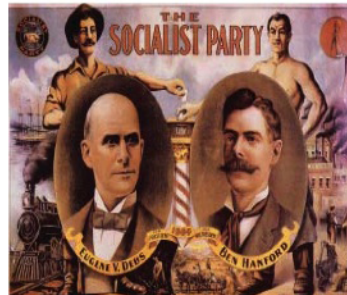
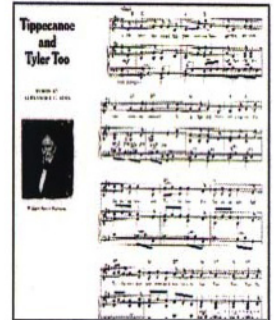


PROJECT LOOK SHARP

Providing materials, training, and support to help teachers prepare students for life in today's media-saturated world.



Media Construction of Presidential Campaigns: A Document-Based History Kit, 3rd Edition



MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS: A DOCUMENT-BASED HISTORY KIT 3rd EDITION

by
**Sox Sperry
& Chris Sperry**



Providing materials, training, and support to help teachers
prepare students for life in today's media-saturated world.

Information about curriculum kits (consisting of teacher guides, student handouts, overviews, assessments, resource list, and more than 140
historic media documents) available at www.projectlooksharp.org

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All materials can be accessed for free on our website and are also available through mobile non-Internet based versions viewed on a digital media device. Digital devices include a master PDF as well as all specified media within lesson folders purchased from the Ithaca College Bookstore. Access the bookstore through our website.

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Sox Sperry began his career as a teacher and curriculum designer in 1974 working at the Learning Center parent-teacher cooperative in Fort Wayne, Indiana. Since 1984 he has worked at the Center For Nonviolence in Fort Wayne where he teaches nonviolence and develops curriculum for a batterers' intervention program. He also teaches peace studies and oversees curriculum for the Three Rivers Jenbe Ensemble. His writing on non-violence curriculum development will be included in the forthcoming book, *Authentic Movement: Moving the Body, Moving the Self*, edited by Patrizia Pallaro and to be published by Jessica Kingsley.

Chris Sperry is the director of curriculum and staff development for Project Look Sharp, and has taught social studies, visual sociology, and media production at the middle and high school levels for the past 25 years at the Alternative Community School, in Ithaca, New York. He has developed specific media literacy curriculum materials around the study of Africa and Native American cultures. He is also author of *Media Construction of War: A Critical Reading of History* published in 2003. He won the 2005 National PTA and Cable's *Leaders in Learning Award* for media literacy.

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Hilary Merlin, Project Manager, Project Look Sharp

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Amelia Holmes-O'Neil, Evergreen College Intern

Carlene Willsie '10, Ithaca College

GPN Educational Media:

Stephen Lenzen, Executive Director

Advisors:

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Unit Folders
1800
1828-1840
1860-1872
1896-1908
1932-1944
1952-1964
1968-1972
1984-1992
2000-2008

Each folder contains:

- PowerPoint slide show with all documents for that unit
- PowerPoint slide show with unit assessment documents
- Further divided subfolders including media content pertaining to a specific year

Audio

- 1828 doc. #2 "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song (1 min. 52 sec.)
- 1828 doc. #4 "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin' " Song (1 min. 23 sec.)
- 1840 doc. #4 "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song (1 min. 13 sec.)
- 1840 doc. #6 "Rock-A-Bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig" Song (1 min. 25 sec.)
- 1932 doc. #1 "Happy Days Are Here Again" Song (2 min. 16 sec.)
- 1936 doc. #1 "Fireside Chat" Radio Clip (2 min. 35 sec.)

Video— 1952-2008:

- 1952 doc. #1 Nixon "Checkers" Speech (43 sec.)
- 1952 doc. #3 "Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial (54 sec.)
- 1952 doc. #4 "Vote Stevenson" TV Commercial (38 sec.)
- 1960 doc. #1a Nixon-Kennedy Debate (6 min. 45 sec.)
- 1960 doc. #1b Reaction Shots – No Audio (30 sec.)
- 1960 doc. #2 Kennedy Address to Ministerial Conference (1 min. 2 sec.)
- 1964 doc. #1 Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1964 doc. #2 Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1964 doc. #4 MFDTP Televised Testimony (1 min. 33 sec.)
- 1968 doc. #5 Humphrey "Man on the Street" TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1968 doc. #6 Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial (45 sec.)
- 1968 doc. #7 Wallace "Law and Order" Busing TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1972 doc. #2a McGovern "Does a President Know..." TV Commercial (45 sec.)
- 1972 doc. #2b Nixon "McGovern Defense" TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1984 doc. #2 Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 1984 doc. #3 Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 1984 doc. #5 Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 1988 doc. #2a Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial – No Audio (30 sec.)
- 1988 doc. #2b Bush Commercial – With Audio (30 sec.)
- 1988 doc. #3a Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial – Edited (30 sec.)
- 1988 doc. #3b Dukakis Commercial – Full (30 sec.)
- 1988 doc. #4b Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 1992 doc. #1 Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial (1 min. 30 sec.)
- 1992 doc. #2 Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 1992 doc. #3a Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 1992 doc. #3b Clinton "Steady" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #1a Republican Convention Brooks & Dunn Music (1 min. 30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #1b Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music (1 min. 20 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #2a Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film (2 min. 30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #2b Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film (2 min.)
- 2000 doc. #3a Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #3b Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #3c Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2000 doc. #5 Gore-Bush 1st Debate (4 min.)
- 2000 doc. #6 Saturday Night Live Debate Skit (4 min.)
- 2000 doc. #7 Gore and Bush Intro to Saturday Night Live (1 min. 30 sec.)
- 2004 doc. #2a Howard Dean Iowa Speech Video (33 sec.)
- 2004 doc. #2b Howard Dean Iowa Speech Audio-Only (8 sec.)
- 2004 doc. #3 MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2004 doc. #4 Swift Boat Veterans for Truth TV Commercial (1 min.)
- 2004 doc. #7a Kerry "Graduation" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
- 2004 doc. #7b Bush "Mi Familia" TV Commercial (1 min.)

2008 doc. #1a	Republican Convention McCain Biographical Film (3 min. 22 sec.)
2008 doc. #1b	Democratic Convention Obama Biographical Film (3 min. 5 sec.)
2008 doc. #2a	Obama "Out of Touch" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #2b	McCain "Dome" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3a	Clinton "3am" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3b	DNC "100 Years" TV Commercial (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3c	American Issues Project "Know Enough" TV Commercial (1 min.)

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

Overview, Objectives, Pedagogy and Practice

OVERVIEW

This kit provides teachers, college faculty and other educators with the materials needed to engage students in a dynamic, interactive, and constructivist process of interpreting history. It is designed to support the teaching of U.S. history and politics at the upper middle school, high school and college levels. Through use of slide, print, audio and video materials, students will develop critical thinking skills while learning core historical information about presidential election campaigns from 1800 through today. Using the accompanying discussion guides, the teacher will lead students through an interactive collective "reading" of text, images, and audiovisual messages examining more than 140 different media documents reflecting the history of presidential campaigns. Accompanying assessments of historical knowledge and critical analysis skills are tied to history-based student handouts and the classroom lessons. The kit is designed to enable teachers to easily adapt these materials and reorganize the documents for different classroom contexts.

OBJECTIVES

- to teach core information about U.S. history from the late 1780s through today, with emphasis on the presidential election campaigns from 1800-2008
- to engage typically disinterested students in complex critical thinking and literacy work
- to develop citizenship skills and attitudes
- to train students to ask key media literacy

questions and identify bias in the media

- to teach critical listening and visual decoding skills, and give students practice in the critical reading of historical documents and in answering document-based questions
- to give students an understanding of how media influence public opinion of presidential candidates, elected officials, and current events
- to help students explore historical, political and ethical issues involving the role of media in our democratic process

LEARNING STANDARDS

The collective reading and analysis activities found in this kit address a number of important learning standards in social studies and language arts. They help to develop students' understanding of presidential elections and other events in the context of historical connections, economic relationships, governance, and civic ideals. They also build general critical thinking and analysis skills necessary for responding to Document Based Questions, and foster shared understanding of different viewpoints.

The material and activities found in this kit address many specific standards of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), including:

- **I. Culture**
 - How do belief systems, such as...political ideals of the culture, influence the other parts of the culture?

- **II. Time, Continuity, and Change**

- Knowing what things were like in the past and how things change and develop.
- Knowing how to read and reconstruct the past.
- Drawing on their knowledge of history to make informed choices and decisions in the present.

- **IV. Individual Development and Identity**

- Personal identity is shaped by one's culture, by groups, and by institutional influences.

- **V. Individuals, Groups, and Institutions**

- Knowing how institutions are formed, what controls and influences them, how they control and influence individuals and culture, and how institutions can be maintained or changed.
- Understanding the paradigms and traditions that undergird social and political institutions.

- **VI. Power, Authority, and Governance**

- Understanding the historical development of structures of power, authority, and governance and their evolving functions in contemporary U.S. society.
- Confronting questions such as: What is power? Who holds it? How is it gained, used, and justified? How are governments created, structured, maintained, and changed?
- How can we keep government responsive to its citizens' needs and interests?
- How can individual rights be protected within the context of majority rule?

These activities also address specific standards of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), including:

- applying a wide range of strategies to comprehend, interpret, evaluate, and appreciate

print and non-print texts

- applying knowledge of media techniques, figurative language, and genre to critique and discuss print and non-print texts
- participating as knowledgeable, reflective, creative, and critical members of a variety of literacy communities.

Furthermore, these activities address many of the core learning skills that have been identified as essential skills for the 21st century, specifically:

- information and media literacy skills: analyzing, accessing, managing, integrating, and evaluating information in a variety of forms and media
- critical thinking and systems thinking: exercising sound reasoning in understanding and making complex choices, understanding the interconnections among systems

Finally, the activities foster group discussion skills, and can be easily linked to related lessons in other disciplines such as art, art history, economics, or multicultural studies.

MEDIA LITERACY AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

The founders of this nation articulated the need for a literate citizenry as core to the development of a deep and enduring democracy. We live in an age when the most influential messages about pressing social issues and events are delivered through mass media such as television, magazines and the Internet. It is essential to the success of our democracy that young people consciously and consistently analyze and evaluate those messages. They need to be taught to seek out current, accurate, and credible sources of information. They need training in identifying and using various techniques for communicating messages in different media forms. They need to understand the influence of these messages on their understanding of the world. They need to be taught to ask key questions about all media

messages (*Six Questions* handout found at the end of the kit). Without these critical skills we risk losing the diversity and freedom of thought that underpins a culture of true democracy.

COLLECTIVE READING OF MEDIA MESSAGES

These materials are based on the classroom practice of collective reading where the teacher leads the class through the process of decoding images and text as a way of developing a range of critical thinking skills while teaching core knowledge. This constructivist approach encourages the development of moral reasoning as students clarify their own interpretations, listen to the analysis of their peers, and discuss ethical issues. Decoding of the historical documents in this kit will help train students to distinguish fact from opinion, analyze point of view and identify bias, interpret historical documents, and use evidence to back up a thesis. The classroom reading process is particularly effective in involving students who rarely share their opinions about print-based material, including students with reading disabilities, visual learners, and students for whom English is a second language. The teacher should consider calling on students or going around the room to ensure participation by all students in the collective reading process.

ENCOURAGING MULTIPLE READINGS

Although the slide, video and audio scripts include suggested answers to the probe questions, in most cases the teacher should encourage multiple readings and a diversity of responses for most of the questions posed in the teacher guide. The suggested answers given in the scripts are intended to reflect typical responses that address key historical and media literacy concepts and information. However, it is important that students recognize that all people do not interpret media messages the same way. Depending upon each reader's background, including life experience, age, gender, race, culture, or political views, he or she may have very different interpretations of a particular

text. The collective reading experience provides the opportunity to explore these differences and discuss the important concept that readers interpret messages through their own lenses (see handout, *Six Questions and Five Key Concepts of Media Literacy*).

READING BIAS

A major theme of these materials is the recognition that all media messages come from a particular point of view and have a bias that reflects the intent and perspective of the producer and sponsor. With these materials and probe questions teachers can train students to recognize bias and point of view. The unit and cumulative assessments are designed to have students demonstrate these critical thinking skills. The teacher should encourage students to ask critical questions about any media messages encountered inside or outside the classroom using the *Six Questions and Five Key Concepts of Media Literacy* found at the end of the kit.

BIAS IN THIS KIT AND IN THE CLASSROOM

This kit, like all media, also has a point of view, a bias. As teachers use the kit they may identify opinionated language, selective facts, missing information, and many other subjective decisions that went into constructing this view of history. The same questions the kit applies to other documents can be applied to this media construction. Who produced this kit, for what purpose, and what is its bias? What presidents does the information tend to paint in a positive light (e.g., FDR) or a negative light (e.g., Nixon)? What history is not highlighted in the kit (e.g., women gaining the vote), and what issues are emphasized (e.g., race)? What is your evidence for these conclusions? When using these materials teachers will make their own decisions of what to include and to edit, what questions to use and what issues to avoid. All of these decisions, both by the creators and users of the kit, will influence the view of history that students receive. Teachers should encourage students to thoughtfully analyze and

discuss the stories, the perspectives, and the biases celebrated and criticized within our own classrooms. Those skills and practices are core to an educated democratic citizenship.

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MEDIA DOCUMENTS

The classroom critique of political and cultural documents (including songs, paintings, posters, TV commercials and web sites) is essential to the development of core literacy skills in our media-saturated democracy. To enable educators to fulfill the mission of teaching these core civic objectives, Project Look Sharp has created media literacy integration kits using a variety of different media documents for critical analysis in the classroom. The documents in this kit are presented for the purpose of direct critique and solely to be used in an educational setting.

OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

HOW TO USE THESE MATERIALS

(see the Complete Document List and Thematic Listing following this section)

REVIEW THE MATERIALS

Teachers should take the time to look through all of the materials in this kit before using them in the classroom. The kit is designed to be used in its entirety through an American History survey class, or to be used in sections for thematic classes on politics, elections, media studies, etc. Depending upon a teacher's particular needs, different parts of the kit will be more useful including the teacher guides, assessments, thematic listings, student handouts, or additional resources.

ACCESSING MATERIALS

All materials for these lessons (lesson plans, teacher guides, handouts, PowerPoints and media content) are available for free at www.projectlooksharp.org. Teachers may want to print and review each lesson and make copies of student Readings and Worksheets prior to instruction.

Educators may purchase, at cost, a mobile non-Internet based version of the curriculum kit on a digital media device from the Ithaca College Bookstore. Devices include the master PDF of the kit and all specified media within lesson folders. Check the Project Look Sharp website for more information.

USING THE KIT FOR A SURVEY COURSE

The kit includes nine chronological units from "The Birth of Campaigns" in 1800 to "Targeting

the Spin" in 2000-2008. Each of the nine units focuses on a theme that ties the role of the mass media and campaigning to key historic events of that time period. For instance, the unit "1952-64: The Advent of Television" explores the influence of TV on those elections while examining documents which deal with the Cold War, religion, gender and civil rights. Each unit includes an overview, election year handouts, a teacher guide and assessments.

STUDENT HANDOUTS

Each unit begins with a two page **Overview** of the themes of that unit. In addition, a one page **Election Year Handout** will give students the background information for analyzing the documents related to each election covered in that unit. These student handouts can be read silently or aloud in class or given for homework before classroom decoding of the documents. A few documents have **Additional Handouts** with lyrics for songs or text from articles or TV commercials. All student handouts are intended to be photocopied, one for each student or pair of students.

TEACHER GUIDES

Each document or document set in the kit includes a two or more page teacher guide for facilitating classroom analysis. Each document guide begins with Background Information intended to be communicated to the students before projecting or playing the document. This information typically gives an historical context to the document, makes a connection to the unit theme,

and provides essential knowledge for decoding. Background Information is followed by a prompt for the teacher to project the document (or play the audio or video clip). This is followed by Questions, then Suggested Answers and finally the Evidence in the document to substantiate those answers. A range of answers will be acceptable for most of the questions, although it is important that students give evidence in the document to explain their conclusions. Occasionally a question has only one right answer (e.g., “who created this poster?”) and students should learn to distinguish between objective and subjective questions. Further Questions are typically open-ended without suggested answers and evidence, and they can lead to broader concepts and discussions not specific to the information in that document. These questions often link to the Additional Info provided at the end of many document guides. Most documents conclude with Connections that refer to the *Thematic Listing*.

MAKING CONNECTIONS

It will be important for teachers to help students make the connections between history and contemporary realities, particularly when dealing with the earliest documents. The Connections list at the end of each document provides links to other documents in the kit that deal with similar themes. Teachers should consider using these documents to generate interest and make connections. For instance, before playing the song “The Hunters of Kentucky” (1828 doc.#2) the teacher could ask about contemporary political songs, or play the video of Brooks and Dunn performing at the Republican National Convention (2000 doc.#1a), and discuss the role of music in swaying emotions. The kit includes more than 20 documents from the 2000 and 2004 elections that can be used to make these connections. Teachers are also encouraged to use current examples from presidential primaries or election campaigns.

ASSESSMENTS

Two forms of assessments are included in the kit. At the end of each unit there is a two page Unit Assessment that includes a student handout with small images from 4 to 6 documents followed by a document-based essay question on the theme of the unit. A second page includes short-answer (scaffolding) questions for analysis of the documents used in the unit assessment. The teacher may choose to use only the short answer questions with the small image handout, use only the essay question and images, or use both the short answer and essay questions. The kit also includes Culminating Assessments that can be used to connect different units through common themes or to assess thematic units developed by the teacher. As an alternative to written assessments, the Unit Assessments and Culminating Assessments may be used for classroom discussion or presentations. The images used in each Unit Assessment are included in a PowerPoint slide show for classroom presentations, discussions or assessment review.

CREATING THEMATIC LESSONS

Although the kit takes a chronological approach to U.S. history, it has been designed to allow teachers to re-order the documents to deliver thematic units of their own design or those suggested in the *Thematic Listing*. These lists give suggestions of what documents to use in constructing lessons about historic media and campaign themes such as race, foreign policy, reaching voters, target audience and media bias. Information in the teacher guide for each document will support the teacher in crafting a thematic lesson. Thematic lesson essay questions and suggested document lists are included under Culminating Assessments.

Additional Document Lessons on the Web

This is the third edition of *Media Construction of Presidential Campaigns*. In order to accommodate new material covering the 2008 election, some lessons were omitted from the 2000 election (unit 9, "Targeting the Spin"). You can access and download all material from previous editions of the 2000 election as Additional Document Lessons on our website, www.projectlooksharp.org.

OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

COMPLETE DOCUMENT LIST

1800 THE BIRTH OF CAMPAIGNS

1800 doc. #1	Portrait of Thomas Jefferson	PowerPoint slide
1800 doc. #2	Portrait of John Adams	PowerPoint slide
1800 doc. #3 (Text on student handout)	<i>Connecticut Courant</i> Editorial	PowerPoint slide
1800 doc. #4 (Text on student handout)	Letter from Alexander Hamilton	PowerPoint slide
1800 doc. #5	"The Providential Detection" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1800 doc. #6	Jefferson Banner	PowerPoint slide

1828-1840: THE CAMPAIGN AS SPECTACLE

Election of 1828

1828 doc. #1	Jackson on His Way to Washington	PowerPoint slide
1828 doc. #2 (Lyrics on PowerPoint Slide and student handout)	"The Hunters of Kentucky" Song	Audio (1 min. 52 sec.)
1828 doc. #3	Coffin Handbill	PowerPoint slide
1828 doc. #4 (Lyrics on PowerPoint Slide and student handout)	"Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin' " Song	Audio (1 min. 23 sec.)

Election of 1832

1832 doc. #1a	"Aristocrat/Workingman" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1832 doc. #1b	Cartoon – Text Boxes	PowerPoint slide
1832 doc. #2a	King Andrew Handbill	PowerPoint slide
1832 doc. #2b (Text on student handout)	Handbill – Cut Up	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1840

1840 doc. #1	Quote from <i>Baltimore Republican</i>	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #2a	<i>The Log Cabin</i> Newspaper Banner	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #2b	Banner – Center Illustration	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #3	Whig Party Parade	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #4 (Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout)	"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song	Audio (1 min. 13 sec.)
1840 doc. #5a	Democratic-Republican Party Newspaper Ad	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #5b (Text from two sections on student handout)	Newspaper Ad – Bottom Illustrations	PowerPoint slide
1840 doc. #6 (Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout)	"Rock-A-Bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig" Song	Audio (1 min. 25 sec.)

1860-1872: SLAVERY, CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION**Election of 1860**

1860 doc. #1	Lincoln Douglas Debates Image (1858)	PowerPoint slide
1860 doc. #2	Lincoln Douglas Debate Headline (1858)	PowerPoint slide
1860 doc. #3	Lincoln/Hamlin Campaign Poster	PowerPoint slide
1860 doc. #4a	Douglas "Taking the Stump" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1860 doc. #4b	Cartoon – Text Boxes	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1864

1864 doc. #1 (Text on student handout)	Gettysburg Address	PowerPoint slide
1864 doc. #2a	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> on Gettysburg Address	PowerPoint slide
1864 doc. #2b	<i>Harrisburg Patriot & Union</i> on Gettysburg Address	PowerPoint slide
1864 doc. #2c	<i>Providence Journal</i> on Gettysburg Address	PowerPoint slide
1864 doc. #2d (Text on student handout)	<i>Chicago Times</i> on Gettysburg Address	PowerPoint slide
1864 doc. #3	"Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1868

1868 doc. #1	<i>Harper's Weekly</i> Cover, "The First Vote"	PowerPoint slide
1868 doc. #2	"White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1868 doc. #3	Democratic Parade Image	PowerPoint slide
1868 doc. #4	Grant "Let Us Have Peace" Emblem	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1872

1872 doc. #1	"Greeley and Tweed" Nast Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1872 doc. #2	Grant "The Working-Man's Banner"	PowerPoint slide

1896-1908: THE MODERN CAMPAIGN**Election of 1896**

1896 doc. #1 (Text from two sections on student handout)	Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1896 doc. #2	McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph	PowerPoint slide
1896 doc. #3 (Text from two sections on student handout)	McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1900

1900 doc. #1	Bryan "The Issue – 1900" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1900 doc. #2	McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1900 doc. #3	"McKinley and Millionaire Advisor" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1904

1904 doc. #1 (Text on student handout)	Parker "Jeffersonian Principles" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1904 doc. #2	Debs "Socialist Party" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1904 doc. #3	Roosevelt Photo and "Teddy's Teeth" Ad	PowerPoint slide
1904 doc. #4	Teddy Roosevelt "New Diplomacy" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1908

1908 doc. #1	"Taft-evelt" Poster and Photo of Taft & Roosevelt	PowerPoint slide
1908 doc. #2	Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard	PowerPoint slide
1908 doc. #3	Taft Haying Photograph	PowerPoint slide

1932-1944: THE PERSONAL PRESIDENCY**Election of 1932**

1932 doc. #1 (Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout)	"Happy Days Are Here Again" Song	Audio (2 min. 16 sec.)
1932 doc. #2	"The Girl I Love is a Democrat" Sheet Music	PowerPoint slide
1932 doc. #3	"Don't Change Now" Poster	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1936

1936 doc. #1	"Fireside Chat" Radio Clip	Audio (2 min. 35 sec.)
1936 doc. #2	"Makers of History" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide
1936 doc. #3	"An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1940

1940 doc. #1	FDR Poster and Willkie Sticker	PowerPoint slide
1940 doc. #2	Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1944

1944 doc. #1	"Our Friend" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1944 doc. #2 (Text on student handout)	FDR "Fala Speech"	PowerPoint slide
1944 doc. #3 (Text on student handout)	Dewey Response to "Fala Speech"	PowerPoint slide

1952-1964: THE ADVENT OF TELEVISION**Election of 1952**

1952 doc. #1	Nixon "Checkers" Speech	Video (43 sec.)
1952 doc. #2	Nixon Postcard	PowerPoint slide
1952 doc. #3	"Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial	Video (54 sec.)
1952 doc. #4	"Vote Stevenson" TV Commercial	Video (38 sec.)
1952 doc. #5	Stevenson Photo and Buttons from '56	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1956

1956 doc. #1a	Republican Comic Book – Both Pages	PowerPoint slide
1956 doc. #1b	Comic Book – Bottom of Left Page	PowerPoint slide
1956 doc. #1c	Comic Book – Bottom of Right Page	PowerPoint slide
1956 doc. #2	Democratic Convention Program Cover	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1960

1960 doc. #1a	Nixon-Kennedy Debate	Video (6 min. 45 sec.)
1960 doc. #1b	Reaction Shots – No Audio	Video (30 sec.)
1960 doc. #2	Kennedy Address to Ministerial Conference	Video (1 min. 2 sec.)
1960 doc. #3	Race Against Communism Broadside	PowerPoint slide

Election of 1964

1964 doc. #1	Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
1964 doc. #2	Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
1964 doc. #3	Campaign Button Collage	PowerPoint slide
1964 doc. #4	MFDP Televised Testimony	Video (1 min. 33 sec.)

1968-1972: A NATION IN CRISIS**Election of 1968**

1968 doc. #1	LBJ and Vietnam Poster	PowerPoint slide
1968 doc. #2 (Text on student handout)	Robert Kennedy with César Chávez Article	PowerPoint slide
1968 doc. #3	"Nixon's the One" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1968 doc. #4a	Humphrey "Some Talk Change" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1968 doc. #4b	Humphrey and Nixon Posters, Side by Side	PowerPoint slide
1968 doc. #5	Humphrey "Man on the Street" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
1968 doc. #6	Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial	Video (45 sec.)
1968 doc. #7	Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)

Election of 1972

1972 doc. #1	"Together with McGovern" Poster	PowerPoint slide
1972 doc. #2a	McGovern "Does a President Know..." TV Commercial	Video (45 sec.)
1972 doc. #2b	Nixon "McGovern Defense" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
1972 doc. #3	Photo of Campaign Workers with Brochures	PowerPoint slide
1972 doc. #4	"Landslide" Cartoon	PowerPoint slide

1984-1992: MASS MARKETING THE IMAGE**Election of 1984**

1984 doc. #1	<i>Time</i> Covers, Reagan "Man of the Year"	PowerPoint slide
1984 doc. #2	Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
1984 doc. #3	Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
1984 doc. #4 (Text on student handout)	<i>Time</i> Ferraro Interview	PowerPoint slide
1984 doc. #5	Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)

Election of 1988

1988 doc. #1a	<i>Newsweek</i> Cover, Jesse Jackson	PowerPoint slide
1988 doc. #1b	<i>Newsweek</i> Poll Results	PowerPoint slide
1988 doc. #2a	Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial – No Audio	Video (30 sec.)
1988 doc. #2b	Bush Commercial – With Audio	Video (30 sec.)
1988 doc. #3a	Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial – Edited	Video (25 sec.)
1988 doc. #3a	Dukakis Commercial – Full	Video (30 sec.)
1988 doc. #4a	Dukakis Tank Ride Photo	PowerPoint slide
1988 doc. #4b	Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)

Election of 1992

1992 doc. #1	Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial	Video (1 min. 30 sec.)
1992 doc. #2	Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
1992 doc. #3a	Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
1992 doc. #3b (Student handout and Teacher Answer Guide)	Clinton "Steady" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
1992 doc. #4	<i>Time</i> Cover, Clinton	PowerPoint slide
1992 doc. #5	<i>Campaigns & Elections</i> Cover	PowerPoint slide

2000-2008: TARGETING THE SPIN**Election of 2000**

2000 doc. #1a	Republican Convention Brooks & Dunn Music	Video (1 min. 30 sec.)
2000 doc. #1b	Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music	Video (1 min. 20 sec.)
2000 doc. #2a	Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film	Video (2 min. 30 sec.)
2000 doc. #2b	Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film	Video (2 min.)
2000 doc. #3a	Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2000 doc. #3b	Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2000 doc. #3c	Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2000 doc. #4a	<i>Newsweek</i> Gore with African American Women	PowerPoint slide
2000 doc. #4b	<i>Newsweek</i> Bush with Oprah	PowerPoint slide
2000 doc. #5	Gore-Bush 1 st Debate	Video (4 min.)
2000 doc. #6	<i>Saturday Night Live</i> Debate Skit	Video (4 min.)
2000 doc. #7	Gore and Bush Intro to <i>Saturday Night Live</i>	Video (1 min. 30 sec.)
2000 doc. #8	<i>Newsweek</i> Cover, "The Winner Is..."	PowerPoint slide

Election of 2004

2004 doc. #1 (Text on student handout)	Spin/Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads & Web Sites	
2004 doc. #2a	Howard Dean Iowa Speech	Video (33 sec.)
2004 doc. #2b	Excerpt from Howard Dean Iowa Speech (Audio only)	Audio-Only Video (8 sec.)
2004 doc. #3	MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2004 doc. #4	Swift Boat Veterans for Truth TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
2004 doc. #5	Photo Ops and Counter Ops	PowerPoint Slide
2004 doc. #6 (Text on student handout)	"Doonesbury" and "Boondocks" Comic Strips	
2004 doc. #7a	Kerry "Graduation" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2004 doc. #7b	Bush "Mi Familia" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
2004 doc. #8 (Text on student handout)	Bush and Kerry Web sites	

Election of 2008

2008 doc. #1a	John McCain Biographical Film	Video (3 min. 22 sec.)
2008 doc. #1b	Barack Obama Biographical Film	Video (3 min. 5 sec.)
2008 doc. #2a	Obama "Out of Touch" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #2b	McCain "Dome" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3a	Clinton "3am" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3b	Democratic Convention "100 Years" TV Commercial	Video (30 sec.)
2008 doc. #3c	Am. Issues Proj "Know Enough" TV Commercial	Video (1 min.)
2008 doc. #4a	Editorial Cartoon by Glenn McCoy	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4b	Editorial Cartoon by Mike Lester	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4c	Editorial Cartoon by Tom Toles	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4d	Editorial Cartoon by Steve Benson	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4e	Exurbanjon Poster	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4f	Editorial Cartoon by Daryl Cagle	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4g	Editorial Cartoon by Adam Zyglis	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #4h	Editorial Cartoon by Larry Wright	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5a	<i>Ebony</i> Magazine, March 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5b	<i>Asian Week</i> Magazine, Feb. 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5c	<i>Newsweek</i> Magazine, April 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5d	<i>Time</i> Magazine, April 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5e	<i>U.S. News and World Report</i> , Feb. 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5f	<i>AARP Bulletin</i> , December 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5g	<i>Rolling Stone</i> Magazine, March 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5h	<i>New Republic</i> Magazine, January 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #5i	<i>Essence</i> Magazine, September 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6a	Obama T-Shirt, Shepard Fairey graphic	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6b	YouTube Video, MoveOn.org, October 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6c	Advertising, Xbox 360, Burnout Paradise	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6d	Poster, Live Hip Hop Concert for Obama	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6e	E-mail, From Obama Campaign August 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6f	Phone Applications, July 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6g	Entertainment TV News, The Daily Show	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6h	Social Networking sites, Facebook page	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #6i	Website, President Elect- Obama	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #7a	Chain E-mail, Anonymous Jan. 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #7b	University Website, UPenn Jan. 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #7c	Political Blog, danielpipes.org April 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #7d	Campaign webpage, Fight the Smears June 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #7e	<i>The Washington Post</i> , Online news story June 2008	PowerPoint slide
2008 doc. #8	Cover, <i>New Yorker</i> Magazine July 2008	PowerPoint slide

OVERVIEW OF THE KIT

THEMATIC LISTING

Throughout this kit there are references to *Connections* (thematic categories) relating to groups of documents that share a similar theme, similar medium, or that can be used to explore a specific issue. There are 14 thematic categories, each containing a listing of specific documents found in this kit that can be used as a group to explore that theme or issue. In most cases there is information given in the Teacher Guide that specifically addresses the thematic connection (e.g., in the background information, additional info) which may help teachers craft lessons around these themes.

Media Bias: Documents produced by media sources (not by the campaigns themselves), including newspapers, magazines, news photos, radio and TV news, that can be used to specifically teach about media bias.

Reaching Voters: Documents illustrating ways that different types of media and campaign techniques have been used by candidates to reach voters.

Target Audience: Selected examples of documents targeting particular groups of people.

Race: Documents that present or critique racism, affirmative action, diversity, white people's fear about race, or people of color as leaders or target groups.

Class/Labor: Documents that include images and/or text that address issues of class conflict, labor, or socialism.

Foreign Policy: Documents that include issues of foreign policy.

Economic Issues: Documents that include economic issues, such as jobs or international trade.

Attack: Documents that attack a candidate (not including political cartoons—see separate category).

Fear: Documents using emotional appeals based on voters' fears for their safety, livelihood, or freedom.

"Hero": Documents presenting the candidate as a powerful, honored or heroic leader, often in a military context.

"Family Man": Documents referencing family, spouse or children.

"Commoner": Documents in which the candidate is constructed to appear like a common man, an "everyday Joe."

Music: Documents using music, primarily songs on audio CD, but also music from TV spots on video/DVD.

Cartoons: Political cartoons, typically attacking a candidate (not listed under the *Attack* theme).

MEDIA BIAS

All communication has some bias, which may be reflected in what information is chosen to be included and what will be left out, the way quotes are edited or taken out of context, the images that are selected and how they are cropped, etc. The following documents produced by media sources (not by the campaigns themselves), including newspapers, magazines, news photos, radio and TV news, are especially useful for teaching about media bias. A brief description is given after each document explaining the main bias-related issue or questions that could be asked about this document.

- 1800 #3:** *Connecticut Courant* Editorial
(partisan newspapers and editorial positions)
- 1840 #1:** Quote from *Baltimore Republican*
1840 #2: *The Log Cabin* Newspaper Banner
(partisan newspapers created by political parties)
- 1864 #1:** Gettysburg Address
(presidential speeches covered in newspapers, advantage to incumbent)
- 1864 #2:** (a) *Chicago Tribune* on Gettysburg Address
(b) *Harrisburg Patriot & Union* on Gettysburg Address
(c) *Providence Journal* on Gettysburg Address
(d) *Chicago Times* on Gettysburg Address
(comparing positions, partisan coverage)
- 1868 #1:** *Harper's Weekly* Cover, "The First Vote"
(news periodicals and editorial position)
- 1896 #2:** McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph
(photo op, inviting the media for personal visit)
- 1904 #3:** Roosevelt Photo and "Teddy's Teeth" Ad
(photo ops, newspaper coverage as editorial choice, advantage to incumbents)
- 1908 #3:** Taft Haying Photograph
(photo op, coverage as editorial choice)
- 1936 #1:** "Fireside Chat" Radio Clip
(radio bias – voice, power of the incumbent to command air time)
- 1944 #2:** FDR "Fala Speech"
1944 #3: Dewey Response to "Fala Speech"
(advantage of the incumbent to command free air time)
- 1960 #1:** Nixon-Kennedy Debate
(image bias of television)

- 1964 #4:** MFDP Televised Testimony
(presidential power to influence the media)
- 1968 #2:** Robert Kennedy with César Chávez
(fact vs. opinion, "objective journalism," editorial choices of what and how to cover a story)
- 1972 #3:** Photo of Campaign Workers with Brochures
(role of media in reinforcing stereotypes)
- 1984 #1:** *Time* Covers, Reagan "Man of the Year"
(editorial choices by news media to support or critique a candidate)
- 1984 #4:** *Time* Ferraro Interview
(framing/sexism, how the choice of interview questions determines the focus of the article)
- 1988 #1:** *Newsweek* Cover, Jesse Jackson
(gatekeeping/racism, media role in granting legitimacy (or not) to candidates)
- 1988 #3:** Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial
(role of the media in questioning false or misleading campaign commercials)
- 1992 #4:** *Time* Cover, Clinton (editorial choices by news media to support or critique a candidate)
- 2000 #4:** (a) *Newsweek* Gore with African American Women
(b) *Newsweek* Bush with Oprah
(what and who is covered, how they are covered)
- 2000 #5:** Gore-Bush 1st Debate
(who is invited to debates and how they are structured)
- 2000 #6:** *Saturday Night Live* Debate Skit
(exaggeration of candidates' characteristics and flaws)
- 2000 #8:** *Newsweek* Cover, "The Winner Is..."
(attempt by news media to be non-partisan)
- 2004 #1:** Spin/Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads & Web Sites
(spinning the story in media reports)
- 2004 #2:** Howard Dean Iowa Speech (exaggeration of candidate's characteristics)
- 2004 #5:** Photo Ops and Counter Ops
(changing the message with added cations, titles or words)
- 2008 #7:** "Is Obama a Muslim?" Web Sites

	<i>Connecticut Courant</i> Editorial	partisan newspaper
1800 #6:	Jefferson Banner	handmade banner
1828 #1:	Jackson on His Way to Washington	stagecoach speech
1828 #3:	Coffin Handbill	handbill
1832 #1:	"Aristocrat/Workingman" Cartoon	cartoon
1840 #3:	Whig Party Parade	parade
1840 #4:	"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song	song
1840 #5:	Democratic Republican Party Newspaper Ad	campaign biography
1860 #1:	Lincoln Douglas Debates Image (1858)	debate
1860 #3:	Lincoln/Hamlin Campaign Poster	poster
1864 #1:	Gettysburg Address	speech
1868 #1:	<i>Harper's Weekly</i> Cover, "The First Vote"	magazine cover
1896 #2:	McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph	photo-op
1904 #3:	Roosevelt Photo and "Teddy's Teeth" Ad	stumping
1908 #2:	Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard	postcard
1932 #1:	"Happy Days Are Here Again" Song	recorded music
1932 #2:	"The Girl I Love is a Democrat" Sheet Music	sheet music
1936 #1:	"Fireside Chat" Radio Clip	radio speech
1940 #2:	Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage	buttons
1952 #1:	Nixon "Checkers" Speech	TV speech
1952 #3:	"Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial	TV commercial
1956 #1:	Republican Comic Book	comic book
1956 #2:	Democratic National Convention Program Cover	convention
1960 #1:	Nixon-Kennedy Debate	TV debate
1964 #4:	MFDP Televised Testimony	TV news
1968 #2:	Robert Kennedy with César Chávez	newspaper article
1972 #3:	Photo of Campaign Workers with Brochures	leaflet
1984 #4:	<i>Time</i> Ferraro Interview	interview
1992 #5:	<i>Campaigns & Elections</i> Cover	micro-marketing
2000 #1:	(a) Republican Convention Brooks & Dunn Music (b) Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music	live music on TV
2000 #2:	(a) Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film (b) Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film	film biography
2000 #4b:	<i>Newsweek</i> Bush with Oprah	talk show
2000 #7:	Gore and Bush Intro to <i>Saturday Night Live</i>	comedy TV
2004 #2:	Howard Dean Iowa Speech	speech
2004 #3:	MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial	TV Commercial
2004 #5:	Photo Ops and Counter Ops	photo-op
2004 #8:	Bush and Kerry Web Sites	web site
2008 #6:	Obama "New Media"	texting, ringtones, Twitter

TARGET AUDIENCE

Selected examples of documents targeting particular groups of people.

Document	Target Audience
1832 #1: "Aristocrat/Workingman" Cartoon	skilled craftspeople
1840 #2: <i>The Log Cabin</i> Newspaper Banner	frontiersmen
1864 #3: "Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster	racist whites
1868 #2: "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon	anti-racists
1872 #2: Grant "The Working-Man's Banner" Poster	working class
1896 #2: McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph	immigrants
1896 #3: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster	white workers
1904 #2: Debs "Socialist Party" Poster	industrial laborers
1908 #3: Taft Haying Photograph	farmers
1944 #1: "Our Friend" Poster	soldiers & workers of all races
1956 #1: Republican Comic Book	women
1956 #2: Democratic Convention Program Cover	families
1960 #2: Kennedy Address to Ministerial Conference	Protestants
1968 #3: "Nixon's the One" Poster	youth
1968 #6: Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial	"the silent majority"
1968 #7: Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial	whites opposed to busing
1972 #1: "Together with McGovern" Poster	supporters of diversity
1984 #2: Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial	middle class whites
1988 #2: Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial	fearful voters
1992 #1: Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial	rural poor
2000 #1a: Republican Convention Brooks & Dunn Music	country music fans
2000 #1b: Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music	Grateful Dead fans
2000 #4: (a) <i>Newsweek</i> Bush with Oprah (b) <i>Newsweek</i> Gore with African American Women	African Americans
2000 #5: Gore-Bush 1st Debate	seniors
2004 #5: Photo Ops and Counter Ops	micro-marketing groups
2004 #7: Targeting Latinos TV Commercials	Latinos
2004 #8: Bush and Kerry Web Sites	religious voters conservative voters
2008 #5: Obama Magazine Covers	variety
2008 #6: Obama "New Media"	youth

RACE

Documents that present or critique racism, affirmative action, diversity, white people's fear about race, or people of color as leaders or target groups.

1864 #3:	"Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster
1868 #1:	<i>Harper's Weekly</i> Cover, "The First Vote"
1868 #2:	"White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
1904 #4:	Teddy Roosevelt "New Diplomacy" Cartoon
1964 #4:	MFDP Televised Testimony

- 1968 #7:** Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial
- 1972 #1:** "Together with McGovern" Poster
- 1988 #1:** *Newsweek* Cover, Jesse Jackson
- 1988 #2:** Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial
- 2000 #4:** (a) *Newsweek* Gore with African American Women
(b) *Newsweek* Bush with Oprah
- 2004 #7:** Targeting Latinos TV Commercials
- 2008 #5:** Obama Magazine Covers
- 2008 #8:** *New Yorker* cover and editorials

CLASS/LABOR

Documents that include images and/or text that address issues of class conflict, labor, or socialism. Although class and labor references appear from 1800 (anti-Jefferson) to 2000 (Nader), most are concentrated between 1896 and 1908.

- 1800 #3:** *Connecticut Courant* Editorial
- 1832 #1:** "Aristocrat/Workingman" Cartoon
- 1872 #2:** Grant "The Working-Man's Banner"
- 1896 #1:** Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster
- 1896 #3:** McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster
- 1900 #1:** Bryan "The Issue – 1900" Poster
- 1900 #3:** "McKinley and Millionaire Advisor" Cartoon
- 1904 #2:** Debs "Socialist Party" Poster
- 1908 #2:** Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard
- 1936 #3:** "An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon
- 1940 #2:** Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage
- 1944 #2:** FDR "Fala Speech"
- 1984 #3:** Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial
- 2000 #3c:** Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial

FOREIGN POLICY

Documents that include issues of foreign policy.

- 1800 #3:** *Connecticut Courant* Editorial
- 1800 #5:** "The Providential Detection" Cartoon
- 1896 #1:** Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster
- 1900 #1:** Bryan "The Issue – 1900" Poster
- 1900 #2:** McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
- 1904 #1:** Parker "Jeffersonian Principles" Poster
- 1904 #4:** Teddy Roosevelt "New Diplomacy" Cartoon
- 1960 #1:** Nixon-Kennedy Debate
- 1960 #3:** Race Against Communism Broadside
- 1964 #1:** Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial
- 1964 #2:** Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
- 1968 #1:** LBJ and Vietnam Poster
- 1972 #2:** (a) McGovern "Does a President Know..." TV Commercial
(b) Nixon "McGovern Defense" TV Commercial
- 1984 #5:** Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial
- 1988 #4b:** Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial

- 1992 #2:** Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial
2000 #3a: Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial
2004 #1: Spin/Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads & Web Sites

ECONOMIC ISSUES

Documents that include economic issues, such as jobs or international trade.

- 1896 #3:** McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster
1900 #1: Bryan "The Issue – 1900" Poster
1900 #2: McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
1936 #3: "An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon
1952 #3: "Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial
1960 #1: Nixon-Kennedy Debate
1984 #2: Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial
1984 #3: Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial
1992 #2: Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial
1992 #3: (a) Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial
 (b) Clinton "Steady" TV Commercial
2000 #3c: Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial
2000 #5: Gore-Bush 1st Debate
2004 #1: Spin/Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads & Web Sites
2004 #3: MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial
2008 #2: (a) Obama "Out of Touch" TV Commercial
 (b) McCain "Dome" TV Commercial

ATTACK

Documents that attack a candidate (not including political cartoon—see separate category).

- 1800 #3:** *Connecticut Courant* Editorial
1800 #4: Letter from Alexander Hamilton
1828 #3: Coffin Handbill
1832 #2: King Andrew Handbill
1840 #1: Quote from *Baltimore Republican*
1860 #2: Lincoln Douglas Debate Headline
1864 #2b: (b) *Harrisburg Patriot & Union* on Gettysburg Address
 (d) *Chicago Times* on Gettysburg Address
1864 #3: "Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster
1868 #2: "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
1900 #2: McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
1940 #2: Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage
1944 #2: FDR "Fala Speech"
1944 #3: Dewey Response to "Fala Speech"
1952 #5: Stevenson Photo and Buttons from '56
1964 #1: Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial
1964 #2: Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
1964 #3: Campaign Button Collage
1968 #1: LBJ and Vietnam Poster
1972 #2: (a) McGovern "Does a President Know..." TV Commercial

- (b) Nixon "McGovern Defense" TV Commercial
- 1984 #3:** Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial
- 1988 #2b:** Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial
- 1988 #3b:** Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial
- 1988 #4b:** Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial
- 1992 #3a:** Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial
- 1992 #4:** *Time* Cover, Clinton
- 2000 #3c:** Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial
- 2000 #5:** Gore-Bush 1st Debate
- 2000 #6:** *Saturday Night Live* Debate Skit
- 2000 #7:** Gore and Bush Intro to *Saturday Night Live*
- 2004 #1:** Spin/Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads & Web Sites
- 2004 #2:** Howard Dean Iowa Speech
- 2004 #3:** MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial
- 2004 #4:** Swift Boat Veterans for Truth TV Commercial
- 2004 #5:** Photo Ops and Counter Ops
- 2008 #3:** (a) Clinton "3AM" TV Commercial
(b) Democratic National Committee "100 years" TV Commercial
(c) American Issues Project "Know Enough" TV Commercial
- 2008 #4:** Clinton/ Palin Cartoons

FEAR

Documents using emotional appeals based on voters' fears for their safety, livelihood, or freedom.

- 1828 #4:** "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin' " Song
- 1864 #3:** "Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster
- 1868 #2:** "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
- 1900 #2:** McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
- 1964 #1:** Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial
- 1964 #2:** Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
- 1964 #3:** Campaign Button Collage
- 1968 #6:** Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial
- 1968 #7:** Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial
- 1984 #5:** Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial
- 1988 #2:** Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial
- 2000 #3a:** Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial
- 2008 #3:** (a) Clinton "3AM" TV Commercial
(b) Democratic National Committee "100 years" TV Commercial
(c) American Issues Project "Know Enough" TV Commercial

"HERO"

Documents presenting the candidate as a powerful, honored or heroic leader, often in a military context.

- 1828 #2:** "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song
- 1840 #3:** Whig Party Parade
- 1840 #5:** Democratic Republican Party Newspaper Ad
- 1868 #4:** Grant "Let Us Have Peace" Emblem
- 1896 #3:** McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster

- 1904 #3:** Roosevelt Photo and "Teddy's Teeth" Ad
- 1944 #1:** "Our Friend" Poster
- 1956 #1:** Republican Comic Book
- 1984 #1:** *Time* Cover, Reagan "Man of the Year"
- 2000 #2:** (a) Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film
(b) Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film
- 2004 #5:** Photo Ops and Counter Ops
- 2008 #1a:** Republican Convention McCain Biographical Film

"FAMILY MAN"

Documents presenting the candidate as someone with strong family ties and/or caring about families, spouse or children.

- 1896 #1:** Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster
- 1944 #1:** "Our Friend" Poster
- 1952 #1:** Nixon "Checkers" Speech
- 1952 #2:** Nixon Postcard
- 1952 #3:** "Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial
- 1956 #1:** Republican Comic Book
- 1956 #2:** Democratic Convention Program Cover
- 1964 #1:** Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial
- 1964 #2:** Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
- 1984 #2:** Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial
- 1984 #4:** *Time* Ferraro Interview
- 1992 #1:** Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial
- 2000 #2:** (a) Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film
(b) Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film
- 2000 #3b:** Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial

"COMMONER"

Documents in which the candidate is constructed to appear like a common man, an "everyday Joe."

- 1828 #2:** "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song
- 1840 #2:** *The Log Cabin* Newspaper Banner
- 1872 #2:** Grant "The Working-Man's Banner"
- 1908 #2:** Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard
- 1908 #3:** Taft Haying Photograph
- 1952 #1:** Nixon "Checkers" Speech
- 1952 #2:** Nixon Postcard
- 1952 #5:** Stevenson Photo and Buttons from '56

- 1972 #1:** "Together with McGovern" Poster
- 1992 #1:** Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial
- 2000 #2:** (a) Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film
(b) Democratic Convention Gore Biographical Film
- 2000 #3b:** Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial
- 2000 #7:** Gore and Bush Intro to *Saturday Night Live*
- 2004 #5:** Photo Ops and Counter Ops
- 2008 #1b:** Democratic Convention Obama Biographical Film

MUSIC

Documents using music, primarily songs on audio CD, but also music from TV spots on video/DVD.

- 1828 #2:** "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song
- 1828 #4:** "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin' " Song
- 1840 #4:** "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song
- 1840 #6:** "Rock-a-bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig" Song
- 1932 #1:** "Happy Days Are Here Again" Song
- 1952 #4:** "Vote Stevenson" TV Commercial
- 2000 #1:** (a) Republican Convention Brooks & Dunn Music
(b) Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music

CARTOONS

Political cartoons, typically attacking a candidate (not listed under the *Attack* theme).

