated with these activities, such as long distance telephone and materials. Mediascope's activities were part of F-H's broader entertainment outreach plan, they were approved in advance of implementation and progress was reported on a regular basis in F-H's monthly activity reports to ONDCP. Specific examples of Mediascope activities include:

- Convened workshop for writers of children's television programs, hosted at Disney studios, to educate them about key anti-drug related message strategies that should be promoted.
- Participated in a Writers Guild Foundation conference, *Words into Pictures*, to educate and conduct outreach to writers in attendance.
- Participated on the Media Campaign's behalf in a *Children's Media Summit* of executives involved with the development of youth programming. The event focused on at-risk children.
- Briefed producers of popular television shows, such as *Touched by an Angel*, and *ER*, on realities of drug use, accurate depiction and effective drug prevention strategies that could be incorporated into television programming.

The expenses were questioned by F-H's project officer at ONDCP, because they were invoiced under a fixed monthly fee contract, rather than the cost reimbursement contract preferred by ONDCP. To our knowledge, the project officer has not raised any issues related to the quality of work performed by Mediascope.

7) Does Media Scope Study plan to re-submit these invoices for payment with adequate and detailed documentation to justify these expenses?

Upon notification of ONDCP's objection to the structure of the Mediascope invoicing, F-H halted the Mediascope subcontract and has developed a new contract for moving forward that is consistent with the "cost reimbursement" arrangement requested by ONCDP.

Past Mediascope expenses previously invoiced under the "fixed monthly fee" arrangement are being resubmitted under a new format with all of the required documentation. Mediascope has maintained all records necessary and already has resubmitted one monthly invoice in a detailed format consistent with cost reimbursement contracts, including substantial backup documents. Upon approval of the new invoice format by ONDCP, F-H will immediately resubmit all outstanding Mediascope invoices with detailed breakouts of time and expenses. Mediascope has already provided Rogers & Associates with completed documentation for these expenses, and Rogers and F-H are satisfied that Mediascope has the details needed to support these costs.

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Questions for the Record
Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources
October 14, 1999
Ogilvy & Mather

Questions for the record (Ogilvy and Mather):

Q1. How much money in pure media buys (excluding production costs, overhead costs, commissions, etc.) did O&M spend in FY-98 and how much does O&M anticipate spending on anti-drug media buys in FY-1999. How much does O&M anticipate spending on anti-drug media buys in FY-2000?

Ogilvy operates on a contract year basis. With that in mind, the anticipated campaign media spending level (excluding production costs, overhead costs, etc.) for our current contract year, January 04, 1999 to January 03, 2000 is $139,000,000.

Q2. Is O&M doing media buys any differently in Phase III than Bates did in Phases I and II? Explain the differences.

Yes. In fact, the learning from Phases I and II enabled Ogilvy to accomplish more with a lower media budget in the implementation of Phase III:

- Substantial cost savings were achieved in Phase III and a full one-for-one "match" in all media was negotiated despite a difficult and competitive marketplace. All communication goals (e.g., a 90% audience "reach" with a "frequency" of four commercials per week among youth) were exceeded. All of this occurred despite a 6% program year media budget decrease versus the previous Phase II.

  Through tough, persistent negotiations, and leverage derived from the largest media buying operation in the world, Ogilvy saved the Government over $25 million versus marketplace media rates for the paid portion of the buy, alone. The overall marketplace was extremely competitive across all media for the 1999/2000 planning season. The "upfront" market was extremely bullish due to a strong economy, significant increases in Internet company spending, and strong growth in other categories such as OTC drugs and mutual funds. Despite these formidable hurdles, significant savings were delivered to ONDCP.

- Ogilvy successfully negotiated Year II of the unprecedented pro bono match, securing gratis airtime, free space, vendor-produced PSA's, anti-drug program content and storylines and other "soft match" opportunities. This accomplishment was secured in a very tight media marketplace and a strong economy. It is generally much more difficult to achieve "free" space and time in an environment such as the present media marketplace, when inventory is scarce and pricing is strong.

- Ogilvy utilized Media Flighting to implement a Message Platform Strategy, which will provide optimal levels of exposure for each communications strategy. Flighting focuses on specific message platforms across all media vehicles for specific scheduled periods, concentrating message delivery behind one single platform to maximize communication/learning during the specific time period. The flighting approach allows both youth and parents strategies to be "seeded" before shifting to the next message platform, ensuring each platform receives optimal exposure.

- Ogilvy has initiated leading-edge media research, econometric analysis, and measurement tools to provide accountability and highly sophisticated media delivery (i.e., "reach" and "frequency") data. Pathway Plus™ will be employed to determine the effectiveness and productivity of selected media, providing a sophisticated accountability tool for measuring campaign success. A Pathway Plus analysis of the Phase I campaign, which was presented to the ONDCP research group, confirmed several assumptions used to build the Phase III campaign. These included employing flighting to enhance campaign effectiveness and utilizing messaging platforms to unite creative messages under similar themes, and airing fewer advertisements to ensure that each is fully leveraged.

  The SuperMidas™ computer database, the sophisticated and highly analytical Ogilvy Media Optimizer, was utilized both for determining the optimal combinations of media in Phase III and developing more accurate reach/frequency data based on current programming information sourced from Nielsen Media Research.

- Ogilvy forged alliances with several new media partners, and in some cases, such as Television Syndication, negotiated the match with previously reluctant partners. Several new partners joined forces with Ogilvy and ONDCP for Phase III, including cable networks such as Turner, Discovery, A&E networks, and USA networks.

- Ogilvy utilized innovative and impactful tactics across all media to further stretch the taxpayer dollar. These tactics included:

  - Seeding each message platform in television with :30 second spots before shifting to :15's to achieve continuity and build frequency.

  - Utilizing less expensive dayparts and media (Cable TV, Network Radio) to provide 52-week continuity, establishing a "scheduling base" to launch the flighting strategy.

  - Aligning weekly television and print spikes in media activity with key youth drug use vulnerability periods throughout the campaign.

  - Utilizing a combination of full page and fractional units in newspapers, to provide deeper market coverage throughout the program year. This means over 240 newspapers continuously in Phase III versus less than 30 for each insertion, plus an occasional "drop" of slightly more than 100 newspapers in Phase II.

- Ogilvy created an extensive community-based Grass Roots media program, aligning ONDCP on a local level with key sports franchises for the first time. Media programs with both Madison Square Garden and Women's World Cup Soccer combine solid media buys with impactful grass roots events that can be used as a template for eventual geographic expansion.

- Ogilvy forged alliances and partnerships with key industries and segments previously underutilized by ONDCP. The Entertainment Industry initiative with the Hollywood Reporter will enable ONDCP to effectively communicate campaign messages with film industry leaders, providing a channel for content input in an industry that reaches and impacts millions of young people on a daily basis. The media plan targeting Educators and Administrators will effectively disseminate anti-drug messages to key youth influencers in America's communities.

Q3. O&M testified at the hearing that O&M does not charge a commission for media buys. Do any of O&M's subcontractors charge a commission?

- No. Ogilvy's subcontractors have cost reimbursement contracts, so no commission can be charged.

Mr. MICA. With that, I thank you all for being with us.

We will excuse this panel and I will call our third and last panel.

Our third and last panel today is Doctor Lloyd Johnston, who is the program director and university distinguished research scientist with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan.

We also have Dr. S. Shyam Sundar, and Dr. Sundar is director of Media Effects Research Laboratory with the College of Communications at Pennsylvania State University.

I am pleased that we have both of these distinguished panelists with us today.

As you may have heard, gentlemen, this is an investigations and oversight panel of Congress. We do ask that our witnesses be sworn. If you would stand, please, and be sworn.

[Witnesses sworn.]

Mr. MICA. The witnesses answered in the affirmative.

Again, we are pleased to have such distinguished panelists to give us their perspective on this unprecedented national media campaign.

I will recognize first Dr. Lloyd Johnston, who is with the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. You are recognized, sir, and welcome.

STATEMENTS OF LLOYD JOHNSTON, PROGRAM DIRECTOR AND UNIVERSITY DISTINGUISHED RESEARCH SCIENTIST, INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN; AND S. SHYAM SUNDAR, DIRECTOR MEDIA EFFECTS RESEARCH LABORATORY, COLLEGE OF COMMUNICATIONS, PENNSYLVANIA STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and good afternoon. Thank you for the invitation to testify.

I am going to be speaking from some of the figures that are attached to my testimony. I've just handed some to counsel, and there are more on that desk.

Mr. MICA. What we would like to do, if it is OK, Dr. Johnston, is, without objection, this information will be made part of the record.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Thank you very much.

Mr. MICA. So ordered.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, I've been at the University of Michigan for a long time, and for 25 years have directed the ongoing Monitoring the Future studies of American adolescents and young adults, in which we've tracked and tried to explain trends in drug use of all kinds, as well as related beliefs and attitudes.

We have now done surveys of every graduating high school class since 1975, and in the 1990's we've also done surveys of 8th and 10th grade students, who go down in age to 13. So today we survey about 50,000 young people a year in some 420 secondary schools.

In the short time available, I'd like to try to make several points, and these are best illustrated in the handouts that I've given you, or that are attached to my testimony.

The first is that we have found that drug use is malleable. It can be influenced. It can change quite dramatically over time. Indeed, it has over the last 25 or 30 years.

We sometimes hear that this is a hopeless cause, the drug war is lost, and so forth, and that's so much hogwash.

Second, we have found—and I think this is one of the more important findings from our study—that the attitudes and beliefs that young people have about these drugs have played a major role in influencing the changes that have occurred, both the changes for the good and the changes for the worse.

And if you look at figure 1, for example, it shows that the changes in marijuana use are inversely related to changes in the perceived risk of using marijuana.

So, as young people become more concerned about the dangers of the drug, they become less likely to use. Or, in the 1990's, as they become less concerned, they become more likely to use.