- 1800 #5:** "The Providential Detection" Cartoon
- 1832 #1:** "Aristocrat/Workingman" Cartoon
- 1860 #4:** Douglas "Taking the Stump" Cartoon
- 1868 #2:** "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
- 1872 #1:** "Greeley and Tweed" Nast Cartoon
- 1900 #3:** "McKinley and Millionaire Advisor" Cartoon
- 1904 #4:** Teddy Roosevelt "New Diplomacy" Cartoon
- 1936 #2:** "Makers of History" Cartoon
- 1936 #3:** "An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon
- 1972 #4:** "Landslide" Cartoon
- 2004 #6:** "Doonesbury" and "Boondocks" Comic Strips
- 2008 #4:** Clinton/ Palin cartoons
- 2008 #8:** *New Yorker* cover and editorials

ELECTION TIMELINE							
YEAR	CURRENT PRESIDENT & VP	MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING (winner is underlined)	ELECTORATE	# of STATES	# of ELIGIBLE VOTERS	# VOTED	% PARTI- CIPATION
1789		<u>George Washington</u> , John Adams	Adult White Males (other requirements varied by state - most included owning property and/or paying taxes; this changed gradually as new states came into being and existing states changed their constitutions)	13	N/A (in most states the electors were picked by the state legislatures, so there was no popular vote)		
1792	George Washington (P) John Adams (VP)*	<u>George Washington</u> , John Adams		15			
1796	George Washington (P) John Adams (VP)*	John Adams (F), Thomas Jefferson (D-R), Thomas Pinckney (F), Aaron Burr (D-R)		16			
1800	John Adams (P) Thomas Jefferson (VP)*	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u> (D-R), Aaron Burr (D-R), John Adams (F), C.C. Pinckney (F)		16			
1804	Thomas Jefferson (P) Aaron Burr (VP)*	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u> (D-R), C.C. Pinckney (F)		17			
1808	Thomas Jefferson (P) George Clinton (VP)	<u>James Madison</u> (D-R), C.C. Pinckney (F)		17			
1812	James Madison (P) George Clinton (VP)	<u>James Madison</u> (D-R), DeWitt Clinton (F)		18			
1816	James Madison (P) Elbridge Gerry (VP)	<u>James Monroe</u> (D-R), Rufus King (F)		19			
1820	James Monroe (P) Daniel Tompkins (VP)	<u>James Monroe</u> (D-R), John Quincy Adams (D-R)		23			
1824	James Monroe (P) Daniel Tompkins (VP)	<u>John Q. Adams</u> (D-R), Andrew Jackson (D-R), William Crawford (D-R), Henry Clay (D-R)	Adult White Males	24	1,324,886	356,394	26.9
1828	John Q. Adams (P) John C. Calhoun (VP)	Andrew Jackson (D), John Quincy Adams (Natl. R)	Adult White Males	24	2,005,816	1,155,350	57.6
1832	Andrew Jackson (P) John C. Calhoun (VP)	Andrew Jackson (D), Henry Clay (Natl. R), John Floyd (I), William Wirt (O)	Adult White Males	24	2,257,760	1,250,799	55.4
1836	Andrew Jackson (P) Martin Van Buren (VP)	<u>Martin Van Buren</u> (D), William H. Harrison (W), Hugh White (W), Daniel Webster (W)	Adult White Males	25	2,604,287	1,505,278	57.8
1840	Martin Van Buren (P) Richard M. Johnson (VP)	<u>William H. Harrison</u> (W), Martin Van Buren (D)	Adult White Males	26	3,004,332	2,409,474	80.2
D = Democratic R = Republican F = Federalist W = Whig I = Independent P = Progressive S = Socialist O = Other							

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ELECTION TIMELINE

YEAR	CURRENT PRESIDENT & VP	MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING <small>(winner is underlined)</small>	ELECTORATE	# of STATES	# of ELIGIBLE VOTERS	# VOTED	% PARTI- CIPATION
1844	John Tyler (P) [after Harrison's death, 1841]	James K. Polk (D), Henry Clay (W)	Adult White Males	26	3,431,844	2,700,861	78.7
1848	James K. Polk (P) George M. Dallas (VP)	Zachary Taylor (W), Lewis Cass (D)	Adult White Males	30	3,954,019	2,874,572	72.7
1852	Millard Fillmore [after Taylor's death, 1850]	Franklin Pierce (D), Winfield Scott (W)	Adult White Males	31	4,514,935	3,142,395	69.6
1856	Franklin Pierce (P) William R. King (VP)	James Buchanan (D), John C. Fremont (R), Millard Fillmore (O)	Adult White Males	31	5,126,259	4,044,618	78.9
1860	James Buchanan (P) John Breckenridge (VP)	Abraham Lincoln (R), Stephen Douglas (D), John Breckenridge (D), John Bell (O)	Adult White Males	33	5,775,330	4,689,568	81.2
1864	Abraham Lincoln (P) Hannibal Hamlin (VP)	Abraham Lincoln (R), George B. McClellan (D)	Adult White Males	36**	5,445,653**	4,018,892**	73.8**
1868	Andrew Johnson (P) [after Lincoln's death, 1865]	Ulysses S. Grant (R), Horatio Seymour (D)	Adult White Males	37	7,318,927	5,716,082	78.1
1872	Ulysses S. Grant (P) Schuyler Colfax (VP)	Ulysses S. Grant (R), Horace Greeley (D & Liberal R)	Adult Males***	37	9,065,322	6,463,575	71.3
1876	Ulysses S. Grant (P) Henry Wilson (VP)	Rutherford B. Hayes (R), Samuel J. Tilden (D)	Adult Males***	38	10,294,742	8,421,098	81.8
1880	Rutherford B. Hayes (P) William Wheeler (VP)	James A. Garfield (R), Winfield Hancock (D)	Adult Males***	38	11,602,766	9,212,598	79.4
1884	Chester A. Arthur (P) [after Garfield's death, 1881]	Grover Cleveland (D), James Blaine (R)	Adult Males***	38	12,979,240	10,058,911	77.5
1888	Grover Cleveland (P) Thomas Hendricks (VP)	Benjamin Harrison (R), Grover Cleveland (D)	Adult Males***	38	14,348,518	11,378,375	79.3
1892	Benjamin Harrison (P) Levi P. Morton (VP)	Grover Cleveland (D), Benjamin Harrison (R), James Weaver (O)	Adult Males***	44	16,149,370	12,063,579	74.7
D = Democratic R = Republican F = Federalist W = Whig I = Independent P = Progressive S = Socialist O = Other							

ELECTION TIMELINE							
YEAR	CURRENT PRESIDENT & VP	MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING (winner is underlined)	ELECTORATE	# of STATES	# of ELIGIBLE VOTERS	# VOTED	% PARTI- CIPATION
1896	Grover Cleveland (P) Adlai E. Stevenson (VP)	<u>William McKinley</u> (R), William Jennings Bryan (D-People's)	Adult Males***	45	17,368,196	13,772,979	79.3
1900	William McKinley (P) Garret Hobart (VP)	<u>William McKinley</u> (R), William Jennings Bryan (D-Populist)	Adult Males***	45	19,066,732	13,956,847	73.2
1904	Theodore Roosevelt [after McKinley's death, 1901]	<u>Theodore Roosevelt</u> (R), Alton Barker (D), Eugene V. Debs (S)	Adult Males***	45	20,403,725	13,303,228	65.2
1908	Theodore Roosevelt (P) Charles Fairbanks (VP)	<u>William H. Taft</u> (R), William Jennings Bryan (D), Eugene V. Debs (S)	Adult Males***	46	22,752,286	14,879,995	65.4
1912	William H. Taft (P) James Sherman (VP)	<u>Woodrow Wilson</u> (D), Theodore Roosevelt (P), William H. Taft (R), Eugene V. Debs (S)	Adult Males***	48	25,551,027	15,024,004	58.8
1916	Woodrow Wilson (P) Thomas Marshall (VP)	<u>Woodrow Wilson</u> (D), Charles Hughes (R), A.L. Benson (S)	Adult Males***	48	29,991,291	18,474,636	61.6
1920	Woodrow Wilson (P) Thomas Marshall (VP)	<u>Warren G. Harding</u> (R), James Cox (D), Eugene V. Debs (S)	Adults (21+)*	48	54,378,945	26,754,440	49.2
1924	Calvin Coolidge (P) [after Harding's death, 1923]	<u>Calvin Coolidge</u> (R), John Davis (D), Robert LaFollette (P)	Adults (21+)	48	59,527,667	29,109,029	48.9
1928	Calvin Coolidge (P) Charles Dawes (VP)	<u>Herbert Hoover</u> (R), Alfred E. Smith (D), Norman Thomas (S)	Adults (21+)	48	64,585,514	36,749,157	56.9
1932	Herbert Hoover (P) Charles Curtis (VP)	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u> (D), Herbert Hoover (R), Norman Thomas (S)	Adults (21+)	48	69,848,604	39,743,856	56.9
1936	Franklin D. Roosevelt (P) John Nance Garner (VP)	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u> (D), Alfred M. Landon (R), William Lemke (O)	Adults (21+)	48	74,883,756	45,679,092	61.0
1940	Franklin D. Roosevelt (P) John Nance Garner (VP)	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u> (D), Wendell Willkie (R)	Adults (21+)	48	79,597,362	49,748,351	62.5
1944	Franklin D. Roosevelt (P) Henry A. Wallace (VP)	<u>Franklin D. Roosevelt</u> (D), Thomas E. Dewey (R)	Adults (21+)	48	85,595,759	47,848,029	55.9
<div> <div>D = Democratic</div> <div>R = Republican</div> <div>F = Federalist</div> <div>W = Whig</div> <div>I = Independent</div> <div>P = Progressive</div> <div>S = Socialist</div> <div>O = Other</div> </div>							

ELECTION TIMELINE

YEAR	CURRENT PRESIDENT & VP	MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING <small>(winner is underlined)</small>	ELECTORATE	# of STATES	# of ELIGIBLE VOTERS	# VOTED	% PARTI- CIPATION
1948	Harry S Truman (P) <small>[after Roosevelt's death, 1945]</small>	Harry S Truman (D), Thomas E. Dewey (R), J. Strom Thurmond (O), Henry A. Wallace (P)	Adults (21+)	48	91,871,966	48,692,142	53.0
1952	Harry S Truman (P) Alben Barkley (VP)	<u>Dwight D. Eisenhower</u> (R), Adlai Stevenson (D)	Adults (21+)	48	97,249,666	61,559,039	63.3
1956	Dwight D. Eisenhower (P) Richard M. Nixon (VP)	<u>Dwight D. Eisenhower</u> (R), Adlai Stevenson (D)	Adults (21+)	48	101,970,078	61,793,868	60.6
1960	Dwight D. Eisenhower (P) Richard M. Nixon (VP)	<u>John F. Kennedy</u> (D), Richard M. Nixon (R)	Adults (21+)	50	109,361,524	68,679,037	62.8
1964	Lyndon B. Johnson (P) <small>[after Kennedy's death, 1963]</small>	<u>Lyndon B. Johnson</u> (D), Barry Goldwater (R)	Adults (21+)	50****	114,401,374	70,505,647	61.7
1968	Lyndon B. Johnson (P) Hubert Humphrey (VP)	<u>Richard M. Nixon</u> (R), Hubert Humphrey (D), George Wallace (O)	Adults (21+)	50****	120,857,871	73,239,870	60.6
1972	Richard M. Nixon (P) Spiro T. Agnew (VP)	<u>Richard M. Nixon</u> (R), George McGovern (D)	18+	50****	140,832,621	77,739,606	55.2
1976	Gerald Ford (P) <small>[after Nixon's resignation, 1974]</small> Nelson B. Rockefeller (VP)	<u>Jimmy Carter</u> (D), Gerald Ford (R)	18+	50****	152,433,007	81,551,659	53.5
1980	Jimmy Carter (P) Walter Mondale (VP)	<u>Ronald Reagan</u> (R), Jimmy Carter (D), John B. Anderson (I)	18+	50****	164,535,774	86,545,817	52.6
1984	Ronald Reagan (P) George H.W. Bush (VP)	<u>Ronald Reagan</u> (R), Walter Mondale (D)	18+	50****	172,668,405	92,032,260	53.3
1988	Ronald Reagan (P) George H.W. Bush (VP)	<u>George H.W. Bush</u> (R), Michael Dukakis (D)	18+	50****	177,216,834	88,962,851	50.2
1992	George H.W. Bush (P) Dan Quayle (VP)	<u>Bill Clinton</u> (D), George H.W. Bush (R), Ross Perot (O)	18+	50****	187,920,196	103,731,948	55.2

D = Democratic **R** = Republican **F** = Federalist **W** = Whig **I** = Independent **P** = Progressive **S** = Socialist **O** = Other

ELECTION TIMELINE							
YEAR	CURRENT PRESIDENT & VP	MAJOR CANDIDATES RUNNING (winner is underlined)	ELECTORATE	# of STATES	# of ELIGIBLE VOTERS	# VOTED	% PARTI- CIPATION
1996	Bill Clinton (P) Al Gore (VP)	Bill Clinton (D), Bob Dole (R), Ross Perot (O)	18+	50****	196,374,539	96,223,524	49.0
2000	Bill Clinton (P) Al Gore (VP)	<u>George W. Bush</u> (R), Al Gore (D), Ralph Nader (O)	18+	50****	194,331,436	105,375,486	54.2
2004	George W. Bush (P) Dick Cheney (VP)	<u>George W. Bush</u> (R), John Kerry (D)	18+	50****	202,674,771	112,294,978	60.3
2008	George W. Bush (P) Dick Cheney (VP)	<u>Barack Obama</u> (D), John McCain (R)	18+	50****	212,702,354	131,304,731	61.7
<p>* until the passage of the 12th Amendment in 1804, the VP was the individual with the second highest number of electoral votes;</p> <p>** in the election of 1864, election figures refer only to voting in the Union (northern) States</p> <p>*** the 15th Amendment, passed in 1870, granted the right to vote to "all citizens...[regardless of] race, color, or condition of previous servitude"; Native Americans, however, were not considered "citizens" until the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924, and even after that some states prohibited them from voting until the 1940s.</p> <p>****beginning in 1963, the District of Columbia was also granted the right to vote for U.S. President and Vice President with the passage of the 23rd amendment; it has 3 electoral votes</p> <p>Source for 1800-1996 Elections: Alan Brinkley, <i>American History: A Survey</i> (11th Ed.), Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2004. Voting figures from Federal Election Commission, using voting age population (VAP) and total turnout</p> <p>Source of Voting Figures for the 2000-2008 Elections: United States Elections Project, George Mason University, http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout.html, using voting eligible population (VEP), vote for highest office, and VEP highest office turnout rate.</p>							
<p>D = Democratic R = Republican F = Federalist W = Whig I = Independent P = Progressive S = Socialist O = Other</p>							

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)

YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
Prior to 1796	Direct mail 1789 Bill of Rights establishes freedom of the press 1793 Invention of the cotton gin	Memorabilia (ribbons, images on china) Posters & banners Paintings & drawings Painted portraits	Handbills, pamphlets & books Printed political cartoons (woodcuts or engravings) 1787-88 <i>Federalist Papers</i> first published as newspaper editorials	Political songs & sheet music
1796	1796 Invention of lithography (made printmaking quick & easy) 1798 Passage of the Sedition Act	1796 Metal tokens	1787-95 Most newspapers partisan weeklies 1796 Thomas Paine's <i>The Age of Reason</i> 1798-1800 Increase from 51 to 83 Democratic-Republican newspapers	
1800		1800 Hats with twigs, bucktails or cockades		
1804	1807 Launching of first steamboat	1804 Ceramic pitchers with candidate's likeness		
1808		1808 Inlaid Sheffield razors with political slogans		
1812				1814 Francis Scott Key writes "The Star Spangled Banner"
1816	1817 Begin construction of the Erie Canal		1814 First photographic image (camera obscura)	
1820s-1830s	Development of canal system			
1824	1824 Erie Canal completed 1825 First railroad in the U.S.	1824 Metal lucky tokens, bandanas, snuff boxes, thread boxes & combs supporting Jackson	1825 First published campaign biography (Andrew Jackson) 1826 <i>United States Telegraph</i> newspaper (supporting Jackson) 1827 First African American newspaper, <i>Freedom's Journal</i> 1828 Webster's <i>American Dictionary of the English Language</i> published	1824 Ludlow's "The Hunters of Kentucky" song published celebrating Jackson's victory at New Orleans
1828	1828-31 Price of paper falls 1829 Invention of the typewriter early 1830s First use of steam-powered cylinder press in the U.S.	1828 Hickory Sticks become first symbol used to represent a presidential candidate (Jackson)		
1832			1833 "Penny Press" begins with publication of <i>The New York Sun</i> 1835 de Tocqueville publishes <i>Democracy in America</i> 1837 First fixed photographic image that didn't fade (daguerreotype)	
1836		1837 Satirical paper banknotes & copper medalets mocking Jackson		
1840		1840 Log Cabin imagery on a wide range of memorabilia 1840 Pull cards 1840 Whig "Rolling Ball" 1840 Parade flags & standards	1841 Horace Greeley starts <i>The New York Tribune</i>	
1844	1844 Wood pulp paper invented (vastly reduces cost of newspapers) 1844 Invention of the telegraph		1847 Frederick Douglass publishes <i>The North Star</i> in Rochester, NY (rise of abolitionist press)	

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)				
YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1848	1846 Rotary press invented (for rapid printing of newspapers) 1850s Rise of railroads (miles of track triples in 10 years)		1848 Associated Press formed in NY 1851 <i>The Nation</i> (oldest still publishing magazine) 1851 <i>The New York Times</i> founded 1852 <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> published 1853 First news photograph (daguerreotype)	
1852				
1856	1856 Western Union begins	1856 Ferrotypes & cardboard photos on brass tokens or pins	1857 <i>Harper's Weekly</i>	
1860	1861 First U.S. transcontinental telegraph	1860 Split rail imagery on a wide range of memorabilia (Lincoln) 1860 Torchlight parades	1860 First use of engravings from photographs on political ribbons & prints 1861 First Thomas Nast political cartoons 1863-65 Civil War photographs	
1864	1866 Transcontinental telegraph cable			
1868	1869 Transcontinental railroad completed			
1872			1869 First "dime" novels 1870 Begin explosion of newspaper circulation (increases 900% by 1910) 1873 First color photographs	
1876	1876 Invention of telephone 1876 Invention of celluloid 1877 Invention of the phonograph 1878 Invention of dry plate photography 1879 Invention of incandescent light bulb			
1880	1880 NYC streets lit by electricity 1882 First electric-power station (NYC) 1883 Half-tone screen invented (for mass reproduction of images) 1884 Invention of Nipkow scanning disk (earliest form of television)	1880 First use of gaudy lapel studs with candidate's picture	1880 First articles about possibility of television published in <i>Scientific American</i>	
1884			1884 <i>Huckleberry Finn</i> published	
1888	1888 Invention of the kinetoscope (first moving pictures)	1888 "Turkey red" bandanas (Grover Cleveland campaign)	1888 Invention of Kodak box camera with transparent celluloid film	late 1880s First peep shows & nickelodeons
1892	1891 First wireless telegraphy 1895 Marconi invents radio telegraphy	1892 Candidate images on thread, pincushions, trivets	1890s-early 1900s Muckrakers expose corporate & manufacturing scandals	

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)

YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1896	1896 First “whistle-stop” campaign (William Jennings Bryan) 1896 Tabulating Machine Company (later becomes IBM) 1899 Invention of magnetic tape recorder 1900 First transmission of human speech via radio waves 1902 Invention of photoelectric scanning for image transfer 1902-03 Invention of the vacuum tube (wireless sound) 1903 First airplane flight (Wright brothers at Kitty Hawk) 1906 Ford produces first automobiles 1906 First “offset” presses built	1896 Memorabilia in gold & silver 1896 First celluloid pin back campaign buttons 1896 Placards on moveable wheels early 1900s Stereographic 3-D cards and “lantern slides” 1900 First penny postcards used for political purposes 1903 First Teddy Bears (named after Pres. Theodore Roosevelt) 1904 Teddy Bear imagery on a wide range of memorabilia 1908 Political watchfobs	1890s cheap color newspaper, “yellow journalism” 1897 First published photographs in newspapers (<i>New York Tribune</i>) 1897 <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> begins 1898 First photographs taken with artificial light 1900 First mass marketed Browning cameras	1894 Invention of motion picture camera 1896 Edison develops vitascope movies (shown on large screen with musical accompaniment) 1897 First newsreels shown
1900				
1904			1907 Introduction of Autochrome color photography 1907 First daily comic strip (“Mr. Mutt”)	1906 First radio program broadcast by Reginald Fessenden 1907 Lee De Forest becomes the first DJ (broadcasts from lower Manhattan)
1908				
1912	1912 Titanic sinks, reported by ship to shore radio telegraphy 1914 Federal Trade Commission began (regulating false advertising) 1914 First assembly line production (Ford)		1913-14 First 35 mm cameras	1915 <i>Birth of a Nation</i> (3 hour film) (beginning of modern movie industry) 1916 First political polls by <i>Literary Digest</i> 1919 RCA formed 1919 <i>New York Illustrated Daily News</i> (first tabloid newspaper in the U.S.) 1919 Creation of United Artists (first film studio) 1920 First radio station (KDKA) begins broadcasting in Pittsburgh
1916				
1920	1920s Technologies to improve train & air travel: radial engine, pressurized cabins, diesel-electric engine, electronics, plastics 1920s Rise of electric appliances (refrigerators, washing machines, irons, vacuum cleaners) which revolutionizing housework 1922 Motion Picture Association (first regulation of film industry) 1922 First Pulitzer prize for a	1920 First mass produced lithographed tin buttons 1920 Political decals for car windows 1920 Electric glass window signs	1920s Rise of wire services, so nationally syndicated stories 1920s Newspapers begin being absorbed into national chains	1920 First radio broadcast of results of a presidential election 1920s-1930s Rise of jazz and dance halls, Harlem Renaissance 1921 <i>Reader’s Digest</i> 1922 First commercial on radio

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)

YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1924	political cartoon 1923 National Association of Broadcasters mid-1920s Advertising “comes of age” mid-1920s Proliferation of telephones 1924 IBM formed 1927 Federal Radio Act	1924 License plate attachments	1923 <i>Time</i> magazine 1925 <i>The New Yorker</i> 1927 Invention of modern flashbulb	1923 First weekly radio commentaries 1927 First national radio network (NBC) 1927 First feature-length motion picture with sound (<i>The Jazz Singer</i>) 1927 First experimental broadcasts of TV late 1920s Cartoon shorts in movie theaters 1929 “Happy Days are Here Again” published 1930 Almost every home has radio 1930 First daily 15-minute radio newscast 1932 Breaking news story on radio, interrupting regularly scheduled programming (Lindbergh baby) 1933 First radio “Fireside Chat” by Roosevelt mid-1930s First radio soap operas 1937 Live radio broadcast of the Hindenburgh disaster 1937 First feature-length animated film (<i>Snow White</i>) 1938 Orson Welles radio broadcast of “War of the Worlds” 1938 First regular daily newscast on radio (“World Today”) 1938 First radio quiz shows 1939 Television broadcasts from the New York World’s Fair 1939 FDR is first president shown on TV 1939-1945 Live broadcasts of the war by Edward R. Murrow late 1930s First films in color 1941 First commercial television broadcast
1928	early 1930s Earliest analog computer developed			
1932	1934 Federal Communications Act (regulating radio, TV, telephones & telegraph)	1932 Oilcloth covers for spare tires with political messages & images	1933 <i>Newsweek</i> magazine	
1936	late 1930s Rural electrification program (part of New Deal) late 1930s Rural road construction (allows timely delivery of newspapers)		1935 First comic books 1936 <i>Life</i> magazine	
1940	1941 FCC Mayflower Doctrine (broadcasters can’t be advocates) 1942 Office of War Information established by Roosevelt to coordinate propaganda and information services 1942 War Advertising Council established to raise money for the war effort using popular stars	1940 First political billboards		

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)

YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1944	1946 First mainframe computer invented			1945 Radio networks banned advertising for 4 days during coverage of President Roosevelt's death
1948	1948-1955 Begin decline of passenger trains 1948 Last whistle stop campaign (Truman) early 1950s Rise of suburbs leads to huge increase in cars 1950 Invention of color television		1948 First Polaroid instant cameras	1948 4 commercial TV networks 1948 TV received in only 47 cities 1948 First televised conventions
1952	1952 First computerized election predictions	1952 Wide range of memorabilia in political campaigns (stickers, handkerchiefs, matchbooks, etc.)		1952 <i>Today</i> show begins 1952-1956 Begin decline in radio use 1952-1954 Number of TV stations grow from 108 to 356 in 2 years 1952 First political TV commercials 1952 First 30 minute paid political messages 1952 Nixon's "Checkers" speech 1954 Army-McCarthy hearings on <i>See It Now</i>
1956	1956-1962 Begin construction of interstate highways	1956 First bumper stickers used for political campaigns		1960 Almost 90% of homes have TV sets 1960 First televised presidential debates
1960	1956-1960 Increased commercial air travel 1962 First transatlantic satellite transmissions			1963 Evening news expands from 15 to 30 minutes 1963 End of newsreels in theaters
1964	1965 Launch of first commercial communications satellite 1967 First handheld calculator 1967 Public Broadcasting Act	1964 Cowboy hats used to support LBJ		1963 3-day TV coverage of Kennedy assassination and funeral 1964 Most TV broadcasts in color 1964 First televised war coverage (on film, delayed)
1968	1969-83 Internet begins as ARPANET early 1970s Invention of the VCR 1971 Invention of the microprocessor 1971 Federal Election Campaign Act	late 1960s First T-shirts with peace signs & anti-war messages	1969 <i>The Selling of the President 1968</i> published 1970 First <i>Doonesbury</i> political cartoons	1968 <i>60 Minutes</i> begins on CBS 1968 TV coverage of riots outside the Democratic Convention in Chicago 1968 Presidential candidate Nixon appears on <i>Laugh-In</i> 1969 Apollo 11 transmits live TV pictures from the moon 1969 PBS begins broadcasting

46

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)

YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1972	1972 First television-based home computer games 1975 First fiber-optics transmissions	1971-72 First T-shirts for presidential candidates	1972 <i>The Washington Post</i> uncovers Watergate Scandal	1971 National Public Radio begins 1972 HBO (first subscription cable channel) 1973-4 TV coverage of the Watergate hearings 1974 <i>All the President's Men</i> published 1974 Nixon announces resignation in live TV speech 1975 <i>Good Morning America</i> begins 1975 <i>Star Wars</i> coins term "Evil Empire" 1975 <i>Saturday Night Live</i> debuts 1979 C-SPAN cable network begins
1976	late 1970s Rise of Political Action Committees (PACs) 1977 First affordable personal computers (by Apple & Commodore) 1979 Invention of the mobile cellular phone 1980 Michael Deaver named "Ad Man of the Year" for Reagan campaign			
1980	1980 First supermarket scanners in use 1981 First laptop computers 1982 Compact Disk invented 1983 Begin commercial & popular use of the Internet (e.g., e-mail) 1984 Apple MacIntosh 1985 Microsoft Windows 1986 Nintendo Video Games 1986 FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting) founded 1987 Reagan suspends the Fairness Doctrine (requiring equal time for controversial issues)	1980s Rise in use of political yard (lawn) signs 1984 Hugely popular buttons supporting Geraldine Ferraro (first female VP candidate from a major party)	early 1980s First digital manipulation of photographs 1982 <i>USA Today</i> begins publishing	1980 Cable News Network (CNN) begins 1981 MTV begins broadcasting 1981 Televised release of American hostages from Iran 1983 <i>Frontline</i> debuts on PBS 1986 Iran-Contra hearings on TV
1984				
1988	1988 Children's Television Act passed regulating children's TV (vetoed) 1988 Begin to use focus groups/dial groups to judge responses to political speeches 1990 Children's Television Act, revised, passed by Congress early 1990s First Direct Satellite dish broadcasts		1991 First professional digital camera systems (for photojournalists)	1988 Rush Limbaugh TV show debuts 1988 Fox Channel debuts (first new successful broadcast network since 1940s) 1989 Berlin Wall torn down, covered by live television 1991 Desert Storm bombing of Baghdad broadcast live by CNN 1991 Rodney King beating by police officers shown on <i>Today</i> show
1992	1992-1998 Media begin "Ad Watches" judging accuracy of political ads 1993 World Wide Web created			1992 First town-hall meeting style presidential debate 1995 O.J. Simpson trial broadcast live &

U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)				
YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
1996	<p>1993 First Palm Pilots introduced</p> <p>1993 First search engines</p> <p>1998-2000 Media highlight Y2K fears</p> <p>1998 Google debuts online</p> <p>1999 MP3 makes music downloads possible</p> <p>1999 First weblogs (start of "blogging")</p>		<p>1997 Newseum founded, first National Museum devoted to news</p>	<p>aftermath (riots, looting in Los Angeles)</p> <p>1996 <i>The O'Reilly Factor</i> debuts on Fox</p> <p>1996 MSNBC debuts</p> <p>1997 Introduction of DVDs</p> <p>1998 Digital TV broadcasting begins</p> <p>1998-99 Coverage of Monica Lewinsky scandal & Clinton impeachment trial</p> <p>1999 <i>The West Wing</i> debuts on NBC</p> <p>2000 Major networks erroneously announce Gore elected president</p>
2000	<p>2000-04 Micromarketing increases</p> <p>2001 Wikipedia (free online open-source encyclopedia) begins</p> <p>2001 First wireless laptop</p> <p>2002 TiVO digital recording system</p> <p>2002 Free Press founded by Robert McChesney & Josh Silver</p> <p>2002 First use of term "blog" for online journals or "web logs"</p> <p>2002-10 Rise of video and news on the web</p> <p>2003 FCC votes to reduce limits on media consolidation</p> <p>2003 Annenberg Public Policy Center launches FactCheck.org</p> <p>2003 MySpace debuts</p> <p>2003-05 Rise of "blogging"</p>		<p>2003 Jayson Blair/New York Times scandal</p>	<p>2001 Live coverage of War in Afghanistan</p> <p>2001-04 Rise of <i>Clear Channel</i> radio network</p> <p>2002 <i>NOW with Bill Moyers</i> debuts on PBS</p> <p>2002 <i>American Idol</i> debuts in U.S. with public input/voting</p> <p>2003 Live coverage of War in Iraq with "embedded" reporters</p> <p>2003-04 Al Jazeera broadcasts Saddam Hussein statements</p> <p>2003-06 Increased distribution of <i>Democracy Now</i> liberal radio program through Pacifica Radio</p> <p>2003-06 Rise of political commentary TV shows like <i>The O'Reilly Factor</i> (Fox News) and <i>The Daily Show</i> (Comedy Central)</p> <p>2004 Film <i>Fahrenheit 9/11</i> debuts</p> <p>2004 "Rathergate" CBS scandal (G.W. Bush's military record)</p> <p>2004 Term "podcasting" first used for Internet delivery of radio-style content</p>
2004	<p>2004 1.5 billion cellphones worldwide</p> <p>2005 Internet use has exploded; 40% of U.S. adults go online daily</p>		<p>2004-05 Most newspapers and magazines have internet versions</p> <p>2004-10 Huge loss of advertising revenue for print media</p>	

48 U.S. MEDIA LANDSCAPE TIMELINE (selected events and innovations)				
YEAR	Transportation, Communications, & Digital Technology	Memorabilia, Portraits, Buttons, Banners, & Signs	Print Material, Photography, Newspapers & Magazines	Music, Film, Radio & Television
2008	<p>2005 Facebook debuts</p> <p>2005-06 Bush administration accesses American's phone records without warrants</p> <p>2006 Organizations like MoveOn.org use cellphones and iPods to organize huge protests</p> <p>2006 YouTube bought by Google</p> <p>2007 First iPhone</p> <p>2008 Facebook overtakes MySpace as most popular social networking site</p> <p>2008 Obama campaign announces Vice-Presidential candidate via text messages to press and supporters</p> <p>2008 Majority of U.S. advertisers promote themselves through social networking</p> <p>2008 Cell phone users send more text messages than phone calls</p> <p>2009 Obama administration unveils revamped White House website with interactive capabilities</p> <p>2009 iPhone acquires more than 10,000 applications ("apps")</p> <p>2009-10 Rise of Twitter</p> <p>2010 iPad debuts</p>	<p>2008 Sheperd Fairey produces "Hope," iconic poster of Barack Obama's image</p>	<p>2005 Incorporation of cameras into cell phones and other PDA device</p> <p>2008 <i>The New Yorker</i> publishes satirical cover showing Barack Obama as a Muslim and Michelle Obama as a terrorist</p>	<p>2004 Film <i>Outfoxed</i> debuts</p> <p>2004-06 Increased use of Video News Releases (VNRs)</p> <p>2004-10 Increased use of iPods & podcasting</p> <p>2005 Delivery of TV programs through iPods and cell phones</p> <p>2005 Live press conferences and coverage of Hurricane Katrina</p> <p>2005 YouTube debuts</p> <p>2005 <i>The Colbert Report</i> debuts (spin-off of Jon Stewart's <i>The Daily Show</i>)</p> <p>2008 Will.i.am releases video mash-up <i>Yes We Can</i> on YouTube</p> <p>2008 <i>Saturday Night Live</i> lampoons political candidates (especially Sarah Palin and Hilary Clinton)</p> <p>2009 3D film <i>Avatar</i> wins Oscar</p> <p>2010 3D television debuts</p>

OVERVIEW

1800: The Birth of Campaigns

Media:

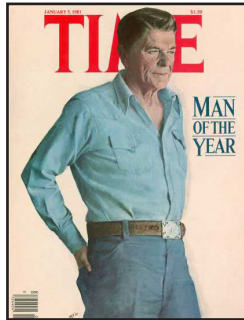
1800 PowerPoint (access online or via 1800 digital media folder)

1800 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1800 digital media folder)

The President of the United States is arguably the most powerful and influential position in the world. For over 200 years U.S. citizens have participated in selecting their chief executive every four years. The ways in which candidates have been presented to the electorate have changed dramatically, largely due to changes in mass media. Picture George Washington on Saturday Night Live trying to counter his stiff image or Abraham Lincoln redrafting the Gettysburg Address for a sound bite on the evening news. Different media forms influence the messages themselves.



John Adams and Ronald Reagan



Would short and stocky John Adams have been elected in the television age?

Would Ronald Reagan have been considered the “Great Communicator” in the era of print media?

THE FIRST ELECTIONS

When setting up the complex system for choosing a chief executive, the framers of the Constitution did not envision spectacular presidential campaigns, powerful political parties, or a high-tech mass media. In the first presidential elections of 1789 and 1792 the Electoral College unanimously chose the popular Revolutionary War general, George Washington. There was no competition, no campaign, no political parties and a very lim-

ited popular vote.

THE BIRTH OF POLITICAL PARTIES

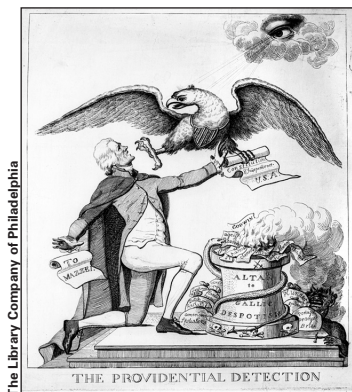
The election of 1796 was the first competitive election with two distinct political groups running candidates, the Democratic-Republicans supporting Thomas Jefferson and the Federalists backing John Adams. The Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, wanted a strong central government while Jefferson favored states’ rights and a limited federal system. Jeffersonian Republicans were inspired by the ideals of the French Revolution while the Federalists feared the anti-elite radicalism of the French revolutionaries and advocated stronger ties with England. These two groups evolved into our nation’s first political parties. Adams won the election of 1796 and Jefferson, with the second-highest number of electoral votes, became his Vice President. The election of 1800 again pitted Jefferson against Adams but this time a split within the Federalists resulted in a Democratic-Republican victory. The 1800 election was, however, the first time the governing political party and President were replaced through a peaceful electoral process. Jefferson called this “Revolution of 1800” as real as the revolution of 1776.

THE PRIVILEGED FEW

Although revolutionary, this experiment in electoral democracy excluded most of the people in the newly created United States. Of the 16 states that made up the U.S. in 1800, only five allowed electors to be chosen by popular vote and then only adult white male property owners were enfranchised (could vote). Voting rights have gradually expanded with property requirements lifted in the early 1800s, African Americans gaining the vote in 1870 after the Civil War, women in 1920, Native Americans in 1924, and 18 to 21 year olds in 1971.

CAMPAIGNING BEFORE CAMPAIGNS

In 1800 it was considered undignified for presidential candidates to express a desire for the position let alone overtly campaign for it. Political parties were in their infancy and the media spectacle we associate with today's campaigns had not yet been born. But the election of 1800 also holds many similarities to today's presidential campaigns. Politicians debated laws to protect the country from attack, both domestic and foreign, and the religious beliefs of candidates became an issue. There were heroic portraits, ferocious attacks, and patriotic appeals to God and country. There were editorials based on fear, private information leaked to the press, and political cartoons slamming the opposition.



Providential Detection Cartoon, 1800

How has political cartooning changed over 200 years?

THE PARTISAN PRESS

The election of 1800 predated television, radio, recorded sound, film, and photography. The mass media of 200 years ago was dominated by news-

papers. These partisan (one-sided) papers were typically owned and operated by political parties. They offered highly biased information, opinions, personal letters, scandal, and a fair share of outright lies. Thomas Jefferson wrote after the 1800 election, "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in the newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle... the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them" (in Lipscomb & Bergh 415-419). But Jefferson also felt that a literate citizenship was essential for American democracy to survive.

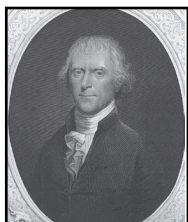
MEDIA LITERACY AND DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP

Today most Americans get their information about presidential candidates from television as well as radio, the Internet, magazines, and newspapers. If we are to have an informed and literate citizenship, it is essential that we learn to read and critically analyze messages communicated through a variety of media. Throughout the history of U.S. presidential elections, many different forms of media have been used to inform, propagandize, educate, and manipulate voters. You will have the opportunity to analyze and decode historic media documents. By participating in this process you can learn how candidates' images were created and expressed in the past; gain perspective on how we have come to where we are today; and develop the media literacy and critical thinking skills that will help you to be an educated citizen of our evolving democracy.

1787-1800	1787-95	1796	1800
MEDIA USED IN CAMPAIGNS	memorabilia (e.g., metal tokens, ribbons, china), banners, posters, handbills, pamphlets, political songs, painted portraits, printed political cartoons (as woodcuts or engravings)		
NEWSPAPERS	most newspapers are partisan weeklies		
	most newspapers are Federalist with advertising by Federalist merchants	Democratic-Republican newspapers increase from 51 (1798) to 83 (1800)	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Bill of Rights establishes freedom of the press• <i>Federalist Papers</i> first published as newspaper editorials	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• passage of Sedition Act (illegal to publish criticism of President or Government)	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• invention of lithography made printmaking quicker & easier		

HANDOUT

1800 ELECTION



THOMAS JEFFERSON
and Aaron Burr

ELECTORAL VOTE: 73

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN



JOHN ADAMS
and Charles Pickney

ELECTORAL VOTE: 65

FEDERALIST

The hard fought election of 1796 between Jefferson and Adams and the newly created party organizations, which controlled the partisan newspapers, led to a bitter and mean-spirited election that was ultimately decided by the House of Representatives. The election was ultimately decided by the House of Representatives, which chose John Adams as President and Jefferson as Vice President. The election of 1800 was a rematch between Jefferson and Adams.

Jefferson was the **incumbent Vice President**.

The Federalist press called Jefferson an **"Atheist radical,"** accused him of fathering a child with slave Sally Hemmings, and predicted "Jacobin terror" if he won.

Pamphlets were used by the Republicans to condemn Adams' policy of **press censorship**.

Jefferson secretly wrote the Kentucky Resolution, which criticized the Alien and Sedition Acts as unconstitutional and a violation of **states rights**.

Jefferson **opposed a standing army** and navy in favor of supporting peace with all nations.

Republican newspaper editors were arrested for criticizing Adams under the **Sedition Act**.

The development of a strong and united **Republican Party** helped to give Jefferson and Burr the White House.

Adams was the **incumbent President**.

Republican newspapers called the portly Adams **"His rotundity,"** published the private letters of Federalist leader Alexander Hamilton, which were critical of Adams, and predicted war with Europe if Adams won.

"During these past months enough abuse and scandal has been unleashed to ruin and corrupt the minds and morals of the best people in the world."

- **Abigail Adams in a letter on May 4, 1800**

Federalists used **George Washington's name** to link Adams to the founding father.

The **Alien and Sedition Acts**, passed by Adams and the Federalists in 1798, discouraged immigration and citizenship and made it illegal to publish "false, scandalous and malicious" statements about the U.S. government, Congress, or the President.

Federalists used **anti-French sentiment** to build up the military and pass anti-foreign legislation.

The Federalist Party was divided with **Alexander Hamilton** critical of Adams.

DID YOU KNOW? Jefferson and Adams were the only two signers of the Declaration of Independence to later become Presidents. Adams' last words were, "Jefferson still survives." He did not know that Jefferson had died just a few hours earlier. Both men died on July 4, 1826, the 50th anniversary of the date they had signed the Declaration of Independence.

HANDOUT

1800 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #3-4

1800 Doc. #3

CONNECTICUT COURANT EDITORIAL

For the CONNECTICUT COURANT no. XV. To the People of the United States.

I HAVE at length, my countrymen, completed the plan which I originally laid out, by attempting in a variety of particulars to shew – *That Mr. Jefferson is an enemy to the United States, and wishes its destruction – That if he is elected President, the Constitution will fall sacrifice to Jacobinism – And, that the result of its destruction will be dreadful to the United States.* If I have succeeded in exciting the serious attention of only a few of you, to the dangers of our situation, I shall not have laboured in vain. That your attention ought to be most thoroughly excited to this subject, no one who watches the progress of this great enemy of human peace, prosperity, and happiness, will deny...

...When one of these sentiments obtain a stedfast foothold among us, they will spread like wild-fire; and like wild-fire they will destroy. They are levelled with a sure, and deadly aim, directly at the life of society.

They will enter your dwellings, deprave the minds of children, estrange the affections of parents, and pollute the bosoms of husbands and wives. The propagators of them are active, subtle, persevering, and fearless. Against these foes of the whole human race, let the virtuous, and patriotic of every age and character unite, and exert every possible power. A moment's relaxation in this defensive warfare, until the enemy is subdued, and driven from the field, will be highly dangerous. Nothing more hazardous than a truce; nothing more fatal than a compromise...

...Do you believe in the strangest of all paradoxes, that a spendthrift, a libertine, or an Atheist, characters which none of you would trust with the most trifling concern in your own private affairs, is qualified to make your laws, and to govern you, and your posterity; to be entrusted with the treasure, the strength, and the destiny of the nation? "He that ruleth over

[illegible] must be just, ruling in the fear of God," is the language of [ins?]piration. We ought to be extremely cautious, how we deliberately contradict a maxim, propounded by God himself. It has been the pride, and the honour of this country, that our Chief Magistrates have hitherto been men who feared God. The influence of their example, has spread like a charm, thro'out the sphere of their Government; and it has become a mark of reproach in a ruler, that he disregards the obligations of our holy religion. Mr. Jefferson, the idol of the Jacobin party, by the common voice of his countrymen, wears this stigma....

...Where is the man, even among his bosom friends, who has ever heard him acknowledge his dependence on God, his accountability to his Creator and Judge, or who has seen him enter the sanctuary, to join in the duties of holy worship.

1800 Doc. #4

LETTER FROM ALEXANDER HAMILTON CONCERNING THE PUBLIC CONDUCT AND CHARACTER OF JOHN ADAMS, ESQ. PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Not denying to Mr. Adams patriotism and integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be deficient in candor, were I to conceal the conviction, that he does not possess the talents adapted to the *Administration* of Government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate...

...It is time to conclude—The statement which has been made, shews that Mr. Adams has committed some positive and serious errors of Administration; that in addition to these, he has a certain fixed points of character which tend naturally to the detriment of any cause of which he is Chief, of any Administration of which he is the head; that by his ill humors and jealousies he has already divided and distracted the supporters of the Government; that he has furnished deadly weapons to its enemies by unfounded accusations, and has weakened the force of its friends by decrying some of the most influential of them to the utmost of his power; and, let it be added, as the necessary effect of such conduct, that he has made great progress in undermining the ground which was gained for the government by his predecessor, and that there is real cause to apprehend, it might totter, if not fall, under his future auspices.

TEACHER GUIDE

1800 DOC. #1: Portrait of Thomas Jefferson

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Today photos of presidential candidates are seen regularly in newspapers and on TV newscasts, but in the 18th century, newspapers rarely included any illustrations. Although President John Adams and Vice President Thomas Jefferson were well known to most Americans in 1800, few voters had ever seen an image of either candidate.

The print you are about to see was one of the first pictures of Thomas Jefferson to be shared widely within the United States. Other portraits had been done of him but none had been made into a print for public sale. The print was based on an oil portrait done of Jefferson by his friend, the well-known painter Charles Willson Peale, in 1791. Peale founded the first museum for the arts and sciences in Philadelphia in 1789 and Jefferson's portrait was displayed there.

The *Philadelphia Aurora* published an advertisement noting that the print was for sale on January 11, 1800. *The Aurora*, like most of the newspapers of that time period, was owned and controlled by a political party, in this case the Republicans.

> Project the document.

QUESTION

What messages are being communicated about Jefferson in this portrait? What is your evidence?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is a respected man and a deep thinker.

EVIDENCE

his suit coat and ascot, the Esq. after his name, his title as "Vice President of the United States," and the style of the portrait all suggest respectability; his reflective gaze suggests intelligence or deep thought, as does his title as President of the American Philosophical Society

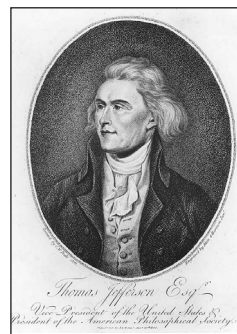
QUESTION

Why might the artist, C. W. Peale, have portrayed Jefferson in this manner?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He admired Jefferson, and this was a sign of friendship and/or a way to honor one of the founding fathers.

1800 DOC. #1



Portrait of Thomas Jefferson

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **Why would *The Philadelphia Aurora* have published an advertisement for the print?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The newspaper wanted to support the Republican candidate and perhaps make money in exchange for printing the ad.

EVIDENCE the *Philadelphia Aurora* was a Republican newspaper

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are some of the main ways that people today get to know the faces of presidential candidates?

Can the face of a candidate tell you anything about whether or not he or she would make a good President?

How have the proliferation of modern image-making technologies, such as photography and television, changed presidential campaigning?

The **Connections** boxes in the kit will help teachers to link different documents through the thematic lists at the beginning of the kit. These lists connect documents dealing with specific campaign issues (**Race, Class/Labor, Foreign Policy, Economics**), documents using similar techniques or constructions (**Music, Cartoons, Attack, Fear, Hero, Family Man, Commoner**), documents geared towards a specific **Target Audience**, documents illustrating a new campaign media or technique for **Reaching Voters**, and documents useful for examining **Media Bias**. Teachers may find it useful to present some contemporary documents, such as from the 2000 or 2004 election, when introducing early media. This may help students to see the connections and contrasts with today's campaigns and issues.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Charles Willson Peale had a great impact on art in the early United States. He painted more than 1,000 portraits, including those of George Washington and other founding fathers. He named 10 of his 17 children after artists and many of his descendants became fine artists themselves. He founded the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and his sons established art museums in Baltimore and New York.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters (portrait)

TEACHER GUIDE

1800 DOC. #2: Portrait of John Adams

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

John Adams sat for this portrait by the artist John Trumbull while he was George Washington's Vice President. Adams didn't have much appreciation for the job, calling the vice presidency the "most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived or his imagination conceived" (Sauer 130).

There were some at the time who felt that Adams was too fond of the British monarchy. While presiding over the Senate as Vice President, Adams often wore a powdered wig. He would sometimes strap a sword around his waist at formal ceremonies. George Washington himself criticized Adams in private for his "ostentatious imitations and mimicry of Royalty" (Genovese 38). Some of his harsher critics simply called the short and stocky Adams "His Rotundity."

Because it was not sold as a separate print, it is likely that only a handful of people would have seen this portrait at the time of the 1800 election.

> Project the document.

QUESTION

How is this portrait painted to give a positive view of Adams?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

By only showing Adams' head and shoulders, it draws attention to his face rather than to his weight and stature, characteristics that were subjects of ridicule by Adams' critics.

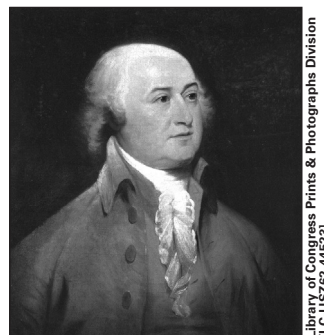
SUGGESTED ANSWER

The light focuses the viewer on Adams' face, rather than on the background or his weight. Like Jefferson's portrait, Adams' suit coat and ascot, reflective gaze, and the style of the portrait suggest wealth, reflectiveness, and respectability.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He seems mentally alert and forward-looking with his eyes fully open, looking slightly up and into the far distance.

1800 DOC. #2



Library of Congress Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-44523]

**Portrait of John Adams
by John Trumbull**

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Critics of Adams made fun of his weight. Does a candidate's physical form have any bearing on what kind of President he or she might make? Do size and weight play a role in contemporary campaigns for the presidency? Should they?

How are portraits different from photographs? What techniques might be used in each to emphasize specific personal characteristics or downplay others?

Why would the U.S. government maintain a National Portrait Gallery containing presidential portraits like this?

ADDITIONAL INFO

This portrait of John Adams is part of the collection of the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. It was painted by the artist John Trumbull in 1793. Trumbull painted about 250 portraits of prominent Revolutionary War era figures from U.S. history, the largest collection of its kind. He was friendly with and painted many of the well-known figures of this period in a series of paintings that showed important events of the time. One of his best known works is called "The Declaration of Independence" in which Adams and Jefferson both appear.

SUGGESTED ANSWER	Jefferson's ideas will bring radical revolution and terrorist ruin.
EVIDENCE	"they will enter your dwellings, deprave the minds of your children;" references to "Jacobinism" and "idol of the Jacobins"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Jefferson's proven atheism makes him unfit to serve.
EVIDENCE	described as "an Atheist," "our Chief Magistrates have hitherto been men who feared God" and brought "pride" and "honor"; Jefferson doesn't "acknowledge his dependence on God" or "enter the sanctuary" [the church]
QUESTION	What evidence does the author provide to support his attacks on Jefferson?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The author provides none. This attack on Jefferson is based on exaggerations and fear-based proclamations.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Is this editorial slanderous? Should the media be able to criticize candidates like this paper did without any evidence to back up their opinion?

Why have mudslinging and attack ads been a staple of American politics for over 200 years? How should a reader, listener, and/or a viewer respond to such attack ads?

There was a strong emphasis on belief in God in these early campaigns. How is that same emphasis on God reflected in U.S. printed currency?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Courant was relentless in its attacks on Jefferson and seven months into his presidency called for his impeachment.

Jefferson himself sued *The Connecticut Courant* for libel at one point and lost the case. Jefferson's strong feelings about the press of his day are evident in his writings: "Nothing can now be believed which is seen in a newspaper. Truth itself becomes suspicious by being put into that polluted vehicle.... I will add that the man who never looks into a newspaper is better informed than he who reads them, inasmuch as he who knows nothing is nearer to truth than he whose mind is filled with falsehoods and errors" (Lipscomb and Bergh 415-419).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

Class/Labor

Foreign Policy

Media Bias

Reaching Voters (Partisan Newspaper)

Religion

The Connecticut Courant article is one of the few documents in the kit to deal with the issue of religion (see also: 1960 doc. #2, Kennedy televised speech on religion and politics). After reading the *Connecticut Courant* attack on Jefferson's faith consider looking at 2004 doc. #8 analyzing Bush and Kerry Web sites targeting religious voters.

TEACHER GUIDE

1800 DOC. #4: Letter from Alexander Hamilton

"The Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States," personal letter from Alexander Hamilton published as pamphlet.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Information "leaks" have a long history of creating turmoil in U.S. politics. Modern day examples include the informant "Deep Throat" and his disclosures about the Watergate break-in, and Linda Tripp's information about Bill Clinton's affair with Monica Lewinsky. But "leaking" is nothing new. You can find examples going all the way back to 1800.

Alexander Hamilton was a leader in the Federalist Party and a member of President George Washington's cabinet. He wrote this private letter to Federalist Party leaders in an effort to persuade them to support his favored candidate, Charles Pickney, in the 1800 election. The letter was somehow obtained by Republican candidate Aaron Burr and leaked to the press. It was printed in Republican newspapers shortly before the election and became a source of great embarrassment to both Adams and Hamilton.

The letter was a long one, 54 pages in all. In it Hamilton accused Adams of being weak in his dealings with France and of misjudgment in forcing the resignations of two cabinet members who supported Hamilton. Two brief sections from the beginning and end of the letter are offered here for review.

> **Project** the document and **have students read** excerpts on the student handout.

QUESTION	What is Hamilton's main message in this letter? Support your answer with evidence from the text.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Adams is an unfit President.
EVIDENCE	"He does not possess the talents," "defects in his character which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate," "undermining the ground which was gained for the government," and the government "might totter, if not fall under his future auspices"

1800 DOC. #4

1800 doc. #4
Letter from Alexander Hamilton Concerning the Public Conduct and Character of John Adams, Esq., President of the United States

Not desiring to Mr. Adams' person and integrity, and even talents of a certain kind, I should be difficult in coming to the conclusion, that he does not possess the talents adapted to the Administration of Government, and that there are great and intrinsic defects in his character, which unfit him for the office of Chief Magistrate.

It is time to conclude — The statement which has been made, shows that Mr. Adams has committed some serious and serious errors of Administration; that in addition to these, he has a certain fixed point of character which tend naturally to the detriment of any state of which he is Chief, of any Administration of which he is the head; that by his ill humors and judgments he has already divided and dissipated the support of the Government; that he has surrounded himself with enemies by unsolicited accusations, and has weakened the force of his friends by denying some of the most influential of them to the tenure of his power; and, last, let it be added, as the necessary result of such conduct, that he has made great progress in undermining the ground which was gained for the government by his predecessors, and that there is real cause to apprehend, it might totter, if not fall, under his future auspices.

Letter from Alexander Hamilton

PowerPoint Slide

Text on student handout

QUESTION	Who published this private letter and for what purpose? Support your answer with evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It was published by his opponent, Aaron Burr, and Republican newspapers in order to discredit Adams.
EVIDENCE	a leak such as this would disclose that there are serious differences within the ruling Federalist Party, undermine Adams' candidacy, and support the Republican cause
QUESTION	Why was this highly opinionated letter from one politician so disastrous for Adams?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Hamilton was a leader of Adams' own party, the Federalists.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Should it be legal to print secret or personal information about someone without their permission? Why or why not?

Is this letter primarily fact or opinion? How can you tell fact from opinion when you listen to talk radio or hear a news report?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Both Adams and Hamilton were hurt politically by the release of this letter which James Madison called a "Thunderbolt." It ended any hopes Adams might have had of election, and he called Hamilton, "the greatest intrigant in the world – a man devoid of every moral principle" (Boller 11).

Even though Adams was defeated in the election, there was an electoral tie between Jefferson and Burr. Constitutional election rules called for each elector to vote by ballot for two persons, with the second highest vote-recipient elected Vice President. The Republicans had planned on Jefferson as President and Aaron Burr as Vice President, but Jefferson and Burr ended up tied with 73 electoral votes each. It took 36 votes by the House of Representatives before Jefferson won the necessary majority to be elected President.

Hamilton actually supported Jefferson during this tie because he felt that Jefferson would be the lesser evil than Burr. This essentially ended Hamilton's career by destroying his credibility within his own party. Hamilton was subsequently killed by Aaron Burr in a duel.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

Politicians must be careful not to make statements which could be used by their opponents, particularly in the era of audio and videotape. During the 1960 campaign, outgoing President Dwight D. Eisenhower was asked what policies his Vice President and Republican nominee, Richard Nixon, had contributed to his administration. Ike replied, "If you give me a week, I might think of one." The Democrats used Ike's words in campaign commercials that helped to defeat Nixon and elect John F. Kennedy.

TEACHER GUIDE

1800 DOC. #5: "The Providential Detection" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Have you ever seen an editorial cartoon that pokes fun at a candidate? When do you think such cartoons first appeared? Actually, there had been similar cartoons in England even before the American Revolution. The cartoon you will see next is one of the first to attack a presidential candidate in the United States.

> **Project** the document.

This cartoon entitled "The Providential Detection" was drawn by an unknown artist during the campaign of 1800. Jefferson had written of his appreciation for the values that drove the French Revolution - liberty, equality and fraternity. Many Federalists felt that his support of these ideals would make him incapable of independent leadership in a time when France was a world power.

"The Altar of Gallic Despotism" refers to French tyranny. The papers stoking the fire include ones labeled *Age of Reason*, J. J. Rousseau, and Voltaire, which all represent French philosophy. *Aurora* and *Chronicle* were Republican newspapers which supported Jefferson.

Around the altar lie sacks marked American Spoliations, Dutch Restitution, Sardinia, Flanders, Venice, Spain, and Plunder. The paper, "To Mazzei," dropping from Jefferson's right hand, refers to Jefferson's 1796 letter to an Italian journalist criticizing George Washington. The eye of God is commanding the American Eagle to snatch away the Constitution of the United States from Jefferson.

QUESTION

What are the messages conveyed by this cartoon? Give evidence.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Jefferson wants to destroy the U.S. system of law.

EVIDENCE

Jefferson is shown attempting to burn the U.S. Constitution

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is an agent of French revolutionary thought.

EVIDENCE

he is feeding the fires of "Gallic Despotism" with Republican newspapers and French philosophy

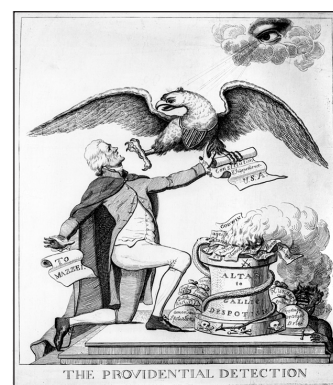
SUGGESTED ANSWER

God and the American people will stop him.

EVIDENCE

the eye of God and the American eagle catch him just in time

1800 DOC. #5



"The Providential Detection" Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **How does the cartoonist suggest that Jefferson is anti-Christian?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He is shown kneeling before an altar to French radicalism. The altar is encircled by a snake with skull and crossbones at its base and a demon peeking out. The eye of God is looking down in judgment.

QUESTION **How does the cartoonist suggest that Jefferson is a traitor?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jefferson is burning the Constitution. He worships France. He is attacked by the American eagle, symbol of national pride. He has written a letter criticizing the father of the country.

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How do editorial cartoons compare with talk radio programs for their effectiveness in shaping popular opinions about presidential candidates today?

Libel laws make it illegal to publish false claims that would damage someone's business or cause them to suffer public ridicule. Should libel laws apply to editorial cartoons like this one? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The first cartoon in a newspaper in the American colonies was entitled "Join, or Die" and was drawn by Ben Franklin in 1754. It showed a snake cut into eight pieces and illustrated his plan to unite the colonies under a President General. The cartoons of the post-colonial years tended to be complex scenes filled with rich dialogue and imagery.

NOTE

Philip Mazzei was an Italian Republican who had lived for a time near Jefferson in Virginia. Jefferson had written him a letter in 1796 which was translated and published in a Florentine journal. The letter was critical of Washington and the Federalists, and was published in the Federal newspapers at the time, much to Jefferson's dismay. Its publication ended Jefferson's friendship with Washington. Jefferson declined to comment on the letter at the time of its release. It was brought up again during the election of 1800 by Federalist editors.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1800 DOC. #6: Jefferson Banner

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Professionals are not the only ones who can create media messages. You can make your own web page, button, or song to influence the political process.

> Project the document.

This hand-painted linen banner was created following the announcement of Jefferson's victory in the election of 1800. It was most likely used in one of the many inaugural festivals that marked the first change of political parties through elections in the United States. This peaceful transfer of power caused Jefferson to refer to this election as "The Revolution of 1800." He made an effort to unify the opposing sides in his inaugural address by saying: "We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

The portrait of Jefferson on this banner was apparently based on an engraving from an 1800 painted portrait of Jefferson by well-known artist Gilbert Stuart.

The words on the banner read: "T. Jefferson President of the United States of America / John Adams is no more."

QUESTION	Who is likely to have made this banner and for what purpose? Give evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	A Republican supporter of Jefferson probably made this banner to honor the winner and to belittle the loser.
EVIDENCE	proud image of Jefferson beneath eagle with his name on top; including "John Adams is no more" suggests that the artist wants to highlight Adams' loss
QUESTION	Who is the target audience for this image? Give evidence to support your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Local townspeople who would participate in, or witness, the inaugural celebration are the target audience.
EVIDENCE	a cloth banner like this could not have been reproduced like a newspaper article or engraving; probably only shown locally for the short period of time around Jefferson's inauguration

1800 DOC. #6



Jefferson Banner

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

What symbolism did the artist use to celebrate Jefferson's victory?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

symbols include: 16 stars representing the 16 states of the union in 1800; the eagle, which is taken from the Great Seal of the United States to represent the nation; and the streamers representing celebration

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of contemporary examples of individuals, not political parties or organizations, making media messages for or against political candidates? Can individuals really make a difference in presidential elections?

ADDITIONAL INFO

This banner represents one of the first known physical objects to be used for a partisan political purpose in the United States. In later elections there would be campaign items such as commemorative vases, badges, buttons, and bumper stickers.

In 1800 there occurred the first major celebrations to accompany a political regime change in U.S. electoral history. This banner was discovered near Pittsfield, Massachusetts in 1958. This is particularly interesting since New England was the region that most strongly opposed Jefferson's election and since Massachusetts was Adams' home state.

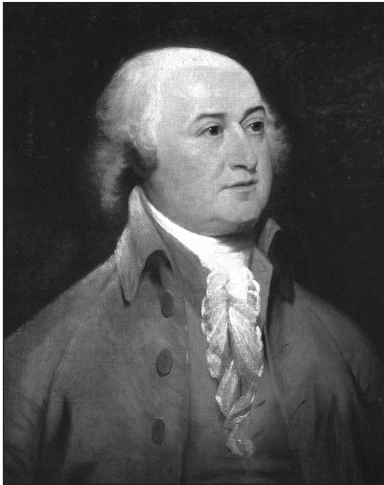
CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

(handmade banner)

1800: Birth of Campaigns



Portrait of John Adams

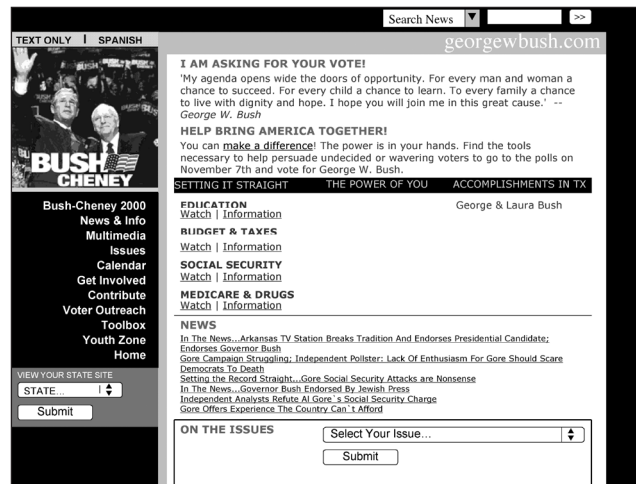


Anti-Jefferson Cartoon in a Federalist Newspaper

The Library Company of Philadelphia



Bush and Gore Introduce *Saturday Night Live* TV Show



George W. Bush Web Site

CONNECTICUT COURANT

HARTFORD, BY HUDSON & GOODWIN, OPPOSITE THE NORTH MEETING-HOUSE

MONDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1800. [NUMBER 1863]

For the CONNECTICUT COURANT.
No. XV.
To the People of the United States.