We see a similar relationship, by the way, with disapproval, which in the aggregate reflects peer norms about use.

These two variables have had a lot of explanatory power, and sometimes have been leading indicators of change in use.

I should also mention in figures 1 and 2 that the trend lines on perceived availability of these drugs suggest that availability has not been a very good explanator of the changes that we've seen, and I think that's mostly because it is so very difficult to influence availability when, in fact, there is a major and highly profitable market constantly drawing suppliers in.

Now, I wanted to go to figure 3, which was referred to in testimony given earlier today, and it shows the PDFA estimates of amount of resources that the media have contributed pro bono over the years. We see there was a big increase in 1990, when there was a major effort, and then a gradual decline over the 1990's. As General McCaffrey said, competition in the media industry became more severe. There was less pro bono support.

And you notice there is some correlation there over time between the amount of advertising and the perceived risk that young people reported—in this case, 12th grade students.

Now, to turn to a set of data that we have about ad campaigns, specifically. We added these questions in 1987. We know, of course, that the ad campaigns are aimed largely at affecting these very attitudes and beliefs that were shown to be important, and if you look at figure 4 you can see that, based on data from 8th, 10th, and 12th grade students, recalled exposure to the ads can reach quite high levels. When the media weight was heaviest, at the beginning of the 1990's, large proportions of these youngsters said that they had at least weekly exposure, and a substantial number had daily exposure to the ads.

Note that, as the weight of the ad effort declined in the 1990's, so did the reported exposure to the ads, helping to indicate that these, indeed, are valid measures.

The point is it is possible to reach high levels of exposure, and I should mention that a preliminary look at our 1999 data, which are not yet ready for release, suggests that in the spring of 1999 we saw a sharp increase in reports of exposure, consistent with the fact that the new campaign was getting underway.

Finally, in figure 5 I want to show that you can not only achieve high rates of exposure, but high rates of impact as reported by the youngsters. And here we've asked them to say to what extent they

think such commercials have made them less likely to use drugs, personally.

You can see that large proportions of them say that they feel the commercials have, at least to some degree. In the early 1990's, over 80 percent of the 8th graders said that. But the proportions who reported such positive impact declined during the 1990's, and this, of course, was when the amount of media weight was, itself, declining. So, again, this is consistent with the notion that you have more impact when you have more media coverage.

I want to conclude by saying that it is very important that we institutionalize prevention of drug use for the long term in our society, and the media campaign is one way to do that. I think the primary other way is through prevention programs in the school.

The reason I say that is that when this country has gotten into the most trouble is when we've taken our eye off the ball, and the early 1990's I think constituted an example of that.

Many institutions in society looked elsewhere. Drug use fell off the television screen. I think a new generation of youngsters came along who simply knew less about the consequences of drugs, either because they were exposed to less drug use around them or because they heard less through the media and through tragedies that were occurring to public figures.

So we, in a sense, got a more naive generation in the early 1990's because we weren't dealing with the issues directly, and the Gulf war I think was probably a precipitating event there, which knocked everything off of the television screen in 1991 other than the war. The drug issue didn't come back for some years.

So I think that it is important that we institutionalize these forms of education, socialization, and persuasion and keep them, even in times when we've made substantial progress in reducing drug use, because at precisely those times the seeds of a new epidemic can be sown. It is precisely those times, when the youngsters know the least about drugs from first-hand observation, that they need to know the most through formal learning.

I also have some comments on Dr. Sundar's study, which he is about to present, but I will leave those for questions.

Mr. MICA. Thank you for your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Johnston follows:]

Testimony Submitted To

The Subcommittee on Criminal Justice, Drug Policy and Human Resources

of the

Government Reform Committee

United States House of Representatives

for hearings on the

National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign

held on

October 14, 1999

By

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Thank you Mr. Chairman for providing this opportunity to testify at this hearing on the National Youth Anti-Drug Media Campaign. Since we have had extensive experience tracking, and trying to understand, the trends in licit and illicit drug use among young Americans over the last 30 years, I would like to share with you some of what we have learned which is of particular relevance to this hearing.

As to my background, I am a social psychologist by training and hold the title of Distinguished Research Scientist at the University of Michigan. I have been the principal investigator of the ongoing study of American adolescents and young adults, entitled *Monitoring the Future*, since it was launched it 25 years ago. I have also served as a member of the White House Conference for a Drug Free America; the National Commission for Drug Free Schools; the National Advisory Council on Drug Abuse; and various other national and international advisory bodies.

Under a series of investigator-initiated, competing research grants from the National Institute on Drug Abuse, which funds *Monitoring the Future*, my colleagues and I have conducted an annual national survey of 12th grade students in the coterminous United States each year since 1975. Starting in 1991 we have also surveyed nationally representative samples of 8th graders and 10th graders annually, with the result that some 50,000 students located in approximately 420 secondary schools now participate in the survey each year.

Among the subjects we track that are of most relevance to the current hearings are: (1) students' use of a wide range of drugs, (2) their disapproval of the use of these drugs, (3) their beliefs about the harmfulness of these drugs, (4) their recalled levels of exposure to anti-drug advertising, (5) their judgements about the creditability of the ads,

and (6) their judgements of the amount of impact their exposure to the ad campaigns has had on their own use of drugs. The questions dealing with media campaigns go back to 1987, when the Partnership for a Drug Free America campaign began, while the measures of drug use, related attitudes, and beliefs go back 23 years.

The Importance of Attitudes and Beliefs about Drugs

First, let me say that I think that well-planned and well-executed media campaigns are very important, because of their capacity to influence young people's attitudes and beliefs about drugs. One of the most important findings to emerge from Monitoring the Future over the past quarter of a century is the strong negative association between the amount of danger young people associate with a given drug (which we have called "perceived risk") and their use of that drug. Another is the strong negative association between personal disapproval of using a drug and the use of that drug (Johnston, O'Malley, and Bachman, 1998).

As Figures 1 and 2 illustrate, using the examples of marijuana and cocaine, over time perceived risk has trended inversely with use. Thus, when the perceived risk of using marijuana *increased* substantially among American adolescents over the eleven-year period 1979-1991, their use of marijuana fell steadily. Then, a year later, as perceived risk for marijuana reversed course in 1992 and began to fall, use followed and began to rise in 1993. (Note that in this case perceived risk was a leading indicator of change in use.)

Personal disapproval of using a drug—which in the aggregate translates into peer disapproval—shows a similar inverse association over time with usage levels, though not

in this case as a leading indicator. We believe that both perceived risk and peer disapproval are very important determinants of use, and that perceived risk operates partly through it's effect on peer disapproval by influencing norms against use (Johnston, 1991). Put more simply, if a drug comes to be seen as more dangerous, then its use is likely to be more disapproved within the peer group.

In a series of journal articles specifically on this subject, we have shown that these powerful cross-time associations cannot be explained away by concurrent shifts in a number of other lifestyle factors. Disapproval and perceived risk remain powerful predictors of use, even when controlling for a host of other known risk factors (Bachman et al., 1988; Bachman, Johnston & O'Malley, 1990, & 1998). These articles also demonstrate that these attitudes are more able to explain the changes in use, than use is able to explain the changes in attitudes.

Comparable data are presented in Figure 2 for cocaine, and they demonstrate fairly dramatically how changes in perceived risk have affected the use of that drug. By 1996 the media frenzy over crack had reached its peak, public response was sizeable, and a young first-round draft pick for the NBA named Len Bias died from cocaine use. (As it happened, the media initially reported Len Bias's death as resulting from his first exposure to cocaine—a conclusion which was later contradicted—but that was the story that young people heard.) The proportion of young people who saw cocaine use (even experimental use) as dangerous soared, disapproval increased, and usage levels began a long and quite dramatic decline.

I think there are two overarching conclusions, which can be drawn from these data on marijuana and cocaine. One is that the levels of drug use among young people

can be changed quite substantially—indeed, they already have been. Second, attitudes and beliefs appear to have played a major role in bringing about the changes observed. I might add that the levels of perceived availability did not move in a way that could explain the changes in use observed for either marijuana or cocaine, as is illustrated in Figures 1 and 2.

Of course, changes in drug use are not always in the direction we would prefer. After an 11-year decline in marijuana use and a shorter, 6-year decline in cocaine use, the trend lines for both began to rise in the 1990's. Again, attitudes and beliefs played major roles. As we have written elsewhere (Johnston, et al., 1998), we think that multiple forces converged and led to a weakening of anti-drug attitudes. One very important development was that media news coverage of the drug issue fell off the national screen during the buildup to the Gulf War in 1991, and it did not reappear until several years later, as journalists became aware that the drug problem was re-emerging among a newer generation of youth. Second, and also media-related, the nation's electronic and print media cut back considerably in both the quantity and quality of the time and space they contributed *pro bono* for the placement of the anti-drug ads produced by the Partnership for a Drug Free America. In other words, the ad campaign became less visible to young people, as I will substantiate below.

Interestingly, the resurgence of drug use in the 90's was specific to adolescents—adults did not show it. We take this to mean that a newer generation of young people was growing up not knowing as much about the dangers of drugs. We believe this was partly due to the fact that they were witnessing less use among their friends (and also among public figures) than did their predecessors, because drug use rates had declined so much.

But, it was also partly due to the fact that they were being exposed to many fewer messages about the dangers of drugs in the media, either through the airing of the anti-drug commercials or through news stories.

We have labeled this phenomenon "generational forgetting"—the loss of knowledge by the country's youth of the dangers of drugs through the process of generational replacement. Its implications for social policy are considerable. It suggests that, unless we institutionalize some of the mechanisms for educating children about the consequences of drug use and provide them persuasive reasons not *to* use, future naïve generations are very likely to relapse into use. In fact, as the resurgence of drug use in the early 90's illustrates, the danger of society's taking its eye off the ball may be greatest right after a period of decline in use, when complacency can set in. We never can permanently win the so-called "war on drugs": the best we can do is to win the battle for each generation as they grow up.

The relevance to anti-drug advertising campaigns is this. Such campaigns constitute one of the few means by which we can institutionalize the education and socialization of youngsters with regard to drugs. It also allows parents to be reminded of their important roles in prevention. We cannot get the media to keep paying attention to the problem if they do not wish to, or they think it not newsworthy. And we have not been particularly successful at influencing the portrayals if drug use young people see in entertainment programming or in the behavior of public role models—both very likely important influences on young people. That leaves two primary avenues which as a society we can utilize to reach youngsters — the schools and paid media. I think we should be using both very actively.

Youth Reactions to the Anti-Drug Media Campaigns

That said, I would be the first to agree that *how* a media campaign (or school-based prevention program) is carried out can make a world of difference. Effective persuasion, particularly of today's media- savvy young people, is a formidable task. Academics like myself may be able to come up with valid strategies and approaches, but then there is a creative leap that must be made successfully in order to yield an effective finished message. That, I firmly believe, is the domain of the creative professionals who do this kind of work for a living.

As you well know, the federally backed partnership—between the Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) and the private sector Partnership for a Drug Free America (PDFA)— builds heavily upon the previous ten to twelve years of work of the PDFA. As the PDFA's campaign started to get underway in 1987, we added a set of questions to our ongoing surveys of American high school seniors to determine their degree of exposure to the campaign ads, as well as their opinions about them. (The same questions were added to the surveys of the younger students when we began to survey them in 1991.) While these questions do not ask specifically about the PDFA campaign, that campaign has accounted for the preponderance of the anti-drug advertising since then, which leads us to interpret the student's answers as predominantly in response to that campaign.

I would like to share with you some of what we have learned from tracking these questions over succeeding 8th, 10th, and 12th grade classes. First, Figure 3 shows how the levels of media support (in millions of dollars of value, as estimated by the Partnership) changed over time, and how the level of perceived risk 12th graders associated with

marijuana use, changed along with those expenditure levels. You will note that there is a pretty good correspondence (Partnership for a Drug Free America, 1999). Let me be clear, I do not take these results by themselves as proof of a causal association, nor do I think that advertising was the only important influence changing over this time interval that might have contributed to the changes in perceived risk or actual drug use (as I have just discussed). Nevertheless, there is some association here which certainly would be consistent with a causal connection. Note particularly in Figure 3 the considerable decline, from $365 million to $220 million, in the estimated annual value of the media-contributed time and space between 1991 and 1997.

Figure 4 shows that during that same time interval, the proportion of students reporting weekly or daily exposure to the ads also declined steadily, consistent with the decline in the PDFA advertising contributions. In 1998 the estimated market value of the ad coverage began to rise again, as the federal effort began to kick in. While the 1999 Monitoring the Future data are not yet ready for release, because a great deal of data cleaning and processing is still occurring, I can tell you that a preliminary look at the data suggests that in 1999 there was increased reported exposure to such ads at all three grade levels.

As youth exposure to the anti-drug ad campaign declined through most of the nineties, so did the judged effect of the ads on student drug-taking behaviors and related attitudes (see Figure 5). In the early nineties, when the campaign was at its peak levels, very high proportions of our respondents said that the anti-drug ads they saw had caused them to have less favorable attitudes toward drugs, *and* decreased their likelihood of using drugs. Among 8th graders surveyed in 1991, over 80% said that that the ads had

reduced their own likelihood of using drugs at least "to a little extent", over 70% said it had influenced them "to some extent", and over 50% said it actually had influenced them to a "great or very great extent". I have always found these numbers to be very impressive, considering the fact that teenagers generally do not like to admit that anyone is influencing them, particularly anyone who is *trying* to influence them. But, as the frequency of ad placement waned over the next six or seven years, so did students' reports of how much effect the campaign was having on them, as logically would be expected if their answers were truthful.

One final point about the reaction of young people to the ad material used in the campaign. We have always felt that for such ad campaigns to be successful, retaining credibility with the target audience that is essential. To measure credibility, we ask a question about the extent to which the respondent thinks the ads, taken collectively, overstate the dangers or risks of drug use. (See Figure 6.) In general, it turns out that the judged credibility of the ads has been rather good and fairly stable over time, with only around 20% of the 10th and 12th graders saying that the dangers of drugs were overstated "a lot". For the 8th graders, a somewhat higher proportion says the same—around 35-38%.

Summary

To summarize, the attitudes and beliefs of youth that the anti-drug media campaigns seek to influence, have been demonstrated to be among the most important determinants of drug use. When a high rate of coverage of the ads can be attained, as the new federal effort seeks to accomplish and as the PDFA campaign was able to attain in

the early nineties, adolescents' exposure can be raised to quite high rates. More importantly, adolescents' judgements of the impact of the ads on their own drug-using propensity and their drug-related attitudes can be impressively high when the exposure rate is high. And, the campaigns so far seem to have retained a relatively high and consistent level of credibility with the youth target audiences. These findings should bolster our belief that a well-run and sustained advertising campaign can make an important difference.

From a strategic point of view, it is important to realize that intentional use of the media represents one of the very few channels available through which we can institutionalize the education and socialization of youth with regard to drugs. (Prevention efforts in the school represent the primary other such channel.) In the absence of institutionalizing such efforts, we risk the continued reemergence of drug epidemics among our young people. The lessons learned from the casualties occurring in any one epidemic will be are "forgotten", as a newer and more naïve generation grows up and replaces the generation which experienced the epidemic first hand. Such "generational forgetting" will occur repeatedly in the absence of vigorous societal efforts to prevent it. The National Youth Anti-drug Media Campaign represents one of the most promising such efforts.

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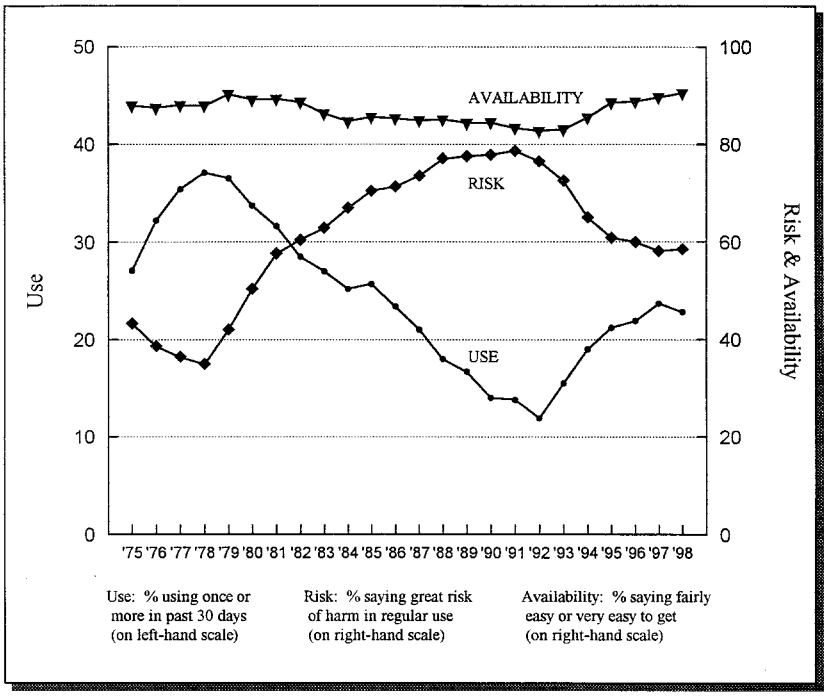
Partnership for a Drug Free America (1999). Chart: PDFA media support and perception of risk of trying marijuana. *Personal communication*.

FIGURE 1

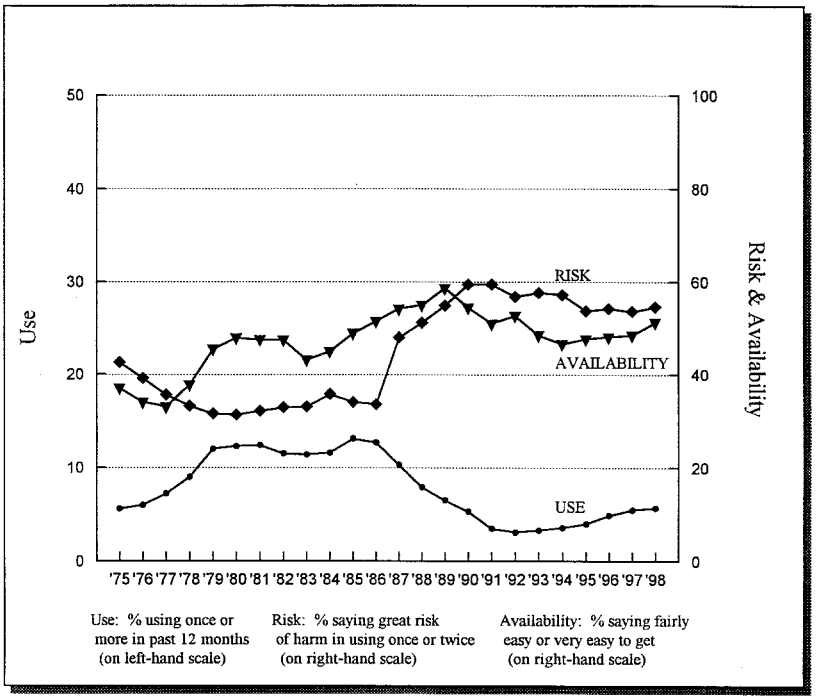
Marijuana: Trends in Perceived Availability, Perceived Risk of Regular Use, and Prevalence of Use in Past Thirty Days for Twelfth Graders



Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

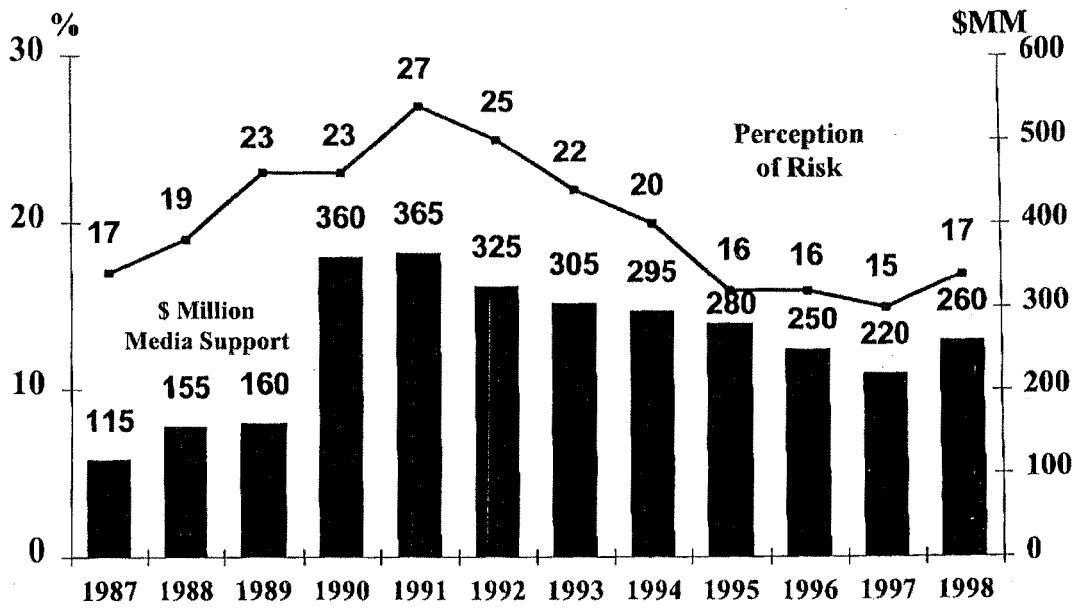
FIGURE 2

Cocaine: Trends in Perceived Availability, Perceived Risk of Trying, and Prevalence of Use in Past Year for Twelfth Graders



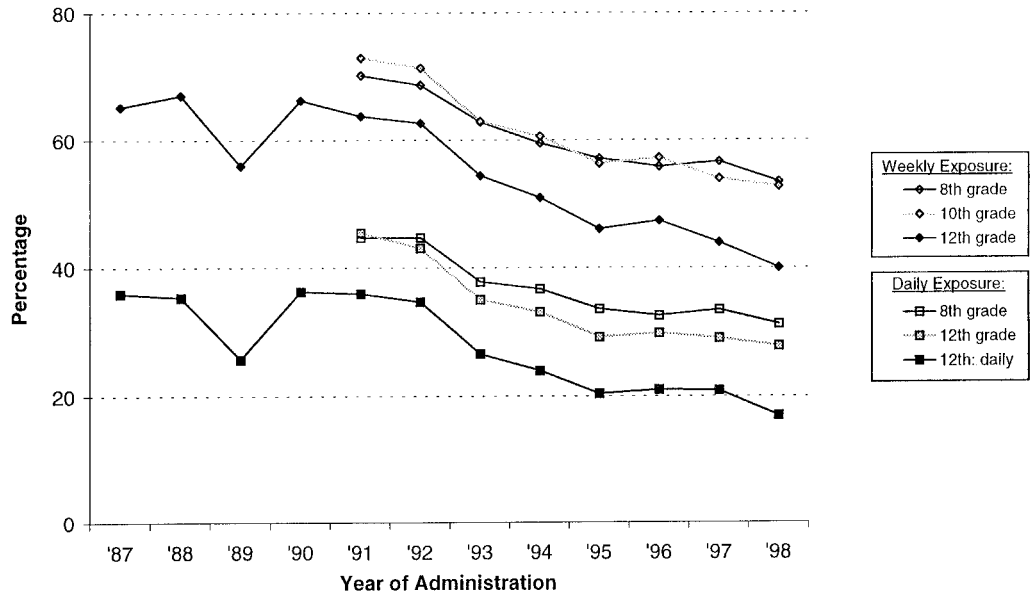
Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

Figure 3
Trends in PDFA Media Support and Perception of Risk of Trying Marijuana



Source: PDFA Media Support Estimates (PDFA, 1999)
The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

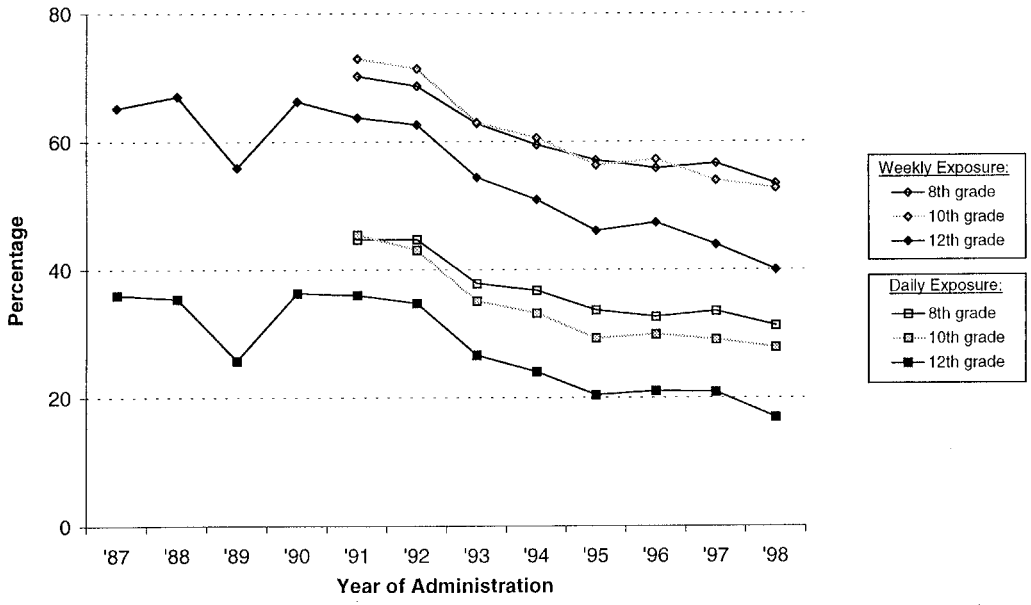
Figure 4
Trends in Weekly and Daily Exposure to Anti-Drug Ads on TV and Radio
8th, 10th, and 12th Grade Students



Question: *In recent months, about how often have you seen anti-drug ads on TV, or heard them on the radio?*

Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

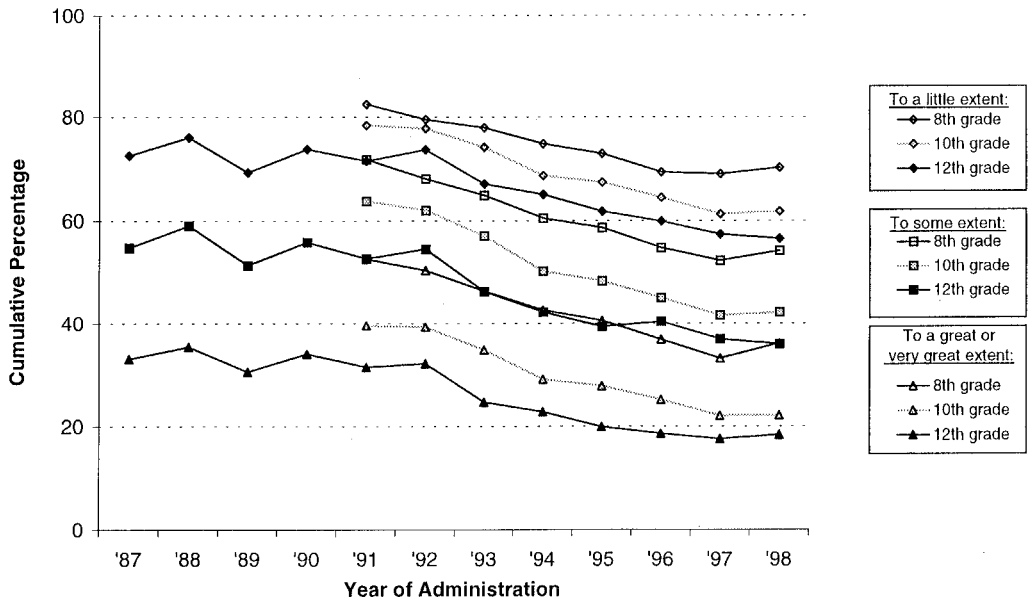
Figure 4
Trends in Weekly and Daily Exposure to Anti-Drug Ads on TV and Radio
8th, 10th, and 12th Grade Students



Question: *In recent months, about how often have you seen anti-drug ads on TV, or heard them on the radio?*

Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

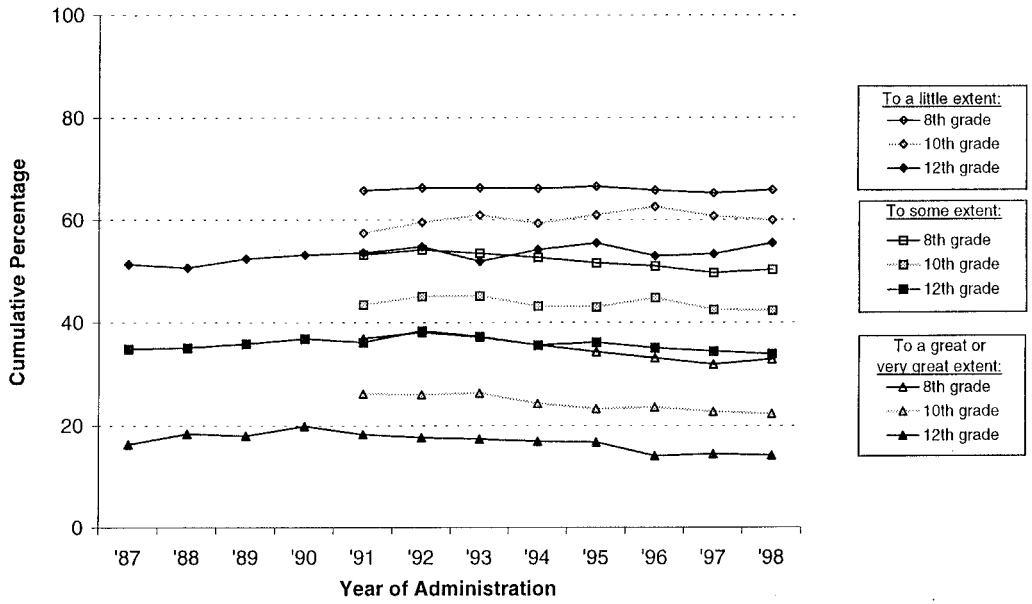
Figure 5
Trends in Judged Impact of Exposure to Anti-Drug Ads on Own Likelihood of Using Drugs
8th, 10th, and 12th Grade Students



Question: *To what extent do you think such commercials have . . . made you less likely to use drugs?*

Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

Figure 6
Credibility of the Ads: Extent to Which They Are Judged to Overstate the Dangers of Drug Use
8th, 10th, and 12th Grade Students



Question: *To what extent do you think such commercials have . . . overstated the dangers or risks of drug use?*

Source: The Monitoring the Future Study, the University of Michigan

Mr. MICA. We will now recognize Dr. Shyam Sundar, who is with the College of Communications at Pennsylvania State University. Welcome. You are recognized, sir.

Dr. SUNDAR. I thank you for inviting me here this morning, this afternoon, to give testimony regarding the potential psychological effects of anti-drug messages in the media.

My comments today will center around the findings of the study that was conducted with my Master's student, Carson B. Wagner, in spring of 1998. This preceded ONDCP's campaign, but we believe our findings have some implications for current and future media campaigns, in general.

Research has shown in the past that anti-drug ads and public service announcements [PSAs], as they are called, are enormously successful in reaching the intended target audiences. Research has also shown that they promote anti-drug attitudes among our youth. But it is in the area of behaviors that we see a lot of controversy in the literature, especially some researchers saying that behaviors do not automatically follow from attitudes, and so forth.

So we decided to look at behavioral indicators in our research. In particular, we looked at behavioral intention, or what is sometimes called "conation."

The variable that we found most intriguing in our research is the variable that is called conative curiosity. We conducted a very simple experiment involving 65 high school seniors as participants in one of two conditions. Participants in the control condition saw an unaltered version of a prime time television program, complete with commercial breaks, while those in the experimental condition saw the same program but with four anti-drug PSAs edited into the commercial breaks.

Following the program, participants in both conditions filled out an identical questionnaire containing, among other things, five items that elicited their level of curiosity toward illicit drugs, items like it might be interesting to try marijuana, using marijuana might be fun, and so forth. We found that the participants in the condition where they were exposed to PSAs expressed significantly greater curiosity than their counterparts in the control condition. But these results should be viewed with extreme caution and skepticism; and one of the main reasons I am here is because this particular piece of research is getting more attention in the media than it perhaps deserves, simply because of its counterintuitive results.

I have to mention a number of caveats that go with studies of this sort. It is a study that uses a small sample in a controlled setting. And, while these kinds of experiments are similar to test tube experiments in chemistry and can demonstrate causation between variables, it would be premature to generalize their findings to the real world without extensive further study.

My co-investigator, Carson Wagner, replicated this experiment in a different State using different participants and a different sample of PSAs and found similar results, but, really, other researchers with different samples in different locations need to replicate the study before we can even begin to think of this as a robust effect of anti-drug PSAs.

So our research really raises more questions than it answers, and this is an exploratory piece of research which has brought to the fore an unintended consequence of PSAs—namely, that of arousing curiosity—and our data are not able to specify exactly why.

We do discuss a number of possibilities in the paper that we presented in a peer forum earlier this year, but these are all merely speculative at this point. Others have suggested that this might be an example of the forbidden fruit effect, that is the tendency among adolescents to be drawn toward that which is forbidden or taboo. But only future research can explore these possibilities.

So by presenting our findings we are not claiming that curiosity is the only outcome of anti-drug PSAs. This just happens to be the variable we examined. There could be many other variables that indicate positive outcomes, as other researchers have shown, and they may have far greater beneficial effects on our youth than the potential negative consequences of arousing curiosity.

We are certainly not recommending that national anti-drug media campaigns be abandoned, as has been incorrectly implied in certain media reports of our study. If anything, we are very interested in ensuring that such campaigns achieve the intended pro-social effects by minimizing the potential, if any, to have unintended negative consequences.

In conclusion, our research has implications, I think, in two broad areas of anti-drug media campaigns, and those would be message design and evaluation.

Since our findings raise the possibility that a mere mention of drugs can serve to prime audience members to think about drugs when it wasn't there before, an immediate suggestion would be to perhaps design PSAs that provide our youngsters with examples of alternative activities that are healthy and can take the place of drugs in their lives, but without mentioning the word "drugs" anywhere.

Another implication might be perhaps a move away from the fear appeal kind of ads, the frying pan or the brain-on-drugs kind of messages, which are powerful in their attention-getting abilities and their recall rates, but which might trigger curiosity, because those are the kinds of ads we primarily used in our experiments; and we don't know if the curiosity effect is specific to that kind of an appeal.

There are certainly other health communication models, like the health belief model and so forth, which can result in message designs that are very different from the fear appeal design, and they can result in different types of message elaboration in the minds of viewers, leading perhaps to more desirable behaviors.

Our study also, I think, has some implications for evaluation research. In particular, it demonstrates the need for controlled laboratory and field experimentation in order to isolate outcome variables, such as curiosity, because the larger implication is that it calls for more research on the effects of PSAs in particular, not just PSA campaigns in general. Of course, there are lots of studies, including the one that was presented just before mine, that look at the whole campaign, in general, and these are large sample surveys and have very useful correlational data to present.

Small sample experiments, on the other hand, can ensure exposure and measure effects in a controlled fashion, but, of course, they lack generalizability.

So both have their pros and cons. Ideally, I would like to see a combination of surveys and experiments used to evaluate the overall effectiveness of anti-drug media campaigns.

I thank you again for inviting me to testify here, and I really appreciate this opportunity to discuss some of the theoretical and methodological issues concerning media effects of anti-drug campaign information.

Mr. MICA. Thank you for your testimony.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Sundar follows:]

STATEMENT BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON CRIMINAL JUSTICE, DRUG POLICY AND HUMAN RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BY

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OCTOBER 14, 1999

HEARING ON THE OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY (ONDCP) NATIONAL YOUTH ANTI-DRUG MEDIA CAMPAIGN

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee. I thank you for inviting me here this morning to give testimony regarding the potential psychological effects of anti-drug messages in the media. My comments today will center around the findings of a study conducted under my supervision by Mr. Carson B Wagner as part of his Master's thesis in the Spring of 1998. The specific methods and results of this study are available in a paper presented earlier this year in a peer-refereed forum.[1]

Although two decades of research has shown that anti-drug public service announcements (PSAs) are enormously successful in reaching the intended target audiences, and although PSAs are shown to promote anti-drug attitudes among our youth, we have not seen commensurate decreases in drug usage rates. In fact, we have seen increases in drug use among our youth in recent years. These contradictory facts inspired us to pursue a novel line of research,

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[1] Wagner, C. B, & Sundar, S. S. (1999, May). *The curiosity-arousing function of anti-drug PSAs*. Paper presented to the Health Communication Division at the 49th annual conference of the International Communication Association (ICA), San Francisco. [Abstract available at http://www.psu.edu/dept/medialab/research/antidrugPSA.html].

namely the unintended effects of prosocial media messages. In particular, we wondered if anti-drug PSAs were somehow triggering cognitions that would influence behavior in an undesirable direction.

I interpret the contradictory findings from prior PSA research as yet another example of a breakdown in the traditional Knowledge-Attitude-Behavior (K-A-B) hierarchy of media effects.[2] This hierarchy is premised on the belief that knowledge, attitudes, and behaviors are causally connected, and that, in order for us to change behaviors, we will have to first change knowledge and attitudes. In other words, the supposition is that knowledge that drugs are bad will lead to negative attitudes about drugs, which in turn will result in anti-drug behaviors. Despite lackluster empirical support, this theoretical formulation seems to be embraced whole-heartedly by advertisers, including apparently those that design PSAs — partly because there are no other seemingly plausible alternatives, but mostly because the K-A-B mechanism is so powerful in its intuitive appeal.

Viewed from the K-A-B perspective, the contradiction in the effects of anti-drug PSAs lies in the link between attitudes and behaviors. Since drug-related attitudes have already been extensively studied by others and shown expected results, we set out to explore behavioral indicators in our research. Since it is next to impossible to measure behaviors as a direct consequence of exposure to media messages, we focused on measures of what we call conation, i.e., behavioral intention.