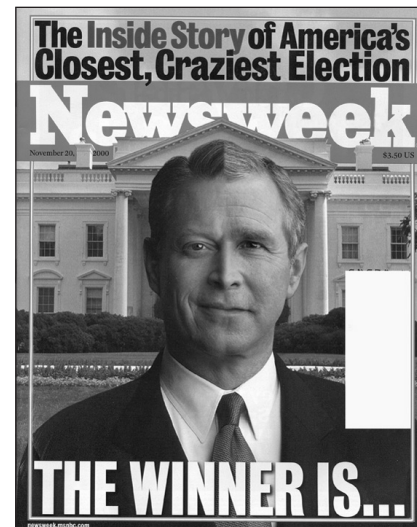
I HAVE at length, my countrymen, completed the plan which I originally laid out, by attempting in a variety of particulars to shew -- *That Mr. Jefferson is an enemy to the Constitution of the United States, and wishes its destruction -- That if he is elected President, the Constitution will fall a sacrifice to Jacobinism -- And, that the result of its destruction will be dreadful to the United States.* If I have succeeded in exciting the serious attention of only a few of you, to the dangers of our situation, I shall not have laboured in vain. That your attention ought to be most thoroughly excited to this subject, no one who watches the progress of this great enemy of human peace, prosperity, and happiness, will deny. The Jeffersonian party boast, that the increase of Jacobinism has been great in the Northern part of the United

character, as Jacobins. They are active, in ranging from one end of the country to the other, in pursuit of objects to delude, and tools to employ, in their mischievous work. Regardless of obstacles, fatigue, or hazard, they "compass sea and land to make proselytes, for the purpose of rendering them" if possible, "tenfold more the children of hell than themselves." "They cease not day nor night," to labour in the mighty task of ruining mankind. They are subtle, in addressing themselves to the foibles, the passions, and the vices of human nature, and of enlisting them all in their service. They converse only with the frailties, and the crimes of men; and the first step towards gaining a convert to their cause, is sapping the foundations of his virtue. They are persevering; not discouraged by defeat; and tho' often routed, they are rarely vanquished. The disasters of yesterday, only serve to stimulate the efforts of to-day; and tho' disgrace, obloquy, and abhorrence, are heaped upon them to-day, they will rush with undaunted courage to the mischiefs of to-morrow. *There are failures, not only of*

without furnishing the most indubitable evidence that he believed in the Christian religion; *if it were true.* Let them produce this evidence; or at least, some one authenticated fact to oppose to the irresistible weight of evidence in proof of his real infidelity. Where is the man, even among his bosom friends, who has ever heard him acknowledge his dependence on God, his accountability to his Creator and Judge, or who has seen him enter the sanctuary, to join in the duties of holy worship?

Is there a Christian in the United States, hardly enough to lift his hand for the Election of such a man, to preside over a Christian country? Let him bear in mind (if such a man there be) that it is a solemn thing for a nation, where the glad tidings of the Gospel have been heard, thus to discard all reliance for support and protection on divine Providence, and voluntarily to declare, that they will not have God to reign over them. When we have heretofore been in national distress, we have bowed in deep humiliation before the

Connecticut Courant Anti-Jefferson Editorial



Newsweek Cover

Essay Question:

Discuss the changing role of the media in presidential campaigns, comparing the election of 1800 with the election of 2000. Use at least four of the documents above in your answer.

NAME:

Date:

List at least three forms of media that were used during the 1800 campaign.

Describe three ways in which television has transformed political campaigns.

List two ways in which the Internet has changed political campaigns.

Explain why the *Connecticut Courant* was considered a “partisan” newspaper.

Explain how the *Newsweek* cover from the disputed 2000 election reflects the magazine’s non-partisan coverage.

OVERVIEW

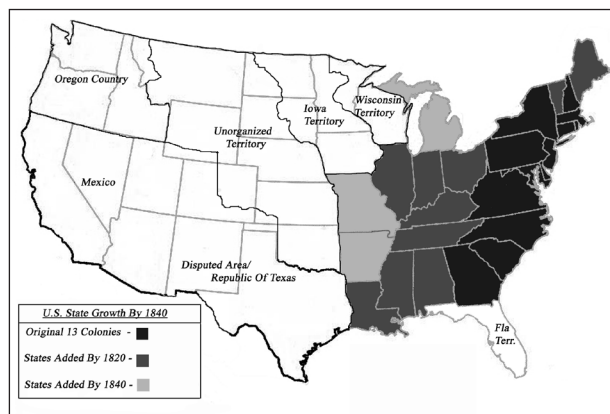
1828 - 1840: The Campaign As Spectacle

Media:

1828-1840 PowerPoint (access online or via 1828-1840 digital media folder)

1828-1840 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1828-1840 digital media folder)

Today we take for granted that presidential candidates will try to sell themselves to the voters, that campaigns focus more on promoting images than discussing issues, and that political parties play a primary role in the election process. None of these were true in the earliest years of American politics. The presidential campaigns between 1828 and 1840 transformed our political landscape and ushered in a new kind of popular campaign based on aggressive image-making and spectacular mass marketing by political parties.



Map of U.S. state growth by 1840

THE CHANGING ELECTORATE

These dramatic changes came about primarily because of the expansion of the electorate. In 1800 only white male property owners from the East could vote in presidential elections. By 1828 white men were voting in eleven new states, most property requirements had been lifted, and nearly all the states had begun to choose electors through a direct popular vote. As a result of these changes campaigns focused on appealing to a

much larger and more diverse electorate.

Today's electorate has a larger percentage of Spanish-speaking voters than ever before. How are contemporary campaigns targeting this new electorate?



Tippecanoe Pens advertisement, 1840

Why did Harrison, a wealthy Eastern politician, use images of hard cider (liquor) and a log cabin for his 1840 campaign?

DEMOCRATS AND WHIGS

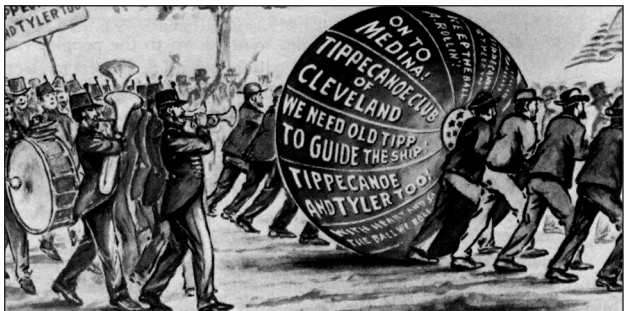
Spending an unprecedented half-million dollars on the press in 1828, Andrew Jackson's campaign abandoned previously held formalities and aggressively marketed their candidate. The Democratic Party used heroic imagery, popular songs, and spectacular celebrations to sell "Old Hickory" to a newly enfranchised electorate of farmers and workingmen. This approach was not lost on Jackson's opponents who later created the Whig Party and ousted the Democrats in the now famous Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign of

1840. Future political campaigns would build on these techniques to win broad popular support for candidates.

MASS MEDIA AND THE CAMPAIGN AS SPECTACLE

The expanding electorate and increasing literacy rate spurred the penny press, sensational one-cent newspapers that relied on advertisements rather than subscriptions. More expensive newspapers remained overtly partisan, supporting one candidate and political party over the others. But the campaigns of 1828-1840 also took to the streets. Mass rallies and parades with free alcohol, popular songs, and memorable slogans helped motivate new voters to go to the polls. Political rallies built on the tradition of Independence Day parades addressed the people’s desire for public entertainment in an era before widespread spectator sports and show business. More than 80% of eligible voters cast ballots in the election of 1840, compared with voter turnout today of around 50%.

Today’s presidential campaigns spend millions of dollars on television commercials in an attempt to win votes. Although television has replaced the penny press and mass rallies as the primary means of reaching the electorate, the elections of 1828-1840 set the stage for today’s campaign spectacle.



Whig Rolling Ball, 1840

This drawing depicts a huge ball from Cleveland, Ohio, covered in campaign slogans, being rolled through town for the Harrison campaign. Costumed mountain men chanted, “keep the ball rolling” as they rallied support for the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign of 1840.

What campaign techniques did Harrison and the Whig Party use to galvanize voters and win victory in 1840?

1824-1840	1824-1827	1828	1832	1836	1840
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, portraits, handbills, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, campaign songs				
NEWSPAPER & OTHER PRINT	<div>• <i>United States Telegraph</i> newspaper (supporting Jackson)</div> <div>• Webster’s <i>American Dictionary</i> published</div> <div>• de Toqueville publishes <i>Democracy in America</i></div> <div>• First African American newspaper (<i>Freedom’s Journal</i>)</div> <div>• “Penny Press” begins with the <i>New York Sun</i></div> <div>• Horace Greeley starts the <i>New York Tribune</i>.</div> <div>• First published campaign biography (Jackson)</div>				
	<div>• Erie Canal completed</div> <div>• First use of steam-powered cylinder press in the U.S.</div> <div>• Whig “Rolling Ball”</div> <div>• First U.S. railroad</div> <div>• Invention of the typewriter</div> <div>• Invention of telegraph</div> <div>Price of paper falls 25%</div>				

HANDOUT

1828 ELECTION



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-44523]



ANDREW JACKSON
and John Calhoun

POPULAR VOTE: 647,286
ELECTORAL VOTE: 178

Jackson had run against Adams in 1824 and **won the popular vote** but lost the presidency to Adams.

Jackson **supported the expansion of slavery.**

Jackson **supported political patronage.**

Jackson's **Hurrah Campaign** held rallies with singing, barbecues, and slogans.

Jackson campaigned as a **man of the people** fighting moneyed interests.

The Democratic-Republican Party was the dominant party at this time and later its name was shortened to the **Democratic Party**.

Jackson was presented as "**Old Hickory**," a military hero of the War of 1812.

The Jackson campaign spent an unprecedented **\$500,000 on the press.**



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-44523]



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
and Richard Rush

POPULAR VOTE: 508,064
ELECTORAL VOTE: 83

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

Adams was the **incumbent President** and son of the second President, John Adams.

Adams **opposed the expansion of slavery.**

Adams **opposed political patronage.**

Adams refused to attend rallies, thinking it **unbecoming of the President** to ask for votes.

Adams was accused of being a monarch, a slave to luxury, and a pimp for the Russian Czar.

The **National Republican Party** was formed to oppose the "Jacksonian Democrats" and disbanded after the 1832 election.

The Changing Electorate

- The political center of gravity **shifted westward** as new states entered the union.
- Direct election by **popular vote** took place in 22 of 24 states, increasing the importance of direct appeals to voters.
- **Property qualifications** for voting were lifted in many states, allowing more workers to vote.
- The **electorate expanded** dramatically with more than **three times as many people voting** in 1828 than in 1824.

"On the whole possibly it was more honorable to have been defeated in 1828 than to have been elected."— Historian Edward Channing reflecting on the mudslinging of the 1828 campaign

DID YOU KNOW? National Republican newspapers accused Jackson of bigamy because his wife, Rachel, had left an abusive husband and married Jackson not knowing that her divorce had not been made official. Crowds sang, "Oh Andy! Oh Andy! How many weddings make a wife?" After hearing these accusations Rachel collapsed and died shortly before Andrew Jackson left for his inauguration. Jackson blamed his opponents for her death.

HANDOUT

1828-1840 STUDENT HANDOUT

1828 Doc. #2

THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY

Words: Samuel Woodworth

Melody: "The Unfortunate Miss Bailey"

(Selected Verses)

Ye gentlemen and ladies fair, who grace this famous city,
Just listen if you've time to spare, while I rehearse a ditty;
And for an opportunity, conceive yourselves lucky,
For 'tis not often here you see a hunter from Kentucky.

Chorus:

O Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky.

O Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky.

I s'pose you've read it in the prints how Pakenham attempted,
To make Old Hickory Jackson wince, but soon his schemes repented;
For we with rifles ready cock'd thought such occasion lucky,
And soon around the hero flock'd the hunters of Kentucky.

(Chorus)

But Jackson, he was wide awake, and wasn't scar'd at trifles,
For well he knew what aim we take with our Kentucky rifles;
So he led us down to cypress swamp, the ground was low and mucky,
There stood John Bull in martial pomp, and here was old Kentucky.

(Chorus)

They found at last 'twas vain to fight, where lead was all their booty;
And so they wisely took a flight, and left us all our beauty.
And now if danger e'er annoys, remember what our trade is;
Just send for us Kentucky boys, and we'll protect you, ladies.

(Chorus)

1840 doc. #4

TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO

Words: Alexander Coffman Ross

Melody: "Little Pigs"

Oh, who has heard the great commotion,
motion, motion, all the country through?
It is the ball a rolling on,

Chorus:

For Tippecanoe and Tyler too, For Tippecanoe and Tyler too
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van,
Van is a used up man,
and with them we'll beat little Van.

Sure, let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider
And log cabins too,
It will only help to speed the ball

(Chorus)

Like the rush of mighty waters, waters, waters
Onward it will go
And its course will bring you through

(Chorus)

1828 doc. #4

LITTLE WAT YE WHA'S A-COMIN'

Words adapted from *Cincinnati Gazette*, July 30, 1828

Melody: Traditional Scottish tune, "Highland Muster Roll"

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Murder wi' gory han's a-comin',
Fire's a-comin', swords a-comin',
Pistols, guns an' knives are comin',
Nero's comin', Hero's comin',
Forbye, the second section's comin'.

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Martial an' Lynch's Law are comin',
Slavery's comin', knavery's comin',
Plunder's comin', Blunder's comin',
Robbing's comin', Jobbing's comin',
An' a' the plague o' War's a-comin'.

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
JUGGERNAUT himsel' is comin',
He'll fret and fume, he'll shoot and stab,
He'll stamp an' swear "like any drab,"
He'll play Jack Cade—hang honest men,
An' after that Calhoun's a-comin'.

1840 doc. #6

ROCK-A-BYE BABY, DADDY'S A WHIG

Words: Anonymous

Melody: "Rockabye Baby"

Adapted by: Oscar Brand

Rock-a-bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig
When he comes home, hard cider he'll swig
When he has swug he'll fall in a stew
And down will come Tyler and Tippecanoe
Rock-a-Bye Baby, when you awake
You will discover Tip is a fake
Far from the battle, war cry and drum
He sits in his cabin a - drinking that rum
Rock-a-bye baby, never you cry
You need not fear old Tip and his Ty
What they would ruin Van Buren will affix

1832 doc. #2

King Andrew Handbill

**King
Andrew
THE FIRST,
"Born to Command."**

A KING who, possessing as much power as his Gracious Brother William IV, makes a worse use of it.

A KING who has placed himself above the laws, as he has shown by his contempt of our judges.

A KING who would destroy our currency, and substitute Old Rags, payable by no one knows who, and no one knows where, instead of good Silver Dollars.

A KING who, while he was feeding his favorites out of the public money, denied a pittance to the Old Soldiers who fought and bled for our independence.

A KING whose Prime Minister and Heir Apparent, was thought unfit for the office of ambassador by the people:

**Shall he reign over us,
Or shall the PEOPLE RULE?**

1840 doc. #5

National Democratic Republican Party Newspaper Advertisement

FOR VICE PRESIDENT RICHARD M JOHNSON

Born in that part of Virginia which now forms the State of Kentucky in 1781 At the age of 22 Years elected a member of the State Legislature From 1807 to 1837, a period of 30 years on the House of Representatives and in the Senate of the United States. In 1812, advocated and voted for the war against Great Britain. In two campaigns a volunteer in its support at the Battle of the Thames, October 5th, 1813 commanded the regiment of Kentucky mounted men and in their charge on the enemy led his battalion against the Indians headed by Tecumseh in which daring movement his horse was killed under him. Several balls passed through his clothes and three several wounds brought him to the battle ground, weltering in his blood, but not till he had slain with his own hand, their Indian chief routed the army of Proctor, and obtained for Harrison and Shelby an easy victory, A Democrat from boyhood, and a champion of equal rights.

FOR PRESIDENT MARTIN VAN BUREN

Born in Kinderhook, Columbia County, New York Dec 5 1782, son of a farmer, a self-made man, and a consistent democrat of the Jeffersonian school. In 1812, elected a state senator, in which capacity he manfully sustained the war with Great Britain. In 1815 appointed Attorney General of New York. In 1821, a member of the convention, to revise the constitution, and one of the leading advocates of the extension of the rights of suffrage. In the same year, appointed senator in congress, and re-appointed in 1827, in 1828 elected Governor of New York. In 1829 appointed Secretary of State of the United states by the Patriot Jackson. In 1831 sent as minister to Great Britain. In 1832 rejected by the senate but elected by the People Vice President of the United states. In every station, honest and able, in his present office he has preserved without stain the honor of his country, has been faithful to all his duties and equal to every emergency and has nobly devoted himself with unshaken firmness to the great work of rescuing the People and Government of the United States from the control and influence of the monied aristocracy and of rendering them truly Independent, and in 1840, on the ever memorable fourth of July, affixed his signature to the Independent Treasury Bill.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES

The earliest political parties were **Federalists** and **Anti-Federalists**. In the 1790s Thomas Jefferson founded the **Democratic Republican** Party, also called the **Jeffersonian Republicans**, in opposition to the Federalists. By 1816, the Federalists had disappeared and the Democratic-Republicans were the only major party.

In the election of 1824, four Democratic Republicans vied for the presidency. Although Jackson won the popular vote and got more electoral votes than any other candidate, he did not have a majority in the Electoral College. So the decision went to the House of Representatives, with each state getting one vote. After making a deal with the Speaker of the House, Henry Clay, John Quincy Adams was elected President. During this time those who supported Jackson came to be known as **Jacksonian Democrats**, although still officially Democratic-Republicans, while followers of John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay began calling themselves **National Republicans**.

After the 1832 election, the National Republicans joined up with other anti-Jackson groups and formed the **Whig** Party. In 1844 the Democratic Republicans shortened their name to **Democratic Party**. The Whig party later broke apart over the issue of slavery and states' rights, with pro-slavery Whigs moving to the Democratic Party and anti-slavery Whigs forming the new **Republican Party**.

TEACHER GUIDE**1828 DOC. #1: Jackson on his Way to Washington****BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

In 1828 Andrew Jackson mounted the first truly "popular" campaign. He was able to do this because by then 22 of the 24 states elected the president by popular vote rather than by a vote in the state legislature. The lifting of property qualifications allowed far more white men to cast a vote than ever before. In fact, 1828 saw three times as many votes cast as in the previous election.

Jackson's campaign workers were known as "Hurrah Boys." They organized as never before to elect their candidate whom they nicknamed "Ol' Hickory," a reference to Jackson's unbending will and determination. His Democratic Party organized Hickory Clubs, which collected funds, compiled lists of voters, and made up songs and slogans. The "Hurrah Boys" hosted rallies, barbecues, and street demonstrations. They distributed hickory poles to plant in town squares and gave out hickory leaves for parade marchers to wear in their hats. Adams' supporters protested, "Planting hickory trees! Odd nuts and drumsticks! What have hickory trees to do with republicanism and the great contest?" (Boller 44).

Jackson himself only made one major campaign trip during the election season since it was still seen as unbecoming of a presidential candidate to seek votes in person. He attended a commemoration of his 1815 victory in New Orleans and was cheered by supporters wherever he appeared. We have few images of these gatherings today since newspapers of that time did not usually print illustrations.

This document is a drawing of Jackson greeting a crowd on the way to his inauguration in March 1829. It gives a sense of what the crowds might have been like during the aftermath of the first great popular campaign in U.S. presidential election history. This scene took place somewhere between Jackson's home in Nashville and his new residence at the White House.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION What messages are being communicated by this image? Give evidence to justify your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jackson is a distinguished man who is popular among the people.

EVIDENCE Jackson stands above everyone dressed in top hat and tails; crowd is smiling and waving hats to greet him

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How were citizens able to see the candidates in the early 19th century?

Although property qualifications for voting were lifted by 1828 in most states, the majority of people in the United States still could not vote in presidential elections. Who were the disenfranchised voters in 1828 and who are they today? Should everyone be allowed to vote? Why or why not?

The 1828 election became a national celebration of the right to vote as much as a contest for the presidency. Can you think of modern examples of campaigns as celebrations? Do you think this a good thing or a bad thing for our democratic process? Why?

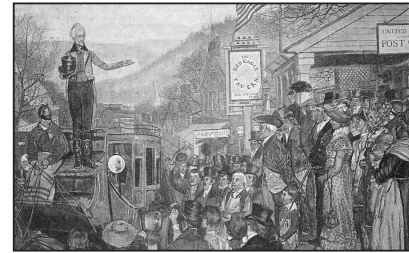
CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

In 1828 there were very few ways for candidates to reach out to the electorate. Television and the Internet would not be invented for more than a century and newspapers in 1828 did not reach a wide audience. Today presidential candidates fly from state to state meeting voters and attracting the media, but in the early 19th century the fastest form of transportation was the stagecoach. It was also considered inappropriate (or unseemly) for candidates to campaign publicly. Compare Jackson's access to voters in 1828 with that of contemporary candidates.

1828 DOC. #1



Jackson on His Way to Washington

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

As the incumbent President, John Quincy Adams chose to remain aloof throughout the campaign. His supporters were aristocrats who felt that the average voter owed his allegiance to the sitting President. How wrong they were. Jackson won the election by the largest majority achieved in the 19th century. An Adams supporter afterwards acknowledged his candidate's failure saying, "Organization is the secret of victory. By the want of it we have been overthrown" (Boller 44).

TEACHER GUIDE

1828 DOC. #2: "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song

Media:

2. "The Hunters of Kentucky" audio (access online or via 1828-1840, 1828 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Eighteen twenty-eight saw the rise of campaign image-making to appeal to the average voter. Jackson wanted to show himself as the "the tribune of the people." In *Life of Jackson*, the first campaign biography, "Ol' Hickory" was presented as an outsider and a military hero. He was portrayed in much of the political press as a simple, courageous, and righteous frontiersman; a figure larger than life. Then, as now, the image doesn't always match up with the reality. Jackson was in fact a wealthy land speculator and slaveholder. He had studied law, had become a judge, and then a legislator who helped to write the Tennessee Constitution. Many of his main supporters were every bit as wealthy and powerful as those of his opponent.

One of the techniques used to encourage voters in the new popular campaign was the use of songs that could be sung by the crowds at rallies and in parades. In the days before mass media, when many voters were illiterate, campaign songs were an effective way to get a message across. Labor organizer and songwriter Joe Hill commented that: "A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read more than once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over" (Joe Hill: About the Program: Script). A song's simple message, memorable rhymes, and repetitive rhythm could deeply place an idea or a candidate in voters' minds.

The song you will hear is entitled "The Hunters of Kentucky." It was written in 1822 and thereafter used in all of Jackson's campaigns. The "Ol' Hickory" nickname referred to his unbending will as the military hero of the Battle of New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812. In this battle his Kentucky troops defeated the "John Bull" British under the command of Lord Packenham.

> **Play** the song and **project** the lyrics and/or **hand out** lyrics sheets and invite students to listen carefully to the words.

1828 DOC. #2

1828 Doc. #2
THE HUNTERS OF KENTUCKY
 Words: Samuel Woodworth
 Melody: "The Unfortunate Miss Bailey"
 (Edmund Verney)

Ye gentlemen and ladies fair, who grace this famous city,
 Just listen if you've time to spare, while I rehearse a ditty;
 And for an opportunity, conserve yourselves lucky,
 For 'tis not often here you see a hunter from Kentucky.

Chorus:
 O Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky
 O Kentucky, the hunters of Kentucky

I s'pose you've read it in the prints how Packenham attempted
 To make Old Hickory Jackson wince, but soon his schemes repented
 For we with rifles ready could 'd thought such occasion lucky,
 And soon around the hero flock'd the hunters of Kentucky.

(Chorus)

But Jackson, he was wide awake, and wasn't scar'd at all;
 For well he knew what aim we take with our Kentucky rifles,
 So he lay down to capture sleeping, the ground was low musky,
 There stood John Bull in martial pomp, and here was old Kentucky.

(Chorus)

They found at last 'twas vain to fight, where lead was all their booty;
 And as they slowly took a flight, and left us all our booty,
 And now if danger e'er annoys, remember what our trade is;
 Just send for us Kentucky boys, and we'll protect you, ladies.

(Chorus)

"The Hunters of Kentucky" Song

Audio Clip

Lyrics on PowerPoint slide
 and student handout

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for this song? Which voters does this song seek to persuade? Give evidence to support your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This song appeals to the “common man,” those recently enfranchised in the Western states.

EVIDENCE the song celebrates “us Kentucky boys” for whom Jackson was the leader in battle and belittles “John Bull in martial pomp” (the British)

SUGGESTED ANSWER It targets those wanting strong military support from the federal government on the frontier.

EVIDENCE Kentucky was among the newer Western states at the time; Jackson’s victory against the British in the Battle of New Orleans suggests that he will be willing to fight to extend and protect the borders of the growing United States

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Given all his other accomplishments as a lawyer, judge, and legislator, why does the song focus solely on Jackson’s military prowess?

Can you think of other examples of presidential image-making where the image may not match the reality? Would it be possible to have a political campaign without any image-making? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Jackson’s frontier egalitarianism also appealed to workingmen of the North. In his inaugural address Jackson pledged that “the majority is to govern.” His direct appeals to “the people” was the beginning of the effort to develop an electoral mandate by all future presidential contenders.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Hero”
“Commoner”
Music

TEACHER GUIDE**1828 DOC. #3: Coffin Handbill****BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

One of the forms of media that developed quickly during this election period was that of the handbill. A handbill was simply a small sheet of paper, usually an advertisement, that was meant to be distributed by hand. In a time when many voters could not afford to buy a newspaper, handbills became an easy way to reach a wide audience. Since many voters could not read, handbills often contained illustrations that conveyed a message without words.

> Project the document.

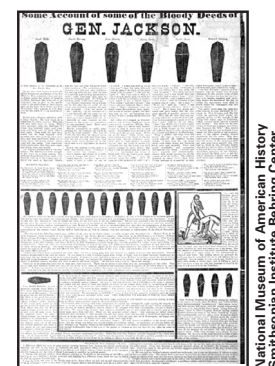
QUESTION	Without reading the small text, what seems to be the message communicated about Andrew Jackson on this handbill?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He has blood on his hands.
EVIDENCE	text "bloody deeds of General Jackson"; image of coffins with names

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What is the favored medium for today's political attacks?

Political advertisements are exempt from the truth in advertising regulations of the Federal Trade Commission. Why do you think this is the case?

How can voters assess the accuracy and credibility of attack ads?

1828 DOC. #3**Coffin Handbill**

PowerPoint slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

This document is one of a number of versions of the “coffin handbill” that was circulated widely by hand and reprinted in newspapers during the 1828 campaign. In the text Jackson is accused of atrocities involving the execution of six U.S. militiamen in 1815. It doesn’t mention that they were shot after being found guilty of mutiny. The drawing in the middle right depicts an event in Nashville, Tennessee where Jackson stabbed a man to death with his sword cane. The handbill leaves out that a jury found that Jackson acted in self-defense. The handbill also accuses Jackson of “exterminating” Indian men, women, and children “in cold blood.”

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Reaching Voters (handbills)

TEACHER GUIDE

1828 DOC. #4: "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin'" Song

Media:

4. "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin" audio (access online or via 1828-1840, 1828 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

To this day popular songs play an important role in campaigning. Bill Clinton used Fleetwood Mac's "Don't Stop (Thinking About Tomorrow)" as his theme song in 1992. In 1984 both Ronald Reagan and Walter Mondale tried to associate their campaigns with the popular musician Bruce Springsteen and his hit song, "Born in the U.S.A." In 1828 campaign songs were even more important than they are today because there were far fewer forms of mass communication.

As you listen to the next song try to figure out which candidate is being attacked, John Quincy Adams or Andrew Jackson. The title, "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin'" is an expression from Scottish that translates as "Little know you who is coming."

> Play the song and project the lyrics and/or hand out lyric sheets.

QUESTION	Do you think this was a song for the Jackson or Adams campaign? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	This is an anti-Jackson song from the Adams campaign.
EVIDENCE	"after that Calhoun's a-comin'" is a reference to Jackson's Vice President John Calhoun;
EVIDENCE	"Hero's comin'," "Plunder's comin'," are references to Jackson's military history; "he'll shoot and stab," "hang honest men" and "murder" evoke accusations that Jackson was a murderer and executed innocent men in 1815;
EVIDENCE	Martial an' Lynch's Law" and "Jack Cade" imply that Jackson will take the law into his own hands

SEE NOTE →

1828 DOC. #4

1828 doc. #4
LITTLE WAT YE WHA'S A-COMIN'
Words adapted from "Cincinnati Gazette", July 30, 1828
Melody: Traditional Scottish tune, "Highland Master Roll"

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Mader wi' gory han's a-comin',
Fire's a-comin', sword's a-comin',
Pistols, guns an' knives are comin',
Nero's comin', Hero's comin',
Forbye, the second section's comin'.

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Martial an' Lynch's Law are comin',
Slavery's comin', knavery's comin',
Plunder's comin', plunder's comin',
Robbing's comin', Jobbing's comin',
An' a' the plague o' War's a-comin'.

Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
Little wat ye wha's a-comin',
JUGGERNAUT hunder's comin',
He'll fret and fume, he'll shoot and stab,
He'll stamp an' swear "like any drab,"
He'll play Jack Cade—hang honest men,
An' after that Calhoun's a-comin'.

"Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin"

Audio Clip

Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout

NOTE

Calhoun had been John Quincy Adams' Vice President but switched to be Jackson's running mate due to Adams' anti-states' rights position. Later Calhoun resigned as Jackson's Vice President because of political differences over tariffs and nullification.

SEE NOTE →

EVIDENCE "Nero's comin'" and "JUGGERNAUT himself is comin'" paints Jackson as a power-hungry leader bent on dictatorial rule.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **What do the lyrics tell you about Adams' positions on slavery and political patronage?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He is opposed to both.

EVIDENCE "slavery's comin'" if Jackson and Calhoun are elected; "Robbing's comin'" and "Jobbing's comin'" are references to Jackson's support for political patronage

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **What is the purpose of this song?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It is meant to scare citizens into voting against Jackson (particularly opponents of slavery and members of the Eastern establishment).

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of examples when fear has been used to persuade voters to cast their ballot against candidates in a modern election? Is this a good thing or a bad thing?

Does negative campaigning promote or discourage political participation? Why or why not?

NOTE

Charles Lynch was a Revolutionary War commander who used summary executions and hangings to terrorize loyalists. Jack Cade was mentioned in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* as the leader of a bloody uprising in Britain in 1450 when authorities were executed by peasant mobs.

NOTE

Nero was a Roman emperor notorious for his brutality. Juggernaut, originally from the Hindu tradition, has come to mean a massive force that crushes all in its path.

NOTE

"Jobbing" means political corruption.

ADDITIONAL INFO

The lyrics of this song were adapted from a newspaper article from July 30, 1828 in the pro-Democratic *Cincinnati Gazette*. The pro-Jackson paper wrote that "war, pestilence and famine's comin'" if Adams won a second term. The Adams campaign turned the words around to create this musical attack on Jackson.

Andrew Jackson's political rise threatened conservative Eastern interests, which supported John Quincy Adams. Some people felt that Jackson's lack of political experience and schooling made him unfit to govern or that his military history indicated that he might threaten American democracy.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Fear
Music

HANDOUT

1832 ELECTION



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ42-109]



ANDREW JACKSON
and Martin Van Buren

POPULAR VOTE: 687,502
ELECTORAL VOTE: 219

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

Jackson was the **incumbent President**.

Jackson appealed to the common people to help him **defeat moneyed interests** as represented by the "Monster Bank" of the United States under "Czar Nicholas" Biddle.

Jackson supported "**hard money**" with all currency based on gold or silver.

Jackson authorized the expulsion of Native Americans from their homelands to the West via the forced marches known as the "**Trail of Tears**."

Jackson opposed **nullification**, the right of states to overrule federal law. His Vice President, South Carolinian **John Calhoun**, resigned over this issue and **Martin Van Buren** took his place on the ticket in 1832.

Jackson's "**Kitchen Cabinet**" of unofficial advisors included influential newspapermen.

Political cartoons were used in the new popular press to criticize the President.

The Democratic-Republican Party held their first **nominating convention** in 1832.



Collection of the U.S.
House of Representatives



HENRY CLAY
and John Sergeant

POPULAR VOTE: 530,189
ELECTORAL VOTE: 49

NATIONAL REPUBLICAN

Clay was a **U.S. Senator from Kentucky** and had run for President in 1824 along with Adams and Jackson.

Clay lobbied the Senate to recharter the **U.S. Bank**, which Jackson vetoed.

Clay proposed an "American system" of **internal improvements** and economic development.

THIRD PARTIES

This was the first election in which third parties played an important role.

The **Anti-Mason Party** was opposed to the Freemasons, a secretive and influential fraternity. They held the **first nominating convention** in 1831.

The **Workingmen's Party** attracted urban workers who felt that their interests had been ignored by major parties. This was the **first labor party** in the U.S.A.

"I am surprised and alarmed at the new source of executive power which is found in the result of a presidential election." — Henry Clay, candidate

DID YOU KNOW? President Jackson passed through Louisville, Kentucky (Clay's hometown) during the campaign. People were lined up five miles down the road to greet him, waving hickory branches. One Clay supporter said, "There is no with-standing such arguments."

TEACHER GUIDE

1832 DOC. #1: "Aristocrat / Workingman" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

With Jackson's presidency, issues of economic class came to the foreground in new ways. This had to do with the new voting rights of white male workers, farmers, and frontiersmen. Although Jackson was himself a wealthy man his followers often were not. The struggle between the representatives of "big money" and poorer classes was an issue of concern then as it remains today.

Political cartoons became an important form of communication in the early 19th century as more voters became literate and as increasing numbers of people had access to newspapers. The cartoon you will see was first printed in a New York newspaper. "Tammany" refers to the Tammany Society, a Republican political organization based in New York City, which had the reputation for using money and influence to decide elections.

> Project 1832 doc. #1a.

QUESTION

Which one of the two voters in the middle represents the aristocrat and which the workingman? Why do you think so?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The aristocrat is on the left and the workingman is on right.

EVIDENCE

aristocrat is dressed in suit coat, top hat and is slightly larger and in foreground, thus more powerful; workingman has sleeves rolled up for work, with no jacket or hat

> Project 1832 doc. #1b. Ask students to read the text.

QUESTION

What messages are given about the aristocrat and elections? Give evidence to justify your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The aristocrat is evil, conspiring with the Devil to buy votes and further reduce the rights of poor and working people.

EVIDENCE

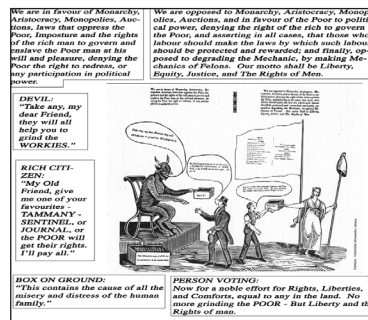
aristocrat communicating with the Devil; text: "We are in favour of Monarchy, Aristocracy, Monopolies, Auctions, laws that oppress the Poor, Imposts and the rights of the rich man to govern and enslave the Poor man at his will and pleasure, denying the Poor the right to redress, or any participation in political power."

1832 DOC. #1a

**"Aristocrat / Workingman" Cartoon (No Text Boxes)**

PowerPoint Slide

1832 DOC. #1b

**"Aristocrat / Workingman" Cartoon (With Text Boxes)**

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION What messages are being given about the workingman and elections? What is your evidence?

SUGGESTED ANSWER Workingmen are on the side of good and should use the vote to gain political power and equality for all.

EVIDENCE the workingman is casting a vote in a box held by Lady Liberty; "We are opposed to Monarchy, Aristocracy, Monopolies, Auctions, and in favour of the Poor to political power"; "Our motto shall be Liberty, Equity, Justice, and The Rights of Men."

QUESTION Is this image pro-Democrat or pro-Republican? Why?

SUGGESTED ANSWER It's pro-Democrat.

EVIDENCE in the early and middle 19th century Democrats were seen as the party of the common man and the Republicans were perceived as the party of the wealthy

QUESTION Who is the "new" target audience for this cartoon?

SUGGESTED ANSWER The new target audience consists of white male voters who sympathize with workers and the poor.

EVIDENCE readers' sympathies are directed toward the workers' "gallant" struggle for rights and against the aristocrats who conspire to take away those rights; this is a new target audience due to the lifting of property qualifications allowing voting rights for white men who are not landowners

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How have issues of class and privilege been raised in campaigns in recent times? Discuss how these issues have changed over time.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons

Class/Labor

Reaching Voters (cartoons)

Target Audience (skilled craftsmen)

Class conflict has been a consistent theme throughout U.S. elections.

Compare the sentiments of this 1832 cartoon with Ralph Nader's TV commercial from the 2000 campaign (2000 doc. #3c).

TEACHER GUIDE

1832 DOC. #2: King Andrew Handbill

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

One of the consequences of Jackson's popularity and power was an increase in personal attacks on him in print. Before Jackson, political cartoonists typically criticized the President indirectly, but Jackson appeared bigger than life with his commanding style that challenged Congress, the courts, and the banks. His powerful presence made a clear target for his enemies.

Jackson's opposition to the Bank of the United States, which he called the "Mammoth Monopoly," became a central issue in the campaign of 1832. In July 1832 President Jackson vetoed a bill to re-charter the Bank on the grounds that it was inefficient, monopolistic, and profitable mainly to foreigners and wealthy aristocrats. Some who opposed the Bank wanted to get more currency in circulation by the issuance of paper money not tied to gold and silver. Jackson opposed this "soft money" position and felt that all currency must be based on gold or silver. Shortly after the veto he traveled from Washington to the Hermitage, his home, paying for all expenses only in gold as a means to reinforce his support for "hard money."

The reference to King William IV of England is to the son of King George III whose rule the colonists had overthrown in the American Revolution.

Jackson's "heir apparent" was Martin Van Buren whose appointment as ambassador to Britain was denied in the Senate by then Vice President John Calhoun's tie-breaking vote. Van Buren later replaced Calhoun as Jackson's running mate in 1832.

> Project 1832 doc. #2a.

QUESTION

On first glance is this a pro-Jackson or anti-Jackson image? Why?

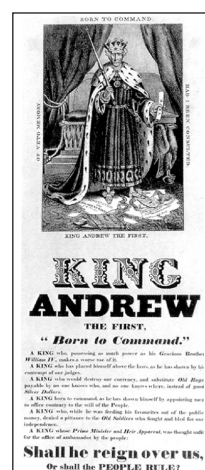
SUGGESTED ANSWER

It's anti-Jackson.

EVIDENCE

"King Andrew, Born to Command" portrays Andrew Jackson as a king in the British imperial tradition; most voters would remember the tyranny their parents' generation fought to overcome during the American Revolution

1832 DOC. #2a



King Andrew Handbill

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION How does the illustrator attempt to persuade viewers that Jackson acts like a king?

SUGGESTED ANSWER He has a throne, a robe, and a crown. He is trampling on the Constitution and on the U.S. Bank. He is holding a veto in one hand, and a scepter in the other.

> **Project** 1832 doc. #2b.

QUESTION What are the different criticisms of Jackson on the handbill? Give evidence from the document to support your claim.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jackson is becoming like a king.

EVIDENCE text "King Andrew"; images of thrown, crown, trampling on the Constitution and the U.S. Bank

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jackson's vetoes give him too much power.

EVIDENCE holding a veto in one hand and a scepter in the other

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jackson supports political patronage.

EVIDENCE "...feeding his favorites out of the public money..."

SUGGESTED ANSWER Jackson will abandon gold and silver for paper money.

EVIDENCE text "destroy our currency, and substitute old rags..."

SEE NOTE

NOTE

This criticism distorts Jackson's support for "hard money."

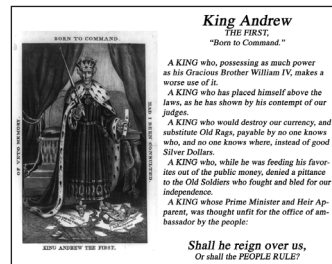
FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of current examples where a President has been accused of over-stepping his power? Is it good or bad for our democratic system for a President to be challenged in this way?

Do cartoonists have the power to change people's minds about a candidate? Why or why not?

1832 DOC.

#2b



King Andrew Handbill (Cut Up)

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Jackson's opponents, who would later become the Whig party, had been long critical of his assumption of "imperial" authority going back to Jackson's unauthorized conquest of Spanish Florida in 1818. Henry Clay, in particular, has suggested that Jackson wanted to become a military dictator in the mold of Julius Caesar or Napoleon Bonaparte. In addition the Whigs were concerned about Jackson's unprecedented use of vetoes for political purposes and his opposition to the U.S. Bank. Washington's oldest newspaper, the *National Intelligencer*, editorialized that Jackson's bank veto had rendered the Constitution a "dead letter" and the "will of a DICTATOR ... the Supreme Law!"

CONNECTIONS

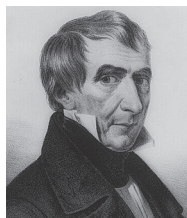
(see thematic listing)

Attack Fear

Incumbent presidents have sometimes been attacked for having unchecked power. In 1940 when Franklin Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented 3rd term some accused him of becoming a potential dictator (1940 doc. #2). In 1972 cartoonist Herblock critiqued the corruption of the powerful and popular Nixon administration and predicted its downfall (1972 doc. #4).

HANDOUT

1840 ELECTION



WILLIAM H. HARRISON
and John Tyler

POPULAR VOTE: 1,274,624
ELECTORAL VOTE: 234

WHIG

Harrison was a **military hero** and had been one of three Whig candidates in the 1836 election.

The **Whig Party** was formed in 1836 out of the old National Republicans and other anti-Jackson parties. They took the name "Whig" from the British party that opposed the power of the king.

Harrison's **Hurrah Campaign** built on the spectacle of Jackson's 1828 campaign with pageants, parades, and parties.

Whigs used the symbols of **log cabins** and **hard cider** to appeal to the "common man."

Whigs distributed the first and largest ever **campaign songbook**.

Harrison was presented as the hero of the **Battle of Tippecanoe**.

The **Penny Press**, one-cent newspapers, emerged as a major campaign medium and was used successfully by Harrison.



MARTIN VAN BUREN
and Richard Johnson

POPULAR VOTE: 1,127,781
ELECTORAL VOTE: 60

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN

Van Buren was the **incumbent President**, having defeated several Whig candidates in 1836.

Van Buren's "**life of luxury**" was criticized by Whigs who claimed he drank champagne from gold cups. In fact Van Buren had a modest background while Harrison came from wealth.

Unlike Whigs, Van Buren opposed **government involvement** in the economy.

Democrats were hurt by the **Panic of 1837**, which took place while Van Buren was President and led to an economic depression.

New **target groups** including small farmers, immigrants, and Catholics supported Van Buren.

The Changing Electorate

- **Party allegiance** became ever more important to voters.
- More voters were literate due to the spread of **public education**.
- The **middle class** began to form and urban workers and trades people became targeted groups.

"We were sung down, drunk down and lied down. Right joyous are we that the campaign of 1840 is closed. Its character and incidents will furnish matter for mortifying reflections for years to come. - Democratic editorial in *Wheeling Times*

DID YOU KNOW? At Harrison's inauguration in March 1841 he rode upon a white horse to the Capitol in the midst of a downpour without a hat. He then gave the longest inaugural speech ever, one hour 45 minutes, and caught a severe cold from prolonged exposure to the rain. He died on April 4, one month after being sworn into office.

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #1: Quote From *Baltimore Republican*

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

After Andrew Jackson won a second term in 1832, the National Republicans never nominated another presidential candidate. The Whig Party then emerged out of the defunct National Republicans and other anti-Jackson groups. In the election of 1836 Martin Van Buren was the Democratic Republican candidate and was Andrew Jackson's hand-picked successor. The Whigs' strategy in 1836 was to run three candidates in different parts of the country in an attempt to force a decision in the House of Representatives, as had happened in 1824. But this strategy backfired and Van Buren won in a landslide. In the election of 1840 the Whigs chose to run only one candidate against Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, who had garnered the most votes of Whig candidates in 1836.

The newspapers of the early United States were mostly owned and operated by political parties. If you read a Democratic newspaper in 1840 you got news that supported Democrats and bashed the opposition. The Democratic Party of 1840 sought to continue the policies of Andrew Jackson under President Martin Van Buren.

The opposition to "King Andrew" and the Democrats came from a new political party, the Whigs. The Whigs named themselves after the English party that had traditionally sought to limit the power of the king.

At their convention in December 1839 members of the Whig Party were divided on whom to support. In the end, William Henry Harrison, a relatively unknown retired general, was nominated over better-known candidates Henry Clay and Winfield Scott. The *Baltimore Republican*, an anti-Whig newspaper, printed this remark, which was supposedly made at the Whig convention by one of Clay's friends after Harrison's nomination.

"Sea coal" refers to coal from the earth as opposed to charcoal made from burning wood. It was so called because it was coal that washed up on shore or because it was transported by ship.

"Give him a barrel of hard cider and a pension of two thousand a year and, my word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days in a log cabin, by the side of a 'sea-coal' fire and study moral philosophy" (Boller 66).

> **Project** slide with quote.

QUESTION

What message about Harrison is communicated through this quote?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Even his own party members consider Harrison to be a lazy, alcoholic dreamer.

EVIDENCE

"give him a barrel of hard cider," he'll sit the remainder of his days...and study moral philosophy"

1840 DOC. #1

"Give him a barrel of hard cider and a pension of two thousand a year and, my word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days in a log cabin, by the side of a 'sea-coal' fire and study moral philosophy".

—*Baltimore Republican*, December 1839

Quote from *Baltimore Republican* Newspaper Article

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

Why might an anti-Whig newspaper choose to print this remark by a Whig who supported Clay about Whig nominee Harrison?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The newspaper might want to use the Whig Party's internal divisions against them, and to portray the Whig candidate as a poor choice for President.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Do newspapers and television news programs today tend to report news in ways that are obviously more favorable to one party than another? Is this a good thing or a bad thing for democracy?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Media Bias

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #2: *The Log Cabin Newspaper Banner***BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

In the 21st century, the owners and editors of newspapers and television news stations have a lot of power in determining the information that voters receive about a candidate during a presidential campaign. This was equally true in 1840 when campaign news reporting helped to shape the image of retired General William Henry Harrison into that of the common man's hero.

"Spin" is a modern term used to describe how a bit of "news" can be turned from a negative impact to a positive one by a skillful information manager. "Spin" is not a new process, as you can see from this next example. The Whig campaign managers took the remark that was reported in the opposition newspaper as a slam against Harrison and "spun" it to create the Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign theme that would become a national sensation. The "Log Cabin Campaign" of 1840 became a model for future campaigns.

"Spin" often involves playing around with the truth. Harrison's campaign managers portrayed him as a regular frontiersman who had become a hero through his military service. In reality he had been born on a large Virginia plantation, the son of a wealthy signer of the Declaration of Independence. The Whig campaign accused Van Buren of being an upper-class snob while Harrison himself lived a very comfortable life on his large estate in North Bend, Ohio.

The Whig Party created a chain of "Log Cabin" campaign newspapers to report on General Harrison's heroic exploits in the military. The papers also promoted all the fun to be had on the Whig campaign trail with mass parties that included big crowds, plenty of music, and lots of hard cider or whiskey. During this campaign Philadelphia distiller E.C. Booz marketed his "Log Cabin Whiskey" in bottles shaped like log cabins and "booze" became a synonym for alcohol.

The Whig Party newspapers were part of the new "penny press" that carried news of candidates to workers and trades people for the first time. Most newspapers at that time were directed at the upper classes and were beyond the means of most workers because they were only available by subscription. At the height of the campaign the circulation of the Whig papers was nearly 80,000 copies, a huge number in those days.

> Project 1840 doc. #2a.

QUESTION	Who was the target audience for this newspaper? Why do you think so?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The target audience consisted of Whig party members and sympathizers, farmers, voters of humble origins or those drawn to the frontier.
EVIDENCE	the title and image of log cabin; a frontier farmer beneath the Harrison campaign flag

1840 DOC. #2a

National Museum of American History
Smithsonian Institution Behring Center

The Log Cabin **Newspaper Banner**

PowerPoint Slide

> Project 1840 doc. #2b.

QUESTION **What messages about the candidate are presented in this image? What evidence do you have?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Harrison is a hard-working man of simple means who enjoys his hard cider. He lives on the new American frontier.

EVIDENCE farmer plowing next to a log cabin with cider keg; U.S. soldiers' tents in the background, forest in the background; "Harrison and Tyler" flag overhead

QUESTION **What information about Harrison is left out of this image?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Harrison was the son of aristocracy and lived on an estate, not a log cabin.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of information sources today that use "spin" in a similar way?

Does the process of "spinning" the news to favor a candidate encourage or discourage political involvement by the public?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"

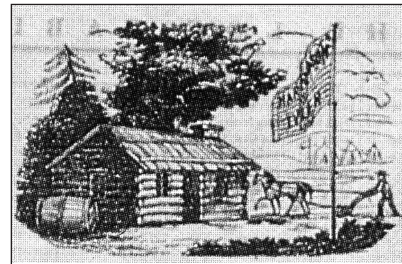
Media Bias

Target Audience (frontiersmen)

Newspapers in the early 19th century were typically party organs with an explicitly partisan editorial position. Today's periodicals typically try to appear non-partisan. Compare *The Log Cabin* newspaper banner with *Newsweek's* cover during the disputed election of 2000 (2000 doc. #13). Why might *Newsweek* want to appear neutral and unbiased? Is this a good thing?

1840 DOC.

#2b



National Museum of American History
Smithsonian Institution Behring Center

Banner - Center Illustration

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

In 1840 a young man named Horace Greeley was named as editor of the Whig's lead newspaper, *The Log Cabin*, by the Whig Party's campaign manager. Greeley was highly successful in using his newspaper to reinforce the excitement of the Whig campaign and to attack President Van Buren. After the campaign Greeley changed the name of the paper to the *New York Tribune* and embarked on his own career as a nationally known publisher. Greeley's career as a presidential image-maker would eventually culminate in his own run for the presidency 32 years later.

Greeley's *New York Tribune* would later merge with the *New York Herald* to become the *New York Herald Tribune*. In 1966 the New York paper closed but their European edition continues to this day as the *International Herald Tribune*.

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #3: Whig Party Parade

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This drawing portrays a Whig campaign rally in Philadelphia in 1840. During the Harrison campaign people took to the streets in unprecedented numbers – thousands of people in parades sometimes ten miles long. For the entire campaign season from February through November the Whig party created giant celebrations in honor of their candidate. Many said it was like having a traditional Fourth of July Independence Day festival last for months. These rallies featured speeches, songs, hard cider, and images of log cabins.

> Project the document.

QUESTION

What visual images to promote Harrison do you notice in this drawing?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Images include giant candidate portraits on the building (General Harrison on horse-back), American flags, a painting of a log cabin on the wagon, and campaign posters.

QUESTION

From this image, what are the aspects of a parade that were used to spark enthusiasm?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Drums, marching, and cheering would spark enthusiasm.

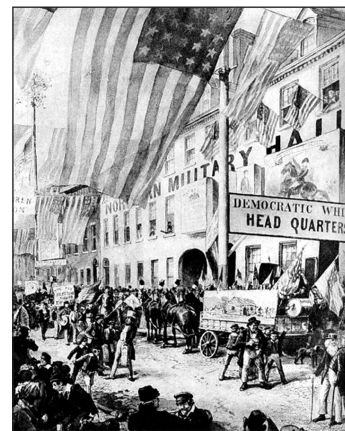
QUESTION

What particular advantages might such a rally have had over newspapers in mobilizing voters before the era of mass communication?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Large groups can increase enthusiasm. It's a way of placing an image in front of large numbers of people in a short time. It offers encouragement for the uninvolved voter to come out with everyone else for the big party.

1840 DOC. #3



Whig Party Parade

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What aspects of the “circus of 1840” are still with us today? How did the influential campaign of 1840 help to strengthen and/or weaken American democracy? Should campaigns focus both on issues and imagery?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Today we are accustomed to a barrage of campaign imagery including countless still and moving images of presidential candidates. In the early 19th century images of the candidates were limited. The Whig Party changed that in 1840, producing hundreds of portraits of Harrison, often on horseback in the style of George Washington. Harrison’s image appeared in drawings, paintings, on ribbons and mugs, on glass and metal, in newspapers, and on sheet music. Though the media were less sophisticated, the Whig Party established a sensational image-oriented campaign style that became the model for future elections.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Hero”**Reaching Voters** (parade)

This election began the tradition of the campaign as spectacle. Use video clips from the 2000 Republican and Democratic conventions (2000 doc. #2) to compare the spectacle of 1840 with contemporary campaigns.

Web Connection: Visit

www.projectlooksharp.org for additional video clips from 2000: Convention entrances.

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #4: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song

Media:

4. "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" audio (access online or via 1828-1840, 1840 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Sing-alongs were used in the 19th century to build enthusiasm and support for a candidate. The 1840 Whig campaign published the first and largest campaign songbook in American history. The songs were part of an unprecedented mass campaign that included parades, banners, concerts, and mass meetings. During parades and rallies the Whigs would roll huge slogan-covered balls through towns, popularizing the expression, "keep the ball rolling."

With nearly 2.5 million voters, twice as many as those who had voted in the election of 1828, the opportunity for truly massive gatherings appeared for the first time in the 1840 campaign. A report from an upstate New York rally that summer gives a sense of the spectacle of this campaign: "The hearts of 25,000 freemen have been overflowing with gladness and joy...The People...poured in from the Valleys and rushed in torrents down from the Mountains...vocal with Eloquence, with Music, and with Acclamations" (Melder 79). The popularity of these celebrations can be attributed, in part, to the desire for public entertainment in an era before TV, movies, NASCAR, and football.

Slogans became another great way to achieve name recognition in the century before radio and TV. Among the Whigs' many slogans, their best-known one, and one of the most memorable of any campaign, was "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too." Tippecanoe was Harrison's nickname after his part in the Battle of Tippecanoe in Indiana where Tecumseh's united Native American forces were defeated. John Tyler was Harrison's running mate who became President when Harrison died of pneumonia one month after his inauguration.

The song that you will hear was perhaps the most popular of those included in The Log Cabin Songbook and sung along the campaign trail. Imagine ten thousand people singing along, hard cider in hand, as the Whig rolling balls were pushed along the streets for a wild celebration of a candidate who was unknown to most voters just one year earlier.

> **Play** the song and **project** the lyrics and/or **hand out** the lyric sheets.

QUESTION	What impression does the song give about the Harrison campaign?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The campaign is unstoppable.
EVIDENCE	lyrics: "great commotion, motion, motion," "ball a rolling on," "rush of mighty waters"; the catchiness of the music and slogan

1840 DOC. #4

TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO
Words: Alexander Coffman Ross
Melody: "Little Pigs"

*Oh, who has heard the great commotion,
motion, motion, all the country through?
It is the ball a rolling on,*

*For Tippecanoe and Tyler too, For Tippecanoe and Tyler too
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van,
Van is a used up man,
and with them we'll beat little Van. (CHORUS)*

*Sure, let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider
And log cabins too,
It will only help to speed the ball
CHORUS
Like the rush of mighty waters, waters, waters
Onward it will go
And its course will bring you through
CHORUS*

"Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song**Audio Clip**

Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout

QUESTION	What qualifications for President are mentioned in this song?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	No qualifications are given.
EVIDENCE	no mention of qualifications; tactics of persuasion are simply cheerleading and putting the opposition down

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What role might free alcohol have played at these mass rallies? How do today’s candidates use mass celebrations to stimulate voter interest and participation? Should electoral politics be mixed with entertainment?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The person who wrote the lyrics to “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too” was a member of an Ohio Tippecanoe Club. He sang the song at a Whig rally in New York and it soon became popular nationwide. The *North American Review*, a widely-read magazine of the time, said it was to “the political canvas of 1840 what the ‘Marseillaise’ was to the French revolution” and claimed, “it sang Harrison into the presidency” (Silber 37).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Music
Reaching Voters (song)

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #5: Democratic-Republican Party Newspaper

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Today it is common to see newspaper ads for candidates appearing in the weeks and months leading up to an election. Again this process of selling candidates is not new. This newspaper advertisement for Martin Van Buren's presidential campaign in 1840 is under the banner of the "Democratic Republican Party" which was the official name of the Democratic Party in that era. It includes references honoring past Presidents who ran as Democratic-Republicans including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Andrew Jackson, as well as George Washington, who had no party affiliation.

Vice presidential candidate Richard Johnson claimed to have killed the famous Shawnee Chief Tecumseh in the Battle of the Thames during the War of 1812. Whig skeptics questioned this assertion saying that there was no evidence that Tecumseh died at Johnson's hands.

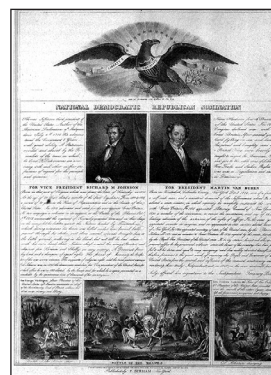
> Project 1840 doc. #5a.

QUESTION	What first impressions are offered about the Democratic candidates? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	They are men of courage and stature, upholding American values of liberty and equality.
EVIDENCE	American eagle with liberty and equality banners at top; well-dressed appearance in portrait; heroic military images in bottom illustrations

> Have students read the text related to presidential candidate Martin Van Buren on the handout.

QUESTION	What messages are given about Van Buren's qualifications to be reelected? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is from humble origins.
EVIDENCE	text: "son of a farmer, a self-made man"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He revised the U.S. Constitution and fought for voting rights.
EVIDENCE	text: "a member of the convention, to revise the constitution, and one of the leading advocates of the extension of the rights of suffrage"

1840 DOC. #5a



Democratic-Republican Party Newspaper

PowerPoint Slide

Text from two sections on student handout

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He is a successful and honest politician.**

EVIDENCE text: "In every station, honest and able"

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He challenged the wealthy ruling classes.**

EVIDENCE text: "has nobly devoted himself with unshak-
en firmness to the great work of rescuing the
People and Government of the United States
from the control and influence of the monied
aristocracy"

**> Have students read the text related to vice
presidential candidate Richard Johnson on the
student handout**

QUESTION **What messages are given about
Johnson's qualifications to be reelect-
ed? What is your evidence?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He is an experienced politician.**

EVIDENCE text: "member of the State Legislature From
1807 to 1837, a period of 30 years on the
house of Representatives and in the Senate"

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He is courageous in battle.**

EVIDENCE text: "commanded the regiment of Kentucky
mounted men and in their charge on the
enemy"; "he had slain with his own hand,
their Indian chief"

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He is a patriotic supporter of equal rights.**

EVIDENCE text: "A Democrat from boyhood, and a cham-
pion of equal rights"

QUESTION **Why does the author say that Johnson
"obtained for Harrison and Shelby an
easy victory"?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER **The author is challenging the Whig asser-
tion that their presidential candidate
William Henry Harrison was a military hero.**

> **Project** 1840 doc. #5b.

QUESTION

Why were these illustrations of vice-presidential candidate Johnson chosen over images of the presidential candidate?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Johnson was a military hero, Van Buren a life-long politician. There is far more dramatic impact in showing a scene of courage under fire and killing an "Indian chief" than in taking the oath of office or holding a pen.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How can a voter determine whether the information about a candidate from an ad like this is true or not true?

1840 DOC. #5b



Democratic-Republican Party Newspaper

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Many southerners distrusted Van Buren because he was from New York. But they were truly enraged by Richard Johnson of Kentucky. He lived openly with an African American woman and had two daughters with her whom he educated and presented to society. This affront to the racist attitudes of the white South, however, was not enough to keep Johnson from being included and elected on the Democratic ticket in 1836.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Hero"

Reaching Voters (campaign biography)
Contemporary candidates also present brief campaign biographies to introduce or reinvent themselves to voters, although typically in film rather than text. Compare the bios in this 1840 newspaper advertisement with the bios of George W. Bush and Al Gore from their 2000 nominating conventions (2000 doc. #2).

TEACHER GUIDE

1840 DOC. #6: "Rock-A-Bye Baby, Daddy's A Whig" Song

Media:

6. "Rock-A-Bye Baby" audio (access online or via 1828-1840, 1840 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Democrats, who had initially put forward the log cabin and hard cider images as an attack on Harrison, were simply overwhelmed by the popular appeal of these images in casting the challenger as a frontier "people's candidate" from the Andrew Jackson mold. They tried to suppress the overwhelming public enthusiasm for the Harrison campaign by reminding voters that Harrison had himself grown up in a palatial home and was part of the Virginian planter aristocracy. They also pointed out that, unlike Jackson, Harrison's military career had been undistinguished. His men had actually suffered heavy casualties against the poorly armed Native American confederation at the Battle of Tippecanoe.

> **Play the song and project the lyrics and/or hand out lyric sheets.**

QUESTION	Which candidate does this song support, Harrison or Van Buren? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It supports Van Buren.
EVIDENCE	"Tip (Harrison) is a fake," "Van Buren will affix" what Tip "would ruin"
QUESTION	What impression do the lyrics and music give you about Harrison? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a drunkard.
EVIDENCE	"hard cider he'll swig," "he'll fall in a stew," "he sits in his cabin a drinking that rum"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is not a real war hero.
EVIDENCE	"Tip is a fake, far from the battle, war cry and drum"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Harrison is boring and his presidency will put the country to sleep.
EVIDENCE	familiar lullaby tune invokes slumber

1840 DOC. #6

1840 doc. #6

ROCK-A-BYE BABY

Words: Anonymous

Melody: "Rockabye Baby"

Adapted by: Oscar Brand

Rock-a-bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig
 When he comes home, hard cider he'll swig
 When he has swug he'll fall in a stew
 And down will come Tyler and Tippecanoe
 Rock-a-Bye Baby, when you awake
 You will discover Tip is a fake
 Far from the battle, war cry and drum
 He sits in his cabin a- drinking that rum
 Rock a bye baby, never you cry
 You need not fear old Tip and his Ty
 What they would ruin Van Buren will affix

"Rock-a-bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig" Song

Audio Clip

Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and student handout

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are the dangers of negative campaigning? What aspects of the 1840 campaign are still with us today? How did this campaign hurt or help American democracy?

ADDITIONAL INFO

In the end the Van Buren campaign had to concede defeat against the great chorus singing for "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too." One Democratic newspaper editor wrote: "Some of the songs I shall never forget. They rang in my ears wherever I went, morning, noon and night...it was a ceaseless torrent of music" (Johnson 3).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

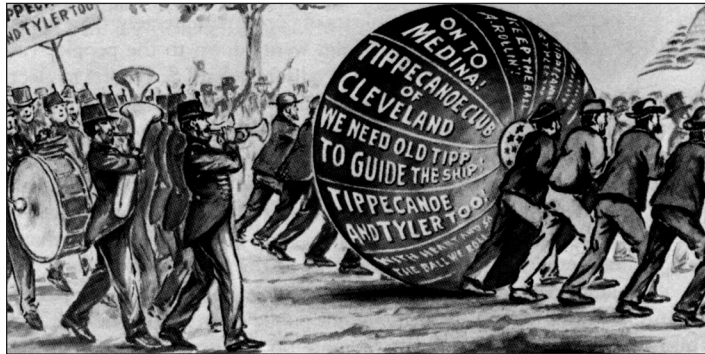
Attack

The Democrats' attack on Harrison as a drunkard from a log cabin surely backfired. Look at other examples where campaign strategies backfired. In 1988 the campaign of Michael Dukakis constructed a photo-op of the candidate riding in a tank in order to redefine him as strong on military issues. The strategy backfired and his opponent, George H. W. Bush used the images in attack ads to present the smiling and suited Dukakis as a wimp (1988 doc. #6).

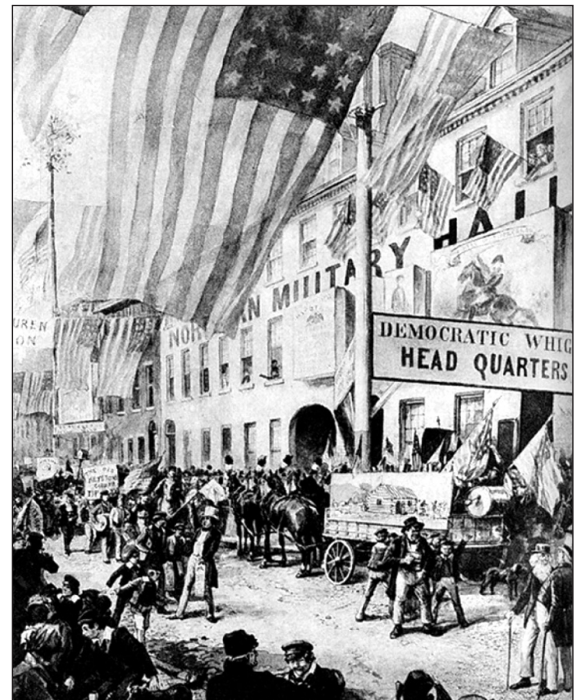
1828-1840: The Campaign as Spectacle



1840: Whig Party Newspaper Banner



1840: Whig Rolling Ball



1840: Whig Party Parade

TIPPECANOE AND TYLER TOO

Words: Alexander Coffman Ross

Melody: "Little Pigs"

*Oh, who has heard the great commotion,
motion, motion, all the country through?
It is the ball a rolling on,*

*For Tippecanoe and Tyler too, For Tippecanoe and Tyler too
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van,
Van is a used up man,
and with them we'll beat little Van. (CHORUS)*

*Sure, let them talk about hard cider, cider, cider
And log cabins too,
It will only help to speed the ball
CHORUS*

*Like the rush of mighty waters, waters, waters
Onward it will go
And its course will bring you through
CHORUS*

1840: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song Lyrics

Essay Question:

Explain how the Campaign of 1840 influenced all future presidential elections through initiating the campaign as grand spectacle. Reference at least three of the documents above in your essay.

NAME:

Date:

How did the penny newspaper, *The Log Cabin*, encourage voters to celebrate Harrison's campaign?

Name three elements of a Whig Party parade that might be present in a political convention today.

Give two examples of how popular songs have encouraged voter participation in Presidential election campaigns.

Name two kinds of modern media that serve the same function as the Whig rolling ball in embedding campaign slogans in voters' minds.

OVERVIEW

1860-1872: Slavery, Civil War, and Reconstruction

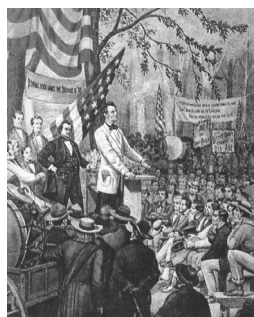
Media:

1860-1872 PowerPoint (access online or via 1860-1872 digital media folder)

1860-1872 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1860-1872 digital media folder)

1860-1872: SLAVERY, CIVIL WAR, AND RECONSTRUCTION

The four presidential elections between 1860 and 1872 were historic in many respects. Abraham Lincoln's victory in 1860 is seen by some as the spark that ignited the Civil War. In 1864 the United States held a democratic election during the midst of war (although only in the non-Confederate states). The elections of 1868 and 1872 focused on Reconstruction and initiated a struggle for African American voting rights that would last a century. Through critically analyzing historic documents from that time we can get a better understanding of this important period and gain perspective both on contemporary issues and on how we elect our chief executive.



The Lincoln-Douglas Debates, 1858

How has television changed political debates?

CHANGING CAMPAIGNS

As the national borders expanded westward, presidential candidates needed new ways to reach voters across the growing country. News of the Lincoln-Douglas Senate debates was publicized in the national press allowing Lincoln to gain much wider name recognition. Stumping for votes was a new and controversial technique to connect candidates with the

electorate. Many felt that it was undignified and not presidential for candidates to personally and publicly ask voters for their support.



"The First Vote"

What does this cover tell you about the editorial position of *Harper's Weekly* on voting rights for African Americans?

RACE AND VOTING RIGHTS

Race became a powerful factor in these elections. It was used both to scare white voters and to appeal to values of tolerance and freedom. The spread of slavery was a key issue in the 1860 campaign. African American men had the right to vote for the first time in 1868 and almost immediately afterwards this right was effectively stolen from them especially in the South, as a result of Jim Crow laws, poll taxes and literacy tests, and the departure of Federal troops that had been enforcing civil rights.

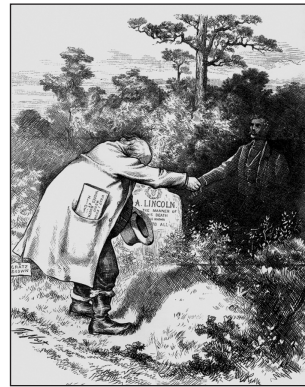
The very survival of the nation was brought into question during these war-torn years. Both the Republican and Democratic parties split and reformed between 1860 and 1872. Campaigns throughout the period played on themes of war, peace, and security. The fact that the United States held an election during the midst of a civil war was in itself an extraordinary accomplishment.

CHANGING MEDIA

As the country grew to include California and Texas it became even more difficult for candidates to become known across the nation. The airplane was yet to be invented and rail travel was limited, especially during the war. Newspapers and posters came to play an increasingly important role in introducing candidates to voters. Political cartoons reached a broad audience through newspapers and had significant influence on the electorate.

The powerful New York City politician, "Boss" Tweed, said of cartoons, "I don't care what they print about me, most of my constituents can't read anyway – but them damn pictures." Thomas Nast, the most famous cartoonist of this time period, characterized and attacked politicians, particularly the 1872 Democratic candidate, Horace Greeley. Nast's illustrations contributed to Greeley's defeat and possibly even helped lead to his death shortly after the election.

This Nast cartoon shows Horace Greeley shaking hands with John Wilkes Booth over the grave of Abraham Lincoln. Booth was Lincoln's assassin.



"The Next in Order..." by Thomas Nast

What messages about Greeley is Nast giving in this cartoon?

Do contemporary cartoonists play a role in presidential campaigns?

What other forms of political satire influence today's voters?

Do presidential candidates use racial issues to garner votes in contemporary elections?

How were wartime fears used in presidential campaigns during the Civil War, World War II, or the Vietnam War? How are they used in today's War on Terrorism?

1840s-1870s	1840s-1850s	1860	1864	1868	1872	late 1870s
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, portraits, handbills, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, campaign songs					
NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, PHOTOGRAPHY, & BOOKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Associated Press formed in NYC First magazines (<i>The Nation</i>, <i>Harper's Weekly</i>) <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> published Frederick Douglass publishes <i>The North Star</i> in Rochester, NY (rise of abolitionist press) Wood pulp paper invented (greatly reduced cost of newspapers) Telegraph invented <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Western Union begins First U.S. transcontinental telegraph 					
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Civil War photographs (Matthew Brady) First Thomas Nast political cartoons First news photograph (daguerreotype) Transatlantic telegraph cable Transcontinental railroad completed 					
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begin explosion in newspaper circulation First "dime" novels First color photographs Invention of telephone Invention of phonograph 					

HANDOUT

1860-1872 STUDENT HANDOUT

1864 DOCUMENT #1: Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate - we can not consecrate - we can not hallow - this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us - that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion - that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom - and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

1864 DOCUMENT #2:

Four Newspaper Reports on the Gettysburg Address

1864 doc. #2a

From the *Chicago Tribune*

Saturday, November 21, 1863

FROM GETTYSBURG, PA.
The Consecration of the
Battle Cemetery,
50,000 PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE.

Impressive Exercises of
the Occasion.

Dirge by Hon. D. B. French – Oration by Hon.
Edward Everett.

Dedicatory Address by President Lincoln.

A Grand National
Testimonial to Our
Fallen Braves.

[Special Dispatch to the Chicago Tribune]

HARRISBURG, NOV. 20, 1863

My dispatch last night concerning the exercises yesterday, by occupation of the wires, was made necessarily brief. I send you my full notes of the most impressive civic occasion of the war.

A great day for the nation, the burial place of her glorious defenders on the crisis of the national safety was splendidly dedicated to valor, to patriotism and to freedom.

....

The conclusion of the President's remarks was followed by immense applause, and three cheers given for him, as also three cheers for the Governors of the States.

1864 doc. #2b

From the *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*

"We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of."

1864 doc. #2c

From the *Providence Journal*

"We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the president made at the close of Mr. Everett's oration... Could the most elaborate and splendid be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words of the President? They had in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquent."

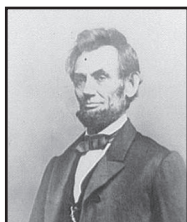
1864 doc. #2d

From the *Chicago Times*

"Readers will not have failed to observe the exceeding bad taste which characterized the remarks of the President... at the dedication of the soldier's cemetery at Gettysburg. The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to the intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States."

HANDOUT

1860 ELECTION



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
and Hannibal Hamlin

POPULAR VOTE: 1,865,593
ELECTORAL VOTE: 180

REPUBLICAN

Lincoln was a **lawyer** who **unsuccessfully** ran against Douglas for a seat in the **U.S. Senate** in 1858.

The **Civil War** loomed in 1860 and all candidates supported **preserving the Union**.

With the **Democrats divided** over slavery, Lincoln concentrated on winning the larger Northern vote.

A Lincoln victory seemed certain to lead to Southern **secession** and civil war.

All candidates supported the **transcontinental rail-road**, as the nation grew westward.

Lincoln favored the **Homestead Act** giving free land to Western settlers.

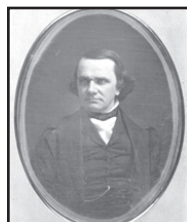
Lincoln's "**rail splitter**" image appealed to voters in the Western frontier states.

The **Republicans** were a relatively new party formed in 1856 made up of many ex-Whigs like Lincoln.

Lincoln gained **national attention** during the Illinois Senate race in 1858 when he **debated** Stephen Douglas, which was covered by many newspapers.

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided."

-Lincoln speaking at the 1858 convention that nominated him to be the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate seat in Illinois.



STEPHEN DOUGLAS
and Herschel Johnson

POPULAR VOTE: 1,382,713
ELECTORAL VOTE: 12

DEMOCRAT (NORTH)

Douglas was a **U.S. Senator** from Illinois.

There were intense **sectional divides** on the issue of slavery.

In 1854, Senator Douglas pushed through Congress a repeal of the **Missouri Compromise** as a nod to Southern Democrats. This led to the collapse of the Whig Party, divisions within the Democratic Party, and the creation of a Republican Party.

Douglas was criticized for **stumping** for votes through personal appearances at rallies.



Map of states and territories open to slavery or free, after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, 1854

JOHN BRECKINRIDGE and Joseph Lane
DEMOCRAT (SOUTH)

POPULAR VOTE: 848,358
ELECTORAL VOTE: 72

Party loyalties were scattered as the **Democrats split** over the issue of **slavery**.

JOHN BELL and Edward Everett
CONSTITUTIONAL UNION

POPULAR VOTE: 592,906
ELECTORAL VOTE: 39

The **Constitutional Union Party**, made up of ex Whigs and Know Nothings, stood for preserving the Union.

TEACHER GUIDE

1860 DOC. #1: Lincoln Douglas Debates Image (1858)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the middle of the 18th century the territory of the United States was still rapidly expanding. Between the elections of 1856 and 1864 five new states from the North and West were added to the union. In these years, before completion of the transcontinental railroad, candidates could not visit every state. Newspapers provided the best means to get the word out about a campaign.

One way to get the attention of the press was to create new forums for candidates that would spark voter interest. Newspaper reporters could be counted on to carry the news to voters in far-flung parts of the country. The elections of 1858 and 1860 provided a national platform to discuss key issues of the day, including slavery and state sovereignty.

The first presidential debates between candidates from different parties didn't occur until 1960. The famous Lincoln-Douglas debates actually took place during the 1858 campaign for the Illinois Senate. Lincoln, who was not as well known at the time, challenged Douglas to debate in order to increase his visibility, and Douglas accepted. Huge crowds gathered for the debates in seven Illinois cities between August and October. The debates were successful in attracting press coverage from across the country. Lincoln lost the Senate race but in the process he became known to a national audience which helped his campaign two years later when he again faced Douglas, this time for the presidency.

The main issue in the 1858 debates was the spread of slavery. Douglas argued that each new territory should be allowed to decide whether or not to accept slavery. Lincoln opposed the spread of slavery into new territories and argued that Douglas' proposal amounted to "squatter sovereignty" (Daniel 356).

This drawing was made by an artist named Beale at the time of the debates.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION

What messages does this image suggest about Lincoln? Why do you think so?

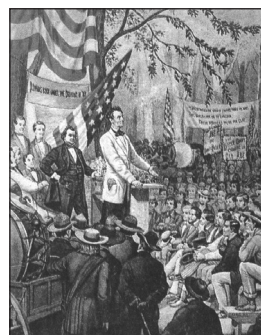
SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is an able speaker with lots of support.

EVIDENCE

Lincoln assumes a noble position, straight and tall, hand outstretched; audience seems to be paying deep attention to his words

1860 DOC. #1



Picture History

Lincoln Douglas Debates Image (1858)

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION	Does this image favor Lincoln or Douglas? Give evidence to support your conclusion.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It favors Lincoln.
EVIDENCE	Lincoln's image is the largest one, presented high and in the center of the frame; Douglas is smaller, behind and beneath Lincoln; Lincoln is the one speaking, others listening to him; 2 of the 3 signs favor Lincoln: "Abe the Giant Killer" and "The girls link on to Lincoln"

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION	Based on this image, who was the target audience for the debates? Explain your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	White men were the target audience.
EVIDENCE	audience is mainly male and all white; only white men could vote in 1860

FURTHER QUESTIONS

In modern elections it is common for candidates to debate the issues. What role can debates play in helping voters decide for whom to vote?

Some people have argued that debates should replace political advertisements as the primary means for candidates to communicate with the public. What do you think?

NOTE

Douglas, nicknamed "The Little Giant," was 5 foot 4 inches tall. Lincoln, "the Giant Killer" or "The Rail Splitter," was 6 foot 4 inches.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Lincoln proposed the idea of a debate to Douglas in a letter. He wrote: "will it be agreeable to you to make an arrangement for you and myself to divide time and address the same audiences during the present canvass?" (Daniel 356). Had Douglas turned him down one wonders whether Lincoln could have attained the name recognition sufficient to be nominated for President two years later.

The size of the crowds presented a special problem for the debaters in 1858, since microphones and amplifiers had yet to be invented. During the fourth debate in Charleston, Illinois on September 18, 1858, Lincoln began his speech in this way:

"Ladies and gentlemen: It will be very difficult for an audience so large as this to hear distinctly what a speaker says, and consequently it is important that as profound silence be preserved as possible" (Lincoln 145).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

The Lincoln Douglas debates were carried to the national electorate through lengthy newspaper coverage of their words. Today's candidates debate in front of the TV cameras, usually with a small live audience. How has this shift in medium influenced how candidates speak? See 1960 doc. #1 of the Nixon/Kennedy debates (first televised presidential debate) and 2000 doc. #10 the Bush/Gore debate.

TEACHER GUIDE

1860 DOC. #2: Lincoln Douglas Debate Headline (1858)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Newspapers in the mid 1800s continued to serve as party organs much as they had since the days of Jefferson and Adams. Reports were usually biased in the favor of the party's candidate (Daniel 356). These headlines are from a newspaper report on the seventh and final debate between Douglas and Lincoln held at Alton, Illinois on October 13, 1858. In the Alton debate over 6,000 people gathered in front of the City Hall, including reporters from Boston, St. Louis, New York and Chicago. The debate went on for 3 1/2 hours.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	Is this headline pro-Lincoln or pro-Douglas? Why do you think so?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It is pro-Douglas.
EVIDENCE	negative comments about Lincoln while Douglas presented as making "great speeches"
QUESTION	What messages about Lincoln are communicated in these headlines? Give your evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Lincoln does not tell the truth.
EVIDENCE	text: "Lincoln again refuses to answer..." , "Appears in his old character of the 'Artful Dodger'"

SEE NOTE →

1860 DOC. #2

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS.
THE LAST JOINT DEBATE.
DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT ALTON.
5,000 TO 10,000 PERSONS PRESENT!
LINCOLN AGAIN REFUSES TO ANSWER WHETHER HE WILL
VOTE TO ADMIT KANSAS IF HER PEOPLE APPLY
WITH A CONSTITUTION RECOGNIZING SLAVERY.
APPEARS IN HIS OLD CHARACTER OF THE "ARTFUL DODGER."
TRIES TO PALM HIMSELF OFF TO THE WHIGS OF MADISON COUN-
TY AS A FRIEND OF HENRY CLAY AND NO ABOLITIONIST,
AND IS EXPOSED!!
GREAT SPEECHES OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

Lincoln Douglas Debate Headline (1858)

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

The Artful Dodger is a reference to the nickname of Jack Dawkins, a character from Charles Dickens' book, *Oliver Twist*, who was known for being a clever thief.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Lincoln presents himself as willing to compromise on the slavery issue, but is actually anti-slavery.

EVIDENCE text: “tries to palm himself off to the Whigs of Madison County as a friend of Henry Clay and no abolitionist, AND IS EXPOSED!!”

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Headlines are a quick way for a voter to get information, similar to a TV commercial. What are the drawbacks of using headlines to convey information about candidates?

The Lincoln and Douglas debate pictured here lasted over 3 hours. What are the drawbacks of using lengthy debates to convey information to voters?

NOTE

Henry Clay was a well-known Senator who had drafted the Compromise of 1850 in an attempt to preserve the union by allowing slavery in the new territories taken from Mexico.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

TEACHER GUIDE

1860 DOC. #3: Lincoln/Hamlin Campaign Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

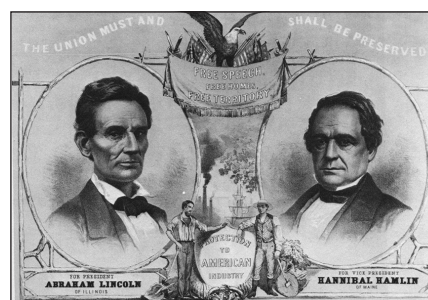
In the years before television, one of the few ways to put a candidate's image before the voters was with the use of a poster. This 1860 campaign poster uses the two-framed style of the period to present images of both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. The poster was made by W.H. Rease of Philadelphia for the Lincoln campaign.

The Republican platform endorsed a high tariff on foreign imports. It supported the right of each state to decide whether it would allow slavery but opposed the extension of slavery into the new territories. It favored the Homestead Bill to give free land to settlers in the West.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What messages are given about Lincoln and the Republican Party platform? Give your evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Lincoln is a patriot seeking to preserve the union.
EVIDENCE	bald eagle, U.S. flags; text: "the union must be preserved"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Lincoln is a frontiersman, the "rail splitter"
EVIDENCE	rough-hewn wood border, eagle on the split rail fence, images of felled trees and fresh produce; Lincoln's collar is open as is the plowman's below him, as contrasted with Hamlin's stiff collar
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Republican Party values workers and will protect industry and workers from foreign competition.
EVIDENCE	text: "protection of American Industry"; factory smokestack in background; images of proud and determined workers

1860 DOC. #3



Lincoln/Hamlin Campaign Poster

PowerPoint Slide

SUGGESTED ANSWER	The party supports open dialogue on key issues like slavery
EVIDENCE	text on banner: "free speech"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It supports the Homestead Act giving free land to Western settlers.
EVIDENCE	text on banner: "free homes"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It opposes the spread of slavery to Western territories.
EVIDENCE	text on banner: "free territories"
QUESTION	What are the different target audiences for this poster? What makes you think so?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Target audiences include working men, anti-slavery voters, those supporting preservation of the Union, homesteaders, voters from the mid-continent & the Northeast.
EVIDENCE	image of men working; text: "Protect industry," "Free Territory," "Union preserved"; image of homesteaders with plow and ax; Lincoln "of Illinois" and Hamlin "of Maine"

ADDITIONAL INFO

Although we may be accustomed or even fond of Lincoln's image today, in 1860 the "rail splitter's" Republican handlers were concerned with his looks. Judge John Read sent an artist to Lincoln's home in Springfield, Illinois to make a campaign portrait that was, "good looking whether the original justify it or not" (Voss 2004). One answer came from young Grace Bedell of Westfield, New York. She wrote Lincoln during the campaign, "All the ladies like whiskers and they would tease their husbands to vote for you and then you would be president." Lincoln took her advice. On his train trip back to Washington for his inauguration he stopped at Westfield. A call from Lincoln went out to see if Grace was present. She was, and as she approached Lincoln, he bent down to kiss her. The crowd roared with its approval. If a similar event occurred today you can be sure that it would have ample media coverage. But, Lincoln's inaugural preceded the era of photojournalism and television so the story survives only in print.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Examine the similarities and differences between the potential impact of a campaign poster and a short television commercial.

Can you think of modern images in which a candidate combines appeals to patriotism, national security, and freedom? How do such images demonstrate a candidate's qualifications to be President?

Why do you think that Lincoln decided to grow a beard?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters (poster)

TEACHER GUIDE

1860 DOC. #4: Douglas "Taking the Stump" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

It is expected today that presidential candidates will travel many thousands of miles meeting voters and giving speeches during the course of their campaigns. This was not always so.

In 1860 Stephen Douglas became the first presidential candidate to "take the stump" or to travel extensively to seek votes. The term "stump" came from the practice of giving speeches on top of a tree stump. At this time many people felt that it was undignified and inappropriate for a presidential candidate to lower himself by coming right out and asking to be elected. Douglas was strongly criticized in the press for "begging, imploring and beseeching the people to give him his wish" as one Republican newspaper, the North Iowan, suggested (Boller 110). To defend himself he said that he was on his way to see his mother in Clifton Springs, New York as he made speeches throughout the East.

> **Project** the document (1860 doc. #4a).

The Democratic Party convention had a serious split, with Southern Democrats supporting slavery everywhere it existed and Northern Democrats supporting popular sovereignty or local community approval of slavery. This resulted in two Democratic candidates, Douglas and Breckinridge, running for President in 1860.

Political cartoons of this time period were often complex constructions with lots of characters each giving little speeches. The figures in the cartoon from left to right are: Constitutional Unionist candidate John Bell, former Virginia Governor Henry A. Wise, Northern Democrat candidate Stephen A. Douglas, President James Buchanan, Southern Democrat candidate John C. Breckinridge, and Republican candidate Abraham Lincoln.

QUESTION

At first glance, without reading the words, does this cartoon seem to be in favor of Lincoln or of Douglas? Why?

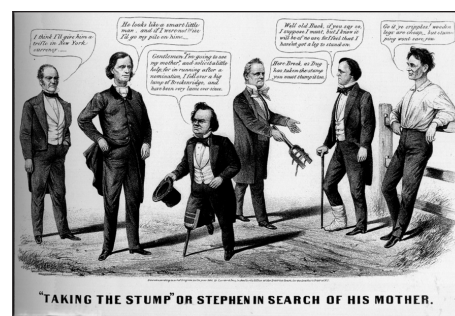
SUGGESTED ANSWER

It favors Lincoln.

EVIDENCE

Douglas is portrayed as smaller than anyone else, he is frowning, his hat is in his hand as though asking for a handout and he is portrayed as disabled which would have been a sign of weakness in that era; Lincoln is seen as relaxed, not wearing a suit, and leaning on a split-rail fence which represents his image as the common man (the "rail-splitter")

1860 DOC. #4a



Douglas "Taking the Stump" Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

> Project doc. #4b (cartoon with text boxes).

QUESTION **What does the author mean by Douglas' statement, "I fell over a big lump of Breckinridge and have been lame ever since"?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The author is poking fun at the Democratic party split between Breckinridge and Douglas. He accentuates Douglas as a "lame" or unfit candidate.

QUESTION **What does the author imply by Lincoln's statement, "Go it ye cripples! wooden legs are cheap — but stumping wont save you."**

SUGGESTED ANSWER To "take the stump" and ask for votes is a sign of weakness that won't help the divided Democratic Party win the election.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Today it is not only acceptable for candidates to stump for votes, it is inconceivable that anyone could get elected President without months (or years) of televised public appearances asking for votes. Has this change been good or bad for our democratic system?

Are political cartoons a good way to review the strengths and weaknesses of a candidate? Why or why not?

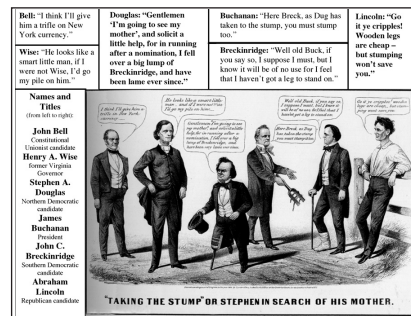
CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

Stumping has come a long way since 1860. Today's presidential candidates go to extremes to publicly court different voting groups. 2000 doc. #4 explores attempts by both Al Gore and George W. Bush to seek votes from African Americans and women; 2000 doc. #7 shows both candidates on the comedy TV show, *Saturday Night Live*, trying to be funny and attract the youth vote; 2004 doc. #7 presents Bush and Kerry TV commercials targeting the Latino vote; and 2004 doc. #8 analyzes campaign web sites designed to target religious voters.

1860 DOC. #4b



Douglas "Taking the Stump" Cartoon (with text boxes)

PowerPoint Slide

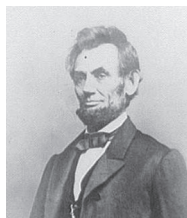
ADDITIONAL INFO

Although he had debated Douglas two years earlier, when nominated in 1860 Abraham Lincoln refused to stump for votes, maintaining a dignified contrast with his active rival.

Douglas was criticized relentlessly in the press for his public appeal for votes. On his month-long journey "to see his mother" the Republican press had a field day. One Republican handbill exhorted: "A Boy Lost! Left Washington, D.C. some time in July to go home to his mother. He has not yet reached his mother, who is very anxious about him. He has been seen in Philadelphia, New York City, Hartford, Conn., at a clambake in Rhode Island.... He is about five feet nothing in height and about the same diameter the other way. He has a red face, short legs, and a large belly. Answers to the name of Little Giant, talks a great deal, very loud, always about himself. He has an idea that he is a candidate for President" (Boller 110).

HANDOUT

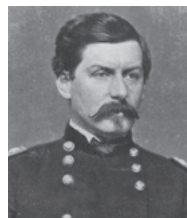
1864 ELECTION



ABRAHAM LINCOLN
and Andrew Johnson

POPULAR VOTE: 2,213,665
ELECTORAL VOTE: 212

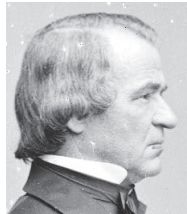
REPUBLICAN



GEORGE McCLELLAN
and George Pendleton

POPULAR VOTE: 1,805,237
ELECTORAL VOTE: 21

DEMOCRAT



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-DIG-cwpbh-0052]

Civil war had broken out shortly after Lincoln assumed the presidency in 1861. Never before had a nation held a general election in the midst of major **civil war**. The election of 1864, while only held in the 25 non-Confederate states, demonstrated the resilience of the U.S. democratic system.

Lincoln was the **incumbent President**.

Military victories, including the capture of Atlanta, helped swing the election for Lincoln.

Lincoln fought to **preserve the Union**.

Republicans charged the Democrats with **disloyalty and treason**.

Lincoln had issued the **Emancipation Proclamation** on January 1, 1863, freeing all slaves.

A military **draft** was instituted in November 1863 to build Union forces. Anti-draft riots in New York City left over 100 dead.

Lincoln chose Tennessee governor **Andrew Johnson** as his running mate, a Southerner and a Democrat, to show that the Union cause was **bipartisan** (supported by members of both parties). Johnson's presence on the ticket helped swing border states to Lincoln.

McClellan was a **Union General** removed from duty by Lincoln in 1862 after the Battle of Antietam when he failed to pursue the Confederate Army.

The Democrats wanted to return to the Union **"as it was"** before war.

Democrats charged Republicans with **incompetence and corruption**.

Democrats claimed that Lincoln shifted the **war aims** from preserving the Union to **abolishing slavery**.

McClellan **opposed the draft** and ran as an avowed white supremacist.

"We cannot have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us." -Abraham Lincoln

PARTY DIVISIONS

The **Constitutional Union Party** joined with the Republicans in nominating Lincoln, who ran on both tickets.

Radical Republicans criticized Lincoln's Reconstruction plans as too weak.

War Democrats, led by Lincoln's vice presidential candidate, Andrew Johnson, supported Lincoln.

Northern "Peace Democrats," called **Copperhead Democrats**, supported the Confederacy. They were named after poisonous snakes that strike prey from behind.

Radical Democrats ran as a 3rd Party, calling for a one-term presidency.

TEACHER GUIDE

1864 DOC. #1: Gettysburg Address

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A sitting President has the advantage of having the press by his side throughout his presidency. Unlike a challenger who has to create media opportunities during his campaign, a President merely has to give a speech in order to receive press coverage. One year before the election of 1864, on November 19, 1863 at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, President Abraham Lincoln gave one of the most famous speeches in American history, a speech now referred to as the Gettysburg Address.

Lincoln spoke to a crowd of 15,000 during the dedication of a national memorial to honor Civil War dead. His speech took place at Cemetery Hill on the site of the battlefield which marked a turning point for the Union forces in the war. Lincoln didn't use a professional speechwriter to craft his words; this address is of his own construction. Although Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was not a campaign speech, it nevertheless served to communicate his views to the nation in a form and style that his challenger, George McClellan, never could have achieved. Lincoln's eloquence as an orator during a time of war helped him win reelection in the campaign of 1864.

Lincoln's address was made just five months after the battle at Gettysburg while the war was still raging in the South. As President of the United States he tried to reach out to every family, North and South, whose lives had been touched by the terrible Civil War. Gettysburg was known as the "High Water Mark of the Confederacy" and was the Civil War's bloodiest battle with 51,000 casualties.

> **Project** the document and **distribute** the student handout. **Have students read** the Gettysburg Address text or read aloud.

QUESTION **What are the messages that Lincoln is giving to those who would hear or read his speech?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The union must be preserved and freedom upheld in order to honor all those fallen in the Civil War.

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for the speech?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The target audience would be those who would read his remarks thereafter in the newspapers, as well as those in attendance at the dedication ceremony.

1864 DOC. #1

1864 DOCUMENT #4: Lincoln's Gettysburg Address

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth upon this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field, as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a larger sense, we can not dedicate - we can not consecrate - we can not hallow - this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us - that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion - that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain - that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom - and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Gettysburg Address

PowerPoint Slide

Text on student handout

QUESTION **Is Lincoln speaking more from his role as Commander-in-Chief of the Union Army or as President of the United States? Give evidence to justify your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER **He is speaking as President of the U.S.**

EVIDENCE his words are less about victory and military might and more about the values of freedom, equality, and unity; he begins with a reference to the founding of the United States; he uses "we are met" rather than "us versus them"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What role does emotion play when voters decide for whom to vote?

Should a presidential candidate's speech-writing ability play a role in his or her quest for office? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The idea for a national cemetery at the Gettysburg site originated with Mr. David Wills of Gettysburg. With the help of Pennsylvania Governor Curtin he purchased the land for the memorial and supervised the improvements. Wills invited the noted speaker Edward Everett of Massachusetts to present the oration for the occasion. He invited President Lincoln to formally consecrate the ground with a few words after Everett's speech.-

Mr. Everett spoke for nearly two hours, covering all three days of the battle as well as the purpose of the war and other related subjects.- President Lincoln's speech lasted only two minutes.- Everett is said to have remarked that the President said more in two minutes than he had been able to say in his two hours. Lincoln wasn't so sure at first. He is said to have commented to an aide after his speech: "It is a flat failure and the people are disappointed" (Daniel 381).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias

Reaching Voters (speech)

TEACHER GUIDE

1864 DOC. #2: Four Newspaper Reports on Gettysburg Address

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Reporters' accounts of a presidential speech can mean as much as the speech itself in the way the words will be remembered, or not remembered. A reporter was present to transcribe the text of the speeches at the dedication of the Gettysburg cemetery. His telegraphed report appeared in newspapers across the country the next day. Not surprisingly, press reports about the speech differed greatly depending on the party affiliation of the newspaper in which they were printed.

- > **Have students** analyze the four different excerpts in pairs or small groups using the handout. **Project** each excerpt as they present their answers to the whole class.

QUESTION

Is the report from a Republican paper or a Democratic paper? Give evidence from the document to support your answers.

- > **Project** 1864 doc. #2a: *Chicago Tribune*

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Republican

EVIDENCE

"Impressive Exercises of the Occasion," "A Grand National Testimonial," "impressive civic occasion," "splendidly dedicated," "immense applause, and three cheers" for Lincoln

- > **Project** 1864 doc. #2b: *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Democratic

EVIDENCE

"silly remarks of the President," "no more repeated or thought of" (Lincoln's address forgotten)

- > **Project** 1864 doc. #2c: *Providence Journal*

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Republican

EVIDENCE

"admirable speech," "beautiful... touching... inspiring... thrilling words of the President," "charm and power of the very highest eloquent"

1864 DOC. #2a-d

Four Newspaper Reports on Gettysburg Address

PowerPoint Slide

Text on student handout

1864 DOC. #2a

1864 doc. #2a
From the *Chicago Tribune*
Saturday, November 21, 1863

FROM GETTYSBURG, PA.
The Consecration of the
Battle Cemetery.
50,000 PERSONS IN ATTENDANCE.
Impressive Exercises of
the Occasion.
Dirge by Hon. D. B. French - Oration by Hon. Edward Everett.
Dedictory Address by President Lincoln.
A Grand National
Testimonial to Our
Fallen Braves.

[Special Dispatch to the Chicago Tribune]

HARRISBURG, NOV. 20, 1863

My dispatch last night concerning the exercises yesterday, by occupation of the wires, was made necessarily brief. I send you my full notes of the most impressive civic occasion of the war.

A great day for the nation, the burial place of her glorious defenders on the crisis of the national safety was splendidly dedicated to valor, to patriotism and to freedom.

...The conclusion of the President's remarks was followed by immense applause, and three cheers given for him, as also three cheers for the Governors of the States.

Chicago Tribune

1864 DOC. #2b

1864 doc. #2b
From *Harrisburg Patriot and Union*

"We pass over the silly remarks of the President; for the credit of the nation we are willing that the veil of oblivion shall be dropped over them and that they shall no more be repeated or thought of."

Harrisburg Patriot and Union

1864 DOC. #2c

1864 doc. #2c
From the *Providence Journal*

"We know not where to look for a more admirable speech than the brief one which the president made at the close of Mr. Everett's oration... Could the most elaborate and splendid be more beautiful, more touching, more inspiring, than those thrilling words of the President? They had in our humble judgment the charm and power of the very highest eloquent."

Providence Journal

> **Project** 1864 doc. #2d: *Chicago Times*

SUGGESTED ANSWER	Democratic
EVIDENCE	"exceedingly bad taste which characterized the words of the President," "shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dish-watery utterances" of the easy to overlook and non-distinguished President
QUESTION	How is this coverage biased? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Use of subjective language.
EVIDENCE	each article takes a strongly subjective or opinionated perspective in describing Lincoln's speech, by using words like "impressive," "silly," "admirable" and "dish-watery" to describe the speech
QUESTION	Why do you suppose that the coverage was so biased?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The papers were published during a civil war when political positions were polarized.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Newspapers at this time were highly partisan so that editorial positions and news reports regularly supported politicians from one party and criticized politicians from the other party.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What if candidates' words were reprinted without commentary from reporters or editors? Would this be a better way to help voters choose candidates?

Are today's media sources more or less biased than these newspapers from 1864?

The 1864 papers used carefully selected adjectives to convey their bias. How do media sources today reveal their bias?

Should media sources like newspapers and television stations be free of any bias? Can they be?

1864 DOC. #2d

1864 doc. #2d
From the *Chicago Times*

"Readers will not have failed to observe the exceeding bad taste which characterized the remarks of the President... at the dedication of the soldier's cemetery at Gettysburg. The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat, and dish-watery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to the intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States.

Chicago Times

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

**Attack
Media Bias**

TEACHER GUIDE

1864 DOC. #3: "Lincoln-Ruin / McClellan-Peace" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the middle of a devastating civil war it is remarkable that the election of 1864 happened at all. The United States became the first country ever to hold a general election during a major war. Even when Lincoln thought that he would lose there was never serious consideration given to postponing or calling off the election.

The Democrats ran a vicious campaign against Lincoln, calling him among other things a filthy storyteller, a liar, thief, and butcher (Boller117). The Democrats were confident that people had grown weary of the war and of Lincoln's leadership. They complained about Lincoln's abuse of power as President by censoring the press, extending military rule, and arresting and detaining his war critics without trial.

On January 1, 1863 President Lincoln had issued the Emancipation Proclamation in which all slaves in the areas held by the Confederacy were declared forever free. The Democrats believed that Lincoln would lose the election by turning the war from a conflict to preserve the union into a battle to abolish slavery. The Democrats used the Emancipation Proclamation and his decision to arm African Americans and to allow them to serve in the U.S. Army as evidence of the President's shift in intent. McClellan ran as an avowed white supremacist with his supporters using some of the most racist material ever disseminated by a major candidate.

In March 1863 Congress passed a national draft law to conscript young men to serve in the Union army. This was an unpopular law and riots broke out in New York City in July when the first names were selected for the draft. Over 100 people died in the four-day uprising. Many opposed the draft including workers, recent immigrants and "Peace Democrats" who opposed the war.

The document you will see next is a campaign poster from the 1864 election.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	At first glance is this poster in support of Lincoln or McClellan? Why?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It is in support of McClellan.
EVIDENCE	largest words combine Lincoln with "draft" and "ruin"; McClellan is linked with "Union" and "peace"
QUESTION	What messages does the left side give about a possible Lincoln presidency? Explain.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Electing Lincoln will lead to many bad things.
EVIDENCE	"more debt, harder times, another draft, universal anarchy, and ultimate ruin"

1864 DOC. #3



"Lincoln-Ruin / McClellan-Peace" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION What messages does the right side give about a possible McClellan presidency? Explain.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Electing McClellan will lead to good things.

EVIDENCE “restore prosperity, reestablish the Union in an honorable, permanent and happy peace”

QUESTION Does the author of this poster support or oppose racial equality? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The author strongly opposes racial equality.

EVIDENCE Lincoln and the “Black Republican ticket ...will bring on Negro Equality,” which will lead to “anarchy” and “ultimate ruin”; McClellan’s defeat of “Negro equality” will lead to “prosperity” and “peace”

QUESTION Who is the target audience for this poster? How do you know?

SUGGESTED ANSWER The target audience includes those opposing emancipation, equal rights for African Americans, and the draft.

EVIDENCE Negro equality and the draft are ruinous

SUGGESTED ANSWER The poster also targets those wanting an immediate end to the war.

EVIDENCE peace brings honor, happiness, and prosperity

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What role does race play in today’s presidential campaigns? Can you think of examples from contemporary campaigns where presidential candidates have “used the race card” to gain votes?

ADDITIONAL INFO

McClellan opposed his own party’s peace plank and spoke out for Union preservation at all costs. Lincoln went on to lead the Union to victory and hold the nation together. On April 14, 1865, just days after the Confederate surrender, Lincoln was assassinated and his Vice President Andrew Johnson assumed the presidency.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

Fear

Race

Target Audience

Consider the campaign posters and TV ads from the 1968 campaign, during a time of urban riots and the Vietnam War (1968 docs. #1, 2, 5, 6, and 7). Examine the use of fear, race, and war in these two wartime elections a century apart.

HANDOUT

1868 ELECTION



ULYSSES S. GRANT
and Schuyley Colfax

POPULAR VOTE: 3,012,833
ELECTORAL VOTE: 214

REPUBLICAN

General Grant was the **commander of Union forces** at the end of the Civil War.

Reconstruction was the primary issue in the election. Grant favored the **Radical Republican plan**, granting **voting rights** to all African Americans in the North and South.

Grant received half-a-million votes from newly **enfranchised** African American men, many of whom risked their jobs and even their lives by voting.

Both parties used **mudslinging** to discredit the opposition. Democrats painted Grant as a drunkard.

Grant **opposed paper money**, or “greenbacks,” a position which earned him the support of Eastern capitalists.

“Scratch a Democrat and you will find a rebel under his skin.”

-New York Tribune, 1868



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-B1862-4802 B]



HORATIO SEYMOUR
and Francis Blair

POPULAR VOTE: 2,703,249
ELECTORAL VOTE: 80

DEMOCRAT

Seymour was the **Governor of New York**.

Seymour and his overtly racist running mate, Francis Blair, **opposed voting rights** for African Americans, claiming that only whites were capable of self-government.

Nathan Bedford Forest, founder of the **Ku Klux Klan**, and the notorious “**Boss Tweed**” of New York City both attended the Democratic Convention.

The Democrats had the greatest support among **white voters** and **poor farmers**.

Republicans painted Seymour as a **Copperhead**, or rebel sympathizer.

Seymour won votes from Western farmers for his **support of “greenbacks,”** or “soft money.”

The Democrats advocated **less government spending** and fewer taxes.

Thomas Nast, perhaps the greatest cartoonist of the 19th century, relentlessly attacked the Democrats.

Both Democrats and Republicans organized spectacular **torchlight parades** with fireworks and thousands of marching Civil War veterans, harkening back to the excitement of the 1840 Log Cabin Campaign.

DID YOU KNOW? In March 1868 an Ohio man who had gone to Mississippi to help with Reconstruction was brutally attacked by the Ku Klux Klan and given ten days to leave the state. He reported the attack to the Federal authorities. An Army officer took his bloody nightshirt to Washington and gave it to Radical Republican Congressman Benjamin Butler. Butler waved the shirt above his head on the floor of Congress as he argued for proposed legislation to give the President the right to use the Federal Army to enforce law in the South. The phrase “waving the Bloody Shirt” became part of campaign slang used by Republican candidates whenever they wanted to blame the South for starting the war.

TEACHER GUIDE

1868 DOC. #1: *Harper's Weekly* Cover, "The First Vote"

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Voting rights for African Americans has been an issue in U.S. politics ever since the time of the Civil War. In 1964 the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party challenged the Democratic Party regulars saying that their right to equal representation was being prevented by terror tactics. In the disputed 2000 election many African American voters in West Palm Beach and Jacksonville, Florida charged that their votes were not counted, resulting in the election of George W. Bush. This history of enfranchisement and disenfranchisement for African American voters had its beginning in the presidential elections of 1868.

Following the Union victory in the Civil War, African American men in the South were allowed to vote for the first time in the elections of 1867. Many white Southerners opposed this idea, mainly out of fear that the African American majority in the South would limit white political power. Even so the Radical Republicans in Congress passed legislation ensuring that African American men be accorded all of the rights of citizenship. Two years later the Fifteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution was ratified providing that all male citizens were entitled to vote regardless of "race, color or previous condition of servitude." However, in many states Native Americans were still prevented from voting because they were not considered "citizens," which was not rectified until passage of the Indian Voting Rights Act of 1924.

> Project the document.

"The First Vote" is the title of this drawing by the famous artist Alfred R Waud. It appeared on the cover of the popular magazine *Harper's Weekly* on November 16, 1867. The vessels on the counter in the drawing are the ballot boxes into which votes were cast at the polling booth. A year later, African American votes helped Grant win the presidency just as African American soldiers had helped him win military victory as a General in the Civil War.

QUESTION

What message is communicated by this drawing? Is this a positive message or a negative message? Explain why you think so.

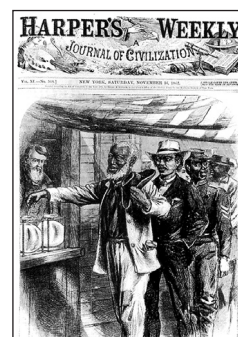
SUGGESTED ANSWER

A positive message is communicated, suggesting pride in the new voting rights for African Americans.

EVIDENCE

pride and nobility in the faces and posture of the voters; quiet approval of registrar; American flag draped overhead

1868 DOC. #1



***Harper's Weekly* Cover, "The First Vote"**

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **What different socio-economic groups are shown in the drawing? Explain.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER A poor farmer, a well-to-do businessman, and a Union army soldier are shown.

EVIDENCE farmer—patched field clothes, businessman—jacket, collar, book in vest pocket, soldier—uniform, medal

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for this drawing? Give evidence as to why.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The target audience would be Republicans or others who supported voting rights for African Americans.

EVIDENCE positive view of African American voters

SEE NOTE

QUESTION **Which candidate would be supported by such an image, Grant or Seymour, and why?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This would support Grant.

EVIDENCE Grant supported voting rights and was elected with the help of African American voters

QUESTION **Does this drawing promote or discourage political participation? Why?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It supports participation.

EVIDENCE portrays voting as an honorable and worthwhile practice

FURTHER QUESTIONS

- Why has the issue of African American voting rights been such a heated issue for such a long time?
- What changes in voting practices or the electoral system could help to ensure equal voting rights for all potential voters?
- Does this cover tell you anything about the editorial position of Harper’s Weekly?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Voting was risky for African Americans, especially in the South. Some Democrats evicted African Americans from their land or refused them credit to keep them from voting. The new Ku Klux Klan ran an effective terror campaign against African American Republicans and freedmen. Still, African Americans went to the polls. Their 500,000 votes helped Grant significantly in his 300,000 vote victory over Seymour.

On April 11, 1865, in his last public speech, Lincoln spoke out for voting rights for some African American men. John Wilkes Booth, a famous actor and white supremacist in the audience, was outraged by this and vowed to kill Lincoln. Three days later Booth assassinated Lincoln at Ford’s Theater.

NOTE

Not all Republicans supported voting rights for African Americans and some supported voting rights because they were politically expedient.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

- Media Bias
- Race
- Reaching Voters

TEACHER GUIDE

1868 DOC. #2: "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

While most cartoons are drawn to make people laugh, some cartoons are drawn to make people think. The political cartoonist must address big issues through small illustrations with few words. The most famous editorial cartoonist of the 19th century and the father of modern political cartooning was Thomas Nast.

The 1868 presidential campaign revolved around the issues of Reconstruction. Grant and the Republicans supported the Radical Reconstruction Plan. This included the "Reconstruction Acts" that called for establishing federal control over Southern states to protect the citizenship rights of African Americans. Seymour and the Democrats ran on a platform opposing Reconstruction.

> **Project** the document.

This cartoon by Thomas Nast was first printed in *Harper's Weekly* on September 5, 1868. The standing characters in the image are meant to portray (left to right): a lower class Irish Catholic from the rough Five Points neighborhood in New York City; Nathan Bedford Forrest, a former slave trader who helped to found the Ku Klux Klan; and Horatio Seymour, Democratic presidential candidate and New York Governor. The figure on the bottom portrays an African American Union soldier who has had the ballot box knocked out of his hands.

QUESTION

What are the messages the cartoonist is trying to convey? Give your evidence.

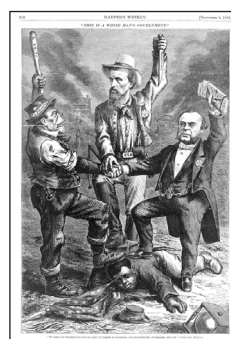
SUGGESTED ANSWER

Nast's message is that powerful interests – Irish Catholics, former Confederates, wealthy capitalists, and the Democratic Party – are working together to take voting rights away from African American veterans.

EVIDENCE

three hands joined over the fallen body of an African American soldier with three boots on his back; the African American is reaching for the ballot but is prevented from attaining it

1868 DOC. #2



**"White Man's Government"
Nast Cartoon**

PowerPoint Slide

SEE NOTE

QUESTION **Does the cartoonist approve or disapprove of the efforts to prevent African Americans from voting? How do you know?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The cartoonist disapproves.

EVIDENCE the flag is on the ground; the African-American figure is drawn to evoke sympathy while the others are shown as evil; buildings are on fire in the background suggesting danger and ruin

QUESTION **What tools or weapons are being used to deprive African Americans of their civil rights? Give evidence for your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The standing figures are withholding access to the vote, threatening violence, and using money to deprive African Americans of their civil rights.

EVIDENCE the figure on the left holds "a vote" above and away; the middle figure threatens with a dagger and the words "The Lost Cause," which could either refer to the Confederacy or to the civil rights of freed slaves; the figure to the right holds a billfold of money with the word "capital"

QUESTION **Does this cartoon support Grant or Seymour and why?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It supports Grant.

EVIDENCE Grant was in favor of voting rights for African Americans; Seymour is represented as greedy and in league with bad and dangerous people

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of modern cartoonists whose work makes you think deeply about the world? What makes them effective?

Are there ways that certain groups of people are kept from voting today? If so, what groups and how are they kept from voting?

NOTE

Conflict between Irish immigrants and African Americans exploded in New York City during the draft riots of 1863. Irish workers were angry at African Americans who had been used as strikebreakers in a longshoreman's strike. They blamed African Americans for the war and for threatening their position in the labor force.

ADDITIONAL INFO

"This Is A White Man's Government" was the slogan of a Democratic campaign that openly appealed to racist fears. Vice-presidential candidate Francis Blair said that only whites were capable of self-government. He said that inter-marriage between African Americans and whites would upset the "accumulated improvement of the centuries" (Cornog 117).