In our theoretical explorations, we found the variable of "conative curiosity" to be particularly intriguing. We hypothesized that anti-drug PSAs

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[2] Ray, M. (1973). Marketing communication and the hierarchy of effects. In P. Clarke (ed.), *New Directions for Communication Research* (pp. 147-176). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

would "prime" viewers to think about drugs, bringing to mind drug-related thoughts stored previously, and leading them to cognitively exaggerate the prevalence of drug use in society.[3] Such a perception of exaggerated norm would then lead to a perceived gap in information (i.e., others seem to know more about drugs than me), followed by a drive to narrow this gap by gaining experiential knowledge, thereby resulting in an expression of curiosity about experimenting with drugs.[4]

We proceeded to test this hypothesis through a simple experiment involving 65 high-school seniors as participants in one of two conditions. Participants in the control condition saw an unaltered version of a prime-time television program complete with commercial breaks, while those in the experimental condition saw the same program, but with four anti-drug PSAs edited into the commercial breaks. Following the program, participants in both conditions filled out an identical questionnaire containing, among other things, five items that elicited their level of curiosity toward illicit drugs.[5] These five questionnaire items were in the form of statements, and participants were asked to indicate their level of agreement with each one of them:

1. There are no benefits to using marijuana
2. Marijuana use is associated with a weak will
3. It would be interesting to know what using marijuana feels like
4. It might be interesting to try marijuana

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[3] Berkowitz, L., & Rogers, K. H. (1986). A priming effect analysis of media influence. In J. Bryant & D. Zillmann (Eds.), *Perspectives on Media Effects* (pp. 57-81). Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
[4] Lowenstein, G. (1994). The psychology of curiosity: A review and reinterpretation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *116*, 75-98.
[5] Wagner, C. B (1998). *Social cognition and anti-drug PSA effects on adolescent attitudes*. Unpublished master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.

5. Using marijuana might be fun

Higher the participants' scores on items 3 through 5 and lower their scores on items 1 and 2, greater is their level of curiosity.

We found that participants in the experimental condition — i.e., the high-school seniors who saw the program with the four anti-drug PSAs — expressed significantly greater curiosity than their counterparts in the control condition (i.e., those who did not see the PSAs). We also found that they tended to exaggerate the norm of drug use. Compared to those in the control condition, participants in the treatment condition gave significantly higher estimates when asked for the percentage of high school students who have used marijuana in the past year and the past month. We, however, did not find a significant relationship between these perceptions of norms and level of curiosity.

Therefore, it appears that anti-drug PSAs independently increase both curiosity about drugs and perceived prevalence of drug use. But, this is only a modest first attempt at showing a relationship, and the results should be viewed with skepticism until more evidence is generated.

A few caveats must be kept in mind while interpreting these findings. The study we conducted is an experiment with a small sample in a controlled setting. While experiments of this kind have the advantage of demonstrating causation between variables, it would be premature to generalize their findings to the real world without extensive further study. My co-author and student, Carson Wagner, replicated the experiment this Spring in a different state with a slightly older sample of 28 participants, and using a different set of PSAs. Unpublished data from this replication indicate again that those who were exposed to PSAs expressed greater curiosity toward drugs than their

counterparts not shown the PSAs. Moreover, they showed a higher acceptance of experimentation with drugs. Similarly other researchers, using different sample of participants as well as PSAs, would have to replicate the study before we can declare this a robust effect of anti-drug PSAs. In addition, future research should examine the duration of the curiosity-arousing effect. Our experiments only measured immediate effects, not long-term effects. We have also not established a connection between curiosity and actual behavior.

Clearly, our research raises more questions than it answers. This exploratory piece of research has brought to the fore the potential of PSAs to arouse curiosity, but our data are unable to specify the exact theoretical mechanism by which exposure to PSAs affects one's level of conative curiosity. In our paper, we discuss a number of possibilities, such as the absence of resolution and violation of expectations in PSAs leading to some of the demonstrated effects, but these are merely speculative at this point. Others have suggested that this could be an example of the "forbidden fruit" effect, i.e., the tendency among adolescents to be drawn toward that which is forbidden or taboo. Future research can explore these possibilities.

By presenting our findings, we are certainly <u>not</u> claiming that curiosity is the only outcome of anti-drug PSAs. This just happens to be the variable we examined. There could be many other variables that indicate positive outcomes, as other researchers have shown, which may have far greater beneficial effects on our youth than the potential negative consequences of arousing curiosity.

We are also <u>not</u> recommending that national anti-drug media campaigns be abandoned, as has been incorrectly implied in certain media reports of our study. If anything, we are very interested in ensuring that such campaigns have

the intended pro-social effects by minimizing their potential, if any, to have unintended negative consequences.

Our research has implications for at least two areas of current anti-drug media campaigns. They are: Message Design and Evaluation.

Since our findings raise the possibility that a mere mention of drugs can serve to prime audience members to think about drugs when it wasn't there before (potentially leading to unintended message effects), an immediate suggestion would be to design PSAs that provide our youngsters with examples of alternative activities that are healthy and can take the place of drugs in their lives. However, as my co-author Carson Wagner mentioned during the presentation of this study at the International Communication Association, the fact that these are alternative activities cannot be explicitly mentioned because this requires identifying that to which the activities are alternative, namely drugs. This is where the message designers have to get creative.

Another implication for message design suggested by our study is a move away from the Fried-Egg paradigm of social marketing. The genre of ads that promote the brain-on-drugs message, including the recent Frying Pan advertisement, is enormously effective in that it powerfully attracts audience attention. In fact, advertising classes in communication schools use these types of ads as good examples for promoting what they call TOMA (Top-Of-Mind Awareness). While TOMA is desirable for commercial products because it promotes brand identification in grocery store aisles, it may be inappropriate for advocating preventive health behaviors because it might needlessly make salient

unhealthy behaviors. Social psychologists call these ads Fear Appeals.[6] While fear appeals have been shown to have good recall rates among viewers, our research suggests that they might trigger curiosity. Most of the ads used in our experiments were fear-appeal ads, and perhaps the curiosity effect we discovered is due to this kind of appeal. There are other health communication models available for message design, such as health belief model and social learning theory,[7] which may result in different types of message elaboration in the minds of viewers, leading perhaps to desirable behaviors. Future research should be directed toward discovering those appeals that optimally produce desired positive outcomes while minimizing undesirable negative consequences.

In addition to motivating a closer look at message design, our research has implications for evaluation research. In particular, it demonstrates the need for controlled laboratory and field experimentation in order to isolate outcome variables such as curiosity. Our research demonstrates a departure from prior PSA research — not just because it measured unintended negative effects of well-intentioned media messages (these effects are usually measured as a function of clearly anti-social entertainment genres such as sex and violence on television), but because it showed differences in effects as a function of the very existence of PSAs. This is in contrast to traditional experimental research in the area that assesses the relative effects of two or more PSAs (i.e., participants in different experimental groups are shown different PSAs) without a pure control condition that has no exposure to PSAs.

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[6] Rogers, R. W. (1975). A protection motivation theory of fear appeals and attitude change. *The Journal of Psychology*, *91*, 93-114.

[7] Rosenstock, I. M., Strecher, V. J., & Becker, M. H. (1988). Social learning theory and the health belief model. *Health Education Quarterly*, *15* (2), 175-183.

The larger implication for evaluation is that our study calls for more research on effects of PSAs in particular, not just PSA campaigns in general. The latter is achieved through large-sample surveys and can produce useful correlational data, but we can never be sure if survey respondents were ever really exposed to the PSAs and if so, which particular ones, and whether and how they were directly affected by it. Moreover, given the sensitive nature of the subject matter, survey respondents could be prone to give socially desirable answers to researchers. Small-sample experiments, on the other hand, can ensure exposure and measure effects in a controlled fashion, but their generalizability is suspect. Of course, both methods have their pros and cons. Ideally, a combination of experiments and surveys should be used to evaluate the overall effectiveness of anti-drug media campaigns.

I thank you again for inviting me to testify at this hearing today. I really appreciate this opportunity to appear before this Subcommittee and discuss theoretical as well as methodological issues concerning media effects of anti-drug campaign information.

Mr. MICA. I have several questions.

First of all, Dr. Johnston, I guess you have been—the University of Michigan has been conducting this monitoring work since—is it 1987?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Since 1975.

Mr. MICA. Since 1975?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. MICA. Oh, yes, 1975 I see on one of these charts. You do not have a specific subcontract with ONDCP or with NIDA to deal with this current campaign, do you?

Mr. JOHNSTON. No, not at all. Actually, we, ourselves, chose to put in the questions about the media campaign when we learned that the partnership effort was being launched in 1987. And, as we've done with other historical developments that we thought might influence young people's drug use, we wanted to see what we could learn about that.

Frankly, the results came out much more favorably than I ever expected, given that I think youngsters probably have a bias against admitting that anybody influences them, most particularly those who are trying to. And so I thought the results were really quite impressive.

In any case, to answer your question directly, we have no contract. The National Institute on Drug Abuse is the sponsor of our work.

Mr. MICA. Right.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Its a competing, investigator-initiated research grant that competes with all the other NIH applications that go to NIDA.

Mr. MICA. I think NIDA has contracted specifically with Westat. Are you aware of their work?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. MICA. Have you seen what they have produced?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, I think they are still in the early stages, but I have seen some of the thinking that has gone into it, and it seems to me it is being well done.

Mr. MICA. And it will take some time before we can see what they've produced, and also compare it with what you produced.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Right.

Mr. MICA. Do you think there's any overlap, or have they consulted with you at all in what you——

Mr. JOHNSTON. I served on their Advisory Committee. I don't know if it is an ongoing committee or not, but we met once, in any case, and they probably had 15 or 20 people.

They are going into considerably more detail. This is a study which is aimed directly at assessing the impact of the media campaign, and also trying to measure some of the other cultural influences, partly at my suggestion, actually, such as media portrayals in entertainment content that might also be important determinants that could be confused with what is going on in terms of the ad campaign.

And they are also looking in much more detail at specific ads, recall of specific ads, and so forth.

Our measurement is really quite limited on this specific question, but, of course, we can tie it to a lot of other things, as I've indicated.

Mr. MICA. Your charts and your submissions are most interesting, detailing some of the trends. In the first figure you show the 12th graders' perceived risk of regular use and prevalence of use in the past 30 days—pretty dramatic figures from 1992.

I guess we closed down basically the drug czar's office, cut the staff dramatically. We had a Surgeon General who sort of sent a, "Just say maybe," marijuana message out and slashed a number of the other programs, and we see a dramatic increase in use and a decrease in the perception of risk. So all of those things sort of collided.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes. And, if I may, between 1991 and 1992—and these are taken in the spring—there was a decline in perceived risk, and that actually preceded the turn around in use by a year, so in that case it was a leading indicator of things to come.

It's not too often in social science that we get leading indicators like that, and it corresponds pretty well to what I was mentioning about the Gulf war, which was in 1991.

Mr. MICA. I notice you have marijuana here and we have cocaine.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. MICA. Is there also a—do you produce a chart on heroin?

Mr. JOHNSTON. We have charts on virtually all the drugs. I just didn't——

Mr. MICA. I wonder if you could provide us one with heroin.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Certainly.

Mr. MICA. I think that that would be—I'd like to have that as part of the record.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Absolutely.

Mr. MICA. Are you now into methamphetamine, ecstacy, or any other drugs?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes. We have data on crystal methamphetamine, and I think we have something like 32 classes and subclasses of drugs, altogether.

Mr. MICA. Well, we could get into too many.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Yes.

Mr. MICA. But in the major problem categories, if there is anything else you could provide us with as far as these charts, I think it would be helpful.

We also heard—I don't want to say some controversial testimony, but some testimony from Mr. Sundar that, in preventing drug use, his study may indicate that—and I think he says we may raise curiosity in there by increased possible drug use or abuse.

What is your assessment of his preliminary study?

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, I was glad that he put it as preliminary and suggestive. One of the advantages of master's dissertations is that they can generate some very interesting hypotheses that can lead to some important findings, but they often don't have the resources to do a very appropriate design, and I think the research design wasn't really up to testing these hypotheses.

I did, however, have some runs done yesterday on a large sample and tested one of the two hypotheses, that increased ad exposure

increases the perception of a number of youngsters in the surrounding environment who use drugs.

That would be an important finding, if true, and I ran that correlation in our 1998 eighth grade sample, which is about 2,500 cases on that particular questionaire form. I then replicated it on the 10th grade sample, and in both cases it yielded a 0.00 correlation.

So, when put to a high-powered test, the one hypothesis failed. And I would be very cautious about concluding that the other hypothesis is true, as well, unless, as you suggest, further research supports that.

The problem with the design was that there were only three classrooms of kids. One of them got the treatment and two didn't. But we don't know whether that one classroom was different to begin with because there was never a pre-measure of these variables. It was only an after-the-fact measure. And so you have what we call very, very low analytic power in that condition, and it is very easy to confuse what was really a preselection bias with some kind of an outcome.

Dr. SUNDAR. The only thing I would add to that is, in the replication, we did a better job of random assignment, which we could not do in the initial study. But I agree with you. I mean, really, we need to replicate this in very many different locations and larger samples for us to even begin to conclude about the curiosity effect.

But this is something for which we haven't come up with an alternative explanation, so we put it out there in an international conference, which then got picked up by the media. So far, nobody has suggested why there might be these higher scores on curiosity as a function of watching this.

Mr. MICA. I have one final question, and we have a vote that is pending, so we may have additional questions to submit to you, but Congress embarked on this aggressive campaign. We also, as you heard, put a number of dos and don'ts in the legislative mandate. But one thing that we did—and wisely, I think—was to require evaluation. We are spending, I think, $40-some million, about $10 million a year for evaluation. That is being subcontracted now through NIDA, I believe, most of it, and Westat, another subcontract.

But we set in motion this program, and then an evaluation, and then it has now filtered its way down.

One, do you feel that it is adequate? Two, do you feel—I mean, whether you are limited or extensive knowledge, I am not sure, of what we are doing. Would you advise Congress that this is the way to proceed and we are on target or off base, or what? Dr. Johnson, and then Dr. Sundar.

Mr. JOHNSTON. Well, as I said, I think it is a very well-designed piece of work and being very thoughtfully done with very broad input.

This is tough stuff because we are trying to look at something that is happening in the natural environment when all sorts of other things are happening, but I think that the people doing the research are aware of that complexity and of course, the first step to solving a problem is to be aware of it.

If I had my 'druthers, it would have been nice if the survey could have had the first iteration before any national campaign at the Federal level was launched, but that's hindsight, because now you have the limitation that you are already midway and you already have a measurement, so you keep going.

But I think, given the limitations of reality, that a good job is being done, and I don't really have any suggestions for change.

Mr. MICA. Dr. Sundar.

Dr. SUNDAR. In general, we are—at least my co-author and I are very interested in making sure that any type of campaign, be it this one or any anti-drug or any other health communication campaign, has the desired consequences. And, to the extent this media campaign comes up with evaluation research or data to indicate that it has the desired consequences and not so many of the unintended ones, one of which came out in our study quite accidentally, then I would be able to make a better statement on that.

But at this time, as far as the PSAs go, we are seeing much better diversity of PSAs. It's not so much fear appeals, as was in earlier years. We are seeing different types of target of PSAs.

We have been studying some of the recent crop of ads, and they all seem to fall into some of the other models other than fear appeals, and we are pleased to see that. But we would be very, very interested in seeing what consequences occur as a result, and how the research turns out, how the evaluation turns out.

Mr. MICA. One of the other interesting phenomena—and my time is about up because we have this vote—is Mr. Cummings, maybe you heard him earlier, talked about the increase in use of illegal narcotics among minorities—African Americans, and Ms. Ros-Lehtinen, the Hispanics, and we've seen that increase.

You don't have time to respond now, because I am going to have to run, but I'd be interested in any of your observations about that and how we might approach that and how we could monitor that and evaluate success in that area, particularly reaching those targeted constituencies.

I thank both of you for coming before us today. Unfortunately, our time has expired for the committee hearing.

There being no further business to come before this subcommittee, this meeting is adjourned.

Thank you.

[Whereupon, at 1:49 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

[Additional information submitted for the hearing record follows:]

Questions for the Record (Dr. Lloyd D. Johnston)

1. **The Monitoring the Future (MTF) press release of December 18, 1998 stated that "at least the troublesome trends observed through most of the 90's have begun to reverse direction." How confident is MTF that in fact drug use trends will continue to go down?**

   I am quite confident that the upward trends have stopped overall, although there are always likely to be specific new drugs coming onto the scene, the use of which will increase for awhile. How quickly the downturn in use will proceed is extremely difficult to judge. One hopes that the new media campaign will help to denormalize drug use among our youth and accelerate the decline

2. **What are the implications of the latest MTF statistics for the anti-drug media campaign?**

   As mentioned in my testimony, in 1999 there was an increase in recalled exposure to anti-drug ads among our respondents. This, as I understand it, was the first goal of the campaign; and considering that this survey was conducted in the spring of 1999—not long after the launching of Phase 2—these findings are encouraging. Further, the fact that young peoples' attitudes about drugs have stopped eroding, means that the campaign will be working with the current rather than against it, historically speaking. I believe this gives it a greater chance of showing impact.

3. **Does more need to be done or do things need to be done differently?**

   I do not have specific suggestions for changes in the campaign. I believe that attaining and holding a high level of media weight is very important if we expect the campaign to render behavioral changes. The fact that there are multiple target audiences, multiple drugs of concern, and multiple messages to be sent means that the resources available will be stretched.

One thing our research clearly shows is that attitudes and beliefs are specific to the individual drugs (e.g. marijuana, cocaine, inhalants, heroin, methamphetamine, etc.) Therefore, many of the messages need to be tailored to those individual drugs.

4. **What improvements could be made to ensure greater effectiveness of Phase III and its evaluation?**

   I believe the evaluation is being carried out competently and have no specific changes to suggest. Of course, relevant information will accumulate in other studies, as well, not just as a result of the main evaluation study, as I am sure all relevant parties are aware.

Questions (and Responses) for the Record (Dr. S. Shyam Sundar):

• The recent study by graduate student Carson Wagner yielded some rather surprising results. Is it possible that the increased curiosity among young people viewing the anti-drug ads was simply based on the fact that these subjects were saturated with anti-drug ads in a relatively short period of time? In other words, wasn't the experiment a bit artificial in the sense that the subjects were exposed to four different anti-drug television ads in the span of one television program? Typical viewers might only see one anti-drug spot in that same period, and the stated ONDCP goal is to reach target audiences at least four times per week.

It is possible that the increased curiosity among subjects in our study was due to them being saturated with four anti-drug ads in a span of half an hour. But, this does not negate the curiosity-arousing potential of such ads.

In exploratory social-science research involving experimentation, especially those based on a stimulus-response approach, it is common practice to begin a program of inquiry by first administering as strong a stimulus as possible in order to detect if it has any effects. If, at this strong dosage level, the stimulus fails to elicit a response or effect, then it may be safely concluded that the stimulus has little potential to cause serious effects. For example, if we were the first to launch a study investigating the negative effects of television violence, we would begin by showing subjects strong doses of media violence and then measuring effects as a consequence of such exposure. If, at this level of exposure, they do not show any negative effects, then we would conclude that television violence does not appear to have the predicted negative effects. However, if we did find significant effects, then we would have to follow this up with further investigation that would look at exactly how much, or how little, violence it will take to cause the negative effect.