In Southern states where African Americans were a majority or nearly equal in number to whites, the Klan, and other paramilitary organizations initiated a terror campaign against freedmen and Republicans. The KKK worked to reinstall the power of the planter class and the Southern Democratic Party by "policing" elections to exclude African Americans from participating in the political process. The Klan was powerful enough that its founder, Nathan Forrest, attended the Democratic convention.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Cartoons
Fear
Race
Target Audience

TEACHER GUIDE

1868 DOC. #3: Democratic Parade Image

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

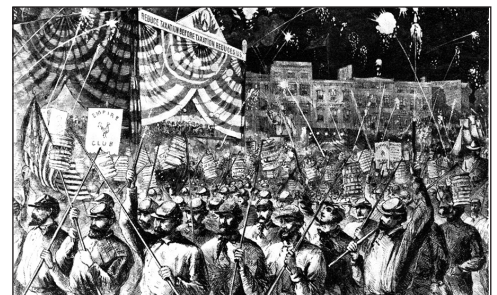
The mass campaign gatherings that were commonplace during the time of Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison continued into the later 19th century, though never with the same numbers or enthusiasm as in those earlier campaigns. Lincoln supporters in 1860 had formed groups called “Wide Awake Clubs” who would march in zigzag patterns to match the split-rail fence pattern in honor of the original “rail splitter,” Honest Abe. Parades continued to be an important campaign strategy during the 1868 election.

> **Project** the document.

This magazine illustration shows a New York parade for Democratic candidate Horatio Seymour. Marchers carried torchlights on long poles during night parades which could produce brilliant flashes three feet high. Party supporters wore similar clothing, often special caps, to demonstrate their unity.

QUESTION	What techniques are being used to gain voters' interest and enthusiasm?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Techniques include marching, banners, special caps, lanterns, and fireworks.
QUESTION	What does this drawing tell you about Seymour's stand on the issues? How do you know?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He wants to reduce taxes.
EVIDENCE	banner saying “Reduce taxation before taxation reduces us”
QUESTION	Who would the target audience likely be for a parade such as this and why?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The target audience would be white male voters.
EVIDENCE	with the exception of a single African American man, all the marchers appear to be white males; because the Democrats at this time opposed civil rights for African Americans and thus would be appealing to the racism of many white voters; women were not able to vote at this time

1868 DOC. #3



Democratic Parade Image

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What factors would be considered by a candidate in deciding where and how to bring out supporters for a public event like this?

Is it appropriate for political parties to host parades and marches?

What role has celebration played in turning out voters for presidential elections?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

Compare political parades from the nineteenth century (1860 doc. #3 and 1840 doc. #3) with contemporary conventions (2000 doc. #1).

TEACHER GUIDE

1868 DOC. #4: Grant "Let Us Have Peace" Emblem

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Candidates have often run on "peace platforms" during times of war. Some have been successful in attracting votes by appealing for an end to war and some have not. Eugene Debs ran as a peace candidate during World War I. In 1940, Franklin Roosevelt pledged to keep the U.S. out of what would become World War II. George McGovern ran as peace candidate during the Vietnam War. One of the first candidates to run on a peace platform was Ulysses S. Grant in 1868.

> **Project** the document.

This emblem reflects Grant's campaign slogan for the 1868 campaign. Although armed conflict between Union and Confederate forces ended in 1865, bitter conflicts continued during Reconstruction. The phrase "Let Us Have Peace" was one that Grant used when he signed his letter of acceptance upon receiving the Republic nomination.

QUESTION	What messages does this emblem seek to communicate about Grant and how are they communicated?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Grant is a patriotic warrior who now stands for peace.
EVIDENCE	the dates, 1861-1865, refer to the Civil War and Grant's role as commanding General, the stars and stripes emphasize his allegiance to the Union, the text ("Let Us Have Peace"), the olive branch (biblical tree of peace), and his civilian clothes emphasize his new role as peacemaker
QUESTION	Grant won fame as the victorious General of the Union Army. Why is he not presented as a military man in this image?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The effort is to portray him as a man for peace. Therefore he is dressed in civilian clothes. The dates referring to the war are reminders of his military service.

1868 DOC. #4



Grant "Let Us Have Peace" Emblem

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are the risks and benefits for a candidate coming out strongly for peace in a time of war?

What is the connection between peace, war, and patriotism?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Hero

HANDOUT

1872 ELECTION



ULYSSES S. GRANT
and Henry Wilson

POPULAR VOTE: 3,597,132
ELECTORAL VOTE: 286

REPUBLICAN

Grant was the **incumbent President**.

Charges of **corruption** and "**Grantism**" (giving jobs to family and friends) split the party, with Liberal Republicans nominating Greeley.

Civil Service Reform was supported by Grant to counter charges of "Grantism."

Grant was supported by Northern **businessmen**, **African Americans**, and Union Army veterans.

The **Ku Klux Klan Acts**, which followed the violent 1868 election, allowed the federal government to oversee **voting rights** for African Americans in the South.

Equal rights for all Americans, including women, was included in the Republican Party platform.

DID YOU KNOW? Susan B. Anthony, the famed crusader for women's rights, attended the Republican, Democratic, and Liberal Republican conventions to push for **women's suffrage**. Only the Republican platform included a statement on the "obligations to the loyal women of America." This was the first time that any party platform had addressed "the woman question."



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[LC-USZ62-122445]



HORACE GREELEY
and Benjamin Brown

POPULAR VOTE: 2,834,125
ELECTORAL VOTE: 66

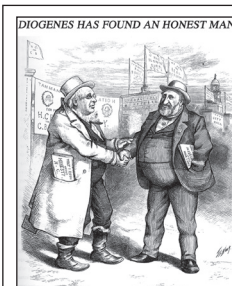
DEMOCRAT

Greeley was the **publisher and editor** of the influential *New York Tribune*.

Democrats joined the **Liberal Republicans** in the "anybody to beat Grant" campaign.

Horace Greeley was a most **unlikely Democratic candidate**. He was a founder of the Republican Party, an **abolitionist**, a vegetarian, and a spiritualist. He also supported **tariffs** (which the Democrats opposed). Even Greeley's supporters were shocked when he was nominated.

Newspaper editorials charged Greeley with being **pro-South**.



Thomas Nast's caricature of candidate Horace Greeley in 1872

How did political cartoons like this influence the election of 1872?

Political cartoons attacked both candidates but the most influential were Thomas Nast's caricatures of Greeley. Some have credited Nast's relentless attacks with contributing to Greeley's death shortly after Election Day.

"I have been assailed so bitterly that I hardly knew if I were running for the presidency or the penitentiary."
-Horace Greeley

TEACHER GUIDE

1872 DOC. #1: "Greeley and Tweed" Nast Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Occasionally an editorial cartoonist will be closely associated with a candidate whom he attacks. A modern example of this is the cartoonist Herblock whose images of Richard Nixon as a shady character with shifty eyes contributed to Nixon's reputation as "Tricky Dick." A century earlier, the cartoonist Thomas Nast continually attacked Horace Greeley.

Greeley was publisher and editor of the major newspaper, the *New York Tribune*. He had gotten his start in publishing and in politics by editing *The Log Cabin* newspaper for William Henry Harrison's campaign three decades earlier. Nast did not trust Greeley's associations with other wealthy and powerful men of the time and he made his suspicions clear in his biting and effective cartoons.

> Project the document.

This cartoon entitled "Diogenes has found an honest man" was one of many that Thomas Nast drew during the 1872 campaign. The figure on the left is Horace Greeley. The figure on the right is Thurlow "Boss" Tweed. Tweed had been the most powerful man in New York's Democratic Party and the boss of Tammany Hall, the Democratic political machine in New York City.

Tweed was sentenced to prison in 1872 for 104 counts of stealing public funds. Nast's cartoons were instrumental in associating Tweed with corruption. Tweed said, "I don't care what they print about me, most of my constituents can't read anyway – but them damn pictures!" (Hoff 77).

QUESTION

What messages are conveyed about Horace Greeley? What is your evidence?

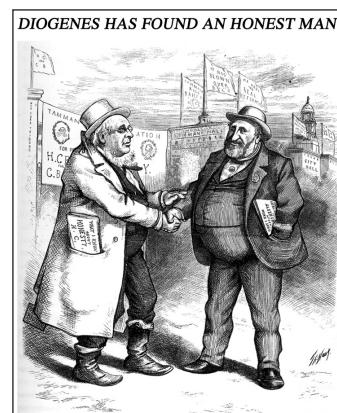
SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is a dishonest man and a friend to crooks.

EVIDENCE

Greeley is pictured shaking hands with "Boss" Tweed, himself a symbol of corruption; the text, "what I know about honesty," brings into question the integrity of both men

1872 DOC. #1



**"Greeley and Tweed"
Nast Cartoon**

PowerPoint Slide

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Is this cartoon pro-Republican or anti-Democrat and why?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It is anti-Democrat.

EVIDENCE there is no mention at all of Grant or the Republicans; the only references are to Tammany Hall, a Democratic Party institution

QUESTION **How does the cartoonist use irony or satire to convey his message?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER “What I know about honesty” papers, “It has blown over” and “We are the real Reformers” on the banners above Tammany Hall are all ironic. It is clear from Tweed’s arrest and conviction that he was neither honest nor a reformer, and that the scandal had not blown over.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What concerns might be raised today about the presidential candidacy of an owner of a major media outlet like a television network or a newspaper chain?

Are honesty and corruption still issues in contemporary presidential campaigns?

NOTE

Diogenes was a Greek Cynic philosopher of the 4th century B.C. said to have wandered around Greece with a lantern searching for an honest man. Cynics believe that all people are motivated by self-interest.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Thomas Nast was a brilliant cartoonist, giving us the symbols of both the Republican elephant and Santa Claus. Albert Paine, author of a 1904 biography of Nast, named the presidential campaign of 1872 “The Campaign of Caricature” (Cornog 122). Nast was relentless in his attacks on Greeley, accusing him of being a traitor both to his Republican roots and to the country by associating him with attempts to bail out Confederate leader Jefferson Davis.

One of Nast’s cartoons showed Greeley shaking hands with John Wilkes Booth over Lincoln’s grave. Given the power of these charges even Tweed was astounded that any men “outside of a Lunatic Asylum, would nominate Greeley for President.” Some have suggested that Nast’s constant attacks may have contributed to Greeley’s death shortly after Election Day.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoon see Herblock’s “Landslide” cartoon about Nixon and corruption, (1972 doc. #4)

TEACHER GUIDE

1872 DOC. #2: Grant “The Working-Man’s Banner”

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

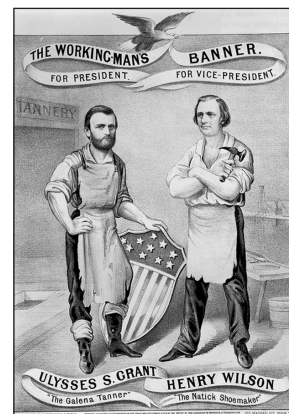
Appeals to the “common man” had become familiar since the 1828 campaign of Andrew Jackson. In earlier campaigns these appeals often centered on farmers and frontiersmen, such as Abe Lincoln as the “rail splitter.” By the second half of the 19th century workers in the industrial cities of the North were becoming a large and important segment of the voting public and presidential campaign imagery shifted to court those new votes.

> Project the document.

This banner in support of the Republican ticket was made for the 1872 campaign by the famous printers Currier & Ives. Grant had worked for a short time tanning animal hides in a leather store in Galena, Illinois. Grant’s running mate, Henry Wilson of Natick, Massachusetts, had once worked in a shoe factory. The Republican Party formed “Tanner Clubs” to organize rallies for their candidates.

QUESTION	What messages about the candidates are communicated? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	They are working men.
EVIDENCE	“The Working-Man’s Banner,” “The Galena Tanner,” “The Natick Shoemaker”; the candidates are dressed like workers and holding the tools of their trade
QUESTION	Who is the target audience for this banner? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The target audience is blue collar workers in the growing industrial cities of the North.
EVIDENCE	“Working-Man’s” title and images suggest that Grant and Wilson were “working men just like you”; by contrast Horace Greeley was a newspaper editor and thus “not like you”

1872 DOC. #2



Grant “The Working-Man’s Banner”

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Since most Presidents have come from great wealth, why do candidates try so hard to appear like they're from the working class?

Does Grant's experience as a tanner and Wilson's experience as shoemaker make them more or less qualified for the offices they are seeking?

What do appeals to the "common man/woman" look like today?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor

Commoner

Target Audience (working class)

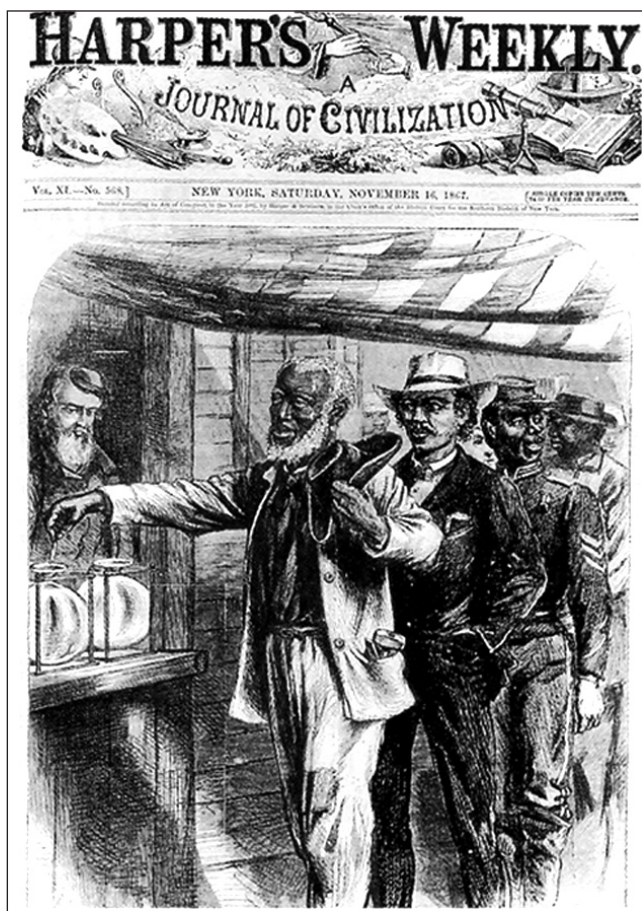
1860-1872: Slavery, Civil War, and the Reconstruction

THE CAMPAIGN IN ILLINOIS.
THE LAST JOINT DEBATE.
DOUGLAS AND LINCOLN AT ALTON.
5,000 TO 10,000 PERSONS PRESENT!
LINCOLN AGAIN REFUSES TO ANSWER WHETHER HE WILL
VOTE TO ADMIT KANSAS IF HER PEOPLE APPLY
WITH A CONSTITUTION RECOGNIZING SLAVERY.
APPEARS IN HIS OLD CHARACTER OF THE "ARTFUL DODGER."
TRIES TO PALM HIMSELF OFF TO THE WHIGS OF MADISON COUN-
TY AS A FRIEND OF HENRY CLAY AND NO ABOLITIONIST,
AND IS EXPOSED!!
GREAT SPEECHES OF SENATOR DOUGLAS.

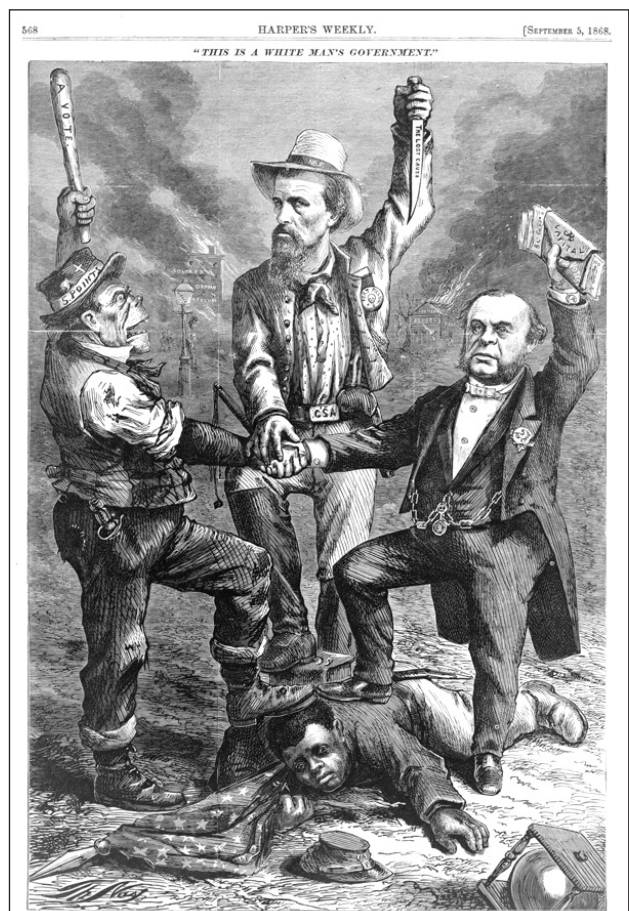
1858: Lincoln-Douglas Debate Headline



1864: McClellan anti-Lincoln Poster



1868: "The First Vote" Magazine Cover



1868: Nast Anti-Racist Cartoon

Essay Question:

Discuss how the issue of race was used in the media to persuade voters in the elections immediately before, during and after the Civil War. Reference at least two of the documents above in your essay.

NAME:

Date:

Give two examples of how the Democratic newspaper headlines were used to attack Lincoln's views on slavery.

Describe the message that "The First Vote" magazine cover gave about African American voting rights in the election of 1868.

Give two examples of how the McClellan campaign used the issue of race to persuade voters against Lincoln in the 1864 campaign poster.

List at least two powerful interests that are shown to be taking away African American soldiers' voting rights in the 1868 Nast cartoon.

OVERVIEW

1896- 1908: The Modern Campaign

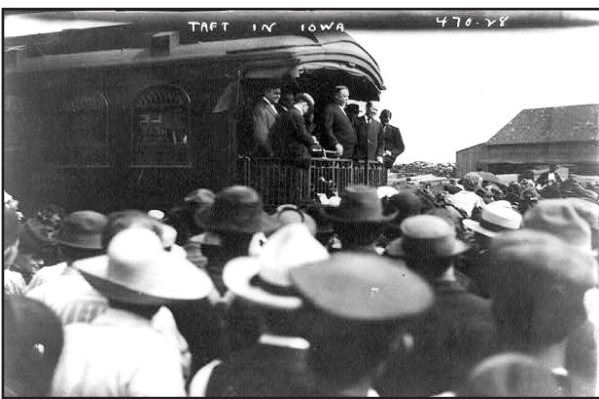
Media:

1896-1908 PowerPoint (access online or via 1896-1908 digital media folder)

1896-1908 Assessments (access online or via 1896-1908 digital media folder)

Today presidential candidates reach millions of potential voters through television and the Internet but how did they get their message out to voters 100 years ago?

How did the railroad influence elections?



Whistle-Stop Campaign

CAMPAIGN FINANCE

This period marks the emergence of the modern campaign in outreach, image, and content. For the first time photo ops (opportunities), direct mail, press releases, and advertising became important campaigning tools. These forms of mass outreach required much more money than had been needed in previous campaigns, and candidates with successful fundraising strategies had a clear advantage. William McKinley's campaign successfully targeted special interest groups, especially corporations, establishing a pattern for campaign financing that continues to this day.

REACHING THE PEOPLE

Throughout the 19th century it was generally seen as inappropriate and undignified for Presidents to

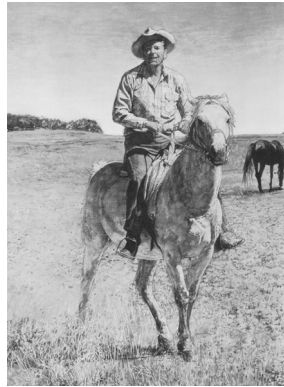
actively campaign themselves. By the turn of the century, however, this had changed. For the first time all candidates needed to hit the campaign trail and "press the flesh," even if they were sitting Presidents. Railroads now provided a way for candidates to reach a large number of voters across the U.S. in person. In 1896 William McKinley was able to bring the people and the press to his front porch in Canton, Ohio. By 1908, "whistle-stop" campaigning became the preeminent national campaign strategy until the advent of radio and television. Woodrow Wilson, commenting on the physical rigors of these cross-country campaigns, said, "We shall be obliged to always be picking our chief magistrates from among wise and prudent athletes" (Cornog 177).

CRAFTING THE IMAGE

The elections of 1896-1908 used the well-established images of hero, patriot, and common man that we still see today. But these early 20th century campaigns also included new appeals to the industrial laborer, middle-class worker, and "family man." As newspapers began including photographs in their election coverage, campaigns developed the "photo op" as a way of crafting the candidate's image. These elections ushered in the "personality" President epitomized by the charismatic Teddy Roosevelt. TR's toothy grin, "Rough Rider" image, and even the "Teddy" bear helped to construct a popular and enduring presidential image, paving the way for future personality campaigns like that of actor-turned-politician Ronald Reagan 80 years later.



Teddy Roosevelt on horseback



Ronald Reagan on horseback

What presidential qualities were presented in these images of Teddy Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan?

A "SPLENDID LITTLE WAR"

In 1898 the U.S. went to war against Spain in what Secretary of State, John Hay, called "that splendid little war." The drum beat for war had been fueled by the "yellow journalism" of William Randolph Hearst's *New York Journal*. Hearst hired famed illustrator Frederic Remington to draw pictures of the Cuban insurrection against the Spanish. When Remington telegraphed Hearst that everything was quiet in Cuba, the publisher is said to have replied, "you furnish the pictures, I'll furnish the war." After the mysterious sinking of the U.S. battleship Maine in Havana Harbor, Hearst's paper, among others, successfully pressured McKinley to declare war with Spain. While fighting in Cuba dur-

ing the war, Teddy Roosevelt gained notoriety for his military exploits with the "Rough Rider" regiment. As a result of the war the U.S. took possession of Puerto Rico and the Philippines and gained dominion over Cuba.

THE ISSUES OF THE DAY

The political issues of the 1896-1908 elections are remarkably similar to ones we face today – global trade, empire, military intervention, and corporate control of political decision-making. All these issues were present in the campaigns at the beginning of the 20th century. Labor issues and images took on new importance in these elections as rapid industrialization created a growing class of urban workers and voters.

CONNECTIONS TO TODAY

Campaign finance reform is a critical issue in today's political arena. The elections of 1896-1908 show us how big money came to dominate our democratic process.

New technologies such as the railroad and photography greatly influenced elections at the dawn of the 20th century.

How are today's new forms of media (such as the Internet and cable TV) influencing our choice of chief executive?

1880-1908	1880s	early 1890s	1896	1900	1904	1908
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, portraits, handbills, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, campaign songs					
NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, PHOTOGRAPHY & BOOKS	Newspaper circulation increases by 900% (1870-1910)					
	Muckrakers expose corporate & manufacturing scandals • First published photographs in newspapers (<i>New York Tribune</i>) • <i>Saturday Evening Post</i> debuts • First Kodak box camera & transparent celluloid film Rise of sensationalist press ("yellow journalism")					
	• First "peep shows" & nickelodeons • Invention of Nipkow disk (earliest form of TV) • First commercial half-tone screens (allows mass reproduction of images) • Linotype invented (first typesetting machine) • Invention of the motion picture camera • First newsreels shown • Marconi invents radio telegraphy • First celluloid (pin) buttons used in campaigns • Invention of wireless sound • First airplane flight (Wright bros.) • Ford produces first automobiles					

HANDOUT

1896-1908 STUDENT HANDOUT

1896 Document #1

BRYAN "CROSS OF GOLD" POSTER EXCERPTS

OPENING SECTION:

"Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Convention:

I would be presumptuous, indeed, to present myself against the distinguished gentlemen to whom you have listened if this were a mere measuring of abilities; but this is not a contest between persons. The humblest citizen in all the land, when clad in the armor of a righteous cause, is stronger than all the hosts of error. I come to speak to you in defence of a cause as holy as the cause of liberty — the cause of humanity."

CLOSING SECTION:

"If they dare to come out in the open field and defend the gold standard as a good thing, we will fight them to the uttermost. Having behind us the producing masses of this nation and the world, supported by the commercial interests, the laboring interests and the toilers everywhere, we will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns, you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

1904 Document #1

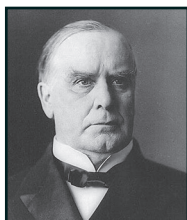
PARKER "JEFFERSONIAN PRINCIPLES" POSTER TEXT

"EXTRACTS FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM:

Capital & Labor ought not to be enemies. The rights of Labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred" & no less "inalienable" than the rights of capital. We favor liberal appropriations for the care & improvement of the water ways of the country. Open Door, but No Colonial Exploitation. Ultimate Freedom for the Filipinos. We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few. Gigantic Trusts a Menace to Nation. Protection for All American Citizens abroad. Investigation of corrupt Government departments."

HANDOUT

1896 ELECTION



WILLIAM McKINLEY
and Garret Hobart

POPULAR VOTE: 7,104,779
ELECTORAL VOTE: 271

REPUBLICAN

McKinley was **Governor of Ohio**.

McKinley's **Front Porch Campaign** used the **railroad** to bring 3/4 of a million people, and the press, to his Ohio home.

Both candidates supported **restrictions on immigration**.

The Republicans had a well-organized campaign with **photo ops**, a tight visitor schedule for McKinley, and more than 100 million pieces of advertising.

McKinley **supported the Gold Standard**.

"Goldbug Democrats" left Bryan for McKinley over the Gold Standard issue.

Industrialists and Eastern businessmen gave McKinley huge financial support.

Immigrant Catholics supported McKinley.

Expanding women's rights was part of McKinley's platform.

McKinley supported **protective tariffs**.



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-95709]



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
and Arthur Sewall

POPULAR VOTE: 6,502,925
ELECTORAL VOTE: 176

DEMOCRAT / POPULIST

Bryan was **Editor** of the *Omaha World-Herald*.

Bryan traveled by rail and made 600 speeches during his famous **"Whistle-Stop" Campaign**.

Bryan was a noted orator; his **"Cross of Gold"** speech at the convention propelled him to the nomination.

Bryan **supported Free Silver** (unlimited coinage of silver).

People in the South and West supported Bryan on hopes that **Free Silver** would solve the debt problem.

Populists of the Farmer/Labor Party supported Bryan but lost steam after he didn't win.

Protestants supported Bryan.

The **"Panic of 1893"** led to the worst depression in U.S. history up to that point. Because it happened under the Democratic administration of Grover Cleveland, it helped the Republican cause. The stock market crash was exacerbated by a rush on gold at federal banks and helped drive Bryan's populist call for free coinage of silver.

DID YOU KNOW? *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, published in 1900 by L. Frank Baum, has been interpreted by some as a parable about the Populist Free Silver movement and Bryan's role in it. Oz is short for ounce, the measure for gold and silver. Dorothy plays the role of the commoner from Kansas. The Tin Woodsman is the worker, the Scarecrow is the farmer, and the Cowardly Lion is Bryan himself with a big roar but little power. The yellow brick road is the Gold Standard and Dorothy's "silver slippers" (changed to ruby slippers for the film) represent Free Silver.

TEACHER GUIDE

1896 DOC. #1: Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Truly modern campaigning began in the last years of the 19th century. It included such elements as heroic imagery, appeals to women and to family values, and issues such as control of the money supply and global trade. All of these were present in the election of 1896.

In 1896 the country was deeply and emotionally divided over the issue of "Free Silver," which referred to the "free and unlimited coinage of silver" at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold. Supporters of Free Silver saw silver as "the people's money," a symbol of liberation for farmers and working people. They viewed gold as a symbol of the oppression of rich over poor. Their slogan was "16 to 1." Opponents of Free Silver (known as "goldbugs") felt that gold alone should be the basis for the dollar.

William Jennings Bryan was a 36-year-old Congressman from Nebraska and relatively unknown when he gave his "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic convention in 1896. He was nominated for President on the fifth ballot, becoming the youngest major party nominee ever selected. His entire speech was reprinted nationwide in newspapers which helped to bring his name before the voters. The speech caused a sensation and overnight Bryan became the "workingman's hero."

> Project the document.

This Bryan campaign poster included the entire text of Bryan's "Cross of Gold" speech, which was labeled "The Speech that Won the Convention." The pictures beneath his portrait are of his young family. This is one of the first times that images of a candidate's family were used in a presidential campaign.

QUESTION

What messages about Bryan does the artist intend to convey? Give evidence to explain your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is for Free Silver.

EVIDENCE

"16 to 1" slogan and the pro-silver "Cross of Gold" speech

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is for the common man.

EVIDENCE

images of a farmer and blacksmith

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is a patriotic family man.

EVIDENCE

flags surround images of his family

> **Have students read** the opening and closing parts of the speech on the handout.

1896 DOC. #1



Bryan "Cross of Gold" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

Text from two sections on student handout

QUESTION	What group is Bryan targeting in this speech and what is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is targeting supporters of Free Silver.
EVIDENCE	slogan: "16-1"; text: "clad in the armor of a righteous cause," "you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is targeting workers.
EVIDENCE	images of farmer and blacksmith; text: "producing masses," "laboring interests and toilers everywhere," "you shall not press down upon the brow of labor"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is targeting voting men with young families.
EVIDENCE	Bryan's image is surrounded by pictures of his family
QUESTION	What qualities of character is Bryan trying to project? What evidence do you see?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is trying to project qualities of humility, righteousness, and determination.
EVIDENCE	text: "the humblest citizen in all the land," "I come to you for a righteous cause," "we will fight to the uttermost"
QUESTION	How does Bryan use Christian imagery to support his messages?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The speech is graphically designed like a page from the Bible. The text includes: "cause as holy as," "crown of thorns," and "crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of contemporary examples in which candidates have used religious references in their campaigns?

Why don't we see such lengthy speeches in contemporary political advertisements?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Bryan's speech at the convention provoked a wild response of cheering and shouting that lasted for almost an hour. Bryan was carried around on the shoulders of some while others held up hastily-written banners with the words "No Crown of Thorns! No Cross of Gold!" Some of the delegates supported the gold standard and were shocked at the outcry for Bryan. The Democratic Party subsequently split over the Free Silver question with some conservative "goldbugs" leaving to form the National Democratic Party to fight Bryan.

Eastern businessmen, many of whom owned great reserves of gold, opposed Bryan's nomination. Wealthy Westerners with interests in the silver mines supported him. Many Populists who needed support for their agrarian platform decided to take on the Free Silver issue and supported Bryan in the campaign.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor
Family Man
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1896 DOC. #2: McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The emergence of a transcontinental rail system allowed candidates to meet voters in unprecedented numbers. The 1896 campaign thus was the beginning of the nationwide sweep for votes that continues today as candidates might often visit several states in a single day using chartered or personal jets. William Jennings Bryan took to the rails in the first major “whistle-stop” campaign trip. He visited hundreds of communities during 18,000 miles of railroad campaigning over a period of 100 days. His 600 speeches in 27 states made the headlines but left him exhausted.

McKinley stayed home, following the long-standing view that “stumping for votes” was not dignified. Instead McKinley developed the Front Porch Campaign, which used the rail lines to bring supporters to his home in Canton, Ohio. These visits were highly organized and targeted special interest groups. The railroad companies gave special rates and free passes to many of the 750,000 “front porch visitors” during the campaign.

McKinley’s campaign manager, millionaire industrialist Mark Hanna, raised more than 6 million dollars from wealthy Eastern industrialists who were terrified of a Bryan presidency. This was 20 times more than the Democrats were able to raise. McKinley’s well-oiled campaign produced colorful campaign posters, pamphlets, buttons, and novelties. They trained 1,400 campaigners who were dispatched to speak for McKinley throughout the country. The Republican National Committee produced over 100 million pieces of literature, an average of more than 7 documents per eligible voter. The 1896 McKinley campaign thus began a new era of the mass marketing of politics.

> Project the document.

In this photograph, an Italian Republican Brass Band from Buffalo, New York, poses for a campaign photo with McKinley in front of his large porch. McKinley is the tall man with the large top hat sixth from the left in the front row.

QUESTION

What messages about McKinley are being communicated in this photograph? Give evidence.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is friendly to the common man and welcoming.

EVIDENCE

he has invited these working people to his home

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is dignified and an important person.

EVIDENCE

he appears in a top hat and dress coat; he’s at the front of the group

1896 DOC. #2



McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photograph

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **Who might the McKinley campaign be targeting through this “photo-op?”**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The campaign is targeting Italian American voters and other Catholic or immigrant groups.

QUESTION **Why might the railroads have given free passes and special rates to McKinley visitors? What is your evidence?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER They wanted to support McKinley’s election because they felt that McKinley would be more likely to support their interests than Bryan with his Populist leanings.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of contemporary photo-ops where candidates have targeted recent immigrant groups?

Some people criticized McKinley for receiving special treatment from the railroad owners. Is it a problem for one candidate to receive special considerations from a wealthy individual or corporation? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Today we are accustomed to seeing photographs of presidential candidates on a daily basis. In the late 1800s, photography was still a relatively new medium. The technology of photography was first developed in the late 1820s. By the time of the Civil War, photographs had become essential documents of historical events and people. In 1888 George Eastman’s roll-film Kodak camera allowed the public to become picture takers. By 1896 photographs became a regular component of campaign management. Events like McKinley’s front porch gatherings were photographed for use in advertisements and news reports. But it was not until the election of 1900 that new technology allowed photographs to be easily reproduced in major newspapers.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias

Reaching Voters (photo op)

Target Audience (immigrants)

TEACHER GUIDE

1896 DOC. #3: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A candidate's military career has often been used to attract voters' support (e.g., Andrew Jackson in 1828, Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, and John Kerry in 2004). McKinley used his former position as a major in the Civil War to strengthen his campaign.

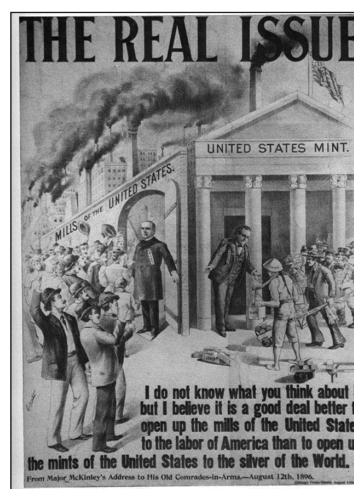
This campaign poster of 1896 includes portions of a speech that McKinley made to his old Civil War Regiment, the 23rd Ohio Volunteer Infantry, when they visited his home in Canton during the Front Porch Campaign. McKinley favored the gold standard. In the speech he said "The country's honor [of its currency] has been our ship's anchor in every storm. Lincoln pledged it when in time of war we issued paper money. He [Lincoln] said, 'Every dollar of that money shall be made good as gold.'"

McKinley also supported high taxes (tariffs) on foreign goods in order to protect American industry from competition, and favored restrictions on immigration. He supported the expansion of women's rights, which would become an ongoing campaign issue until women won the right to vote in 1920.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What messages about McKinley does this poster promote? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	McKinley is an upstanding defender of workers.
EVIDENCE	McKinley stands tall, holding open the doors of U.S. mills for the workers who are cheering him; text: "the labor of America"
QUESTION	What messages about Bryan are conveyed by this poster? Give evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bryan is going to give away the wealth of the U.S. to foreigners.
EVIDENCE	holding open the door of the U.S. Mint to foreigners; text: "open up the the mints of the United States to the silver of the world"; Bryan seems to be bowing to "foreign interests"

1896 DOC. #3



McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION What messages about race, nationality, and gender are communicated by this poster? What is your evidence?

SUGGESTED ANSWER Foreigners will wreck the U.S. economy.

EVIDENCE the most prominent figures bringing foreign silver to the U.S. Mint are from China (man with long braid) and Mexico (man wearing a sombrero)

SUGGESTED ANSWER Foreign workers will “take” jobs from whites.

EVIDENCE foreigners are all in front of Bryan while McKinley’s audience is all white and cheering his remarks about the “labor of America”

SUGGESTED ANSWER Women workers support McKinley.

EVIDENCE the group of workers in front of the mills includes women; women are cheering McKinley

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How have issues of foreign trade and immigration been used in campaigns in the era of globalization?

Can you think of other times when candidates have used fear of foreigners to promote their candidacy?

What were the “real issues” in 1896? Was the gold standard a serious issue or merely a distraction? What are the real issues today? What issues distract from more important concerns?

ADDITIONAL INFO

McKinley’s campaign was supported by big business and wealthy donors. He nevertheless made a successful appeal as the candidate who was a friend to the blue collar worker. His campaign slogan was a “Full Dinner Pail,” representing sufficient money for food for workers of that era.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor
Economic Issues
“Hero”

Target Audience (white workers)

HANDOUT

1900 ELECTION



WILLIAM McKINLEY
and Theodore Roosevelt

POPULAR VOTE: 7,207,923
ELECTORAL VOTE: 292

REPUBLICAN



McKinley was the **incumbent President**.

Republicans continued to receive huge **donations** from **major corporations**, including \$250,000 from Standard Oil.

Roosevelt adopted Bryan's "**Whistle-Stop**" Campaign style, traveling more than 20,000 miles and making 673 speeches in 567 towns.

Some Republicans **opposed Roosevelt** as Vice President, fearing he was too unpredictable and flashy.

McKinley turned down African Americans' requests to speak out against **lynching**.

McKinley supported extending the **U.S. Empire**.

McKinley favored **corporate expansion**.

Images of Teddy Roosevelt as a "**Rough Rider**" on horseback during the Spanish-American War (1898) appeared on bandanas, badges, and playing cards.

Western voters were attracted to Roosevelt's "Rough Rider" image.



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[LC-USZ62-35709]



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
and Adlai E. Stevenson

POPULAR VOTE: 6,358,133
ELECTORAL VOTE: 155

DEMOCRAT

Bryan was the **Democratic presidential candidate** in 1896.

Democrats attacked McKinley for his cozy relationship with big business.

Bryan continued to **stump** throughout the country, speaking in hundreds of towns from the back of rail-road cars.

Bryan continued to endorse **Free Silver** but the **Gold Standard Act of 1900** made the issue less important.

Bryan was advised against supporting **voting rights for African Americans**.

Bryan wanted to regulate **trusts**.

Bryan accused McKinley of **imperialism**.

Progressives pushed for human values over industrial growth and supported Bryan.

Irish and German voters liked Bryan because of his support for South African Boers (Dutch/German farmers) in their war against the British.

The Prohibition Party's main platform was opposition to alcohol. It started in 1869 and continues to this day, making it the longest standing 3rd party in history. The Prohibition Party candidate won 200,000 votes in 1900.

DID YOU KNOW? McKinley's campaign advisor Mark Hanna was strongly opposed to Roosevelt becoming the vice-presidential candidate. At the convention Hanna called out, "Don't any of you realize that there's only one life between that madman and the presidency?" When Roosevelt was nominated, Hanna told McKinley, "Your duty to the country is to live for four years from next March." It was not to be. McKinley was assassinated in September, 1901 and Roosevelt assumed the presidency.

TEACHER GUIDE

1900 DOC. #1: Bryan "The Issue - 1900" Poster

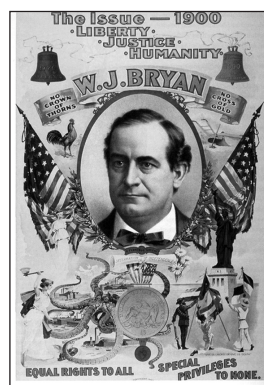
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the beginning of the 20th century people were concerned about the United States' role as an economic and military superpower and about the power of giant corporations within the free enterprise system. These same issues are still of concern 100 years later at the beginning of the 21st century.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION	What are some of the messages about Bryan's positions that are illustrated in the poster? Give your evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bryan supports Free Silver.
EVIDENCE	silver medallion below his portrait and text: "no crown of thorns," "no cross of gold"
<div>SEE NOTE</div> <div>→</div>	
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bryan opposes U.S. imperialism and supports independence for colonized nations.
EVIDENCE	foreign figures waving their flags below the Statue of Liberty with text below: "give us liberty or give us death"; image of the liberty bell (a reminder of U.S. independence from Britain)
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bryan opposes trusts that have monopolistic control over industry.
EVIDENCE	the octopus (labeled "Trusts") with its tentacles around factories is being attacked by "Lady Liberty"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bryan supports Populism and labor, and opposes the wealthy elite.
EVIDENCE	image of plow and rooster symbolize farmers; text: "equal rights to all, special privileges to none"; Lady Liberty attacking the "octopus" of trusts/monopolies

1900 DOC. #1



National Portrait Gallery Smithsonian Institution

Bryan "The Issue - 1900" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

These quotes refer to Bryan's 1896 convention speech supporting Free Silver (1896 doc. #1).

QUESTION

How does the artist represent the principles of “liberty, justice, and humanity”?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Liberty –is represented by the Liberty Bell and Statue of Liberty;
Justice –is represented by figure of “blind justice” impartially weighing the scales of justice;
Humanity –is represented by foreign figures appealing to Statue of Liberty.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How have contemporary candidates tried to tap into Populist sentiments appealing to working people and attacking a wealthy elite?

Where does the current President stand on issues of foreign military involvement and the power of large corporations? Where does his opposition stand? How do you know?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Bryan had wanted the annexation of the Philippines to become a major issue in the campaign in order to stir a national debate on whether U.S. imperialism was consistent with democratic traditions. When voters failed to support his anti-imperialist views he took up the antitrust issue. A majority of voters were unwilling to come to support either of these in a time of economic growth. Bryan continued to advocate for Free Silver even though the Gold Standard Act of 1900 had essentially ended this as a concern.

Bryan linked these three concerns – free silver, antitrust and anti-imperialism – into a critique of establishment power. He argued that a small group of Eastern businessmen and wealthy industrialists used the gold standard, trusts, and imperial adventures to secure more wealth and power for themselves. In the process, he argued, democratic institutions were weakened and common people were less able to control their lives. McKinley, on the other hand, saw these same practices as central to prosperity. He argued that gold, consolidated corporate power, and territorial expansion were the keys to a strong economy and opportunity for all U.S. citizens.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor
Economic Issues
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1900 DOC. #2: McKinley / Roosevelt "Promises" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the age of television it is common to see commercials comparing one candidate's records with another's. This same practice of comparison happened in earlier years by use of the campaign poster. Then, as now, candidates use these images as quick ways to say, "This is my vision. This is my opponent's. Which would you choose?"

In 1900 the United States' economy was strong, having recovered from the "Panic of 1893," the worst economic depression in U.S. history up to that point. Republicans argued that the reasons for the economic recovery were McKinley's policies of high protective tariffs, a commitment to the gold standard, and the annexation of Cuba and the Philippines. Others thought that prosperity was purely a result of a dramatic increase in the gold supply due to discoveries of new gold fields in Alaska, South Africa, and Australia.

The 1900 campaign included a national debate on U.S. imperialism: whether to extend America's territories by taking control of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines, which Spain had lost in the Spanish-American War. McKinley felt that the solution was "to take them all and educate the Filipinos, and uplift and Christianize them, and by God's grace do the very best we could by them" (A. Brinkley, *American History* 567).

This Republican Party poster included portraits of William McKinley on the left, and his new vice-presidential candidate, Teddy Roosevelt on the right. The President who left office in 1896 was Democrat Grover Cleveland.

> **Project** the entire document.

QUESTION	What are the messages this poster gives about the Democrats (who were defeated in 1896) and their stance on these issue? Give your evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Democratic policies ruined U.S. trade and the economy.
EVIDENCE	ports and ships in disrepair after Grover Cleveland's Democratic administration; closed factories in 1896
<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px; display: inline-block;">SEE NOTE</div>	
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Under the Democrats the banks failed.
EVIDENCE	text: "A Run on the Bank"; fearful crowds unable to withdraw money from "closed" banks

1900 DOC. #2



McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

The Democrats opposed tariffs (taxes on imported goods) while the Republicans promoted protectionist trade policies.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Democrats tolerated inhumane Spanish rule in Cuba.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **What are the messages this poster gives about the Republican administration of McKinley and Roosevelt? Give your evidence.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Under McKinley factories and farms are prospering and trade was booming.

EVIDENCE in 1900 trains, ships (trade), farms, and factories are working productively

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Republicans have restored confidence in the economy and the banking system.

EVIDENCE text: "A Run to the Bank" with people entering the bank to deposit money

SEE NOTE →

SUGGESTED ANSWER U.S. rule abroad is humane and benefits colonial people.

EVIDENCE images of schools, farms, and factories under "American Rule in Cuba"; McKinley quote, "The American flag has not been planted in foreign soil to acquire more territory but for humanity's sake"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why have foreign policy debates historically been less important to voters than domestic issues?

What issues, images, and references might a candidate use today in a similarly formatted poster?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Foreign Policy
Economic Issues
Fear

NOTE

McKinley had gone to war against Spain in 1898 and expanded U.S. territories to include the Philippines and Puerto Rico and dominion over Cuba (where Teddy Roosevelt had gained notoriety as a Rough Rider). Bryan criticized McKinley of fostering U.S. imperialism.

NOTE

The stock market crash of 1893, under the Democratic administration of Grover Cleveland, prompted a rush on gold at federal banks and led to an economic depression.

ADDITIONAL INFO

One consequence of the Panic of 1893 was the intense discussion of the "money question," particularly the gold versus silver debate. Another consequence was the rise of the Populist movement which fueled Bryan's presidential bid.

McKinley was initially reluctant to support annexation of the former Spanish territories. But he decided that annexation would be best since returning the former colonies to Spain would be "cowardly and dishonorable," turning them over to another imperialist power such as Britain or France would be "bad business and dishonorable," and granting independence would be irresponsible since the Filipinos were "unfit for self government" (A. Brinkley, *American History* 567).

TEACHER GUIDE

1900 DOC. #3: McKinley and Millionaire Advisor Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

William McKinley was criticized for being controlled by the wealthy interests that supported his campaign. This would become a major issue for politicians throughout the modern era. Modern political cartooning, begun with the works of Thomas Nast in the 1860s, continues to this day as a means to criticize those in power.

> Project the document.

This cartoon by George Luks first appeared in the Democratic magazine, *The Verdict* on March 13, 1899. The figure on the right is McKinley. The figure on the left represents Mark Hanna, McKinley's campaign manager. Hanna had made his fortune in the iron, coal, and shipping industries before becoming the primary organizer and fundraiser for McKinley. In the 1900 race Hanna raised two and a half million dollars for the Republicans, five times the total that the Democrats managed to raise.

The portrait behind is of Henry Clay who had said in an 1850 speech, "I'd rather be right than be president." Hanna had been widely quoted in the press for saying that, in his opinion, Henry Clay was an "ass" for making that statement. He told McKinley, "It's better to be president than to be right."

QUESTION

What are the primary messages in this political cartoon, and how are they communicated?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

McKinley is controlled by his wealthy campaign manager and the interests he represents.

EVIDENCE

McKinley is quiet and listening passively while Hanna speaks; Hanna's wealth is represented by the dollar signs on his thumb and earlobe, the flashy jewelry, and his fancy clothes

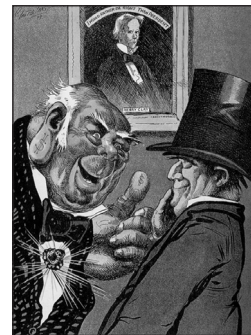
SUGGESTED ANSWER

Hanna and McKinley are unethical and willing to do anything to ensure McKinley's election.

EVIDENCE

Henry Clay's statement is one of moral righteousness compared to Hanna's countering statement "It's better to be president than to be right"; Clay's image casts a dubious look at Hanna

1900 DOC. #3



McKinley and Millionaire Advisor Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

This cartoon ran at a time when other cartoonists were using similar themes. William Randolph Hearst's *New York Evening Journal* put out a cartoon series entitled "Willie and His Papa" portraying McKinley (Willie) as Mark Hanna's (Papa's) little boy. The cartoonist, George Luks, eventually became well known as one of the leaders of the "Ashcan" school of realist painting.

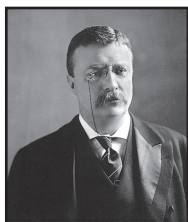
CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons
Class/Labor

HANDOUT

1904 ELECTION



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
and Charles Fairbanks

POPULAR VOTE: 7,623,486
ELECTORAL VOTE: 336

REPUBLICAN

Roosevelt was the **incumbent President**.

Roosevelt felt that he could not go on the campaign trail **stumping** as a sitting president.

Roosevelt supported **U.S. imperialism**.

Teddy's **image** was central to the Republican campaign with "Teddy" bears and "Teddy's Teeth" novelty whistles.

Press releases were used by Republicans to report on the nation's prosperity under a Republican administration.

Wealthy businessmen supported Roosevelt but were angered by his **anti-trust** policy.



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-53895]



ALTON PARKER
and Henry Davis

POPULAR VOTE: 5,077,911
ELECTORAL VOTE: 140

DEMOCRAT

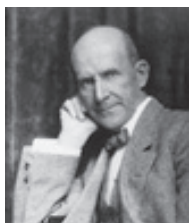
Parker was **Chief Justice** of the New York State Court of Appeals.

Parker declined to **stump for president** during the campaign.

Parker opposed **U.S. imperialism**.

Although both candidates opposed voting rights for African Americans, Parker appealed more to **white Southern voters**.

The **Democratic Party reorganization** divided the party; former president Grover Cleveland declined to run again and millionaire newspaperman **William Randolph Hearst** unsuccessfully sought the Democratic nomination.



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-106026]



EUGENE DEBS
and Henry Davis

POPULAR VOTE: 402,283
ELECTORAL VOTE: 0

SOCIALIST

Founded in 1901, the **Socialist Party** gained ground by uniting progressive groups.



DID YOU KNOW? One of the many ways in which Roosevelt's personality was bought and sold in the early 1900s was through the production of what we have come to know as "teddy bears." These stuffed bears were so popular in those days that nearly every major city had a factory or two making them. The idea of a "Teddy" bear came from a newspaper cartoon by famous cartoonist Clifford Berryman. Berryman had read news reports of a hunting trip in Mississippi in which President Roosevelt had refused to shoot a helpless trapped bear. He titled his cartoon, "Drawing the Line in Mississippi."

TEACHER GUIDE

1904 DOC. #1: Parker “Jeffersonian Principles” Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Other than traveling to seek votes, the main means of communication with voters in the early 20th century came from print sources (e.g. newspapers, postcards, and posters). Alton Parker was the chief justice of the New York Court of Appeals when he accepted the Democratic Party nomination. He ran a very quiet campaign, only going out “on the stump” for one brief speaking tour to support his candidacy.

> **Project** the document.

The text in the yellow box outlines the Democratic Party platform. Party platforms are the principles that a political party agrees to when it mounts a campaign. Platforms are sometimes statements of how their party differs from their opponents. In some election years there have been major conflicts at the party convention over particular planks, or parts, of the party platform. The Democrats in 1904 used their party platform as the main selling point against the popular President, Theodore Roosevelt.

QUESTION **What messages are being communicated about the Democratic candidates in this poster?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The poster is attempting to connect the images of the candidates with those of the Founding Fathers.

EVIDENCE phrase “return to Jeffersonian principles” with U.S. flags

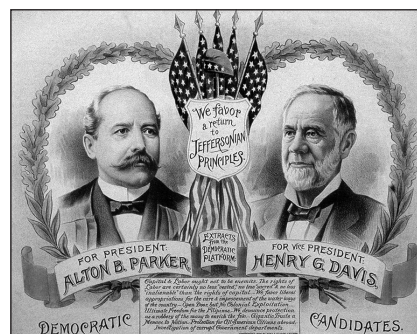
SEE NOTE →

> **Have students read** the text “Excerpts from the Democratic Platform” on the handout

QUESTION **What messages about the Democratic platform and these candidates are being communicated by the text from this poster? Give evidence.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Democrats are opposed to U.S. imperialism yet support free trade.

1904 DOC. #1



Parker “Jeffersonian Principles” Poster

PowerPoint Slide

Text on Student Handout

NOTE

“Jeffersonian principles” refers to the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, particularly that democracy, liberty, and equality are the means to defeat tyranny and ignorance.

EVIDENCE text: "no colonial exploitation," "freedom for Filipinos," but supports "open door" policy allowing the U.S. to trade with China, "we denounce protectionism (tariffs)"

SEE NOTE →

SUGGESTED ANSWER They are antitrust but not antibusiness (like the Socialists).

EVIDENCE text: "gigantic trusts a menace," but "capital and labor ought not to be enemies"

EVIDENCE text: "improvement of waterways," "protection for all American citizens abroad," "investigation of corrupt government departments"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What makes a campaign poster effective?

It was common in the first-half of the 20th century for party platforms to appear in campaign literature. Why do you suppose this practice has faded in recent years?

Do you know of any party platform in a recent election campaign? Why or why not?

NOTE

"Open Door" refers to a statement that McKinley issued in 1898 to the other imperial powers that were beginning to carve up China: "Asking only the open door for ourselves, we are ready to accord the open door to others" (A. Brinkley, *American History* 570).

ADDITIONAL INFO

Parker was a judge known for his caution about making any kind of political statement. Few people really knew about his stand on the issues prior to the Democratic convention. He was called, "the Enigma from New York," "Mummy" and "the Sphinx." The *New York Sun* suggested that he had "the salient features of a sphere" (Boller 184). His deliberate low profile was a pronounced counterpoint to Teddy Roosevelt's desire for public visibility.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1904 DOC. #2: Debs "Socialist Party" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

There have been six major parties whose candidates have been elected to the presidency since the first election of George Washington in 1789. They are, in order of emergence, Federalists, Democratic-Republicans, National Republicans, Whigs, Democrats, and Republicans. There have also been more than two dozen important third parties from the Anti-Mason Party in 1828 to the Green Party in the 1990s. Third parties often express strong ideas about a single issue or a mix of issues that some voters may feel are not well represented by either major party. In the beginning of the modern era of campaigns a well-known third party candidate was Eugene Debs.

Debs ran for President on the Socialist Party ticket five times between 1900 and 1920. He had become well known as a labor leader because he headed the first industrial union in the U.S., the American Railway Union. He edited the Socialist newspaper, *Appeal to Reason*, which had several hundred thousand subscribers.

The Socialist Party had its strongest appeal in the United States between 1900 and 1914. It was a time when some felt that deep changes were needed in the political and economic institutions of the country. Much of the Socialist platform in 1904 was similar to that of the Populist Party platform of 12 years earlier. Although most Socialists agreed on the necessity of structural changes in the economy, they were divided about the nature of that change and the tactics required to bring it about.

> Project the document.

QUESTION **What are the main messages being communicated by this poster? What is your evidence?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Working men should vote for their own interests and select the Socialist Party.

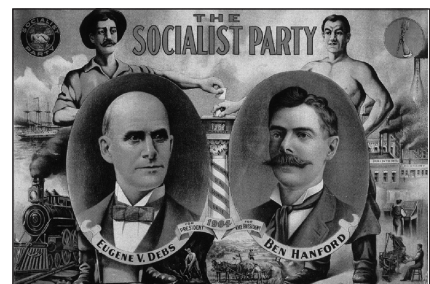
EVIDENCE the figures behind the candidates are laborers who are casting their votes into a ballot box that says "Workingmen of all countries unite" and stands between the Socialist Party candidates

QUESTION **Who's the target audience for this poster and why?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Laborers, industrial workers, transport workers, and farmers are the target audience

EVIDENCE images of a miner, a farmer, a mill worker, a typesetter; the standing men are clearly workers; the factories, railroad car, and ship; Socialist message of oppressed workers rising to power in the Debs speech quoted above

1904 DOC. #2



Debs "Socialist Party" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **What is the Socialist Party message on international relations? Why do you think so?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Workers of all nations should unite.

EVIDENCE the ballot pole message of "Workingmen of all countries unite" and the hands clasped across the globe in the Socialist Party emblem above left

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why do you think the Socialist message was most popular during this time period? Are there socialist candidates running in contemporary elections? What are their positions?

What role have third party candidates played in American elections?

Some people have argued for a change to a proportional representation system where even small parties have a voice in government based on their share of the popular vote. Would this be a good idea for the United States? Why or why not?

Should opponents of war be punished in times of national crisis? Why or why not?

NOTE

The words on the pole read: Workingmen of all countries unite.

ADDITIONAL INFO

In June, 1918 in the midst of World War I, Debs made an antiwar speech in which he said: "Wars throughout history have been waged for conquest and plunder... The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles...Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and re-create them as free and humanizing institutions" (Zinn 367).

Following this speech Debs was arrested for violating the Espionage Act by speaking in such a way as to "obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service." He was serving a ten-year sentence on those charges when he made his final run for President in 1920. He lost the election but received nearly a million votes while sitting in his prison cell. He was pardoned on Christmas Day, 1921 by President Warren Harding.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor

Target Audience (industrial laborers) See two other documents from third party candidates: George Wallace (1968 doc. #7) and Ralph Nader (2000 doc. #3c).

TEACHER GUIDE

1904 DOC. #3: Photograph of Roosevelt Stumping and “Teddy’s Teeth” ad

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Especially in the age of television, a candidate’s personality often becomes an important factor in the campaign. This attention to a candidate’s personality became a major part of modern elections with the rise of two charismatic presidents named Roosevelt - Theodore and Franklin. Theodore Roosevelt had a magnetic personality, which he used to his advantage during his three runs for the presidency. He was a great speaker and his high-pitched voice carried well to crowds in the days before microphones. His trademark grin was the basis for many popular campaign novelties.

Teddy became the model President for the new century – charming, energetic and at the center of everything. Roosevelt saw his presidency as a “bully pulpit” from which he could always appear on stage in front of the nation.

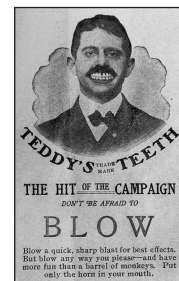
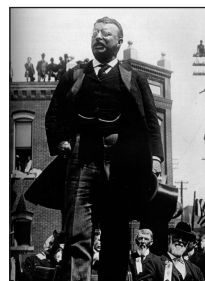
Roosevelt also hated the fact that he couldn’t campaign actively in 1904 since it was still thought to be undignified to campaign from the White House.

> **Project** the document.

Knowing that he wouldn’t be able to speak in public during the campaign itself, President Roosevelt made lengthy speaking tours in 1902 and 1903. This photo from the *New York Times* photo archives was taken during an address in New York City before the official start of the campaign.

QUESTION	What messages are conveyed by this photo? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Roosevelt is a powerful and popular President.
EVIDENCE	he dominates the frame and the viewer is placed below him, gazing upward; crowds have gathered to hear him, some going to great lengths to see the famous President
QUESTION	How could a photo such as this persuade voters who hadn’t been present for the speech?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	By its publication in a national newspaper like the <i>New York Times</i> many potential voters could be moved by this powerful image of Roosevelt.

1904 DOC. #3



Teddy Roosevelt Stumping photograph and “Teddy’s Teeth” ad

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

Why were gimmicks like “Teddy’s Teeth” used by Roosevelt’s campaign?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Gimmicks made Roosevelt seem accessible. To associate him with having fun and to appeal to children. Their use encouraged small businesses to help support their candidate by selling his image.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How has “stumping” changed in the era of televised mass media?

Should personality be a primary consideration when voting? Why or why not?

Would this *New York Times* photo likely have helped or hurt Roosevelt’s campaign?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Presidential speeches had been covered in newspapers since the beginning of the nation, but photographs added a new element to news coverage of presidential candidates. Not only were a candidate’s words covered in the press, now their physical appearance became a critical element in the success or failure of campaigns.

Although photography was invented in the early 1800s, it was not until the end of the century that new technologies allowed newspapers to easily include photographs. Although many photos were taken during the Spanish American War in 1898, many newspapers still used woodcuts because they would reproduce better. But by the turn of the century photography already held greater credibility than drawings and newspapers often ran the tag line “based on photographs” under illustrations.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Hero”

Media Bias

Reaching Voters (stumping)

TEACHER GUIDE

1904 DOC. #4: Teddy Roosevelt “New Diplomacy” Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Should the U.S. act as the world’s policeman, bringing criminals and “rogue nations” to justice and establishing law and order in a world of conflict? This familiar question has its roots in the debate about the growing U.S. empire at the turn of the 20th century.

> **Project** the document.

The title of this cartoon is “The New Diplomacy.” It was drawn by the cartoonist Louis Dalrymple for the popular magazine *Puck* in 1904. It illustrates Roosevelt’s motto concerning American power in the world, “Speak softly and carry a big stick.” Roosevelt also believed in using different tactics for diplomacy with “less civilized” nations than he would with the “civilized” nations.

QUESTION	Describe the messages this cartoon presents about Roosevelt’s foreign policy and explain how they are communicated.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The U.S. is the world’s policeman and Roosevelt is the strongman that other nations look to for assistance.
EVIDENCE	Roosevelt dominates the globe with the U.S. Capitol at the center; badge and paper saying “tell your troubles to the policeman”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is willing to use force and intimidation to get his way.
EVIDENCE	Roosevelt’s “big stick” representing the U.S. military hangs over fearful countries while others negotiate with the “policeman,” who has his jaw set, nightstick ready
QUESTION	The left portion of the cartoon shows Roosevelt and the nations he considered “less civilized,” including Turkey, Brazil, and the Philippines. What does it suggest about his attitude toward how to effectively deal with these countries? Give evidence.

1904 DOC. #4



Teddy Roosevelt “New Diplomacy” Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

SUGGESTED ANSWER	The U.S. should be willing to use force if needed.
EVIDENCE	the “big stick” of New Diplomacy is swung over their heads; he has a stern look directed down at them; his message facing this side announces that he is “the policeman”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He threatens military force against the “less civilized” nations of Latin America and the Middle East, but uses traditional diplomacy with Europe, Russia and Japan.
EVIDENCE	the “big stick” is swinging menacingly above the fearful character representing Latin America and Middle East nations; the figures representing these nations are disheveled and undignified; “civilized nations” are illustrated as more dignified and even defiant, but still much smaller than the U.S.; they are demanding the policeman’s attention; Roosevelt’s body is positioned with the word “arbitration” towards Europe and the “big stick” on the other side
<div>SEE NOTE</div>	
QUESTION	Would this be a pro- or anti-Roosevelt cartoon?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It depends on your point of view. Those favoring the use of U.S. power in the world would likely approve and those opposing imperialism or favoring isolationism might oppose.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Is this cartoon racist? Does it reflect racism in Roosevelt’s foreign policy?

Does the U.S. still “speak softly and carry a big stick” in international relations? How might a similar cartoon about U.S. foreign policy be drawn today?

Should the United States play the role of policeman or judge in international conflicts? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Roosevelt appreciated the opportunity to wield power overseas in ways that he could not do at home. His foreign policy was relatively reserved given his earlier support for imperialism and war. He believed in control without colonizing and in using the threat of violence to “encourage” other countries, especially in the Americas, to heed U.S. economic interests.

His distinctions between “civilized” and “less civilized” nations were certainly based on racism. They also reflected economic differences, since he included the newly-industrialized Japan among his “civilized” list. He believed that “civilized” nations like the U.S. could intervene in “backward” nations’ affairs in order to preserve, for both parties, the order required for economic stability. It was during this period that Roosevelt oversaw the development of the U.S. Navy as a sea power to rival England and Germany.

NOTE

Arbitration is a way to solve disputes between two parties where each submits their arguments to an unbiased third party who will make a final decision.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoon
Foreign Policy
Race

HANDOUT

1908 ELECTION



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
and James Sherman

POPULAR VOTE: 7,678,098
ELECTORAL VOTE: 321

REPUBLICAN

Taft was Roosevelt's **Secretary of War**.

Republicans helped elect Taft with a **businesslike campaign**.

Taft ran as the **handpicked candidate** of popular president Teddy Roosevelt.

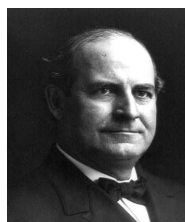
Taft supported **banking reform**.

Taft lost support from **Civil War veterans** for criticizing Ulysses S. Grant for drinking too much.

DID YOU KNOW? Taft was the first president to throw out the opening ball of the baseball season on April 10, 1910. This reflected the status of baseball as the "national pastime" as well as the importance of presidents maintaining a high profile in the media while serving in office.

All the candidates **stumped** during the election, ending the taboo against actively promoting themselves during a campaign.

All candidates supported an **income tax**, as the concentration of wealth became a major issue.



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN
and John W. Kern

POPULAR VOTE: 6,409,104
ELECTORAL VOTE: 162

DEMOCRAT

Bryan was the **Democratic presidential candidate** in 1896 and 1900.

Bryan's **world tour** of 1905-06 provided international publicity.

Bryan accused Taft of being "**Teddy's Boy**."

Millionaire publisher **William Randolph Hearst** criticized Bryan for bank guarantees.

Some **Democratic newspapers** rejected Bryan and endorsed Taft.

Morality became a major issue as Bryan became more evangelical.

Democrats supported an **8-hour workday**.

THIRD PARTIES

Eugene **Debs' Socialist Party** received nearly 1/2 a million votes and called for **unemployment assistance** and an **inheritance tax**.

The **Prohibition Party** ran a candidate and convinced seven states to criminalize alcohol.

Labor supported Bryan or Debs.

"Men of ordinary physique and discretion cannot be Presidents and live, if the strain cannot be somehow relieved. We shall be obliged to always be picking our chief magistrates from among wise and prudent athletes, a small class."

—Woodrow Wilson, commenting on the 1908 campaign in which all major candidates stumped for the first time

TEACHER GUIDE

1908 DOC. #1: "Taft-evelt" Poster and Photo of Taft & Roosevelt

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

It is common for presidential candidates to compare themselves to former Presidents in order to gain approval by association. Early presidential candidates often claimed George Washington as their political ancestor. In recent history several candidates have claimed association to John F. Kennedy. Bill Clinton ran a television commercial which showed him shaking hands with Kennedy as a young man, hoping to gain credibility by the brief connection (1992 doc. #1). Dan Quayle made the association in a debate with his opponent, Lloyd Bentsen, in the 1988 vice-presidential debates, saying that he had as much congressional experience as Kennedy did when he ran for President in 1960. Bentsen countered, "I knew Jack Kennedy. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy."

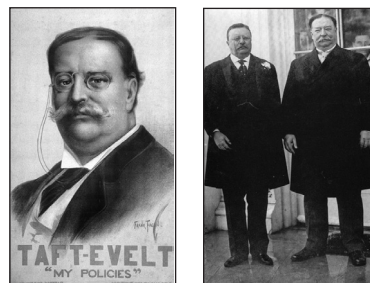
In 1908 Teddy Roosevelt followed George Washington's example of limiting the presidency to two elected terms by choosing not to run for a third term. Roosevelt selected Ohio Superior Court judge William Howard Taft to be his successor because he felt that Taft would continue his policies. Some were suspicious that Taft might be a puppet for Roosevelt, suggesting that T.A.F.T. stood for "Take Advice From Teddy."

> Project the document.

QUESTION	Whose picture is shown in this poster, and what is the message?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Portraits of Taft and Roosevelt are blended giving the impression they are indistinguishable and that Taft will follow Roosevelt's policies.
EVIDENCE	blended (pre-digital) images of Taft and Roosevelt (Taft's head and body shape with Roosevelt's eyes and glasses); text: "Taft-evelt" and "My Policies"
QUESTION	Is this a pro or anti-Taft poster?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	This poster could be taken as either an endorsement of Taft following Roosevelt's footsteps or a critique that Taft was not his own man.

SEE NOTE →

1908 DOC. #1



"Taft-evelt" Poster and Photo of Taft & Roosevelt

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

In fact this was intended as a pro-Taft/Roosevelt poster.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How have other candidates before and after Taft linked their image to that of popular Presidents? How have candidates distanced themselves from unpopular Presidents?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The decision to link Roosevelt and Taft in the campaign was a strategic one. Roosevelt knew, however, that it could be overdone. He advised Taft to limit the references to himself in his acceptance speech, saying "My name should be used only enough thoroughly to convince people of the identity and continuity of our policies" (Troy 120).

The relationship between Taft and Roosevelt soured once Taft began making his own presidential decisions, many of which disappointed Roosevelt. In the next election, 1912, Roosevelt challenged Taft for the Republican nomination and, when the Old Guard opted for Taft, ended up running for President on the Bull Moose or Progressive ticket.

TEACHER GUIDE

1908 DOC. #2: Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

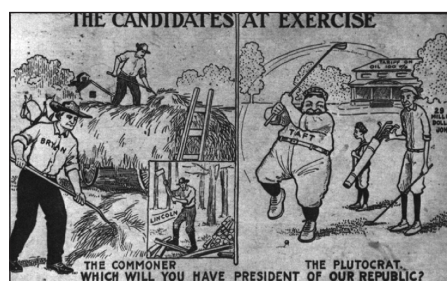
Has your family ever received a mailing from a political candidate, encouraging your vote on Election Day? Direct mail as a political strategy had its origins in the first modern elections of the 20th century. Penny postcards were used as a quick and inexpensive means to reach voters. In 1908 several hundred varieties of these postcards were created by both parties.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this postcard, and which candidate does it support? Give evidence to back up your answers.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	This postcard supports Bryan. He is shown as a worker, a man like the common folk, and like Abe Lincoln. He will help working people.
EVIDENCE	Bryan is depicted pitching hay; labeled "The Commoner"; Abe Lincoln is pictured splitting rails (doing common labor like Bryan)
SUGGESTED ANSWER	This postcard is anti-Taft. Taft is depicted as an aristocrat who is friends with the rich elite and spends his free time on games like golf rather than hard work like Bryan.
EVIDENCE	Taft is shown golfing, a game associated with aristocrats and wealth; he is partnered with "28 million dollar John" D. Rockefeller; the words on top of the clubhouse, "tariff on oil 100%," suggest that Taft will do favors for the oil industry in exchange for support; text: "plutocrat" associated with Taft

SEE NOTE →

1908 DOC. #2



Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

A Plutocrat is someone who has political power due to wealth. John D. Rockefeller was the head of Standard Oil and one of the wealthiest men in the world at that time.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why might issues of class have been so important in the early 20th century? How do class issues appear in contemporary campaigns?

Which kinds of sports or exercise are seen as befitting a President today and which are not? Should it matter?

Most contemporary Presidents are shown playing golf. This is generally portrayed in a positive light, compared to the negative connotation it had for Taft in 1908. What has changed and why?

ADDITIONAL INFO

William Jennings Bryan was running for President on the Democratic ticket for the third time. He had gotten the nickname the "Great Commoner" from his weekly newspaper called *The Commoner* that he had founded in 1901 to keep his ideas before his supporters. Bryan continued to run on a platform of reform. He suggested that the government had become controlled by powerful corporations. In speeches he called the Republicans the "aristocratic party."

This postcard shows Taft playing golf, one of his favorite pastimes. Roosevelt had warned Taft about playing golf in front of the camera. "Photographs on horseback, yes, tennis, no, and golf is fatal" (qtd. in Boller 189).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor

"Commoner"

Reaching Voters (postcard)

TEACHER GUIDE

1908 DOC. #3: Taft Haying Photograph

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Today it may seem like a given that a campaign will use polls, charts, and photo opportunities to push their candidate, but it was not always so. The business of advertising may seem ancient, but it had its roots in the first public relations firm, Parker and Lee, which opened its doors in 1905. They led the way in creating dramatic images to sell their products. And their new science was soon applied to the selling of presidential candidates.

“Photo op” is short for “photographic opportunity.” Politicians and their managers try to position the candidate in the press in ways that show them in the best light, appeal to a particular target audience, or highlight particular political positions. Photo ops are as old as photography but the introduction of new image-reproduction technologies in the early 1900s brought photos to the front pages of national newspapers on a regular basis. A well-constructed photo could do more to sway readers than the accompanying news article and it was often easier for campaigns to orchestrate reporters’ images than their words. If “a picture is worth a thousand words,” then a well-designed photo op could be worth quite a few votes.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What messages are the Taft campaign attempting to convey with this photograph? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Taft is a friend to the farmer and he is “just one of the people.”
EVIDENCE	Taft is posed next to a farmer who is actively working hauling hay in a farm field; image suggests Taft is also haying
QUESTION	Is this a candid photo or a staged photo? Why do you think so?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It seems staged.
EVIDENCE	it is unlikely that Taft is involved in the haying operation wearing a top hat and white shirt

1908 DOC. #3



Taft Haying Photograph

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How do today's candidates market themselves to appear as "one of the people"?

Can you think of examples of staged photo ops being used by modern political candidates? Are these a good way to help the public get to know the candidates? Why or why not?

Should advertising and public relations firms be used to market candidates? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

This photograph of Taft was taken in August, 1908 in Hot Springs, Arkansas, during the summer hay harvest. His campaign team used the new business of public relations to show their man as "The Candidate of the People and for the People."

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"

Media Bias

Target Audience (farmers)

Analyze modern spin and counter-spin in 21st century photo ops using 2004 doc. #5.

1896-1908: The Modern Campaign



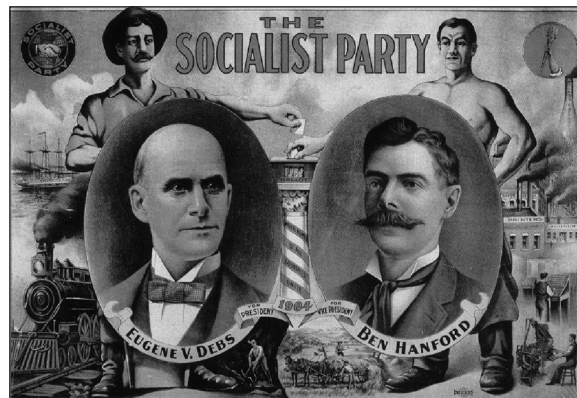
1896: McKinley Front Porch Campaign Visitors



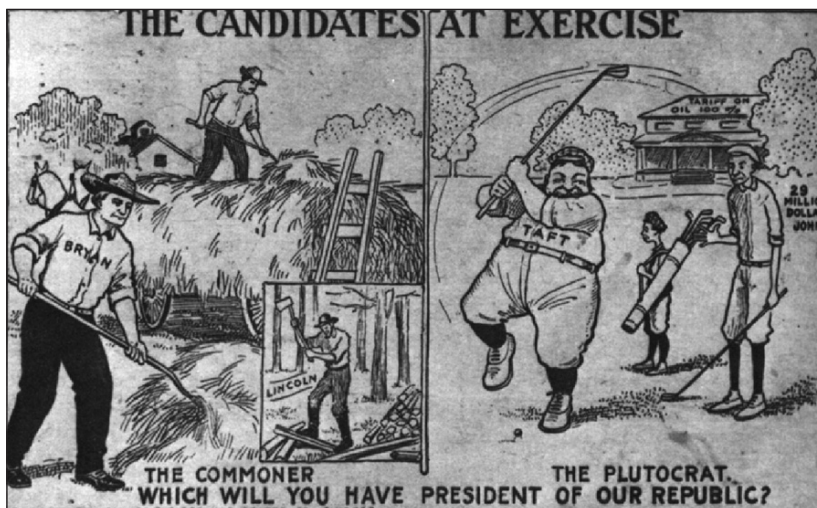
1908: William Howard Taft Haying Photo



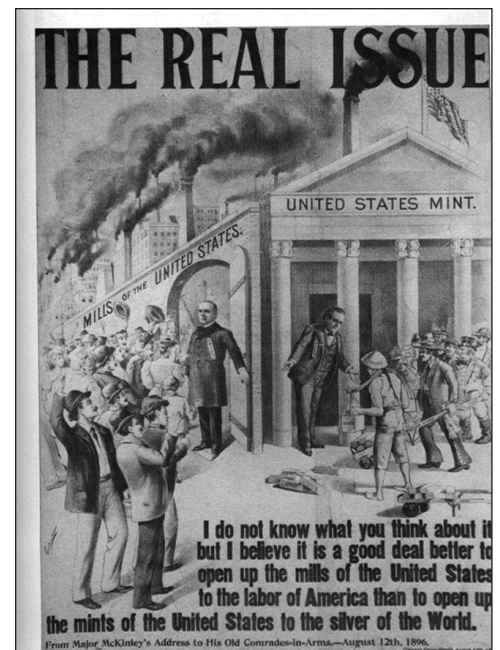
1908: "Taft-evelt - My Policies" Poster



1904: Debs Socialist Party Poster



1908: Bryan Campaign Postcard



1896: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster

Essay Question:

Name three different media techniques used by presidential campaigns at the turn of the last century and discuss how those techniques were used to target specific voting groups. Use at least three of the above documents as examples.

NAME:**Date:**

List at least three forms of media that were used during the 1908 campaign.

List at least three different voting groups that were targeted by candidates during the campaigns of 1896-1908.

Describe two different techniques Bryan used to craft his image as a commoner and workingman in this 1908 postcard.

Name the voters that Taft was targeting in this hayfield photo-op from his 1908 campaign?

Explain how the McKinley campaign was able to highlight the candidate's connection to special voting groups in 1896?

OVERVIEW

1932-1944: The Personal Presidency

Media:

1932-1944 PowerPoint (access online or via 1932-1944 digital media folder)

1932-1944 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1932-1944 digital media folder)

No person has dominated the presidency for longer than Franklin Delano Roosevelt. He was the only President to be elected for more than two terms, winning the presidency in 1932, 1936, 1940, and 1944. Roosevelt's charismatic personality played a major role in his political success, yet some of his personal characteristics might have made him less successful in politics today.

CRAFTING THE IMAGE

FDR led the nation from a wheelchair during an era when the country wanted a figure of indomitable strength to lead them through the Great Depression and World War II. In this age before TV cameras, Roosevelt was able to control his image in the press and was rarely shown in a wheelchair or on crutches, an unlikely feat in today's image-conscious media culture.



Why did Roosevelt's son Eliot escort him into the Democratic Convention in 1932?

Roosevelt knew that his illness could be an issue in the 1932 campaign. He decided to make a dramatic gesture. Film cameras rolled as FDR walked into the cheering Democratic

Convention to the theme song "Happy Days Are Here Again." He was escorted into the hall on the arm of his son, without whose support he could not have made it. In the process Roosevelt went against prevailing wisdom that candidates should not attend their nominating convention and thus began a new tradition in political spectacle.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIVACY

Unlike Bill Clinton, Roosevelt was able to keep his personal life out of the media. Although many reporters at the time knew about FDR's extramarital affair, the sex life of Presidents was considered inappropriate for public disclosure. Times have changed.

"It used to be that photographers couldn't even take pictures of FDR using crutches, but now Presidents have no privacy whatsoever."

- Will Johnson, Chief Archivist at the John F. Kennedy Library

FDR was fourth cousin once removed of President Ulysses S. Grant, fourth cousin three times removed of President Zachary Taylor, fifth cousin of President Teddy Roosevelt, fifth cousin once removed of his wife, and seventh cousin once removed of Winston Churchill

Should a President's personal life be subject to media scrutiny?

REACHING THE PEOPLE

This was the age of radio when the quality of Roosevelt's voice may have counted for more than his appearance. Over the course of his presidency FDR gave more than 30 Fireside

Chats, reaching into the homes of most citizens and voters to impress his personality and his political views on the nation. While stumping gave candidates access to the electorate every four years, radio allowed Roosevelt to extend the campaign throughout his entire presidency.



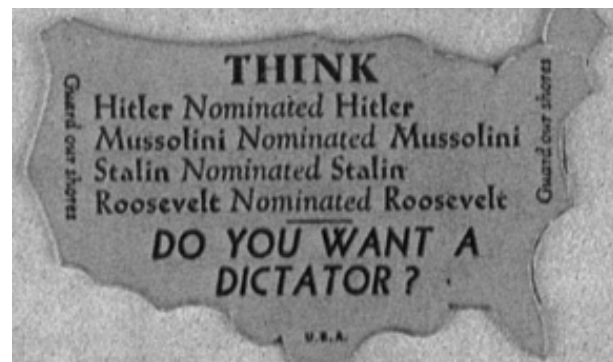
How did radio transform campaigns and the presidency?

The mass medium of radio, along with newsreels, allowed FDR to impress his personality on the people to the point where his reelection bids centered as much on Roosevelt as on the monumental issues of the day. He said in 1936, "There is one issue in this campaign. It is myself, and people must be either for or against me" (Burns 271). This emphasis on personality over issues would again dominate presidential politics during the administrations of Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton.

THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WAR

In his speech at the Democratic convention in

Chicago in 1932 Roosevelt said "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people." The U.S. economy was devastated by the Great Depression and the electorate gave the Democrats a mandate for change. Although accusations of class warfare and Communist infiltration made for bitter politics, Roosevelt's New Deal ultimately transformed American politics and government.



But another crisis loomed and in 1940 Roosevelt ran for an unprecedented third term as wars in Europe and Asia seemed ready to engulf the United States. With the continued backing from empowered labor unions and a broad cross-section of the electorate, Roosevelt defeated Wendell Willkie despite accusations by the Republicans that he secretly plotted to become a dictator.

What are Roosevelt's legacies for American politics, government, and presidential campaigns?

1916-1944	1916-1930s	1932	1936	1940	1944
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, portraits, flyers, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, campaign songs				
NEWSPAPERS & MAGAZINES	• First political polls by <i>Literary Digest</i> • <i>Time</i> • <i>The New Yorker</i> • <i>Newsweek</i>		• First comic books • <i>Life</i> magazine		• Office of War Information (created to coordinate propaganda)
RADIO & FILM	• First commercial radio station (KDKA) • First radio soap operas • First daily 15 minute newscast • First radio broadcast of presidential election results • First "Fireside Chat" by Roosevelt • Advertising becomes financial base for radio • Motion Picture Association (regulating film) • First motion picture with sound (<i>The Jazz Singer</i>) • Federal Communications Act (establishes FCC regulating radio & TV)				
	Rise of the telephone	• First experimental broadcasts of TV • First analog computer developed		Electricity reaches rural areas	• First commercial TV broadcast

HANDOUT

1932-1944 STUDENT HANDOUT

1932 Doc. #1

HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN

Words: Jack Yellen

So long, sad times!
 Go 'long, bad times!
 We are rid of you at last.
 Howdy, gay times!
 Cloudy gray times,
 You are now a thing of the past.
 'Cause happy days are here again!
 The skies above are clear again.
 Let us sing a song of cheer again.
 Happy days are here again!
 All together shout it out!
 There's no one who can doubt it now,
 So let's tell the world about it now.
 Happy days are here again!
 Your cares and troubles are gone;
 There'll be no more from now on.
 Happy days are here again;
 The skies above are clear again;
 Let us sing a song of cheer again.
 Happy days are here again!

1944 Doc. #2

Text of the President's Speech Opening his Campaign

The *New York Times* September, 25, 1944

(Opening)

WELL, here we are together again - after four years - and what years they have been! You know, I am actually four years older, which is a fact that seems to annoy some people. In fact, in the mathematical field there are millions of Americans who are more than eleven years older than when we started in to clear up the mess that was dumped in our laps in 1933.

We all know that certain people who make it a practice to depreciate the accomplishments of labor - who even attack labor as unpatriotic - they keep this up usually for three years and six months in a row. But then, for some strange reason they change their tune- every four years- just before election day. When votes are at stake, they suddenly discover that they really love labor and that they are anxious to protect labor from its old friends.

(Excerpt from last column)

These Republican leaders have not been content with attacks on me, or my wife, or on my sons. No, not content with that, they now include my little dog, Fala. Well, of course, I don't resent attacks, and my family doesn't resent attacks, but Fala does resent them. You know, Fala is Scotch, and being a Scottie, as soon as he learned that the Republican fiction writers in Congress and out had concocted a story that I had left him behind on the Aleutian Islands and had sent a destroyer back to find him - at a cost to the taxpayers of two or three, or eight or twenty million dollars - his Scotch soul was furious. He has not been the same dog since. I am accustomed to hearing malicious falsehoods about myself - such as that old, worm-eaten chestnut that I have represented myself as indispensable. But I think I have a right to resent, to object to libelous statements about my dog.

Well, I think we all recognize the old technique. The people of this country know the past too well to be deceived into forgetting. Too much is at stake to forget. There are tasks ahead of us which we must now complete with the same will and the same skill and intelligence and devotion that have already led us so far along the road to victory.

1944 Doc. #3

Text of Dewey's "Point-by-Point" Denunciation of the Speech made by FDR, *The New York Times* September 26, 1944

Senator Moore, Governor Schoeppel, My Friend and Next Senator from Oklahoma Bill Otjen, fellow Americans everywhere: For two and a half weeks I have been laying before our people the program I believe we must adopt if we are to win at home the things for which our American men are fighting abroad. In six major speeches, I have set forth a part of that program. There is much more to come. In doing this I have been deeply conscious that this campaign is being waged under the most difficult circumstances and at the most trying time in the history of our nation. Our national unity for war and for the cause of lasting peace must be strengthened as a result of this campaign. I believe the conduct of the campaign on our side has greatly strengthened that unity. I had assumed that every American joined me in hoping that would be the spirit of this campaign. Last July, Franklin Roosevelt, in accepting his party's nomination for a fourth term said, and I quote: "I shall not campaign, in the usual sense...in these days of tragic sorrow, I do not consider it fitting..." he said. Last Saturday night the man who wants to be President for sixteen years made his first speech of this campaign. Gone was the high-sounding pledge. Forgotten were these days of tragic sorrow. It was a speech of mud-slinging, ridicule and wisecracks...

...Shall we, the American people, perpetuate one man in office for sixteen years? Shall we do that to accommodate this motley crew? Shall we expose our country to a return of the seven years of New Deal depression because my opponent is indispensable to the ill-assorted, power-hungry conglomeration of city bosses, Communists and career bureaucrats which now compose the New Deal? Shall we submit to the counsel of despair that in all the great expanse of our nation there is only one man capable of occupying the White House? The American people will answer that question in November. They will see to it that we restore dignity to the White House, so that its spoken word can be trusted once again.

HANDOUT

1932 ELECTION



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
and John Nance Garner

POPULAR VOTE: 22,281,857
ELECTORAL VOTE: 472

DEMOCRAT



HERBERT HOOVER
and Charles Curtis

POPULAR VOTE: 15,761,841
ELECTORAL VOTE: 59

REPUBLICAN

The **Great Depression** began in 1929 with a **stock market crash** that led to a worldwide economic catastrophe lasting a decade. By 1932, steel plants were operating at 12% of capacity, one quarter of all U.S. workers were **unemployed**, many Americans were homeless, many were starving, and a 10-year drought had transformed parts of the South and Midwest into a **"dust bowl."** This was the state of the nation when incumbent President Herbert Hoover ran against New York Governor Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) for the presidency.

Roosevelt was **Governor of New York**.

FDR offered a **"New Deal"** including relief for the poor and unemployed.

Republicans engaged in **"red-baiting"** against Roosevelt and suggested he was influenced by radical ideas.

The **South, West, and Great Plains states** that were especially hard-hit by the Depression went for FDR, as did the unemployed.

Roosevelt's **"Brain Trust"** of advisors were professors from major universities.

Hoover was the **incumbent President**.

Hoover was blamed for the Depression with shantytowns called **"Hoovervilles"** and turned out pants pockets called "Hoover Flags."

World War I veterans abandoned Hoover when he had the Army forcefully remove an encampment of veterans known as **"Bonus Marchers"** who were demanding their \$1000 bonus checks early.

Six **Northeastern states** were the only ones carried by Hoover. He had won 40 states just four years earlier.

THIRD PARTIES

The **Socialist Party** ran Norman Thomas as presidential candidate for his second of six tries.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans supported a **balanced budget** and the **repeal of Prohibition** to legalize alcohol.

DID YOU KNOW? Roosevelt had contracted polio in 1921 at the age of 39 while on vacation in Canada. He lost full use of both legs and would use a wheelchair for the rest of his life. Throughout his presidency, Roosevelt did not allow photographs of himself in a wheelchair to be published, afraid that people would not see him as a strong and active President. When the FDR memorial was being designed for the nation's capital, the memorial commission insisted that the central sculpture not show Roosevelt in a wheelchair. Advocacy groups of the disabled fought to have Roosevelt shown and celebrated as wheelchair-bound. In 2001, a smaller statue of Roosevelt in a wheelchair was erected at the memorial site.

TEACHER GUIDE

1932 DOC. #1: "Happy Days Are Here Again" Song

Media:

1. "Happy Days" audio (access online or via 1932-1944, 1832 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 1932 the new technologies of radio and film brought candidates' messages to the public in immediate and powerful ways. Songs had long been used in presidential campaigns as sing-alongs but radio allowed live music to travel beyond the rally or concert hall for the first time. Film added another dimension by putting popular songs into a visual form, much as MTV would do fifty years later.

The song that you will hear had gained popularity before Roosevelt's 1932 campaign. It was written for a Hollywood film, *Chasing Rainbows*, and had been recorded by an orchestra. At the Democratic convention FDR's advisor Edward Flynn suggested that the band play "something peppy like 'Happy Days Are Here Again.'" It quickly became Roosevelt's theme song and continued to be played at both Democratic and Republican conventions many years after Roosevelt's passing. The song gained even more exposure as the theme song of the popular radio program, "Your Hit Parade," which was sponsored by Lucky Strike cigarettes and ran from 1935-1955.

The Democratic platform in 1932 promised relief from the hardship of the Depression. With unemployment high and money scarce, people wanted to believe that change was possible and that there was light at the end of the tunnel.

> **Play the song and project the lyrics and/or hand out lyrics sheet.**

QUESTION	What messages about FDR's 1932 candidacy are communicated with this song? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Economic and personal recovery will be possible with Roosevelt.
EVIDENCE	lyrics stress putting away the bad days and embracing the good; the song has a bouncy rhythm; Roosevelt is associated with this happy and hopeful song
QUESTION	What evidence does this song offer regarding Roosevelt's ability to lead? Explain your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	No evidence is given about FDR's leadership abilities.
EVIDENCE	Roosevelt is not mentioned, neither are his ideas or his party's platform

1932 DOC. #1

1932 doc. #1
HAPPY DAYS ARE HERE AGAIN
Words: Jack Yellen

So long, sad times!
Go 'long, bad times!
We are rid of you at last.
Howdy, gay times!
Cloudy gray times,
You are now a thing of the past.
'Cause happy days are here again!
The skies above are clear again.
Let us sing a song of cheer again.
Happy days are here again!
All together shout it out!
There's no one who can doubt it now,
So let's tell the world about it now.
Happy days are here again!
Your cares and troubles are gone;
There'll be no more from now on.
Happy days are here again;
The skies above are clear again;
Let us sing a song of cheer again.
Happy days are here again!

"Happy Days Are Here Again" Song

Audio Clip

Lyrics on PowerPoint slide and Student Handout

QUESTION

Many people consider this to be the most effective campaign song of all time. Why do you think this might be?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The song's lyrics are very positive, linking the candidate to good times and happy people. The song's radio exposure extended its reach into a nonpolitical context. The melody is upbeat, tempo fast, and the octave range is limited. The verses repeat, thus making it a great choice for group sing-alongs at conventions.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why has music been consistently used by campaigns over the years?

Discuss the relative advantages of 20th-century radio and 19th-century group sing-alongs for campaign effectiveness.

Why do you think voters seem to prefer optimistic messages even when they seem to defy reality?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Roosevelt became the first candidate to receive his party's nomination in person when he flew to Chicago to address the Democratic convention. Many thought this was a rash gesture, both because it broke with past precedent of candidates keeping their distance and because the air flight to Chicago was still seen by some as risky in the early days of cross-country air travel. At the convention Roosevelt offered his famous promise, "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people" (Cornog 212).

FDR campaign buttons portrayed the democratic donkey as a "Depression buster," kicking away hard times.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Music

Reaching Voters (recorded music)

Today candidates regularly use music as part of their convention imagery (see 2000 doc. #1).

Roosevelt was the first presidential nominee to appear in person at his nominating convention. The tradition of the candidate's entrance and speech at the convention has become more and more of a spectacle in recent years through the power of television (see 2000 doc. #3).

TEACHER GUIDE

1932 DOC. #2: "The Girl I Love is a Democrat" Sheet Music

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Appeals to women voters were relatively new in the early 1930s. They were reflections of a time period when women had first won the right to vote (in 1920) and had started the first women's political organizations.

In 1932 both parties ran for the first time on platforms supporting the repeal of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution. That amendment, also known as Prohibition, made it illegal to manufacture or to sell alcohol. The Democrats argued that ending Prohibition would help the poor economy by providing jobs for brewery workers and by generating new taxes from the sale of alcohol.

> **Project** the document.

This image is of a sheet music cover for a song that was written during this period. The woman in the image is meant to be a "flapper." Flapper style began among young working class women of the 1920s who rejected the old notions of "female respectability." They dressed in flashy clothes, wore make-up, smoked, drank, and partied. The donkey is a traditional symbol of the Democratic Party.

QUESTION

What message does this image give about the Democrats? What evidence do you have to support your view?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The Democrats are for women, the end of Prohibition, and prosperity.

EVIDENCE

the flapper is smiling and holding a mug of beer; she and the donkey are kicking up their heels and heading towards "Prosperity"

QUESTION

Who are the target audiences for this image? Why do you think this?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Target audiences include young women and men.

EVIDENCE

the flapper is a sign of youth culture; the song is published by the Intercollegiate Music League

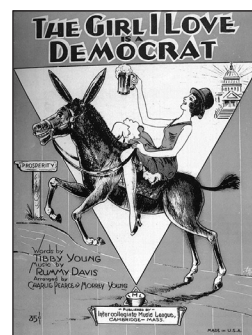
SUGGESTED ANSWER

It also targets those opposing Prohibition.

EVIDENCE

the beer mug says "Repeal"; the flapper is happily drinking beer

1932 DOC. #2



"The Girl I Love is a Democrat" Sheet Music

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

Why would this image have been unlikely 20 years earlier?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

In 1912 women could not vote. The style of the woman's dress would have been different. Liquor was legal in 1912 and the call for "repeal" would not be heard until the 18th Amendment prohibiting alcohol was passed in 1920.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Does this image support the empowerment of women? Why or why not?

Is it appropriate for alcohol and partying to be used as means to get votes? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

One of Roosevelt's first actions upon taking office was to sign the Beer Act that allowed the sale of beer with a 3.2% alcohol content. This was a stopgap measure until the 21st Amendment repealing Prohibition was ratified in December, 1933.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters (sheet music)

TEACHER GUIDE

1932 DOC. #3: "Don't Change Now" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Incumbent Presidents have often argued against changing administrations in the midst of a crisis. This poster for President Hoover's reelection campaign used a slogan that was widely reprinted on Republican buttons during this election. In 1928 Hoover had been elected in a landslide, carrying 40 out of 48 states. The Great Depression and the stock market crash of 1929 happened during his first year in office. Hoover tried to deal with the situation by expanding public work programs and sponsoring the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to banks, industries, and state and local governments. These efforts were not enough to turn the economy around.

Hoover suggested that unemployment would spread if Roosevelt won. He warned that Roosevelt's New Deal would "alter the whole foundations of our national life...and of the principles on which we have builded [sic] the nation" (Boller 235).

> Project the document.

QUESTION **What are the messages of this poster? Support your answer with evidence.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It would be a bad idea to change administrations during a crisis.

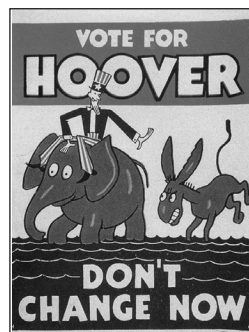
EVIDENCE text: "Don't Change Now"; the elephant seems to be making its way successfully through the flood

QUESTION **What qualities of character are the Republicans attempting to represent in this image? Where do you see them?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Republicans are calm and have patience, strength, and determination.

EVIDENCE the elephant appears to be calmly moving through the flood, is strong enough to hold Uncle Sam, and seems undeterred by the angry donkey

1932 DOC. #3



"Don't Change Now" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

What qualities of character do the Democrats represent in this image? What is your evidence?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Democrats are rash, angry, and dangerous.

EVIDENCE

the donkey’s bulging eyes and flying tail and hooves; it is trying to kick the elephant and Uncle Sam

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are the advantages or disadvantages of changing a President during a time of crisis like a war or depression?

What role do political slogans play in voter decisions?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Hoover went so far as to claim that the New Deal was un-American. On November 5, just prior to the election, he said of Roosevelt’s plans: “This is the same philosophy of government which has poisoned all Europe. They have been fumes of the witch’s cauldron which boiled in Russia and in its attenuated flavor spread over the whole of Europe, and would by many be introduced into the United States in an attempt to secure votes through protest of discontent against emergency conditions” (Boller 236).

HANDOUT

1936 ELECTION



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
and John Nance Garner

POPULAR VOTE: 27,751,597
ELECTORAL VOTE: 523

DEMOCRAT

Roosevelt was the **incumbent President**.

The election was a referendum on the **New Deal**.

African American voters shifted from the Republican party of Lincoln to support FDR for his New Deal relief and because of **Eleanor Roosevelt's** support of **civil rights**.

Jewish voters were attracted to FDR's liberal and tolerant policies.

Ethnic workers in urban centers supported FDR's **work programs**.

Intellectuals liked FDR for his "**Brain Trust**" movement.

Farmers in the South and West supported FDR's agriculture relief.

Labor unions contributed to FDR's campaign with money and votes.

Roosevelt's **Social Security Act**, a cornerstone of the New Deal, gave federal assistance to the elderly and unemployed.

Hitler, Stalin, and Mussolini were preparing for war in Europe but Roosevelt pledged **neutrality**.

FDR's **Fireside Chats** to a national radio audience became a key conduit to connect to the people.



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ALFRED LANDON
and William Knox

POPULAR VOTE: 16,679,583
ELECTORAL VOTE: 8

REPUBLICAN

Landon was **Governor of Kansas**.

Republicans criticized the New Deal and called FDR's **government spending** "reckless" and Social Security a "great swindle."

Newspaper publisher William Randolph Hearst said that FDR was surrounded by **Communists**.

Wealthy conservatives spent millions to defeat FDR but alienated less well off voters.



"Come along. We're going to the Trans-Lux to hiss Roosevelt."

What messages does this 1936 *New Yorker* cartoon give about the attitude of the wealthy towards Roosevelt?

In 1936, a *Literary Digest* poll incorrectly predicted a Landon victory. They sent out over 10 million ballots, largely using lists of telephone and car owners. However, only moderately wealthy people had cars and phones in 1936, and the wealthy tended to vote Republican.

"There is one issue in this campaign. It's myself, and the people must either be for me or against me." - FDR 1936

TEACHER GUIDE

1936 DOC. #1: "Fireside Chat" Radio Clip

Media:

1. "Fireside Chat" audio (access online or via 1932-1944, 1936 digital media folder)

OPENING:

"My friends, the American public and the American newspapers are certainly creatures of habit. This is one of the warmest evenings that I have ever felt in Washington, D.C., and yet this talk tonight will be referred to as a fireside talk.

Our Government, happily, is a democracy. As part of the democratic process, your President is again taking an opportunity to report on the progress of national affairs, to report to the real rulers of this country—the voting public."

CLOSING

"This being a free country with freedom of expression—especially with freedom of the press, as is entirely proper—there will be a lot of mean blows struck between now and Election Day. By 'blows' I mean misrepresentation and personal attack and appeals to prejudice. It would be a lot better, of course, if campaigns everywhere could be waged with arguments instead of with blows.

I hope the liberal candidates will confine themselves to argument and not resort to blows. For in nine cases out of ten the speaker or the writer who, seeking to influence public opinion, descends from calm argument to unfair blows hurts himself more than his opponent.

The Chinese have a story on this—a story based on three or four thousand years of civilization. Two Chinese coolies were arguing heatedly in the middle of a crowd in the street. A stranger expressed surprise that no blows were being struck by them. His Chinese friend replied: 'The man who strikes first admits that his ideas have given out.'

I know that neither in the summer primaries nor in the November elections will the American voters fail to spot the candidate whose ideas have given out."

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Franklin Roosevelt was the first President to make extensive use of radio as a means to communicate his ideas. Before his presidency, other Presidents might have made speeches that were broadcast but none before or since have been able to master the use of radio as a political tool like Roosevelt did. Radio was a powerful tool for conveying the great personal charm of a man grown so large in the public imagination that it was his personality that became the major issue.

During his dozen years in office from 1933 to 1945 Roosevelt held some 31 Fireside Chats. These chats were intended to be conversations with, as Roosevelt said, "the real rulers of this country – the voting public." Each chat lasted from 10 to 30 minutes and was usually broadcast live in the evening in an informal setting at the White House. When he delivered these talks, Roosevelt would have six microphones and a few friends present. His listening audience numbered as high as 60 million since nearly every family in the U.S. owned a radio by the 1930s. He received nearly half-a-million letters following his first chat in March of 1933, just weeks after taking office for the first time.

The excerpt that you will hear includes the beginning and the ending of a chat Roosevelt gave on June 24, 1938, midway into his second term. His talk that evening concerned his right to speak out about the upcoming political party primaries. Some Republicans had criticized him for becoming involved in party politics while serving as President. Roosevelt felt strongly that it was his right and duty to participate in the national dialogue about politics and the issues of the day.

> **Play** the audio clip.

QUESTION **What is it about the style or tone of Roosevelt's delivery that made him such an effective radio communicator?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER His style was simple, clear, and friendly. His delivery was confident and expressive. He told stories and had a sense of humor.

SEE NOTE

QUESTION **What main message is Roosevelt trying to convey? Give evidence.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Free expression in a democracy is good when practiced without attacking others.

EVIDENCE campaigns would be better "with arguments instead of with blows"; story that ends with "the man who strikes first admits that his ideas have given out"

NOTE

It was often said that it seemed like he was talking to each listener personally instead of a faceless crowd.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Did Roosevelt's access to free radio time give him an unfair advantage when he ran for reelection?

Why might Roosevelt, as an incumbent President, want to minimize negative campaigning?

What made radio as a communication device an improvement over "whistle-stop" speeches from the back of a train?

Compare the impact of a speech printed in a newspaper, broadcast on radio, or aired on television. Which do you think is most effective and why?

Should Presidents become involved publicly in party politics such as working to help elect others of their own party? Why or why not?

Should a candidate's personal style and charm be a determining factor in his or her election? Why or why not?

1936 DOC. #1

FDR:
**"FIRESIDE
CHAT" ON
JUNE 24, 1938**

"Fireside Chat" Radio Clip

Audio Clip

ADDITIONAL INFO

For many in the 1930s, listening to the radio was a community experience. People would often gather together with family or friends to listen to and discuss the President's remarks. This made the experience of listening to a Fireside Chat seem more interactive, like a dialogue, as Roosevelt intended.

Newspaper editors were often critical of Roosevelt. He used the radio as a means to go directly "to the people" rather than having to rely on the print media to translate his words. This greatly increased his popularity with the public while often frustrating his critics in the press.

Roosevelt took great care in his radio remarks and delivery. He would call in a Navy corpsman before every broadcast to spray his throat and to care for his sinuses in order to give his voice the "perfect" or best tone. Famous writer John Dos Passos described Roosevelt's voice as "the patron voice, the headmaster's admonishing voice, the bedside doctor's voice that spoke to each man and to all of us" (Smith 190).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias
Reaching Voters (radio)

TEACHER GUIDE

1936 DOC. #2: "Makers of History" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The day after Franklin Roosevelt made his famous announcement at the 1932 Democratic National Convention "I pledge you, I pledge myself, to a new deal for the American people," the popular cartoonist Rollin Kirby used the phrase "new deal" in one of his cartoons. Before long newspapers all over the country were calling Roosevelt's plan the New Deal.

At first President Roosevelt's programs attempted to bring about reform with bills such as the National Recovery Act and the Agricultural Adjustment Act. When those programs were declared unconstitutional by the courts, Roosevelt worked tirelessly to pass a new set of programs that are now referred to as the Second New Deal. Many of these bills were passed during the term of the 74th Congress in 1935 and 1936.

Programs passed during the Second New Deal concentrated on providing reform and relief to workers. These included the Social Security Act, providing unemployment insurance and pensions to workers; the Wagner Act, guaranteeing workers the right to bargain collectively and to negotiate with their employers; and the Works Progress Administration (or WPA), a large-scale national works program which put the unemployed to work building roads, bridges, and airports.

> Project the document.

This cartoon, "Makers of History," by Rollin Kirby notes the completion of legislation by the 74th Congress. The figure on the left represents the Congress. The cards in his back pocket are railroad tickets for his trip home from Washington at the closing of the current session. The figure on the right is President Roosevelt.

QUESTION

What are the messages the cartoonist is conveying about Roosevelt? Give evidence to show how you came to this conclusion.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is a strong and capable leader, responsible for getting his ideas passed by Congress.

EVIDENCE

Roosevelt is relaxed and in control; he is shaking the hands of Congress while placing his other hand on a stack of papers marked "Administration Bills passed"

1936 DOC. #2



**"Makers of History"
Cartoon**

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION	Is this a positive, message-based cartoon or a negative, attack-based cartoon? Justify your answer with evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	This cartoon is positive and message-based.
EVIDENCE	The title, “Makers of History”; Roosevelt and Congress are shaking hands, a sign of collegiality and cooperation; the cartoon affirms what is good rather than criticizing what is bad
QUESTION	What is the cartoonist’s perspective on the Second New Deal? How can you tell?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The cartoonist is in favor of the New Deal.
EVIDENCE	both Roosevelt and the Congress are smiling; the portrait in the background evokes the founding fathers (other “makers of history”); the Bills are large and impressive-looking

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How did the introduction of Social Security during Roosevelt’s second term affect senior citizens?

What effect does the Social Security program have today on younger versus older voters?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Rollin Kirby won three Pulitzer prizes for his cartoons. His cartoon character, “Mr. Dry,” was credited by some for speeding up the end of Prohibition by poking fun at the temperance movement. Kirby also gained fame for his anti-fascist cartoons lampooning Adolf Hitler and the American fascist priest, Father Coughlin.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons

TEACHER GUIDE

1936 DOC. #3: "An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Not everyone thought that the New Deal was a good thing for the United States. Wealthy Republican critics formed the American Liberty League that claimed the New Deal's programs were "dictatorial." They argued that these new programs designed to help poor families support themselves would undermine the free enterprise system. Communists and socialists also criticized the New Deal for not challenging the capitalist structure and for ignoring the specific needs of African Americans.

> Project the document.

This cartoon entitled "An Attack on the New Deal" by cartoonist William Gropper appeared in *Vanity Fair* magazine in 1935. It used an image from Jonathan's Swift's famous satire, *Gulliver's Travels*, in which the giant, Gulliver, is restrained by the tiny people of Lilliput.

QUESTION	Who is represented in this cartoon?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	In Swift's satire the giant, Gulliver, was restrained by the tiny people of Lilliput. In this cartoon, Uncle Sam (the United States), is being restrained by the bureaucrats, laws, and agencies the New Deal.
EVIDENCE	the letters on the bonds holding Uncle Sam represent the many "Alphabet Agencies" of the New Deal
<div>SEE NOTE</div>	
QUESTION	What is the cartoonist's perspective on the New Deal? How can you tell?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He opposes the New Deal.
EVIDENCE	Uncle Sam is being held captive by the New Deal agencies

1936 DOC. #3

**"An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon**

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

Some of these New Deal agencies on the bonds are:

TVA: Tennessee Valley Authority
 NRA: National Recovery Administration
 PWA: Public Works Administration
 AAA: Agricultural Adjustment Administration
 CCC: Civilian Conservation Authority
 FCA: Farm Credit Administration
 HOLC: Home Owners Loan Corporation
 FDIC: Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION

Whose perspective is being portrayed? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The cartoon gives the perspective of Republican critics who felt that the New Deal was hampering free enterprise.

EVIDENCE

the cords tying Uncle Sam represent the restraint on capitalism that Republicans resented

QUESTION

Is this a positive, message-based cartoon or a negative, attack-based cartoon? Why is this your conclusion?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

This cartoon is negative and attack-based.

EVIDENCE

Uncle Sam is frowning and being held down against his will; Lilliputians are shooting arrows and trampling his body; the cartoon does not offer a view of what is good to do, but rather is attacking what is bad

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can government programs hurt free enterprise? Justify your answer.

What New Deal agencies and programs are still in existence?

Compare the style of this cartoonist with the previous one. Which one do you think is most effective in conveying his opinion and why?

NOTE

An article accompanying the cartoon said, "Here is a giant if there ever was one, the most powerful nation the world has ever seen. It has the makings of good times, (but) it does not make them. Why? Because the Lilliputians of the New Deal will not let it. These busy little folk cannot bear the thought of letting the great giant, America, escape" (A. Brinkley, *American History* 709).

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Republicans ran on the platform that the United States was in danger of having the "American way" stolen by radical Democrats who would lead the country to class conflict and economic collapse. Neither these criticisms from the Right nor those from the Left ever gained popular support. Roosevelt's policies were approved of by most people and helped to secure his place as the President who rescued the United States from the Great Depression.

The cartoonist William Gropper was part of the Ashcan Group of Social Realist painters. He was a Socialist who often criticized Roosevelt for abuse of presidential power. In 1935, one of his *Vanity Fair* cartoons caused a major diplomatic incident when the magazine was banned in Japan. The cartoon in question showed Emperor Hirohito of Japan in military uniform hauling the Nobel Peace Prize behind him as though dragging a coffin. In this period, six years before Pearl Harbor, the Japanese were able to successfully pressure some U.S. businesses to withdraw their advertising from *Vanity Fair*.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons
Class/Labor
Economics

HANDOUT

1940 ELECTION



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
and Henry Wallace

POPULAR VOTE: 27,244,160
ELECTORAL VOTE: 449

DEMOCRAT



WENDELL WILLKIE
and Charles McNary

POPULAR VOTE: 22,305,198
ELECTORAL VOTE: 82

REPUBLICAN

Two issues dominated the 1940 election, the escalating **wars in Europe and Asia** and Roosevelt's decision to run for an **unprecedented 3rd term**. No U.S. President had ever served more than two terms, but war loomed. In 1940 Hitler had conquered Central Europe and the Battle for Britain was raging. In Asia, Japan was pursuing military conquest. Many Republicans openly feared that Roosevelt would become a dictator but most voters preferred to have the man who had led the country through the Great Depression be at the helm in a time of impending crisis.

Roosevelt was the **incumbent President**.

Roosevelt did not agree to run for a 3rd term until he was **"drafted"** at the Democratic National Convention.

Despite significant opposition from within his party, FDR insisted on the liberal **Henry Wallace** for his running mate. Wallace later ran on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948.

Eleanor Roosevelt was the first President's wife to address a nominating convention.

Big cities went solidly for Roosevelt.

FDR made anti-war speeches but **prepared for war**.

"I am an old campaigner, and I love a good fight."
- FDR in his first openly political speech of the campaign

Wendell Willkie was a **lawyer**, businessman, and radio quiz show contestant.

Willkie claimed that **government programs** like the Tennessee Valley Authority forced private industry out of business and hindered economic development.

Willkie's **inexperience** was a target for Democrats. As a former private utility executive he was criticized for his **ties to industry**.

Madison Avenue advertising firms advised the Republican campaign.

Willkie's managers hired a voice coach to help the candidate improve his poor **radio** delivery.

Willkie challenged FDR to **debate** but Roosevelt declined, saying that it would be unbecoming of a President.

Willkie opposed the war preparation and was supported by **isolationist** states in the Midwest and Great Plains.

DID YOU KNOW? FDR was listening on the radio as Willkie spoke to a labor audience in Pittsburgh. Willkie vowed to appoint a labor leader as Secretary of Labor. Roosevelt thought that made good political sense until Willkie added, "and it won't be a woman either." The remark drew laughter and applause at the rally for his reference to FDR's Labor Secretary, Frances Perkins, the first woman to be named to a presidential cabinet. FDR later said to Mrs. Perkins, "Why did he have to insult every woman in the United States? It will make them mad; it will lose him votes." Perkins responded that she had already received 500 telegrams from women who were angry at Willkie's remarks, "and more than half of them tell me they are Republican women."

TEACHER GUIDE

1940 DOC. #1: FDR Poster and Willkie Sticker

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

George Washington's decision not to seek a third term had set a pattern for all other Presidents to end their presidency after two elected terms. Ulysses S. Grant had considered making a third run but the scandals in his second term ended that hope. When Franklin D. Roosevelt accepted the Democratic Party nomination for the third time in 1940 he broke the tradition. Roosevelt said that he was willing to serve his country in a time of need if called upon to do so. Republican candidate Wendell Willkie criticized him for wanting to continue his "one-man rule."

Willkie also warned that Roosevelt would involve the United States in a European war that would mean "wooden crosses for sons and brothers and sweethearts" (Boller 253).

Roosevelt assured voters that "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." He went on to say, "Of course we'll fight if we're attacked. If someone attacks us then it isn't a foreign war, is it?" (Boller 254).

> Project the document.

QUESTION **How are Uncle Sam and FDR portrayed in this poster produced by the "Independent Voter's Committee of the Arts & Sciences for Roosevelt"?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Uncle Sam's look says, "I mean what I say." Roosevelt looks dignified, serious, and sincere.

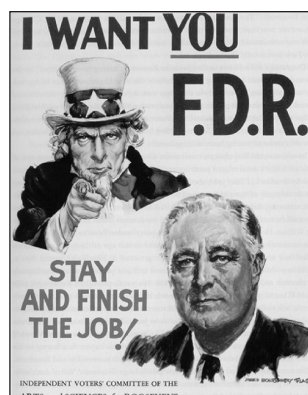
EVIDENCE Uncle Sam looks serious and is pointing straight at you, the voter

QUESTION **How is Uncle Sam portrayed in order to convey the Republicans' message in this sticker?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Uncle Sam's look and body language say "No way" to a third term for FDR.