Similarly, since our first experiment showed that four anti-drug ads in a half-hour period can raise curiosity levels among adolescent viewers, future investigations will have to look into whether this effect can be obtained by showing subjects lesser number of ads in the same time-period or the same number of ads over a longer period of time. In fact, Carson Wagner's follow-up experiment with College students used three anti-drug ads (instead of four in the original experiment with high-school seniors), and he still showed a significant increase in curiosity levels as a function of exposure to anti-drug ads. Future investigations on the topic should use lesser number of ads (maybe two, perhaps even one) and determine the threshold point of exposure, after which exposure can lead to increases in curiosity levels. We might find that exposure to one ad in a half-hour period does not impact curiosity, but two ads may indeed contribute to a significant increase in experiential curiosity. On the other hand, we might find that exposure to one single spot can cause this effect, and further saturation only serves to strengthen it. Moreover, it could be related to the nature of the ad itself, such that a single "powerful" ad may arouse curiosity whereas half-a-dozen "weak" ads fail to show this effect. We do not yet know whether there exists a systematic relationship between frequency of exposure to anti-drug ads and curiosity about trying out drugs. Only future research can answer this question.

It appears to me that the "stated ONDCP goal" of reaching target audiences "at least four times per week" is based on a realistic estimate of the amount of media that they can purchase, given their limited budget. It does not appear to be based on a desire to avoid "saturation" effects, in part because nobody knows what these effects are. Our study is among the first to suggest the possibility that there could be such a thing as "too much anti-drug ads." As future media campaigns enjoy greater levels of funding, they may be tempted to schedule more ads in shorter periods of time, particularly during highly rated prime-time programs. If nothing else, our findings imply that further research needs to be done on the effects of such "saturation" before committing ourselves to the idea that greater frequency of exposure is always a good thing.

• The sample numbers for the study were rather small. However, was this small sampling representative of a larger community (e.g., Penn State University student body)?

The sample size we used may be small for a survey, but it is quite adequate for a controlled experiment. Experimental research in psychology typically uses smaller sample sizes, and the selection of study participants is based on convenience rather than random sampling because the goal is to detect relationships between variables, not to generalize to a larger community. For example, experimental research is NOT in the business of making claims such as, "The average level of drug-related curiosity among adolescents, on a ten-point scale, is x." In order to establish such a result, one would have to conduct a large national survey using probability sampling techniques such as random sampling. What experiments can do is establish whether the level of drug-related curiosity among adolescents varies significantly as a result of exposure to some stimulus, such as friends doing drugs, or even anti-drug public service announcements (as in the case of our study). Regardless of how study participants are sampled, the main goal of the experimental method is to compare the average scores on some effect variable (in this case, the level of curiosity) between a group that was exposed to the stimulus of interest (the so-called treatment group) and another group that was not exposed to the stimulus (control group). If the average scores of these two groups are significantly different, then it may be concluded that the stimulus has an effect. Based on the direction of this difference (i.e., which of the two groups scores higher), we can make claims about the nature of the effect. If the average curiosity score of our control group was higher, then we would have said that exposure to anti-drug ads is associated with a decrease in curiosity levels. But, since they were lower, we had to conclude that exposure is associated with an increase in curiosity level.

The key sampling issue in such studies is to ensure that comparable participants get assigned to the two groups. That is, we would not want the treatment group to have teenage participants when the control group has mostly middle-age participants. Given that many anti-drug ads are targeted at adolescents, we chose to assemble participants for both treatment and control groups from a homogeneous pool of high school seniors. The goal of our sampling here was not necessarily to represent all high-school seniors via the 65 we studied, but to make sure that the high-school seniors in the treatment group of our study are comparable to those in the control group on all variables except the one we were manipulating (i.e., exposure to anti-drug ads). That way, we can be more certain that the observed differences between the two groups on curiosity measures were due mainly to the exposure (or lack of it, in the control) to anti-drug ads.

• In light of the surprising survey results, is there any advice for the managers and evaluators of the anti-drug media campaign?

As indicated throughout my testimony, the study we conducted was not a survey, but an experiment. Furthermore, the repeated characterization of our study's findings as "surprising" betrays an implicit assumption that anti-drug ads are somehow not supposed to arouse curiosity. While this assumption may be the dominant conviction of those who produce and disseminate such ads for a living, we have come across others who believe that our results are not at all surprising. Peer reviewers of our study as well as media personalities have explicitly stated that our findings are not at all counter-intuitive, and that any media message that expressly dissuades audience members from engaging in an activity is more likely than not to trigger some curiosity about that activity, particularly among experiment-prone teenagers. Therefore, I respectfully submit that a judgment as to whether or not our results are "surprising" lies in the eye of the beholder.

This brings me to my first piece of advice for the managers and evaluators of the anti-drug media campaign. They have to be cognizant of the possibility of potential unintended effects of such a campaign. Just because the campaign is well-intentioned, it does not mean that all of its effects will be positive or, barring that, non-existent. Sometimes, the effects could go the other direction. We have to keep our minds open to that possibility. This means, in addition to evaluating messages and campaigns by employing traditional measures of effectiveness (desired reach and prosocial effects), we should include measures of potential side-effects that are unintended as well as undesirable. When Hollywood producers and directors dream up action adventures, they do not proceed from the beginning with negative intentions of harming people by showing them violence. Their intentions are usually to provide entertainment by way of lavish action-adventure extravaganzas. They measure their effectiveness based on box-office returns and television ratings. But, these measures only provide them with knowledge about their level of success in achieving their intended goal of entertaining the viewing audience. If we stopped at these measures, we would all conclude that action films have only positive effects, if at all. It has taken many independent University researchers and federally funded studies over the years to discover that these films not only entertain people but also contribute to antisocial attitudes and behaviors. Similarly, it is conceivable that well-intentioned health campaigns can have some unhealthy effects in addition to all the positive effects documented in the scientific literature on the subject. The implication for campaign evaluation is that we would achieve a more complete picture by including measures that get at potential negative consequences in addition to traditional measures of campaign effectiveness. Unless we specifically look for negative effects, we will not know whether they exist.

In a related vein, I would like the campaign managers to consider the potential "saturation effect" mentioned earlier. While aspiring for greater and greater frequency, the campaign may inadvertently create the kind of saturation found in the treatment condition of our experiment. At this point, we do not know if the curisoity effect we noticed is due to saturation, but the campaign would do well to systematically assess the costs and benefits of saturation at every stage. This will not only help move the campaign forward in a studied, cautious manner but also perhaps contribute to academic advancement of knowledge about this effect.

As already indicated in my testimony, the campaign may benefit by taking a closer look at their "fear appeal" ads. Since the majority of the ads used in our experiments were ads of this

type, it is quite likely that fear appeals - and not other types of appeals - raise curiosity. Because of their powerful attention-getting potential, fear-appeal ads may interfere with proper processing of their central message. Research in psychology and communication indicate that we, as humans, have a finite capacity for encoding, rehearsing, and storing media messages at any given time. It may be speculated that fear appeals command more cognitive resources for encoding, leaving very little capacity for thorough rehearsal and storage. The end-result of this could be that we can recognize these ads when shown to us again, but we may not be able to recall details of their message. Message evaluators of the current campaign may be able to perform a direct test of this theory, and accordingly adjust their campaign to reap the maximum benefit.

Another important piece of advice I have for the campaign is to become methodologically diverse. The current reliance on large-sample surveys to assess the reach and effectiveness of the campaign, while useful for compiling comparative data, may not be sufficient to get at the full range of possible effects of the campaign. It is well-known that surveys are very good at measuring attitudes, but they are not so good at tapping into behaviors. Since surveys rely on self-reports from those agreeing to participate, and since drug use is a rather sensitive area for most Americans, respondents in these surveys may be prone to give socially desirable answers to survey questions. Given the current anti-drug social climate in the country, it is quite likely that these respondents are reacting to the climate (created in part by the campaign) in a manner they think is expected of them and therefore temper their responses to reflect the climate, without undergoing any real changes in their personal drug-related attitudes or behaviors. This is likely to produce artificially deflated estimates of drug use in the country. Furthermore, while surveys can show a correlation between self-reported exposure to anti-drug ads and self-reported drug-related attitudes and behaviors, they cannot tell us which came first. It could very well be that those who hold anti-drug opinions, in the first place, tend more to be attracted to these ads than those who hold pro-drug attitudes. It takes controlled experimentation to establish such directionality of effects and move towards showing a causal connection between exposure and attitudes or behaviors. In the social sciences, there is a long history of conflicting results about media effects coming from surveys and experiments. That is why it is extremely important for the campaign to consider conducting experiments in addition to surveys for obtaining a thorough evaluation of its efforts. Carefully constructed field experiments can help assess both positive and negative effects in natural settings while laboratory experiments can measure these effects by providing greater control of environmental variables as well as by ensuring exposure to campaign material.

Moreover, while designing and testing various campaign messages, controlled laboratory experimentation would be much more effective in detecting both positive and negative effects than the typical ad-agency practice of running focus groups. Focus Groups involve a dozen or so recruited members of the target audience sitting around a table and discussing the merits and demerits of the ad shown to them. Again, there is the possibility of social desirability biases here because of the lack of anonymity and confidentiality. In addition, these kinds of settings are ripe for the operation of "third-person effects," i.e., the tendency among people to say that a given message will affect others more than it affects themselves. Because of this, otherwise ineffective ads may be deemed by focus group participants as being effective in transmitting the intended anti-drug message.

• What was the approximate cost of the original study?

The original study involved data collection in a high school located many miles away from Penn State. It also involved obtaining parental consent for student participation in our experiment. These travel and paperwork expenses were the only direct costs involved in the study. If indirect costs are included, however, the approximate total cost of the original study may be estimated at $ 10,000.

• Are there plans for further research in this area?

There are many plans for further study in this area, especially by my co-author Carson Wagner. Beyond the replication of the original study mentioned in the statement, he is looking at how other variables - such as frequency of anti-drug ads in a single program (one vs. two vs. three), the type of appeal used in message design (feal appeals vs. health belief vs. social learning), and viewer traits and dispositions (e.g., sensation-seekers vs. non-sensation-seekers) - may play a role in increasing or decreasing adolescent perceptions of drug use. With these and other related investigations, we hope to unravel the theoretical mechanism(s) by which anti-drug ads arouse curiosity as well as other drug-related cognitions, attitudes, and conations.