EVIDENCE he is frowning, his jaw is set, and he is pointing downward with his thumb

1940 DOC. #1



FDR Poster and Willkie Sticker

PowerPoint Slide

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION

Why do you think these artists chose Uncle Sam to communicate their message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Uncle Sam is a symbol of authority and history. The message conveyed by the image is "Listen to him, he knows what he's talking about."

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Roosevelt said that if the United States was actually attacked and then retaliated it would not really be a foreign war. Do you think he's right? Why or why not?

Was it acceptable for Roosevelt to seek a third term? Why or why not?

NOTE

The poster was created by artist James Montgomery Flagg who had used a similar design for a recruiting poster for World War I in 1917.

ADDITIONAL INFO

With war looming, many voters felt it best not to change leadership. Although the Republicans lost the battle for public opinion against FDR's third term, they were able in 1951 to pass the 22nd Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting third terms for Presidents.

TEACHER GUIDE

1940 DOC. #2: Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage


BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Like FDR, Wendell Willkie was something of a media star. Although he had achieved wealth as a Wall Street lawyer and utilities executive, his fame came primarily from his exposure in the mass media of his day. His speeches on radio led to his profile on a “March of Time” newsreel. In April of 1940 he appeared on the radio quiz show, “Information Please.” Long before Bill Clinton appeared on MTV, Wendell Willkie and Franklin Roosevelt were using the mass media to campaign by showmanship.

Radio was not the only contested ground in this election. The title of the 1940 campaign could have been “The Battle of the Button” because more campaign buttons were ordered—54 million—than at any time before or since. The Willkie campaign led in the button battle with 33 million buttons distributed by half-a-million members of Willkie Clubs. Willkie supporters even printed up a button that claimed, “100 Million Buttons Can’t Be Wrong.” In contrast, FDR had only 21 million buttons issued supporting his candidacy.

The buttons were cheap and easy to make, simply stamped out from lithographed tin sheets. They contained all sorts of messages. Some were funny, some were sarcastic, and some were downright vicious. They helped to make the 1940 election a favorite for presidential memorabilia collectors.

- > **Project** the button collage and have pairs of students answer the questions and then present to the class, or discuss each button as a class.

QUESTION	Which candidate does the button support and what is the campaign theme addressed by the button?
Wallace And	 Roosevelt
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Willkie
THEME	“WAR,” suggesting that Roosevelt would get the nation into war

1940 DOC. #2




Willkie-Roosevelt Button Collage

PowerPoint Slide

THINK. Hitler nominated Hitler, Mussolini nominated Mussolini, Stalin nominated Stalin, Roosevelt nominated Roosevelt. Do You Want a Dictator?

SUGGESTED ANSWER **Willkie**
THEME By seeking a 3rd term, Roosevelt is acting like a dictator


Friendly Dependable Resourceful

SUGGESTED ANSWER  **FDR**
THEME Roosevelt's good character and personality

I'm Against the 3rd Term. Washington Wouldn't, Grant Couldn't, Roosevelt Shouldn't

SUGGESTED ANSWER  **Willkie**
THEME the precedent against a 3rd term

Willkie for the Millionaires, Roosevelt for the Millions

SUGGESTED ANSWER  **FDR**
THEME working-class support for Roosevelt and the New Deal

A Third Term is Better than a Third Rater

SUGGESTED ANSWER  **FDR**
THEME FDR's competence and Willkie's lack of experience makes a 3rd term acceptable

ADDITIONAL INFO

Willkie's financial support came from newspaper publishers and corporate businessmen who had opposed Roosevelt from the start. The majority of Willkie buttons expressed opposition to the third term.

Most of the buttons for this campaign were slogan buttons rather than the picture buttons that had been common previously. More than 2,000 styles of buttons were produced for this single election. In addition to buttons, this campaign saw lots of license plate attachments as well as inexpensive paper posters and stamps. Together, both parties provided a substantial cottage industry for campaign novelties over the course of this election season.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Class/Labor
Reaching Voters (buttons)

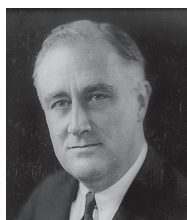
FURTHER QUESTIONS

What makes buttons so common and useful as campaign devices?

Compare the use of buttons, TV commercials, direct mail pamphlets, and the Internet as means to get votes. Which media work best in your estimation and why?

HANDOUT

1944 ELECTION



FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT
and Harry Truman

POPULAR VOTE: 25,602,504
ELECTORAL VOTE: 432

DEMOCRAT



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-38170]

FDR was the **incumbent President**.

Mudslinging by both sides characterized the meanest election FDR had experi-

enced.

FDR's health was a concern for many who feared that he would not survive a 4th term, which he didn't. Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, 1945.

FDR countered Republican **attacks on his health** by touring New York City all day in an open car.

Roosevelt replaced his Vice President, Henry Wallace, with a less liberal running mate, **Harry Truman**, a Missouri Senator.

Powerful **labor unions** worked hard to reelect Roosevelt.

With **World War II** still raging in Europe and the Pacific, Roosevelt had an advantage as an internationally respected leader.

Both FDR and Dewey supported the creation of the **United Nations** and a **Jewish homeland** in Palestine.



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
Photograph by Harris & Ewing
[LC-USZ62-33079]



THOMAS DEWEY
and John Bricker

POPULAR VOTE: 22,006,285
ELECTORAL VOTE: 99

REPUBLICAN

Dewey was **Governor of New York**.

Dewey pitched the need for **new blood** to "replace tired old men."

Photos of FDR looking tired were often printed in Republican newspapers.

Polls were used by Dewey to identify popular issues.

Dewey suggested there was **Communist influence** among FDR's advisors.

Republicans accepted **New Deal** programs but said they could manage them better.

The Pacific war hero, **Douglas MacArthur**, had considered being the Republican candidate.

Republicans tried to woo **African Americans** back to the party with strong stands against lynching and discrimination.

Radio was used by both campaigns with \$2.5 million spent on spots that focused more on entertainment than on issues.

DID YOU KNOW? It had been 80 years since the last wartime presidential election. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln had declared that the elections should go on in the midst of the Civil War. In 1944 there were rumors that Roosevelt would suspend elections himself since World War II was still raging in Europe and the Pacific. Many British observers were shocked that the U.S. still held elections since they had postponed elections in England because of the war.

TEACHER GUIDE

1944 DOC. #1: "Our Friend" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Labor unions were at the peak of their national power in the 1930s and 1940s. Unions had won the right to organize with Roosevelt's support and were important national institutions in the push for social reform. Roosevelt knew that the unions could help turn out the vote for him and he made a point of seeking their support. Unions and other organizations formed Political Action Committees or PACs to support particular candidates.

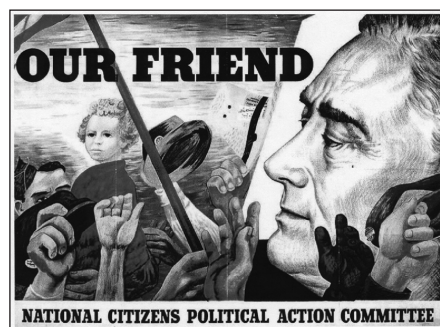
The National Citizens PAC of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, or CIO, was a branch of organized labor devoted to electing a progressive President and Congress in 1944. In particular they wanted to help elect Franklin Roosevelt to an unprecedented fourth term. The CIO contributed heavily to FDR's campaigns in 1940 and 1944. They also helped to distribute campaign literature for Roosevelt and worked on get-out-the-vote campaigns to help his reelection.

> **Project** the document.

This poster was published by the CIO's Political Action Committee in 1944. It was designed by their lead graphic artist Ben Shahn, a well-known painter, printmaker, and muralist, as well as a social activist.

QUESTION	Which candidate does the poster support? How do you know?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The poster supports FDR.
EVIDENCE	his image on the right and the words "Our Friend"
QUESTION	Who are the target groups for this message? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Workers are the main target group.
EVIDENCE	sponsorship by the CIO, a union organization
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Other target groups are young families and veterans.
EVIDENCE	the child being held in the arms of a young father wearing a military cap
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The poster also targets people who support racial equality.
EVIDENCE	the racially integrated crowd

1944 DOC. #1



"Our Friend" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Should an independent organization like a labor union or a corporation be allowed to give money to presidential campaigns? Why or why not?

Should political action committees (PACs) be banned?

How do candidates appeal to workers today?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The CIO had become a militant rival to the older and more traditional AFL (American Federation of Labor) in the 1930s. The CIO sought to organize all workers within an industry—such as autoworkers or steelworkers—as opposed to organizing by craft skills as had been common before. Because the CIO tried to organize unskilled and previously unorganized branches of the work force, it was more open to organizing women and African Americans than the AFL had been. In 1955, the two union organizations joined to form the AFL-CIO.

Ben Shahn was born in Lithuania in 1898 and emigrated to America at the age of five. In the 1920s, Shahn became a Social Realist, his art often referring to cases of social injustice. He created powerful works commenting on the execution of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti as well as the imprisonment of trade union leader, Tom Mooney. In the 1930s he joined the Public Works of Art Project, creating murals that dealt with issues such as anti-Semitism and poor working conditions. Shahn also worked as a photographer to publicize the conditions of the rural poor in America. The child in the “Our Friend” poster was modeled on his own son, Jonathan.

Political Action Committees have come under increasing criticism in recent elections, and have had their influence limited by campaign finance laws.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Family Man
“Hero”

Target Audience (soldiers,
workers of all races)

TEACHER GUIDE

1944 DOC. #2: FDR "Fala Speech"

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

FDR began his 1944 campaign with a speech to the Teamsters Union on September 23 in Washington, D.C. This speech became one of the best known of his presidency and was known as "the Fala address" because of the reference to his dog, Fala. In his remarks, FDR lashed out at the Democrats for lying about his administration and for endorsing New Deal programs that they had previously attacked.

Before this speech there had been some concern about Roosevelt's health. People worried about his continuing ability to lead in a forceful way while World War II was still being waged and American troops were dying overseas. FDR knew that all the media would cover this first major speech of his campaign and he put a lot of effort into its content and delivery. Afterwards, even many of his critics in the press like the anti-New Deal *Time* magazine said that Roosevelt still had "the old magic" (Troy 183). Once again it was Roosevelt's personal charm that had won admiration.

These excerpts are from the opening of his speech and from the best-known passage near the end. Together they make up slightly more than 10% of Roosevelt's total speech.

> **Project** the documents and have students read the excerpts on the student document.

QUESTION	What are the main messages that Roosevelt is communicating? Give evidence from the text.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Republicans are two-faced, only supporting Labor around election time.
EVIDENCE	text: "attack labor as unpatriotic" then "change their tune" (2nd paragraph)
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Republicans have made personal attacks on Roosevelt and his family.
EVIDENCE	sarcastic story about Fala (3rd paragraph)
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Voters should stick with Democrats in a time of war.
EVIDENCE	text: "the same will and the same skill and intelligence and devotion that have already led us so far along the road to victory" (final line in excerpt)
QUESTION	What techniques does Roosevelt use to communicate with voters?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He speaks as though the listener is an old friend.
EVIDENCE	text: "Well here we are together again"; jokes about how everyone is getting older

1944 DOC. #2



FDR "Fala Speech"

PowerPoint Slide

Text on student handout

SUGGESTED ANSWER	He mixes ridicule, humor, and seriousness.
EVIDENCE	starts out acting familiar and making jokes, then tells a sarcastic story about Fala, and ends on a serious note about the war
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He appeals to unity.
EVIDENCE	use of first person plural—"we" and "us"—throughout
QUESTION	Who are the target audiences for this speech? Explain how you know.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Target audiences include the Teamsters who were present and labor audiences across the country, and the general public.
EVIDENCE	FDR focused on the Republicans' weak stand on labor issues right away knowing that union members would react
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Another target audience would be the general public.
EVIDENCE	Roosevelt knew that his first speech of the campaign would be covered nationally by the media
QUESTION	The accompanying photo shows FDR flanked by the Presidents of the AFL and Teamsters Unions. What messages does this give about Roosevelt? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	FDR is a friend to the labor movement and he is warm and funny.
EVIDENCE	his companions are labor leaders; he has a relaxed smile in front of the microphone; the man to his right is laughing and smiling at his comments

FURTHER QUESTIONS

The American Heritage Dictionary defines charisma as "a rare quality or power attributed to those persons who have demonstrated an exceptional ability for leadership and for securing the devotion of large numbers of people." What other presidential candidates have had charisma? Does charisma make a good President?

Discuss how and why humor can be used effectively to attack an opponent.

Do you think the *New York Times* took an editorial position on Roosevelt's reelection bid by running the text of his speech?

Discuss the advantages of an incumbent President in gaining free media coverage. Is this fair?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Of his three opponents for reelection—Landon, Willkie, and Dewey—it was only Dewey that Roosevelt personally disliked. This was in part because Dewey was the only one who had made personal attacks on Roosevelt and his family. FDR was particularly angered by Dewey's suggestion that there was a Communist influence on his administration. Roosevelt called the 1944 campaign "the meanest campaign of his life" (Boller 262). The Teamsters speech was the first of five major speeches that Roosevelt made in the fall of 1944. He spoke both to respond to his critics and to demonstrate that his health was not an issue.

The Fala speech provoked unexpected praise from his critics and criticism from his followers. *Time* magazine was usually anti-FDR in their coverage but they praised the Fala speech: "He was like a veteran virtuoso playing a piece he has loved for years, who fingers his way through it with a delicate fire, a perfection of tuning and tone, and an assurance that no young player, no matter how gifted, can equal. The President was playing what he loves to play – politics" (Boller 263).

On the other hand some of his long-time supporters were disappointed. Although the White House mail ran 8 to 1 in favor of this speech, 80% of letters to the editor at the time criticized it. Mrs. Watkins of Owensboro, KY, wrote asking Roosevelt not to give any more campaign speeches: "You are so far above such things, and I hope to keep my memory of you as this ideal President" (Troy 184).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Class/Labor
Media Bias

TEACHER GUIDE

1944 DOC. #3: Dewey Response to “Fala Speech”

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Radio airtime cost lots of money and this is a major reason why the political action committees became so important to candidates in this period. Roosevelt and Dewey spent an unprecedented 2.5 million dollars to buy time on radio during the 1944 campaign. In the decades following this, media advertising budgets would spiral into the tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. Some felt that campaign spending was already out of control in 1944. Roosevelt’s Fala speech was aired on the radio, with no cost to FDR’s campaign, because a President’s speech was considered news.

Two days after Roosevelt’s speech, Dewey answered him during a campaign appearance in Oklahoma City. Dewey was angry with Roosevelt. He hired additional radio stations out of his own pocket to broadcast his remarks. In the speech Dewey acted like the prosecuting attorney he had once been, answering Roosevelt’s charges point by point and making new ones of his own. This call-and-response, where one candidate answers the other in speech after speech, has become a traditional part of U.S. presidential campaigning.

These excerpts are from the opening of Dewey’s speech and from another section near the end of his remarks. Together they make up slightly more than 10% of the total speech.

> **Project** the document and **have students read** the excerpts on the handout.

QUESTION	What are the main messages that Dewey is trying to convey? Give evidence from the text.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Roosevelt went against his pledge and made the campaign negative while the Republicans are trying to maintain national unity and a positive campaign.
EVIDENCE	text: “the campaign on our side has greatly strengthened that [national] unity” while Roosevelt’s Fala speech was a descent into “mudslinging, ridicule, and wisecracks ”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	New Deal bureaucrats are corrupt and dangerous for the nation.
EVIDENCE	the “New Deal Depression” is overseen by “this motly crew” of “ill-assorted, power hungry conglomeration of city bosses, communists and career bureaucrats”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Dewey has integrity and FDR is a liar.
EVIDENCE	text: “restore integrity to the White House, so that its spoken word can be trusted once again”

1944 DOC. #3



Dewey Response to “Fala Speech”

PowerPoint Slide
Text on student handout

QUESTION

What techniques does Dewey use to communicate his message? Give evidence from the speech.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He states his own good intentions.

EVIDENCE

"I have been laying before our people the program...", "I have been deeply conscious... most trying time in history...national unity...the conduct of the campaign on our side..."

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He attacks Roosevelt's honesty.

EVIDENCE

"gone was the high-sounding pledge"; with FDR out of the White House "its spoken word can be trusted once again"

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He uses name-calling.

EVIDENCE

text: "motley crew"; "ill-assorted, power hungry conglomeration of city bosses, Communists and career bureaucrats"

QUESTION

What message does the photo of Dewey at the Indian Conference in Oklahoma City give about the candidate? State your evidence.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Dewey is calm and open to the views of others. He is concerned about the lives of Native American people.

EVIDENCE

relaxed, listening posture; he is meeting with Native American leaders and their families

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are the pros and cons of debating in the press, as Dewey and Roosevelt did, versus contending face to face in a radio or TV debate?

Do attacks on one's opponent do more harm or good for the attacking candidate? Why?

FDR's Fireside Chats were broadcast as news over the radio with no cost to Roosevelt. Dewey had to pay to get on the radio to rebut Roosevelt's Fala speech. Should candidates get free airtime on radio and television? Should this apply to 3rd party candidates as well?

Note: The 1934 Federal Communications Act requires broadcasters to "afford equal opportunity" to all candidates. If a radio or TV station runs an ad for one candidate, it must allow the opponent(s) to purchase "equal time." This does not apply to news coverage.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Dewey received negative publicity for his speech. One letter to the editor in North Carolina suggested that both Dewey's and Roosevelt's speeches reduced the campaign "to the level of a street brawl" (Troy 184). Dewey regretted his remarks after hearing the outpouring of negative response, calling it "the worst damned speech I ever made." He later said, "It was all wrong. I was attacking the dignity of the office I was seeking" (Troy 185). Despite his feelings about the speech Dewey continued to attack Roosevelt for his ties to party bosses, his failed economic and wartime policies, and for being in league with Communists.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Media Bias

1932-1944: The Personal Presidency



1936: Fireside Chat Photo



1940: "Do you want a Dictator?" Button



NATIONAL CITIZENS POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE
1944: "Our Friend" Poster



1936: "Makers of History" Cartoon



1944: "Fala Speech" in the *New York Times*

Essay Question:

Discuss the role of the media in focusing public attention on the personality of Franklin D. Roosevelt during his extended presidency. Reference at least two of the above documents in your essay.

NAME:

Date:

Describe two ways that radio enabled FDR to use his personality to solicit popular support for his programs.

Explain how Rollin Kirby focused attention on FDR's strengths rather than his serious physical disability in the "Makers of History" cartoon?

Describe the argument Republican opponents used to undermine FDR's great popularity in their unusual campaign button of 1940?

Explain how images of FDR from his last term near the end of his life showed his continuing vision and personal appeal.

Describe the power that FDR had as an incumbent president to command media attention.

OVERVIEW

1952 - 1964: The Advent of Television

Media:

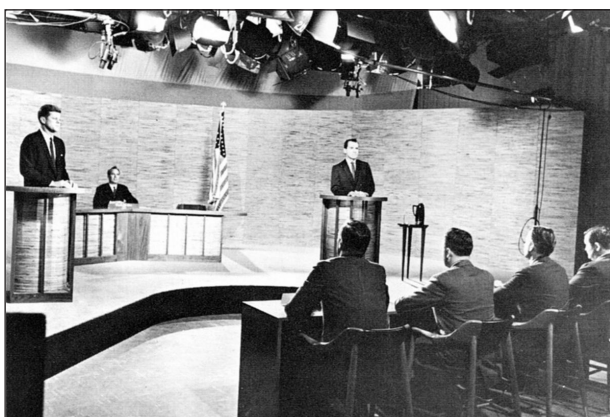
1952-1964 PowerPoint (access online or via 1952-1964 digital media folder)

1952-1964 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1952-1964 digital media folder)

Fifty years ago television was an emerging medium. Few people anticipated that it would transform presidential campaigns so profoundly.

How has television influenced whom we elect as our nation's chief executive?

Has television been a positive or negative force in building democracy?



Sen. Kennedy and V.P. Nixon, 1960 Debates

Why did a majority of radio listeners think that Nixon won the first debate while a majority of TV viewers picked Kennedy as the winner?

REACHING THE PEOPLE

The 1952-64 campaigns brought the candidates into millions of living rooms with televised commercials. In the 19th and early 20th century candidates reached the electorate with parades and slogans, through popular music and banners, through whistle-stop campaigning off the back of railroad cars, and through newspaper articles

and pictures. Political parties played a decisive role in getting out the vote to support their candidates. Beginning with radio in the 1920s, mass media brought the personality of the candidate into our homes. The ability of candidates to project an appealing image became a decisive factor in presidential elections. But no technology would more profoundly change the nature of campaigns than television.

NIXON'S LESSONS

Beginning with his famous "Checkers" speech in 1952, Richard Milhouse Nixon used television to craft and re-craft his image. In the first televised presidential debates in 1960 Nixon learned the importance of the new medium in influencing public opinion. In later campaigns Nixon used makeup, hired television consultants, and abandoned his strategy of stumping in all 50 states, ultimately winning the presidency in 1968 and 1972. The early television campaigns set the stage for the carefully crafted and mass-marketed campaigns later epitomized by Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton.

In 1950 only 9% of American households had television sets. By 1960 this percentage had increased to almost 90%.

TV AND BIG MONEY

Television also altered the role that money played in presidential campaigns. Candidates have always needed financial resources to run a successful campaign, but the huge costs of running nationwide political advertisements on television

forced candidates to prioritize fundraising and rely more and more on big money to support their campaigns.



Family watching television ca. 1958

National Archives and Record Administration

What impact did TV have on campaign financing? How might this influence candidates' positions?

ISSUES OF THE DAY

U.S. politics in the 1950s and 60s were dominated by the Cold War between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, between capitalist democracies and communism. Republican and Democratic candidates used television to project anti-communist views and to paint opponents as either too weak to contain the communists or too extreme to prevent

nuclear war. Television was a particularly effective medium for addressing the fears that a majority of voters felt during the depths of the Cold War. The 1950s also saw the emergence of a new civil rights movement. Racial conflict again became a key factor in American politics, but in the 1960s more voters were watching the struggle on TV.



"Daisy Girl" TV commercial

How did the Johnson campaign use Cold War fears in this 1964 campaign advertisement?

How do today's candidates use fear to win our votes in TV commercials?

What can we learn from studying the Cold War that will help us understand how the War on Terror influences U.S. democracy and our political process?

1948-1964	1948-49	1952	1956	1960	1964
CONTINUED USE OF	buttons, memorabilia, signs, posters, billboards, pamphlets, direct mail, campaign songs, newspapers, newsmagazines, radio				
MOVIES / RADIO	Begin decline in radio use				
TELEVISION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First televised conventions • 4 commercial TV networks • TV received in only 47 cities • Less than 2% of homes have TV sets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First political TV commercials • First 30-minute paid political messages • Number of TV stations grows from 108 to 356 in 2 years • About 30% of homes have TV sets 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First televised debates • Almost 90% of homes have TV sets • Evening news expands from 15 to 30 minutes • Most TV broadcasts in color • First televised war coverage (film, delayed) 	• End of newsreels
	Begin decline of passenger trains		Increased commercial air travel		• First transatlantic satellite transmissions
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Last whistle stop campaign (Truman) • First computerized election predictions 				• First candidate to fly to all 50 states (Nixon)

HANDOUT

1952 ELECTION



DWIGHT EISENHOWER
and Richard Nixon

POPULAR VOTE: 33,936,252
ELECTORAL VOTE: 442

REPUBLICAN

Eisenhower was a retired **General** and leader of **Allied Forces in Europe** during WW II.

Eisenhower aired the **first political TV commercials**.

The Republican convention became the **first televised convention** (Chicago).

"I Like Ike" was a ubiquitous campaign slogan.

Nixon responded to charges of campaign fraud in his televised **"Checkers" speech**.

A Wall Street **ad agency** was hired by Republicans.

Republicans courted the **women's vote**, using Mamie Eisenhower's appearances to accent family togetherness.

Nixon was included on the ticket as a leading **anti-communist** Senator.

The Democrats' historic hold on Southern votes since the Civil War, known as the **Solid South**, was broken by Ike winning Florida, Virginia, and Texas.



ADLAI STEVENSON
and John Sparkman

POPULAR VOTE: 27,314,992
ELECTORAL VOTE: 89

DEMOCRAT

Stevenson was **Governor of Illinois**.

Stevenson made **long, improvised speeches** on TV that often lost viewers' interest.

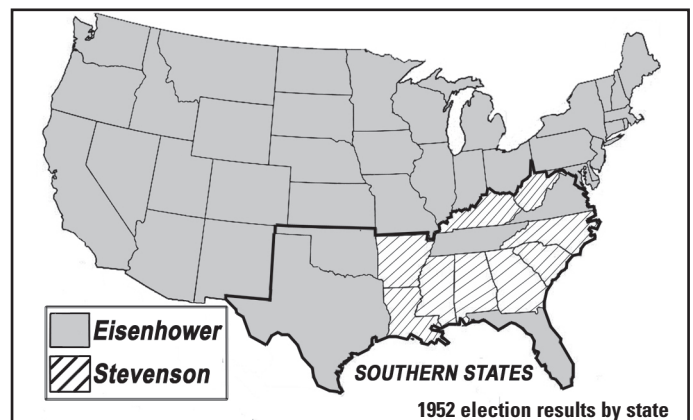
Stevenson was labeled an **"egghead"** by columnists.

Democrats opposed using nuclear weapons to end the **Korean War**.

Stevenson was accused of **"coddling" Communists**.

Civil rights for African Americans became part of the Democratic platform.

Democrats took a loyalty pledge at their convention to keep Southern **"Dixiecrats"** from leaving.



"The idea that you can merchandise candidates for high office like breakfast cereal is the ultimate indignity to the democratic process." - Adlai Stevenson

TEACHER GUIDE

1952 DOC. #1: Nixon's "Checkers" Speech

Media:

1. "Checkers" video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1952 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Imagine a presidential campaign without television! In 1952 TV was a new and unproven medium. Some candidates saw its potential and used TV to reach a mass audience. We might never have heard of Richard Nixon if he hadn't made his famous "Checkers" speech on September 23, 1952. The speech is important, not only because it saved Nixon's political career, but because it was also the first time that a politician used television in a carefully managed way.

On September 18, 1952 the New York Post ran a front-page story with the headline "Secret Nixon Fund: Secret Rich Men's Trust Fund Keeps Nixon in Style Far Beyond His Salary." The story said that wealthy Californians had given \$18,235 to a secret campaign fund in return for political favors from Nixon. In fact the fund was for political purposes and was perfectly legal.

Eisenhower suggested that Nixon go on television to respond to the charges. Although national candidates had not used the new medium in this way before, Nixon was in danger of being dropped from the Republican ticket, so he agreed.

The Republicans put up \$75,000 to buy 30 minutes of prime-time television right after the top-rated "Milton Berle Show." Nixon hired an advertising agency to produce the live broadcast. In it he denied any wrongdoing and said that Stevenson was hypocritical since his campaign had similar funds. Nearly 60 million people watched the broadcast, which was half the total number of potential viewers and the largest TV audience ever until the Kennedy/Nixon debate eight years later.

> **Explain:** The brief clip that you will see is from near the end of Nixon's half-hour speech.

> **Play** the video clip.

QUESTION **What message is Nixon trying to give about himself?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He is honest.

EVIDENCE "I should say this (about Pat's cloth coat)..."; "we did get something, a gift..."; "regardless of what they say...we'll keep [Checkers]"

1952 DOC. # 1



Nixon's "Checkers" Speech

Video Clip

LENGTH: 43 seconds

SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a family man.
EVIDENCE	Pat Nixon in the studio; references to Pat, Tricia, and Checkers in the speech
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He has a modest income.
EVIDENCE	"we have an Oldsmobile,"; a "Republican cloth coat,"; and " we have no stocks or bonds"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He seems familiar, as if he is "just one of the folks."
EVIDENCE	he puts his speech down and speaks without notes; he looks straight into the camera and smiles; he tells a family story about the kids and their dog
QUESTION	What role does Nixon's wife, Pat, play in this program?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	She is used like a prop to show support for her husband.
EVIDENCE	she doesn't speak or even move; she sits in a stuffed chair looking admiringly at her husband

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of other examples of television being used in a defense against charges of unethical behavior?

Why does a candidate's personality and character seem so important to voters? Was this always true in U.S. presidential elections?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Mutual radio network estimated that nine out of ten radio homes were listening to Nixon's speech. Radio was still an important source for news about the campaigns, with 70% of voters getting their information from radio, according to National Election Studies. The 1952 election was the last modern campaign when more voters got information about the candidates from radio than from television.

The ad agency that directed the "Checkers" speech broadcast flew in soap opera directors from Hollywood and rounded up the best make-up artists and prop men. After the speech Jack Gould of the *New York Times* warned against "television turning politics into a coast-to-coast vaudeville show" (Troy 199).

Nixon flew to Wheeling, WV to see Ike several days after the speech. Upon greeting him Ike said, "You're my boy," assuring his place on the ticket and the continuation of what turned out to be a long political career. Thereafter Nixon went on the attack himself, labeling Stevenson "Adlai the appeaser" and accusing him of "cowardice," "appeasement," and "treason."

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"
"Family Man"
Reaching Voters (comic book)

TEACHER GUIDE

1952 DOC. #2: Nixon Postcard

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The impact of the new medium of television was immediately clear after Nixon's speech when the network received an avalanche of wires, letters, and phone calls. The vast majority of these contacts were in support of his continued candidacy. Nixon had ended his speech by asking viewers to phone or wire the Republican National Committee to let them know what voters thought. But TV viewers never heard the address to which they should send their letters because his final remarks were cut off.

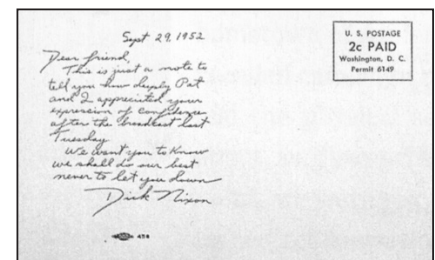
It was common in the early days of television for candidates to be cut off at the end of a live speech. Politicians were used to making long speeches and needed to carefully edit and time their remarks for prime-time television. In later years candidates would rely less on televised speeches and more on brief spot ads to maximize the use of their TV budgets.

Nixon's campaign managers responded to each person who had written in support of the candidate by sending postcards designed to look like personal notes.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What message does this postcard convey about Nixon?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a family man. The Nixon family is young, happy, and united.
EVIDENCE	standing together, smiling, parents holding children

1952 DOC. #2



Nixon Postcard

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION	What techniques are used to made this postcard appear to be a personal note from Nixon?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It appears to be handwritten.
EVIDENCE	written in cursive script
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Uses familiar language and suggests a long-term relationship.
EVIDENCE	addressed to "Dear Friend"; refers to "Pat and I"; signed "Dick"; says "we shall do our best to never let you down"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

The use of the family image became especially important for candidates after the Second World War. Why do you think this was the case?

Discuss the relative advantages of TV and direct mail as means to reach voters.

CONNECTIONS
(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"
"Family Man"

TEACHER GUIDE

1952 DOC. #3: "Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial

Media:

3. "Eisenhower Answers America" video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1952 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

By the 1950s "whistle-stop" campaigning by train had been replaced with the new option to travel by air. In their efforts to reach every voter the candidates were becoming exhausted. Stevenson traveled 32,000 miles in the 1952 campaign, and Eisenhower traveled 50,000. The new medium of television provided an easier way to reach large numbers of voters.

The Madison Avenue advertising professional who had created the M&M slogan, "melts in your mouth, not in your hands" was hired to create a series of "spot ads" for Eisenhower. One day in September, just two months before the election, Eisenhower sat in an empty studio and recorded 40 commercials in a series entitled "Eisenhower Answers America." He was filmed without his glasses reading from giant cue cards. The "common folks" who appeared in the commercial asking like questions were tourists that the producers recruited outside of Radio City Music Hall. The completed commercials were programmed to run just before or after popular programs like *I Love Lucy* in order to get maximum exposure.

These commercials were the very first of what has become the primary means of communication for all presidential candidates ever since. Although they may appear somewhat awkward today, at the time they were the cutting edge of the new technology in presidential campaigns.

> **Encourage** students to watch and listen closely for the techniques used to persuade viewers to vote for Eisenhower.

> **Play** the video clip.

QUESTION	What messages does Eisenhower offer about the Democratic Party?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Democrats have caused high prices.
EVIDENCE	"What party put prices up?"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	High prices are a problem for everyone
EVIDENCE	"My Mamie gets after me about the high cost of living."

1952 DOC. #3

"Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial

Video Clip

LENGTH: 54 seconds

SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Democrats have been in power too long; it is time to replace them.
EVIDENCE	"With your vote we'll get rid of the people... too long in power."
QUESTION	What message is being conveyed about Eisenhower as a man? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is plain-spoken, friendly, and open to talking with the voters.
EVIDENCE	answers the questions of citizens rather than reporters; looks at the questioners and then at the camera; uses simple and familiar phrases like "Time for a change" and "Too big for their britches"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is admired by others.
EVIDENCE	questioners seem to be looking slightly upward as they ask him important questions and await his answers
QUESTION	What techniques are used to focus on Eisenhower?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	When Eisenhower speaks he is alone in the frame. There are no symbols or furniture to distract viewers. The upward gaze of the questioners causes one to look up to Eisenhower as well.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why would commercials of a half minute or less be a campaign improvement over a half-hour program like the Checkers speech?

What is the connection between campaign financing and TV exposure?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The 40 spots cost about \$2 million to produce and air. Eisenhower and Stevenson both purchased radio ads as well as 30-minute blocks of time for speeches on the networks. These efforts sometimes backfired when voters were angry that their favorite program had been pre-empted for a political message. Eisenhower himself was not happy about making the TV commercials. During a break in filming he is said to have remarked, "To think that an old soldier should come to this..." (Troy 200).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Economic Issues
"Family Man"
Reaching Voters (TV commercial)

TEACHER GUIDE

1952 DOC. #4: "Vote Stevenson" TV Commercial

Media:

4. "Vote Stevenson" video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1952 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Adlai Stevenson criticized Eisenhower's appearance in the TV commercials. He refused to appear in commercials himself during the 1952 campaign, commenting that "this isn't Ivory Soap versus Palmolive... This is a choice for the most important office on earth" (Troy 200). Presidential candidates through the years had often been reluctant to appear inappropriate by asking for votes in person. In 1828 John Quincy Adams had refused to attend rallies for that reason. In 1860 Abe Lincoln had refused to go out "on the stump" and as recently as 1948, the previous election, Thomas Dewey had refused to do radio spots for fear of being seen as undignified.

Airtime on television was still relatively cheap in 1952 since only less than 40% of households had TVs at the time. Stevenson had considerably less money to spend than Eisenhower. His campaign managers nevertheless produced several commercials for Stevenson without the appearance of their candidate. Both Eisenhower and Stevenson ran commercials about the Korean War that was then being waged by U.S. soldiers. In the follow-up to the campaign Stevenson's commercials were considered less effective than the "Eisenhower Answers America" series.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What message does the singer give about Eisenhower?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is more likely to keep the U.S. at war.
EVIDENCE	"a soldier man is always bound to think in terms of battleground"
QUESTION	What message does the singer give about Stevenson?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a leader for peace like Abe Lincoln.
EVIDENCE	"from Illinois whence Lincoln came... Stevenson – civilian-son – will lead us till the peace is won"

1952 DOC. #4



"Vote Stevenson" TV Commercial

Video Clip
LENGTH: 38 seconds

QUESTION	Why does the singer keep repeating the candidate’s name?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	To reinforce name recognition.
EVIDENCE	in short TV commercial, repetition helps people remember candidate’s name in the voting booth

FURTHER QUESTIONS

- Why would Stevenson choose the particular singer he did to deliver his message?
- Why might music and TV make a good match for campaigning?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Music: Popular music has always been the soundtrack for American presidential campaigns, from William Henry Harrison’s Log Cabin Songbooks (see 1840 Doc. #4 “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too”) to the songs used to introduce George W. Bush and Al Gore at their respective conventions in 2000 (see 2000 doc.#1).

TEACHER GUIDE

1952 DOC. #5: Stevenson Photo and Buttons from '56

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Although television would soon become the medium of choice for campaigns, in 1952 people still got most of their information about candidates from the newspaper. News photos had become a quick and easy way for the public to get to know the candidates. This document demonstrates one way in which a single photograph could have a far-reaching impact on how a candidate was perceived by the public.

Stevenson was seen by some as a distant upper-class intellectual. New York Herald Tribune columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop called Stevenson and his aides “eggheads” and the image stuck. Stevenson, who was also known for his quick wit, responded, “Eggheads of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but your yolks” (Boller 287).

This photograph shows Stevenson at a campaign stop in Flint, Michigan on Labor Day, 1952. It was taken quickly at arms length by Flint Journal staff photographer Bill Gallagher. The shot won the Pulitzer Prize for news photography for Gallagher. The picture became an enduring image for Stevenson. Both Stevenson and Eisenhower used this famous image on their 1956 campaign buttons.

> **Project** the document.

PHOTO OF STEVENSON

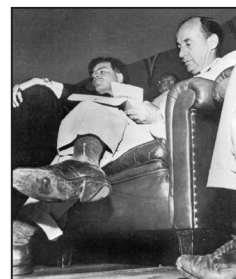
QUESTION **What messages might this photo give about the candidate?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He is hard working. He is unconcerned with his appearance.

EVIDENCE Stevenson is working on a speech in the picture; hole in the shoe suggests he has walked long and worked hard on the campaign trail; also might suggest he doesn't care whether his clothes are in good repair

> **Explain** that the campaign buttons are from the following campaign of 1956, which was a rematch between Eisenhower and Stevenson.

1952 DOC. #5



Stevenson Photo and Buttons from '56

PowerPoint Slide

TOP BUTTON: "DON'T LET THIS HAPPEN TO YOU"

QUESTION	What message about their candidate might Eisenhower's managers want to portray in using this image?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Stevenson's victory would lead to hard times. Better stay with Eisenhower.
EVIDENCE	hole in shoe represents poverty when combined with the words, "Don't let this happen to you!"; "Vote for Ike!"

BOTTOM BUTTON: "FOR '56"

QUESTION	Which candidate does this button support?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It supports Stevenson.
EVIDENCE	knees crossed and hole in shoe refer to Stevenson from now-famous photograph of the 1952 campaign
QUESTION	What message about their candidate might Stevenson's managers want to portray in using this image?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a humble and hard-working man of the people (not a distant intellectual).
EVIDENCE	has worn his shoes down to nothing while visiting voters on the campaign trail; doesn't care too much about his appearance
QUESTION	What differences do you notice in the artists' drawings and design that offer different messages in each button?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Stevenson button is unifying and human, suggesting a friendly connection with the candidate.
EVIDENCE	Stevenson cartoon is like a comic strip, made to make you smile with no socks and a twinkle around the hole; border is a circle suggesting unity
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Eisenhower button is divided and frightening, suggesting a clear choice against bad times.
EVIDENCE	Eisenhower drawing is stark and removed with no body showing; background has a dividing line separating them and us

ADDITIONAL INFO

Most of Eisenhower's campaign buttons were purely restatements of the central theme of "I Like Ike!" Both campaigns generated nearly one thousand different buttons as well as jewelry, bandanas, matchbooks, and ribbons. Stevenson's campaign issued his famous "holey shoe" image as door hangers, lapel pins and tie clasps. Stevenson himself claimed to disapprove of using "soft soap, slogans, gimmicks, bandwagons and all the other infernal machines of modern high pressure politics." He saw all these as "contempt for the people's intelligence, common sense and dignity" (Hake, *Encyclopedia*193).

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What are the advantages and disadvantages of using simple images like a news photo or a button to convey information about a presidential candidate?

Stevenson was labeled "the egghead" and Eisenhower as "the general." How can being labeled like this help or hurt a candidate? Can you think of other examples of labeling in presidential campaigns?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
"Commoner"

HANDOUT

1956 ELECTION



DWIGHT EISENHOWER
and Richard Nixon

POPULAR VOTE: 35,575,420
ELECTORAL VOTE: 457

REPUBLICAN

Eisenhower was the **incumbent President**.

Republicans spent **\$5 million on TV commercials**.

Eisenhower ran on a campaign platform of "**Peace, Prosperity and Unity**."

The **women's vote** was actively sought by both parties, but **Republicans** got the majority.

The **balanced budget** was a plus for Eisenhower.



ADLAI STEVENSON
and Estes Kefauver

POPULAR VOTE: 26,033,066
ELECTORAL VOTE: 73

DEMOCRAT

Stevenson was the **1952 Democratic presidential candidate**.

The Democrats spent **\$100,000 on TV commercials**.

Stevenson's "**New America**" campaign called for freedom for all and an end to poverty and war.

Stevenson attacked Eisenhower as a "part-time President," accusing him of going on golfing and hunting vacations in times of world crisis.

- The **Soviet Union invaded Hungary** just days before the election.
- **Organized labor** was at the height of its power after the 1955 merger of the AFL and CIO.
- **Civil rights** was becoming an increasingly important issue with the Montgomery bus boycott and school desegregation.
- The **censure of Senator McCarthy** in 1954 lessened anti-communist hysteria, but **Cold War** fears continued to dominate U.S. politics.

"Politics is show business." - Republican National Chairman Leonard Wood Hall

TEACHER GUIDE

1956 DOC. #1: Republican Comic Book

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Appeals to women voters became important in the 1950s since women now made up half of the electorate. The Republican Party Women's Division developed materials specifically targeting women voters. From pamphlets to potholders and from silk stockings to scrub pails, Republican campaign items showed Eisenhower and Nixon, and their wives, Mamie and Pat, reaching out to female voters.

Three major Republican themes of 1956 were a balanced budget, corruption, and Eisenhower's role in ending the Korean War. Polls showed that ending the war was of particular concern to women voters and Eisenhower promised to bring the boys home. Republicans encouraged local women's groups to organize tea parties, meetings, and phone banks to get the vote out for "Ike and Dick."

This excerpt is from a comic book entitled "Forward with Eisenhower-Nixon 1956." It was produced by the Republican National Committee. Comics had become extremely popular in the United States since the arrival of *Superman* in 1938.

> Project 1956 doc.1a (both pages).

QUESTION	Who is the target audience for this comic?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	White middle-class women.
EVIDENCE	central characters are women; everyone pictured is white; clothing, shopping, and scrap-books suggest middle class

1956 DOC. #1a



Republican Comic Book

PowerPoint Slide

> Project 1956 doc. 1b (bottom of left page).

QUESTION	What are the messages about Truman and the Democrats?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	They are dangerous, getting our country into wars.
EVIDENCE	the woman's concerned expression; "I remember what it was like when Truman and his crew were running the country" while gazing at a photo of the GI
QUESTION	What are the messages about Eisenhower and the Republicans?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	They bring peace and joy.
EVIDENCE	soldier smiling as Ike visits; Ike's "wedding present" was bringing fiancé home from Korea

> Project 1956 doc. 1c (bottom of right page).

QUESTION	Does the layout and drawing of this frame call attention to the Republicans or the Democrats? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Republicans.
EVIDENCE	"Republicans" list is on the left, which means it will be read first; it is higher, pointed to by thumb and pencil; voting booth shows the word "Republican" at the top

FURTHER QUESTIONS

No previous campaign had specifically targeted women in the way that Eisenhower's campaign did. What was it about the U.S. economy and culture in this time period that made it important to focus on women voters?

Why were comic books seen as a good way to get across a party's platform?

1956 DOC. #1b



1956 DOC. #1c



ADDITIONAL INFO

Eisenhower won a majority of women's votes in 1952 and 1956. With women voting for Eisenhower in greater percentages than men they added significantly to his victory. Ike appointed a number of women to high-profile positions in his administration. Eisenhower named the first woman to be Secretary of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby; the first woman to be named U.S. ambassador to a major power (Italy), Clare Booth Luce; and the first woman to become parliamentarian at the Republican National Convention, Republican Congresswoman Katherine St. George.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Family Man"
"Hero"
Reaching Voters (comic book)
Target Audience (women)

TEACHER GUIDE

1956 DOC. #2: Democratic Convention Program Cover

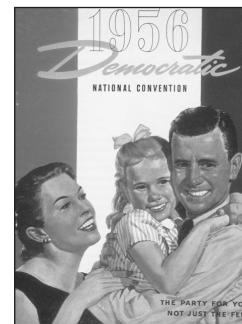
BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Unlike the Republicans, the Democrats chose not to create special material to target women voters in 1956. But the Democrats did schedule a Women's Day at the convention that featured speeches by former first lady Eleanor Roosevelt as well as seven Democratic Congresswomen. In an early instance of using television to target specific audiences, planners scheduled them to speak in the afternoon in order to attract housewives as viewers. Surveys showed that many women watched TV in the afternoon hours before the children got home from school.

This document is the cover of the 1956 Democratic National Convention program.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION	What is the message that the Democrats want to project about their party?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Democrats will serve the interests of families rather than special interest groups.
EVIDENCE	image of a smiling family beneath the Democratic banner; "the Party for you – not just the few"

1956 DOC. #2

Democratic Convention Program Cover

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION	Who is the target audience for this image?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Young, white, middle-class families.
EVIDENCE	"the Party for you" is represented by white, young, middle-class family
QUESTION	How does the artist use background, composition, and font to convey the themes of family and patriotism?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Red, white, and blue suggest patriotism; a smiling family and the word "Democratic" written in script is meant to be familiar and appealing; cover layout resembles a magazine cover from <i>Life</i> or <i>Look</i> to suggest familiarity – just like on the coffee table at home.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

- How might Stevenson’s status as a divorced man have helped or hurt him in this campaign?
- How have “family values” been used in other campaigns to promote candidates?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Democrats held their convention in Chicago in August 1956. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts placed Stevenson’s name in nomination. Stevenson took the unusual step of having the convention select his running mate. Estes Kefauver of Tennessee was the choice over Kennedy.

CONNECTIONS

- (see thematic listing)
- “Family Man”
- Reaching Voters (conventions)
- Target Audience (families)

HANDOUT

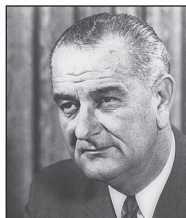
1960 ELECTION



JOHN F. KENNEDY
and Lyndon B. Johnson

POPULAR VOTE: 34,227,096
ELECTORAL VOTE: 303

DEMOCRAT



Kennedy was a U.S. **Senator from Massachusetts**; Johnson was Majority Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Television viewers of the **first televised debate** thought Kennedy won.

Kennedy received endorsements from **civil rights leaders** and ran advertisements in African American newspapers.

Democrats reached out to **Spanish-speaking voters**, and Kennedy ran the first TV commercial in Spanish that featured his wife, Jackie Kennedy.

Kennedy warned (inaccurately) of a “**missile gap**” between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

Democrats saw the first successful use of **polling data** to help focus the Kennedy campaign.

Kennedy did **strategic campaigning** in key states with the most electoral votes.

Kennedy was the **first Catholic elected President**.

Catholics were 23% of the national population and voted for Kennedy 80% to 20% over Nixon.



RICHARD M. NIXON
and Henry Cabot Lodge

POPULAR VOTE: 34,108,546
ELECTORAL VOTE: 219

REPUBLICAN

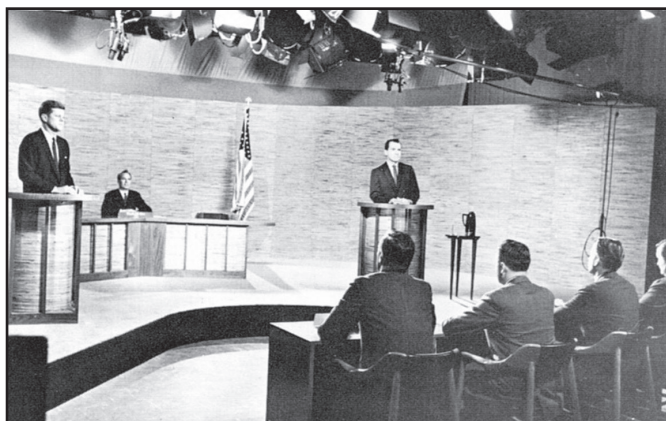
Nixon was the **incumbent Vice President**.

Those listening to the first televised **debates on the radio** thought Nixon won.

Nixon held a 4-hour “**telethon**” the night before Election Day.

Nixon committed to **campaign in all 50 states**, which he did, but it exhausted him (during the debates he looked tired).

Protestants voted for Nixon 62% to 38% over Kennedy



First televised debates - Sen. Kennedy and V.P. Nixon

National Park Service

“It was the picture image that had done it – and in 1960 it was television that had won the nation away from sound to images, and that was that.”

- Historian T.H. White on TV viewers’ poll that Kennedy had “won” the debate

TEACHER GUIDE

1960 DOC. #1: Nixon-Kennedy Debate

Media:

- 1a. Nixon-Kennedy Debate video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1960 digital media folder)
- 1b. Nixon-Kennedy Reactions 1b video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1960 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1960 saw the first debates between presidential candidates from opposing parties. They were also the first televised debates. The results highlighted the power of this relatively new communication medium. In the Kennedy-Nixon debates some commentators wondered whether the candidates' effort to appear attractive on TV would distract from essential issues of competence and qualifications.

The candidates agreed to four televised debates. For the first debate, Nixon arrived at the studio appearing tired and underweight having just recovered from a short illness. He was also exhausted due to his attempt to fulfill his pledge to campaign in person in all fifty states. Kennedy, on the other hand, arrived tanned and rested from a day in the sun preparing for the debate. A record 70 million viewers watched the debates. In the process they made TV the "front porch" of the 1960s as observed by CBS correspondent, Charles Kuralt (Troy 210).

The clip you will see is from the final summary statement of each candidate at the end of the first debate held in Chicago on September 26.

> **Instruct** half the class to turn their backs to the screens or to cover their eyes so they only hear the audio part. The other half should watch the video.

> **Ask** students to pay particular attention to what issues each candidate raises and to consider which candidate is most convincing. After showing the clip you might ask students to write their thoughts on the issues raised by each candidate and on who did better in their estimation.

> **Play** 1960 doc. #1a.

QUESTION

What are the main issues raised by Nixon in his summation?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

- 1) The Soviet Union has not gained economically over the United States,
- 2) Kennedy would rely too much on the Federal government to stimulate growth,
- 3) Healthcare for seniors should be by choice, not mandated,
- 4) Truman's presidency caused inflation, thus hurting those on a fixed income,
- 5) He stands for growth and progress.

1960 DOC. #1a



Nixon-Kennedy Debate

Video Clip

LENGTH: 6 minutes 45 seconds

QUESTION

What are the main issues raised by Kennedy in his summation?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

- 1) The Soviets pose a problem for the United States, which must maintain superiority,
- 2) Republicans oppose Social Security,
- 3) Republicans have not moved forward as FDR did to support freedom and security,
- 4) The military and social strength of the U.S. must be increased.

- > **Ask** the students who only heard the audio to indicate with a show of hands which candidate they found the most convincing. Do the same with those who watched the video. Compare and discuss the reactions of both groups. Explain that those listening on the radio felt that Nixon did as well or better than Kennedy. Those watching on television felt that Kennedy had won, even among Nixon's supporters (Boller 299). By 1960 far more people were watching television than listening on the radio to an event like this.
- > **Explain** to students that you will now show brief video-only clips of both Kennedy and Nixon as the camera showed them listening to their opponent. Pay attention to what each man communicates through facial expression.
- > **Play** the video clip of Kennedy listening to Nixon, followed by Nixon listening to Kennedy (no audio, video only).

- > **Play** 1960 Doc. #1b:

QUESTION

What impressions do you get of Kennedy's mood or character as he listens to Nixon?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is relaxed, confident, and reflective.

EVIDENCE

he looks forward, lowers his head, then raises his head and looks directly at Nixon

1960 DOC. #1b



**Nixon-Kennedy Debate
(reaction shots - no audio)**

Video Clip

LENGTH: 30 seconds

> Play 1960 Doc. #1b:

QUESTION	What impressions do you get of Nixon's mood or character as he listens to Kennedy?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is uncertain, nervous, perhaps defensive.
EVIDENCE	he looks down then raises his head to watch Kennedy without turning his head; his eyes shift back and forth; he has a slight frown

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How could a direct comparison of the candidates via TV close-ups effect voters' impressions? Is this a good way to determine if someone is prepared to be President?

The press "spin" on this debate took a relatively minor difference in appearance between the candidates and made it a major issue that probably helped Kennedy beat Nixon in a close race. Can you think of other times when a minor mistake or the appearance of a candidate was "spun" into a major issue by the media? Is this a good thing or a bad thing for democracy?

ADDITIONAL INFO

When the proposal to debate was raised, Eisenhower had recommended that Nixon decline since he already had the major advantage of name recognition. Kennedy was anxious to gain national exposure and to show that he was intelligent and experienced. Nixon, however, was confident of his ability to debate and he felt that he could show up Kennedy in this format.

Both candidates decided not to use the skills of CBS' make-up artist prior to the debate. Kennedy took a little make-up around the eyes and Nixon used "Lazy Shave" to cover his beard stubble. Following the debate, Nixon's mother and thousands of others called the network to see if he was ill. Nixon's health and appearance improved in subsequent debates but the damage had already been done. The Democrats used footage from the debates in their TV ads, highlighting Kennedy's self-assurance and Nixon's shifting eyes.

Journalist Eric Sevareid commented that "the processed politician has finally arrived" with the era of televised debating (Cornog 254).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Economic Issues

Foreign Policy

Media Bias

Reaching Voters (TV debates):

Debates themselves were not new to political campaigns. The 1858 Illinois Senate debates had given wide exposure to newcomer Abe Lincoln against veteran politician Steven Douglass through national newspaper reports (1860 doc. #1 and #2).

TEACHER GUIDE

1960 DOC. #2: Kennedy's Address to Ministerial Conference

Media:

2. Kennedy at Greater Houston video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1960 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Kennedy was the second Catholic to run for President. The first had been Al Smith who lost to Herbert Hoover in a landslide of anti-Catholic hatred in 1928. The campaign against Smith included KKK cross burnings and preachers warning "If you vote for Al Smith you're voting against Christ and you will be damned" and "A Vote for Al Smith is a vote for the Pope" (Boller 225). Religious tolerance in the United States had improved in the 32 years since Smith's run. Still, some of Kennedy's critics had suggested that he would have divided loyalties between the Vatican and the Constitution should he become President.

Kennedy decided to address the issue of religion directly by appearing before the Ministerial Association of Houston, Texas on September 12. Television helped him deliver his message to the nation.

The excerpt that you will see is a small section from the middle of Kennedy's speech.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION **What message is Kennedy giving?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He is for tolerance, religious freedom, and is against religious-based voting practices.

EVIDENCE "I believe in an America where religious intolerance will end"; "the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice"; "no bloc voting of any kind"

QUESTION **What target audience might Kennedy be trying to reach through this speech?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER In addition to the Houston ministers Kennedy is addressing, the voters around the country who were concerned about his stand on issues of church and state.

1960 DOC. #2



Kennedy's Address to Houston Ministerial Conference

Video Clip

LENGTH: 1 minute 2 seconds

QUESTION	What impressions does one get about Kennedy as a leader from his presentation?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is clear, strong, idealistic, and willing to speak his mind.
EVIDENCE	serious tone, strong delivery; stating his vision for the country; willingness to take on a difficult issue

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Candidates had been making campaign speeches for more than 100 years. How did the medium of television change the potential impact of Kennedy’s speech this time?

Should all of a candidate’s speeches be covered by television? If not, how would you decide which speeches to televise?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Despite the efforts of both Kennedy and Nixon to keep religion out of the campaign, millions of vicious anti-Catholic pamphlets were circulated as had happened with Al Smith’s campaign in 1928. To counter this, Kennedy’s aides made television ads from clips of the Houston speech, which were subsequently broadcast in selected markets across the country. The large turnout of Catholic voters who were overwhelmingly for Kennedy gave JFK small but decisive victories in several key states and were a key factor in his narrow victory.

Some Catholics complained after the speech that he had set a standard where no Catholic could ever claim to have religious views on political matters in the future. In his effort to reassure Protestants of his distance from the Catholic hierarchy, some felt that Kennedy was “becoming more Protestant than the Protestants” (Boller 298).

TEACHER GUIDE

1960 DOC. #3: Race Against Communism Broadside

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Soviet Union launched the first earth satellite, Sputnik, into orbit in 1957. Many in the U.S. reacted to this news with a fear that the Soviets were winning the “space race.” Kennedy spoke of a “missile gap,” suggesting that the Soviets were attaining military superiority as well. He blamed the Eisenhower administration for this. Later his own Secretary of Defense, Robert McNamara would say, “There was a missile gap, but the gap was in America’s favor!” (Armstrong n.pag.). Kennedy also attacked Nixon for being “experienced in policies of retreat, defeat and weakness” (David 68).

Nixon denied that the United States had declined in influence or power under Eisenhower’s administration. He presented himself as qualified to deal with the Russians due to his experience traveling to 50 countries including the Soviet Union where he debated Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev.

The document you will see here is a broadside. Broadside is simply large sheets of paper with information printed on one side. In early presidential campaigns broadsides were posted in public places to encourage voters to choose one candidate or to attack another. They often would contain the words to a song or an image. In modern times marketing directors added color and advertising techniques to turn broadsides into what we know as the political poster. This broadside was paid for by Labor’s Committee for Kennedy and Johnson.

> Project the document.

QUESTION **What are the messages of this broadside?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The U.S. must win in the race for world leadership with the Soviet Union. Kennedy will make this happen.

EVIDENCE “winner takes all”; Democracy is racing Communism for world leadership flag; “for full speed...vote Kennedy”

1960 DOC. #3



Race Against Communism Broadside

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION	Which candidate does this support?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It supports Kennedy.
EVIDENCE	“Kennedy for President” and “Labor’s Committee for Kennedy”
QUESTION	If the candidates’ names were missing, could you tell whom it supported?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	You couldn’t tell without Kennedy’s name.
EVIDENCE	both candidates favored the race to stay ahead of the Russians; the image itself could support either candidate
QUESTION	Kennedy said that the U.S. was falling behind the Soviets. Who does this image suggest will be the winner of the race between the U.S. and the Soviet Union? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The U.S. will win.
EVIDENCE	the “Democracy” runner is over the hurdle first and closer to the finish flag; he also is more upright and seems to be exerting less energy

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why do politicians often use “good guy versus bad guy” imagery to promote their message?

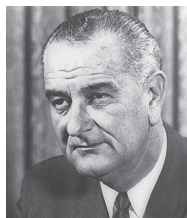
How do you think the advent of television affected the use of materials like broadsides?

CONNECTIONS
(see thematic listing)

Foreign Policy

HANDOUT

1964 ELECTION



LYNDON B. JOHNSON
and Hubert Humphrey

POPULAR VOTE: 43,126,506
ELECTORAL VOTE: 486

DEMOCRAT

Johnson was the **incumbent President** after Kennedy was assassinated on Nov. 22, 1963.

Johnson **would not debate** Goldwater (having learned from Nixon that debates can do more to help the challenger).

Democrats used **fear** to persuade voters by suggesting that Goldwater would start a nuclear war.

The slogan **"In your guts you know he's nuts"** was used against Goldwater. (Extremism was rejected by Johnson, but embraced by Goldwater.)

Johnson's **"Great Society"** called for his administration's new government programs to combat poverty and inequality.

The **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** was organized by African Americans to challenge the official, all-white Mississippi State delegation to the National Democratic Convention.

Democrats supported **civil rights**, including the Voting Rights Act that was ultimately passed in 1965.

White Southern Democratic leaders were angry about Johnson's support for civil rights.



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Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-USZ62-105631]



BARRY GOLDWATER
and William Miller

POPULAR VOTE: 27,176,799
ELECTORAL VOTE: 52

REPUBLICAN

Goldwater was a U.S. **Senator from Arizona**.

Republicans pioneered the use of computerized **direct mail**.

Victory over Communism was Goldwater's goal, suggesting possible use of aggressive force in Vietnam.

A **database** of campaign contributors was compiled by Goldwater supporter Richard Viguerie.

Goldwater used the slogan **"In your heart you know he's right."**

The new **conservative movement** started by Goldwater later saw wins with Reagan and George W. Bush.

Republicans called for returning **power to the states** while cutting federal programs and regulations.

Goldwater won **5 of 6 Southern states**, shifting control of that region from Democrats to Republicans.

**"Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice!
Moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue!"**

- Barry Goldwater from his acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention

TEACHER GUIDE

1964 DOC. #1: Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial

Media:

1. "We Will Bury You" video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1964 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

TV commercials had first appeared in presidential campaigns in 1952. By 1964 they had become a major way of selling the candidates. CBS commentator Charles Kuralt joked that the 1964 campaign was not "between President Johnson and Senator Goldwater" but between their advertising firms (Troy 218).

A major issue in 1964 was the Cold War and fear of the Soviet Union. Republican candidate Barry Goldwater was considered by many to be a right-wing extremist. At first he embraced this image with his remarks at the Republican convention that "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice!" He suggested that the United States should break diplomatic ties with the Soviet Union and leave the United Nations. He suggested that military commanders be given the option to use nuclear weapons. He said he'd like to "lob [a nuclear missile] into the men's room of the Kremlin and make sure I hit it" (Boller 311). Many U.S. citizens, including Republicans, found his message frightening. When Goldwater tried to change this impression it was too late. He had already been stuck with the image of a "trigger happy" Cold War warrior.

The Goldwater commercial that you will see includes images of Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev speaking in the Kremlin, the building in Moscow containing the governmental offices of the Soviet Union. This commercial became less effective after Khrushchev was removed as head of state on October 15, three weeks before the U.S. elections.

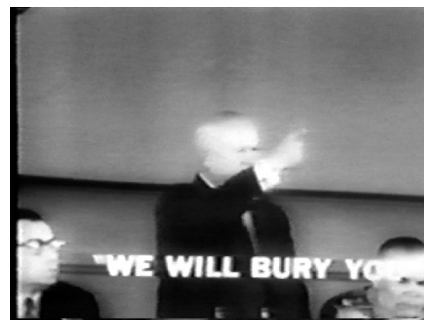
> Play the video clip.

QUESTION **What are the messages that Goldwater is trying to convey?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER **The United States is at risk of attack from the Soviet Union.**

EVIDENCE clips of Khrushchev with the subtitles "we will bury you" and "your children will be communists"

1964 DOC. #1



Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV commercial

Video Clip

LENGTH: 1 minute

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Goldwater is patriotic and courageous in his response to this threat.

EVIDENCE

children pledging allegiance show patriotism; quote “if we have the guts to make our intentions clear” highlights Goldwater’s courage

QUESTION

What techniques are used to get this message across?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Fear that Soviets will take over, and that they will turn American children into communists.

EVIDENCE

commercial cuts back and forth between American children and Khrushchev making threatening remarks

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of other examples of how fear of “the enemy” has been used to attract votes for a particular candidate?

Goldwater’s slogan was “In your heart you know he’s right.” What target group(s) would be encouraged by this slogan? What group(s) might be turned away by this slogan?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Goldwater responded to his critics by saying, “I wanted to educate the American people to lose some of their fear of the word ‘nuclear.’ When you say ‘nuclear,’ all the American people see is a mushroom cloud. But for military purposes, it’s just enough firepower to get the job done” (Boller 311).

On October 16th China exploded a nuclear device that further increased fears of a Goldwater presidency in a world of nuclear proliferation.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

- Attack
- “Family Man”
- Fear
- Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1964 DOC. #2: "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial

Media:

2. "Daisy Girl" video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1964 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The early television commercials from the Eisenhower-Stevenson race appear to be clumsy and dated when judged from current standards. The Johnson campaign pioneered a more sophisticated use of the medium. The commercial you are about to see only aired once as a paid ad by the Democrats on September 7. It was so controversial that the Republicans filed a complaint with the Fair Campaign Practices Committee and demanded that it be removed immediately.

The voice you hear following the images and countdown is that of President Johnson.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What are the messages of this TV commercial? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	A Goldwater presidency could lead to nuclear war.
EVIDENCE	the mushroom cloud suggests fears of a Goldwater presidency based on statements he has made about his willingness to use nuclear weapons
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Johnson will keep the peace.
EVIDENCE	Johnson's quote: "we must either love one another or we must die".

1964 DOC. #2



Johnson's "Daisy Girl" TV commercial

Video Clip

LENGTH: 1 minute

QUESTION

What does the final statement mean: “The stakes are too high for you to stay home”?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

If you don’t vote for Johnson a Goldwater presidency could lead to the end of the world.

EVIDENCE

Johnson’s quote: “These are the stakes. To make a world in which all God’s children can live, or go into the dark.” (Said just after the mushroom cloud has exploded.)

QUESTION

Is this a positive, message-based commercial, or a negative attack-based commercial? How do you know?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

It is a negative, attack-based commercial.

EVIDENCE

Goldwater’s name is never mentioned, but it is clear from the context of the themes of the election that this is a statement about Goldwater’s willingness to use nuclear weapons; although Johnson gives a message about love, the central message is about fear and war

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What was it about this commercial that made it so controversial and effective?

The U.S. had troops in Vietnam at this time under President Johnson’s command. How was a wartime President able to turn himself into the peace candidate?

ADDITIONAL INFO

President Johnson saw how effective the “Daisy Girl” commercial was after the first airing and he ordered it withdrawn. But television news programs continued to air the commercial over and over, giving it far more publicity than the Democrats had paid for. It was estimated that 40 million people saw the commercial at some point during the campaign. This is an example of how television could extend the reach of a candidate’s message if its advertising was seen as shocking or newsworthy. To this day the “Daisy Girl” commercial remains one of the most controversial political commercials ever shown.

Republican party chairman Dean Burch said of the “Daisy Girl” commercial: “Instead of meeting Senator Goldwater face to face in a series of TV debates, like the great debates of 1960, Mr. Johnson is hiding behind a series of shocking television commercials” (Troy 218).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Fear
Foreign Policy
Attack
Family Man

TEACHER GUIDE

1964 DOC. #3: Campaign Button Collage

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This election produced the most imaginative and varied collection of campaign items since the 1940 Roosevelt-Willkie campaign. The campaign produced more than 1,000 different buttons and 200 bumper stickers as well as matchbooks, antenna flags, ballpoint pens, and shot glasses. It was also the first campaign to feature political T-shirts.

The explosion of campaign material resulted in part from the very different political philosophies of the two candidates. Johnson had become President after John Kennedy's assassination in 1963. He pledged to extend the liberal programs of JFK's "New Frontier" into his own vision of the "Great Society." Goldwater was a right wing conservative and proud of it. His famous acceptance speech at the Republican convention declared: "Extremism in the defense of liberty is no vice."

> **Project** the document.

For each button, ask the following:

QUESTION Which candidate does this button support? What is your evidence?



SUGGESTED ANSWER

Lyndon Johnson

EVIDENCE Johnson will continue JFK vision

1964 DOC. #3

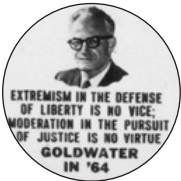


Campaign Button Collage

PowerPoint Slide

SUGGESTED ANSWER

EVIDENCE



Barry Goldwater
quote is from Goldwater’s acceptance speech

SUGGESTED ANSWER

EVIDENCE



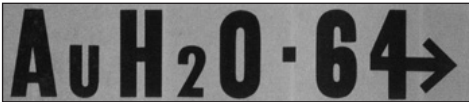
Barry Goldwater
pride of right-wing position

SUGGESTED ANSWER

EVIDENCE



Lyndon Johnson
depression and doom if Goldwater is elected



SUGGESTED ANSWER

EVIDENCE

Barry Goldwater
“Au” is scientific abbreviation for gold and
H2O for water



SUGGESTED ANSWER

EVIDENCE

Lyndon Johnson
nuclear war if Goldwater is elected

CONNECTIONS
(see thematic listing)

**Attack
Fear**

TEACHER GUIDE

1964 DOC. #4: MFDP Televised Testimony

Media:

4. Fannie Lou Harper video (access online or via 1952-1964, 1964 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Civil rights and the voting rights of African Americans in the South were major issues during this campaign. Several months before the Democratic convention in August of 1964, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized the Freedom Summer campaign in Mississippi to work for fair representation for African American people in the voting process. They organized the multi-racial Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to challenge the official all-white state delegation to the Democratic convention. Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer and two other women were their nominees to Congress.

The MFDP traveled by bus to Atlantic City to assert their right to be seated at the convention in place of the all-white delegation. The official Mississippi Democratic Party delegation was headed by Senators Eastland and Stennis who opposed President Johnson's civil rights programs.

This confrontation provided great drama during a convention that President Johnson hoped would be a pep rally for his candidacy. Although Johnson supported civil rights, he did not want to offend white southerners whose votes he needed. In an attempt at a compromise, the MFDP was offered two at-large non-voting seats at the convention while the official delegation would be seated. The MFDP rejected this idea. Mrs. Hamer said, "We didn't come all this way for no two seats, when all of us is tired."

The clip you will see is a brief portion of the MFDP's televised testimony in front of the Democratic Convention Credentials Committee on August 22. The first speaker is Washington attorney Joseph Rauh. The "terror" he refers to is the attacks on African American people and their allies who were working for voting rights in Mississippi. He then introduces Mrs. Hamer who describes in horrific detail the murder of civil rights leader, Medgar Evers, and the brutality she herself had experienced from racists as she attempted to vote.

President Johnson was determined to silence Mrs. Hamer's testimony. He arranged a speech on the spur of the moment in order to pre-empt television coverage of her remarks. This is the reason that her speech is cut short. Of Mrs. Hamer's testimony Johnson said, "We can't ever buy spots that'll equal this. . . . We've got five million budgeted [for TV commercials] but we can't undo what they've done these past few days" (Mayer).

> **Play** the video clip.

1964 DOC. #4**MFDP Testimony****Video Clip**

LENGTH: 1 minute 33 seconds

QUESTION **What are the messages that Joseph Rauh is communicating?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Democratic Party in Mississippi had used terror tactics to prevent African American people from voting.

EVIDENCE “The very terror that these people are living through is the reason Negroes aren’t voting.”

QUESTION **What are the messages that Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer is communicating?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The MFDP should be seated at the convention.

EVIDENCE “If the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America.”

SUGGESTED ANSWER The attacks on the MFDP call into question U.S. commitment to ideals of freedom and democracy.

EVIDENCE “Is this America, the land of the free and home of the brave, where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hook because our lives are threatened daily?”

QUESTION **How did the MFDP members use television to further their cause?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER By appearing at the Democratic convention and demanding their rights to be seated and be heard they were gaining access to the television cameras that would already be covering the convention.

QUESTION **How did the President use television to silence the MFDP?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER By announcing that he would speak, he interrupted coverage of the Credentials Committee hearings knowing that the networks would consider the President’s words to be more important.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of other times when citizens have used television to gain visibility and support for their positions?

Should the President have the right to command airtime whenever he or she wants? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Johnson ordered the FBI to spy on the MFDP and he pressured Martin Luther King to negotiate a compromise to satisfy both sides. He also tried to stop the TV cameras from showing a break in party unity. LBJ was outraged that he could not manage press coverage of the convention as he had planned. Even though his speech pre-empted Mrs. Hamer’s testimony, Mrs. Hamer’s remarks nevertheless got wide publicity on the evening news.

Before the campaign Goldwater and Johnson met privately and agreed not to make issues of civil rights or the Vietnam War (Troy 217). Johnson was especially worried about the inroads that Goldwater’s conservative appeal might have in the South. He was aware of the potential that the Democrats could lose the once “solid South” to Republicans. In fact, five of the six states that Johnson lost in the landslide of 1964 were in the South. In the next election Republican Richard Nixon and American Independent Party candidate George Wallace carried the entire South with the exception of Texas.

Although the MFDP did not win its desired seats at the convention, the Democratic Party was nevertheless changed by their courageous work. In subsequent years the Democratic convention was opened to previously unrepresented and underrepresented groups. Mississippi went on to elect more African American officials than any other state. When Mrs. Hamer died in 1977, the Mississippi legislature passed a unanimous resolution praising her service to the state.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias
Race
Reaching Voters (TV news)

1952-1964: The Advent of Television

1960: Nixon-Kennedy Debate



1952: Nixon "Checkers" Speech



1952: "Eisenhower Answers America" TV Commercial



1964: Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial

Essay Question:

Discuss the impact of television on presidential campaigns. Use at least two of the documents listed above as examples to illustrate your points.

NAME:

Date:

Explain how Nixon's televised "Checkers" speech is credited with having saved his candidacy as Eisenhower's Vice President.

Describe Eisenhower's TV commercial from the 1952 presidential campaign and the messages it intended to communicate about the candidate.

Explain how the televised Nixon-Kennedy debates of 1960 influenced the election.

Describe Johnson's 1964 "Daisy Girl" TV commercial and the messages that it communicated about his opponent.

OVERVIEW

1968-1972: A Nation in Crisis

Media:

1968-1972 PowerPoint (access online or via 1968-1972 digital media folder)

1968-1972 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1968-1972 digital media folder)

The late sixties and early seventies were times of great social and political upheaval in the United States. The civil rights movement in the 1960s led to the empowerment of traditionally disenfranchised groups including women, Latinos, Native Americans, people with disabilities, and gay people. Traditional values were challenged as a sixties counterculture experimented with drugs, invented new music, and spearheaded a sexual revolution. Perhaps more than any single force, the war in Vietnam propelled a great questioning of traditional authority.

JOHNSON'S WAR

President Lyndon Johnson (LBJ) had orchestrated



What messages about LBJ are communicated in this poster?

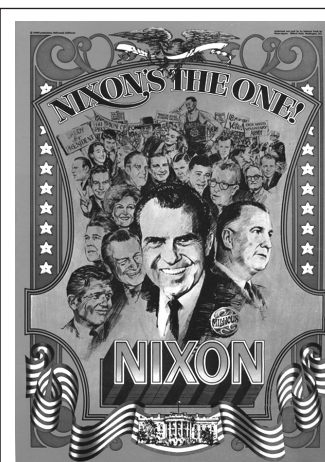
U.S. involvement in Vietnam in the mid-1960s in order to contain the spread of communism in East Asia. In January of 1968 the Tet offensive by Communist forces made it clear that the Johnson administration's claim of a "light at the end of the tunnel" was a myth.

Protests against the war reached unprecedented levels, and in March Johnson announced that he would not run for reelection.

THE CHAOS OF 1968

The tumultuous election year of 1968 saw a level of internal conflict not found in the U.S. since the Civil

War. After Martin Luther King's assassination in April, more than 60 U.S. cities went up in flames as riots and looting shocked the nation. Two months later the charismatic Democratic frontrunner, Robert Kennedy, was assassinated the night he won the California primary. In August television cameras rolled as Chicago police fought pitched battles with protesters at the Democratic Convention.



What messages about Nixon are communicated in this poster?

and looting shocked the nation. Two months later the charismatic Democratic frontrunner, Robert Kennedy, was assassinated the night he won the California primary. In August television cameras rolled as Chicago police fought pitched battles with protesters at the Democratic Convention.

NIXON RETURNS

Have presidential elections become more about selling images than debating issues?

Along with the coverage of the war in Vietnam, the nightly news also carried images of violence and chaos in the U.S. With the Democratic Party in turmoil the Republican candidate, Richard Nixon, won the election in 1968, promising to bring law and order back to the nation. Nixon had studied image management since his defeat by John F. Kennedy in 1960. Nixon's successful 1968 campaign was well documented in the book, *The Selling of the President 1968*, a revelation of how a modern political campaign "manufactures" its candidate. Roger Ailes, the mastermind behind Nixon's '68 victory, later went on to spearhead George H. W. Bush's successful 1988 campaign before becoming CEO of Fox News.

NIXON'S "DIRTY TRICKS"

Nixon roared to a landslide reelection victory in 1972 over left-leaning George McGovern, in part due to underhanded campaign strategies that went far beyond media management. Nixon's "dirty tricks" included attempts to undermine the primary campaigns of more moderate Democratic candidates. In one instance Nixon operatives planted a letter that accused Edmund Muskie of condoning the use of the derogatory term "Canuck" to describe someone from Canada. Muskie's tearful denial of the fabricated charge led to media accusations that he was not tough enough to "take the heat" of the presidency. Image manipulation had reached new levels for the Nixon team. But their success also led to their ultimate downfall.



How did Herblock's 1972 cartoon anticipate the Watergate scandal?

WATERGATE

In June of 1972 five men broke into the National Democratic Headquarters in the Watergate Building to plant wiretapping devices. Their arrest and the subsequent investigative reporting by Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein of *The Washington Post* led to the slow unraveling of a national scandal and

ultimately of the Nixon administration itself. In August 1974, Richard M. Nixon became the first U.S. President to resign from office. Like the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement, the Watergate scandal had far-reaching impact on U.S. politics and society. What *The New York Times* at first described as a "third-rate burglary," had triggered unprecedented investigative journalism that focused the nation's attention on abuses of power at the highest levels of our government.

Richard Nixon's career illustrates the power of television in modern presidential politics. His 1952 vice presidential bid was rescued from potential scandal with one of the first televised political speeches. He lost the presidential race in 1960, in part, due to the more telegenic image presented by John F. Kennedy. Nixon then won the presidency in 1968 and 1972 with skillful image management and manipulation. Finally, it was the televised Watergate hearings that led to Nixon's eventual downfall and solidified his image as the ultimate dishonest politician.

"FOURTH BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT"

Media play a critical role in establishing what is considered important and what is considered irrelevant, constructing our understanding of people and events, and framing our choices. The media have sometimes been called the "fourth branch of government" because of their critical role in questioning politicians and politics. Is that fourth branch actively playing that kind of role today?

	1968	1972	1976
1968-1976			
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, flyers, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, magazines, radio		
NEWSPAPERS & BOOKS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First <i>Doonesbury</i> political cartoons • <i>All the President's Men</i> published • <i>The Selling of the President 1968</i> published • <i>The Washington Post</i> uncovers Watergate Scandal • <i>The New York Times</i> and <i>The Washington Post</i> publish the "Pentagon Papers" 		
TELEVISION & RADIO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> continuing coverage of the Vietnam War, civil rights struggles and urban riots • TV coverage of riots outside the Democratic Convention in Chicago • National Public Radio begins • PBS begins • Presidential candidate Nixon appears on <i>Laugh-In</i> • HBO first subscription cable TV channel • TV coverage of the Watergate hearings • Nixon announces resignation on TV • First VCRs • Fiber-optics transmissions begin • Invention of the microprocessor 		

HANDOUT

1968 ELECTION



RICHARD NIXON
and Spiro Agnew

POPULAR VOTE: 31,770,237
ELECTORAL VOTE: 301

REPUBLICAN



HUBERT HUMPHREY
and Ed Muskie

POPULAR VOTE: 31,270,533
ELECTORAL VOTE: 191

DEMOCRAT

1968 was perhaps the most dramatic and traumatic election year in U.S. history. The war in Vietnam was a disaster, prompting President Lyndon Johnson's announcement that he would not seek reelection. Just days later the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. shocked the nation and ignited race riots in more than 60 cities. The country was in crisis as candidates and parties crafted their campaigns.

Nixon was **Vice President** under Eisenhower.

Nixon ran on a platform of **law and order**.

With the **Democratic Party divided**, Nixon skillfully avoided taking public stands or debating issues.

The **highly managed campaign** for Nixon included the use of polls, focus groups, and computers.

Carefully crafted TV **sound bites** helped keep Nixon on the nightly news.

Nixon claimed to have a "**secret plan**" to end the war in Vietnam. He later admitted that he lied.

Humphrey was the current **Vice President** under Johnson.

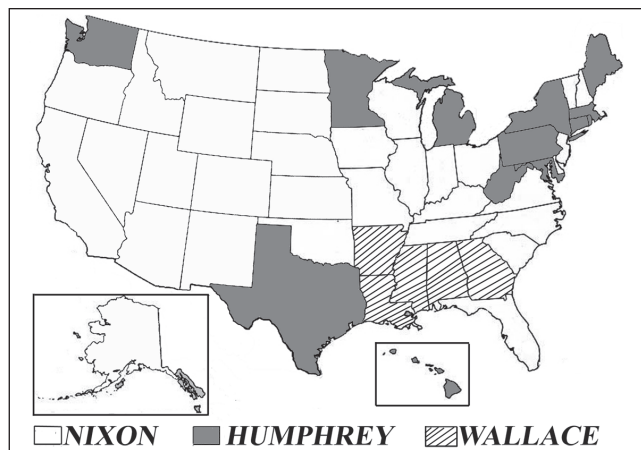
Eugene McCarthy ran as a peace candidate in the Democratic primaries, nearly beating President Johnson.

LBJ quit the race in March and threw his support behind Hubert Humphrey.

Young people abandoned Humphrey for McCarthy and Kennedy.

Robert Kennedy, the charismatic brother of slain president John F. Kennedy, entered the race as a peace candidate, winning the California primary on June 6, the night he was assassinated.

Humphrey accepted the nomination at the divided **Democratic convention** in August. Thousands of protesters chanted, "The whole world is watching," as they battled **Chicago police** in front the TV cameras.



1968 Election Results by state



Library of Congress
Prints & Photographs Division
[LC-U9-9930-20]



GEORGE WALLACE
and Curtis LeMay

POPULAR VOTE: 9,906,141
ELECTORAL VOTE: 46

INDEPENDENT

Wallace was famous for opposing the **racial integration** of Alabama schools.

Wallace ran as a **conservative alternative** to the mainstream candidates, winning 5 Southern states in November.

HANDOUT

1968 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #2

From The *New York Times*
Mar 11, 1968

HEAD OF FARM WORKERS UNION ENDS 25-DAY FAST IN CALIFORNIA

DELANO, Calif., March 10

Cesar Chavez ended his fast today at an emotion-packed, religion-oriented labor rally in a public park.

More than 4,000 persons attended the open-air mass, mostly Mexican-American farm workers, as is Mr. Chavez, but others were there, such as Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Senator Kennedy marched in a colorful union procession led by the large, wooden cross the farm workers carried on a march to Sacramento last spring.

The cross was followed by the picture of Our Lady of Guadalupe, patroness of the Mexican Revolution of 1911. The Senator marched between rows of farm workers bearing red flags with Mexican eagles printed on them, the insignia of the farm workers. Mr. Chavez, the architect and leader of the drive now to organize farm workers, had taken only water from Feb. 14 until last Wednesday.

At his doctor's insistence since Wednesday he has taken a few ounces of bouillon, unsweetened grapefruit juice and some medication. His doctor feared kidney damage from an imbalance of protein consumption. He weighed 140 pounds today, down 35 pounds during the fast.

CALLS FOR SELF-SACRIFICE

In a statement read at the mass, Mr. Chavez said he undertook the fast because "my heart was filled with grief when I saw the pain and suffering of the farm workers."

His sacrifice was in behalf of nonviolence, he said. He called for his colleagues and the union to look upon self-sacrifice as the ultimate act of manliness.

As his statement was read in Spanish, then English, Mr. Chavez sat alongside Senator Kennedy in the hot sun beneath the altar installed on a truck bed. A blanket covered his knees. Two men had supported him as he walked through the crowd to the altar.

"The world must know," said Senator Kennedy,

"that the migrant farm worker, the Mexican-American, is coming into his own right."

Mr. Kennedy, who had flown here from a Des Moines political dinner, repeated the Chavez warning that "violence is no answer."

The fast, its attendant emotional build up, and today's successful rally have come at a turning point in the drive to organize farm workers. The effort is to win recognition of the Giumarra Farms.

The Giumarra family grape holdings have been the target of Mr. Chavez's union since last August. This family produces premium table grapes on about 5,000 acres of vineyards scattered north and south of here in the Central Valley.

Selection of Giumarra as the organizing target came as the union began to exhaust the list of wine companies whose vineyards it could organize.

Boycotts of wine labels have been the successful device that has brought union recognition from such companies as Schenley Distilleries, the DiGiorio Fruit Company, Paul Masson Vineyards, Gallo Brothers, Christian Brothers winery and three smaller companies.

Total peak employment in these vineyards is about 3,500. California agriculture employs upward of 200,000 workers.

The union's attack on Giumarra was at two levels. First, it attempted to get field workers to walk out last August at harvest peak. Union sources said this met some success, but the workers were replaced. Mr. Giumarra said that fewer than 200 left.

The union's second attack is a national boycott attempt. About 50 union members, led by Dolores Huerta, union vice president, went to New York in January to talk to stores, fruit wholesalers and union groups.

This effort is directed at next July, when the new crop is ready for harvest and sale.

The United Auto Workers has been supporting the strike with \$5,000 a month and announced today a \$50,000 gift for a new building on a farm tract of 40 acres that the farm workers own.

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #1: LBJ and Vietnam Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 1964, when Lyndon Johnson won an unprecedented landslide victory over Republican Barry Goldwater, it seemed that he might be able to achieve all the social transformations envisioned with his “Great Society” programs. In just a few years LBJ signed legislation creating Medicare, Medicaid, Food Stamps, the Civil Rights Act, the War on Poverty, the Air Pollution Control Act, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Lyndon Johnson might have gone down in history as the most successful President since Franklin D. Roosevelt if it hadn’t been for Vietnam.

No matter how much the President wanted it to, the war simply would not go away. Nightly news images, particularly during the Tet offensive of January, 1968, made it clear that the U.S. was losing. Even TV anchorman Walter Cronkite called the war “unwinnable” (Roberts 100). Johnson watched as anti-war protestors filled the streets calling for his impeachment, carrying signs with slogans like “Drop LBJ on North Vietnam.”

Senator Eugene McCarthy of Minnesota decided to run against Johnson as a “peace candidate” in the Democratic primaries. McCarthy won a majority of delegates in the first primary in New Hampshire. Three weeks later Johnson made a major televised address announcing steps to end the war. At the end of his talk he shocked the nation by announcing that he would not seek reelection.

Nineteen sixty-eight was a year of profound change throughout the world. As U.S. students were shutting down universities to protest the war, workers and students from Paris to Mexico City to Prague united in efforts to transform their governments. Unlike previous elections of the 20th century, some of the most imaginative campaign material was being created by people outside the offices of campaign managers and advertising agencies (Fischer 259).

This poster was made by artist David Nordahl in 1968. It is one of many such posters created by opponents of the war and the Johnson presidency that were displayed on college campuses and at anti-war rallies. Although 18-21 year olds did not get the vote until 1971, college campuses were fertile ground for political activism in 1968, in part because of the continued military draft.

> **Project** the document.

1968 DOC. #1



LBJ and Vietnam Poster

PowerPoint Slide

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION

What are the messages the artist is trying to make about Lyndon Johnson? Give evidence to support your conclusion.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He is responsible for much suffering among the Vietnamese people, but he doesn't seem to care.

EVIDENCE

Johnson is pictured in front of the U.S. soldiers, representing his role as Commander in Chief; he looks away from the scenes of abuse, reclining in a lawn chair with a drink and sunglasses in his hands ignoring the violence

QUESTION

What techniques does the artist use to stir the emotions of his audience?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The artist includes images of U.S. soldiers dragging a man away from his family beneath an image of Hitler, soldiers praying next to a fallen body, and women and children as victims of war. The text includes: "Filmed in real blood 'n guts color" and "Price of admission: Your son."

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why did the artist use the style of a movie poster?

How does the artist use irony to make his point?

What might a modern version of this poster look like today?

Could a grassroots artist like David Nordahl have any impact in a Presidential campaign today? Why or why not?

NOTE

The man in the lawn chair in the bottom center is President Lyndon Johnson.

ADDITIONAL INFO

After Johnson announced that he would not seek reelection, he fell into a deep depression. He said, "I've never felt lower in my life. How do you think it feels to be completely rejected by the party you've spent your life with, knowing that your name cannot be mentioned without choruses of boos and obscenities?" (Genovese 158).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #2: Robert Kennedy with César Chávez Article

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

New York Senator Robert Kennedy, President John Kennedy's younger brother, became a candidate in the Democratic primary contests in March 1968. Kennedy ran opposing the Vietnam War following the lead of Senator Eugene McCarthy. He had won several primary contests and was a serious contender for the nomination when he was assassinated in June, just after winning the California primary. His death left Vice President Hubert Humphrey as the front runner and the eventual Democratic candidate.

César Chávez was the founder of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union that struggled for the rights of migrant Filipino and Mexican laborers. Chávez believed in nonviolence, using strikes, boycotts, and sit-ins to pressure farm owners to recognize the union. In the spring of 1968, Chávez began a fast to dissuade his followers from turning to violence and to draw national attention to the farm workers' strike.

As a Senator, Robert Kennedy had supported the strike and boycott campaign. After 25 days of fasting Chávez was becoming very weak and Robert Kennedy went to join him in Delano, California. Some of Kennedy's advisors cautioned him that such a move might appear to be grandstanding. Kennedy said that he must go "out of respect for one of the heroic figures of our time."

When Chávez broke his fast on March 10, his wife, Helen, and Senator Kennedy were at his side. Chávez had agreed to end it after his followers had renewed their commitment to nonviolence. Six days later Kennedy officially entered the Presidential race. While Kennedy never lived to see it, in 1970 the growers finally signed contracts with the UFW, recognizing the union and increasing wages and benefits for farm workers.

> **Distribute** the handout and ask students to read the text.

This handout is a portion of an article that appeared in the *New York Times* on March 11, 1968, the day after Chávez ended his fast.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION

What information about César Chávez is communicated in this article? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He fasted to bring attention to the cause of the farm workers and to demonstrate commitment to nonviolence.

EVIDENCE

text about Chávez fasting: "when I saw the pain and suffering of the farm workers"; and "his sacrifice was in behalf of nonviolence"

QUESTION

What information about Robert Kennedy is communicated in this article? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Kennedy supports Chávez, Mexican-Americans, and farm workers. He believes in nonviolence.

1968 DOC. #2



Robert Kennedy with César Chávez Article

PowerPoint Slide

Text on student handout

EVIDENCE Kennedy flew to California from Iowa to be with Chávez; Kennedy quote “the migrant farm worker...is coming into his own right”; Kennedy “repeated the Chávez warning that ‘violence is no answer’”

QUESTION **Which voters might be encouraged to support Kennedy as a result of this article?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Mexican Americans, supporters of the labor and civil rights struggles, and believers in nonviolence would be encouraged to support Kennedy.

QUESTION **Does this article predominately use facts or opinions?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The article is mostly made up of facts.

EVIDENCE nearly all the information in the article is provable fact with the exception of the phrases, “emotionally packed, religion oriented,” “large” cross, “colorful” procession, and “successful” rally

QUESTION **Does the *New York Times* take any position on Chávez and Kennedy or is this objective unopinionated reporting?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER All news reporting takes a position. Although this article includes few opinions, the choice of what facts, quotes, and images to use and which to leave out gives it, like all news reporting, a position. For instance, Kennedy and Chávez were pictured and quoted but the growers were not. The reporter chose not to mention the criticism that Kennedy may have been meeting Chávez merely for publicity purposes. Also, the *New York Times*’ choice to even cover the meeting between the two men reflects a position. Their decision to run a two-column article with a photo on page 22, as opposed to a one-paragraph article on page 40 or a front-page story, also reflects an editorial position.

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Was it appropriate for Kennedy to appear publicly at such an event since some might feel that he was merely using Chávez’ suffering to get votes? Why or why not?

Could Chávez also have been using Kennedy and the media to advance his cause?

Should candidates appear publicly at religious events and speak of their religious faith during campaigns for secular office? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

César Chávez helped to turn out the Mexican American vote for Kennedy during the primaries. He was also present at the Ambassador Hotel when Kennedy was assassinated after his California primary win.

Chávez went on another 25-day fast in 1972. In 1988, at the age of 61, he endured a 36-day “Fast for Life” to shed light on the harmful impact of pesticides on farm workers and their children.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

**Media Bias
Reaching Voters**
(newspaper article)

NOTE

By most standards this article is a good example of “objective journalism,” but no reporting comes without making editorial decisions that reflect the point of view and the opinion of the creators of the news. These choices establish what the *New York Times*, arguably the most influential newspaper in the world, considers newsworthy.

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #3: "Nixon's the One" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

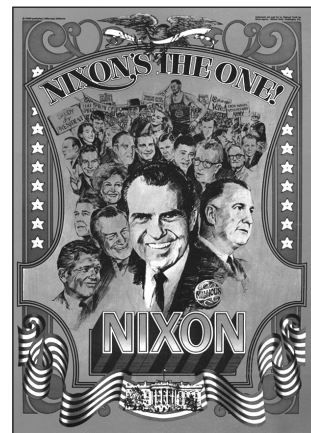
In 1968 Richard Milhous Nixon hired a team of advisors and an advertising agency to help him change the old "Tricky Dick" image that had followed him since the "Checkers" speech days. His team recommended that he soften his image as the anti-Communist tough talker who had attacked Adlai Stevenson so viciously in the 1952 and 1956 campaigns. In his campaign for a new image, Nixon avoided difficult issues like Vietnam and appealed to the "forgotten Americans" who were not protesting the war (Cornog 270).

> Project the document.

This poster was designed by artist J. Michaelson and paid for by the National Youth for Nixon-Agnew Committee. In the image he is surrounded by his wife, Pat, his running mate, Spiro Agnew, and by other Republican politicians. The three young people in the left background are his daughters, Tricia and Julie, and Julie's husband, David Eisenhower (son of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower). In the center right background are two superstar athletes of the time who were Nixon supporters: the Los Angeles Lakers' center Wilt Chamberlain and Green Bay Packers' quarterback Bart Starr.

QUESTION	What are the messages that the artist is trying to portray about Nixon?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Nixon is hip.
EVIDENCE	poster designed to look like a rock poster; psychedelic "Milhous" button
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is patriotic.
EVIDENCE	White House; stars and stripes; eagle
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Many important people support him.
EVIDENCE	images of politicians and sports celebrities
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a cool father.
EVIDENCE	images of his daughter and son-in-law

1968 DOC. #3

**"Nixon's the One" Poster****PowerPoint Slide**

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for this poster?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The target audience includes young people and voters attracted to a youthful image.

EVIDENCE "The National Youth For Nixon-Agnew Committee" commissioned this poster; the poster's psychedelic style was very contemporary in 1968; use of celebrity athletes including Wilt Chamberlain; young activists are holding placards with appeals to the youth vote such as: "18 year old vote," "Student Coalition" and "Dick wants volunteer army"

QUESTION **How does this poster relate to Nixon's qualifications to be President?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The poster doesn't speak to Nixon's qualifications.

EVIDENCE nothing in the poster relates to Nixon's many qualifications – vice-Presidential experience, foreign travels, career as a Senator; it sells image, not substance

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of other examples of candidates who have tried to court the youth vote by appearing to be cool?

Young people below the age of 25 are much less likely to vote in Presidential elections than their elders. Why do you think this is?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Republican Party leaders surrounding Nixon include New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller; New York City Mayor John Lindsay; California Governor Ronald Reagan; Nixon's running mate Spiro Agnew; Michigan Governor George Romney; Illinois Senators Everett Dirksen and Charles Percy; Texas Senator John Tower; Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater; Massachusetts Senator Edward Brooke; and Michigan Congressman Gerald Ford. The students for Nixon in the background provided a stark contrast to the young people who protested Humphrey at the Democratic convention in Chicago.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Target Audience (youth)

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #4: Humphrey "Some Talk Change" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Hubert Humphrey was in a difficult position as he began his campaign at the Democratic convention in Chicago during the hot summer of 1968. Like Nixon, he was trying to appeal to young people following the "summer of love." He defined his vision of the way politics ought to be in America as "the politics of happiness, the politics of purpose and the politics of joy" (Roberts 280).

He wanted people to remember his long-standing positions as a leader of progressive causes. Twenty years earlier he had written the liberal pro-Civil Rights plank at the Democratic convention, causing segregationist Southern "Dixiecrats" to walk out in protest. He had also played a key role in lining up the votes for Congress to pass the landmark Civil Rights Act in 1964. He was a labor movement supporter throughout his career.

As Humphrey was being nominated in the convention hall the streets outside erupted into a riot when Chicago police attacked a large group of antiwar protestors. Tear gas filled the streets and crowds chanted "Dump the Hump" and "The Whole World Is Watching," while Humphrey was inside trying to make his stand as "the Happy Warrior." The resulting TV images showing a country at war with its own people were too at odds with the peaceful image that Humphrey wanted to project. Supporters of antiwar candidates Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy also saw Vice President Humphrey as an extension of reviled President Lyndon Johnson despite Humphrey's protests that "the President has not made me his slave."

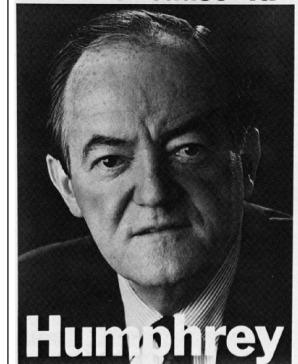
> Project 1968 doc. #4a.

This poster was used by Humphrey during his campaign.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this poster?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Humphrey is an active leader for change unlike others who are just talk.
EVIDENCE	text and simple image of straightforward-looking Humphrey
QUESTION	Who is the target audience for this poster? Why do you think so?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Progressive Democrats who want the programs of the Great Society to continue are the audience.
EVIDENCE	Humphrey needed the support of McCarthy and Kennedy backers who might be attracted to his history as a "change maker"

1968 DOC. #4a

**Some talk change.
Others cause it.**

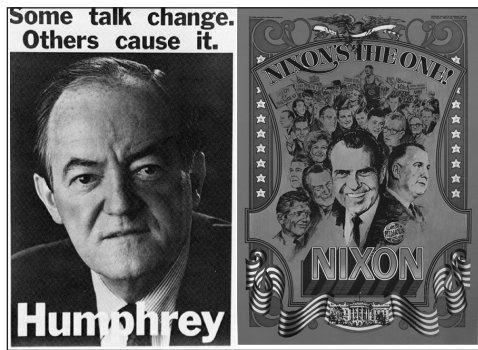


Humphrey "Some Talk Change" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

- > **Project** 1968 doc. #4b, Nixon and Humphrey posters side by side. **Compare** the two posters. Which do you think was more effective and why?

1968 DOC. #4b



Nixon and Humphrey posters side by side.

PowerPoint Slide

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Would the "Nixon's the One" poster have worked for Humphrey if he had used the same design? Why or why not?

Why do you think the Humphrey campaign chose the "Happy Warrior" as a campaign motto?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Despite the major handicaps of turmoil in the streets and his association with the failed war presidency of Lyndon Johnson, Humphrey was closing in on Nixon in the final days of the campaign and nearly pulled off an upset victory. He later said of his association with Johnson, "I had become like the oldest son – and I couldn't make the break" (Troy 235).

"Black is Beautiful" was a popular civil rights slogan at the time, and the Democratic campaign courted African American voters with a poster of a young African American couple and the words – "Voting is Beautiful/Be Beautiful – Vote Humphrey – Muskie." Both Nixon and Humphrey actively sought the youth vote. Humphrey appeared on a youth-oriented talk show to discuss the "politics of joy" while Nixon appeared briefly on the popular "Laugh-In" skit-comedy show where he played off a frequent catch-phrase on the show by saying "Sock it to me?" According to the producers, at first Nixon refused to take part in the show, and even after he agreed it took six takes before he could deliver the line without sounding angry or offended. Humphrey had also been approached to do a similar cameo, but after consulting with his advisors he turned down the offer feeling that it was beneath his dignity, a decision he is said to have later regretted. Some people credited Nixon's appearance on "Laugh-In" for his win, since it demonstrated that he had a good sense of humor.

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #5: Humphrey "Man on the Street" TV Commercial

Media:

5. "Man on the Street" video (access online or via 11968-1972, 1968 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

When Humphrey began his campaign, there was a general perception among the public that he couldn't win. The *Chicago Daily News* headline the day after his nomination was "HUMPHREY IN A SHAMBLES" (Diamond 161). The Humphrey campaign was constantly short on cash, whereas the Nixon campaign had lots of money, particularly to pay for television time.

Humphrey was nevertheless able to raise enough money to air a series of "Man on the Street" commercials to show that he was a man of the people. In this commercial you will see people interviewed as to why they think Humphrey would make a good President.

> **Play** the video clip.

Commercial Script:**A POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT**

- VO These are critical times. Who do you want to be the next President?
- (Woman # 1) Hubert Humphrey offers the best choice for the American people today.
- (Man # 1) If Humphrey can do two things, if he can end the Vietnam War and if he can shuttle our urban problems, I'll be a very happy man.
- (Man # 2) I think he very definitely has his own personal ideas; this is a very strong man.
- (Man # 3) I would trust his judgment on any issues that might come up.
- (Woman # 2) Mr. Humphrey, in our opinion, is a man we can trust, and one who will unify the country.
- (Man # 4) He has the initiative and the ingenuity and the administrative authority to run the country in these critical times.
- (Man # 5) The important thing is to get a man that the people in this country will follow.
- (Woman # 3) I believe in Mr. Humphrey and I can trust him.
- (Woman # 4) Because he has the power to bring us together again.
- VO People believe in Humphrey. The country needs him.

HUMPHREY
A PAID POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT
CITIZENS FOR HUMPHREY/MUSKIE
1025 CONN. AVE., N.W. WASH., D.C.

1968 DOC. #5

Humphrey "Man on the Street" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 minute

QUESTION

What is the main message of this commercial? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

In critical times Humphrey can be trusted to bring the country together.

EVIDENCE

voiceover: "These are critical times. Who do you want to be President?;" several speakers reflect on Humphrey's trustworthiness and ability to unify; quote: "People believe in Humphrey. The country needs him."

QUESTION

Who is the target audience for this commercial? Why do you think so?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Middle-class white men, women and young people are the audience.

EVIDENCE

all speakers are white; all appear to be middle class; several appear to be in their twenties

QUESTION

What techniques are used to make the commercial seem "real" and unstaged?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The traffic sounds and traffic passing in the background give the impression that these people are being randomly interviewed on the streets.

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What advantages and disadvantages might a "man on the street" approach like this have compared to a series of policy "experts" speaking on Humphrey's behalf?

Are "man on the streets" commercials honest reflections of public opinion about a candidate? Why or why not?

Why is the commercial titled "Man on the Street" if women appear in it?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Joseph Napolitan was the media specialist who helped Humphrey nearly accomplish a come-from-behind win in the 1968 election. He designed many of the effective Humphrey TV spots that appeared late in the race. These positive commercials were efforts to highlight Humphrey as trustworthy and kind as they explained his accomplishments with civil rights and Social Security. There were also negative commercials that tried to raise voter suspicion about Nixon, asking about his "secret plan" to end the war and criticizing his opposition to signing a nuclear non-proliferation treaty.

NOTE

In fact, political TV commercials often use paid actors and staged scenes of cheering crowds to convey support for a candidate. During the actor's strikes in 1988 and 2000, one of the groups hardest hit was the political campaigns for those fall elections. Using actors to appear as real supporters of a candidate is legal, since political advertising is exempt from "Truth in Advertising" laws.

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #6: Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial

Media:

6. "Law and Order" video (access online or via 1968-1972, 1968 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Nixon had lost his Presidential race with John F. Kennedy in part by failing to realize the power of the televised image. He did not repeat that mistake in 1968. Nixon used television professionals to manage his campaign from start to finish. His team included Roger Ailes, an experienced television producer who would later manage George H. W. Bush's successful 1988 campaign before going on to become CEO of Fox News. Frank Shakespeare, one of Nixon's media advisors, said, "For the first time a really sophisticated group of broadcast people came around a candidate and did it for television" (Adatto 83).

Nixon's winning strategy was documented in the book, *The Selling of the President 1968*, by Joe McGinnis, who was able to watch the process from the inside. McGinnis showed how every decision was carefully considered by a management team. Nixon rarely appeared in public, refused to debate Humphrey, and his team staged television events with "average citizens" who were actually all Republican supporters.

By 1968 the evening news was regularly broadcasting stories about what seemed to be a nation on the verge of a revolution. Every night millions of viewers watched gruesome war scenes from Vietnam often followed by footage of protests, marches, and urban riots. In April 1968, African American communities had exploded in rage following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. That summer, police engaged in what was officially termed a "police riot," beating protestors in the streets of Chicago during the Democratic convention.

Long before "Law and Order" became a hit TV series, the Nixon campaign aired a series of commercials with that same name. The country was in a crisis and Nixon's commercials reflected that reality. Using the same footage that voters had become accustomed to on the nightly news, Nixon spoke to a "silent majority" of U.S. citizens, the "nonshouters" who "work in America's factories, run America's business, serve in government, provide most of the soldiers who died to keep us free" (Congressional Quarterly 209).

> **Ask** some students to pay close attention to Nixon's spoken words, others to listen carefully to the music, and a third group to focus on the imagery.

> **Play** the video clip.

Commercial Script:
A POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT

VO It is time for an honest look at the problem of order in the United States. Dissent is a necessary ingredient of change, but in a system of government that provides for peaceful change, there is no cause that justifies resort to violence. Let us recognize that the first civil right of every American is to be free from domestic violence, so I pledge to you, we shall have order in the United States.

THIS TIME VOTE LIKE YOUR WHOLE WORLD DEPENDED ON IT.
NIXON

1968 DOC. #6



Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 45 seconds

QUESTION

What feelings are evoked by the soundtrack? Why?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The music evokes feelings of fear and anxiety.

EVIDENCE

the music is dissonant and jarring

QUESTION

What messages about law and order do you get from the visual imagery?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The images give the message that protestors are out of control, things are coming apart, and there is need for a change.

EVIDENCE

fast-paced collage of protestors marching, yelling, and bleeding; police with weapons; burning buildings; destroyed mannequin's torso; broken mailbox and change machine in the streets after a riot

QUESTION

What messages does this commercial communicate about antiwar protests? What is your evidence?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Although Nixon's opening words support the right to protest ("dissent is necessary"), the rest of the commercial contradicts that message and paints protest in a negative light.

EVIDENCE

Nixon's call for "law and order"; unsettling music and collage of disturbing images link protest with violence, chaos, and destruction

QUESTION

Who do you think was the target audience for this commercial? Why do you think that?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Middle-class white voters are the target audience.

EVIDENCE

Nixon's "silent majority" referred to white suburban voters, traditionally Republican, who were upset by the violence in the streets and the changes in society

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What is meant by "This time vote like your world depended on it"?

Is this a racist commercial? Why or why not?

How did the images of Vietnam and the protest movement that were presented each night on the evening news impact the war and the election?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Nixon's comment after viewing one of the "Law and Order" commercials was, "That hits it right on the nose... It's all about law and order and the damn Negro-Puerto Rican groups out there" (Kamber 129).

Filmmaker Eugene Jones was the creator of this commercial and others like it. The most controversial of Jones's commercials was called "Convention" and aired the week before the election during the popular TV program, "Laugh-In." It mixed photographs of Humphrey smiling with images from Vietnam and Chicago street riots. The background music was an old Dixieland tune, "Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight."

Nixon was acutely aware of the power of the media to make or break a politician. He spoke about his own defeat by the more telegenic Kennedy in 1960 as well as television undermining popular support for the war in Vietnam and Lyndon Johnson's presidency.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Fear

Target Audience (the "silent majority")

TEACHER GUIDE

1968 DOC. #7: Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial

Media:

7. "Law and Order: Busing" video (access online or via 1968-1972, 1968 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The U.S. political system is sometimes called the two-party system since there have always been two major parties vying for power in winner-take-all elections. There have often been third-party candidates as well and sometimes these candidates have had the effect of shifting the balance of power among the major parties. Ross Perot's Independent candidacy in 1992 and Ralph Nader's Green Party candidacy in 2000 were both credited with changing the debates and perhaps the outcome in those elections.

One of the most significant third-party candidates ever was George Wallace, who ran for President on the conservative American Independent Party ticket in 1968. Wallace had won national notoriety in 1963 while Governor of Alabama for his "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door." He made a public show of attempting to block African American students Vivian Malone and James Hood from gaining lawful entrance to the University of Alabama. Wallace eventually stepped aside and the students enrolled, but in the process, George Wallace became a hero to segregationists everywhere.

Wallace's independent candidacy in 1968 found him competing with Nixon in the South on the issue of "law and order" and with Humphrey in the North by appealing to blue-collar workers who were upset with student protests. His campaign slogan was "Stand Up for America." He opposed court-ordered busing of students designed to integrate schools. He wanted to end the Vietnam War by military means, and his running mate, General Curtis LeMay, suggested that the United States should use nuclear weapons to achieve that end. Wallace received over 13% of the popular votes cast in 1968, nearly 10 million votes.

Wallace did not have access to the kind of money that either Nixon or Humphrey did. As a result, his commercials were very simple, with Wallace speaking from a podium so voters could become familiar with his face and voice. You will now see a Wallace commercial entitled, "Law and Order: Busing."

> Play the video clip.

Commercial Script:

A POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| VO | Why are more and more Americans turning to governor Wallace? Follow, as your children are bussed across town. |
| (Wallace) | As President, I shall, within the law, turn back the absolute control of the public school systems to the people of the respective states. |
| VO | Why are more and more millions of Americans turning to governor Wallace? Watch your hard earned tax dollars sail away to anti American countries. |
| (Wallace) | As President, I will stand up for your local police and firemen, in protecting your safety and property. |
| VO | Why are more and more millions of Americans turning to governor Wallace? Open a little business and see what might happen. |

1968 DOC. #7



Wallace "Law and Order: Busing" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 minute

(Wallace) As President, I will halt the giveaway of your American dollars and products to those nations that aid our enemies.

VO Wallace has the courage to stand up for America. Give him your support.

GOVERNOR WALLACE FOR PRESIDENT
THE PRECEDING WAS A POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT PAID FOR BY THE WALLACE CAMPAIGN.

QUESTION **What positions does Wallace present in his speech? Give evidence to explain your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He supports states' rights and opposes forced busing, crime, and international aid programs.

EVIDENCE Wallace quote: "I shall return control of schools to people in the states," "I will make it possible to walk the streets in safety," "I will halt the giveaway to nations that support our enemies"

QUESTION **What visual symbols does Wallace use to represent these positions?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The school bus driving away represents federally-mandated forced busing, the streetlight shot out represents crime, and the cargo ship fading into the distance represents foreign aid.

QUESTION **Is this a message-based commercial or an image-oriented commercial? Give evidence to support your conclusion.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This is a message-oriented commercial.

EVIDENCE Although the commercial uses provocative images, Wallace is primarily communicating his position on issues – states rights, busing, crime and foreign aid.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Is this a racist commercial? Why or why not?

Although neither Nixon nor Humphrey is mentioned in this commercial, is this an attack on Wallace's opponents? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Fear of crime was a major issue at this time. Polls showed that half of the women and a fifth of the men in the country were afraid to walk alone in their neighborhoods at night (Congressional Quarterly 147). Wallace complained about Nixon stealing his theme, "I was the first one to speak out on law and order. Now they usin' our phrase" (Boller 324).

The Wallace commercials were created by a Birmingham advertising agency, Luckie and Forney, and were deliberately made to appear homemade in order to underline Wallace's anti-establishment image (Diamond 181). Wallace's attacks on "pointy-headed bureaucrats" (Adatto 171) found a connection with the same voters who had supported Goldwater in 1964 and who would later sweep Ronald Reagan to power in 1980 (Kamber 108).

Wallace's third-party run was the strongest since Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose campaign in 1912, and Robert LaFollette's Progressive Party campaign in 1924. He was on the ballot in all 50 states and polls showed him to have as much as 20% support at times during the campaign. In 1968 there was some concern that his candidacy could cause this close race to end without either Nixon or Humphrey achieving an electoral college majority, requiring a decision by the U.S. House of Representatives. This would have left Wallace in a powerful position to demand concessions in exchange for his support.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Fear
Race
Target Audience

HANDOUT

1972 ELECTION



RICHARD NIXON
and Spiro Agnew

POPULAR VOTE: 47,169,911
ELECTORAL VOTE: 520

REPUBLICAN



Gerald Ford

Nixon was the **incumbent President**.

The **Vietnam War** continued to be a central issue as Nixon called for “peace with honor.” He had quieted protests by replacing most of the U.S. troops with South Vietnamese soldiers, but simultaneously **escalated the air war** and invaded **Cambodia**.

Nixon opened relations with **China** and negotiations with the **Soviet Union**, bolstering his credentials as a **world leader**.

Nixon spent **\$61 million** on the 1972 campaign, many times more than McGovern and the most ever spent up to that time during an election.

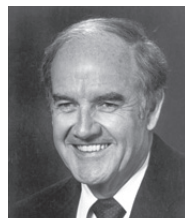
Polls indicated that 2/3 of political information came from TV commercials and **sound bites** shown on the news.

Nixon’s **Committee to Reelect the President** (CREEP) hired burglars to break into the National Democratic headquarters in the **Watergate** building to install wiretapping devices.

Nixon won an historic **landslide victory** in 1972, winning 49 states.

Nixon’s “**dirty tricks**” emerged as a major issue after the election, including the **Watergate scandal**, which led to his **resignation** in 1974.

Gerald Ford, who was named Vice President after Agnew resigned in 1973, then became President.



GEORGE McGOVERN
and Sargent Shriver

POPULAR VOTE: 29,170,383
ELECTORAL VOTE: 17

DEMOCRAT

18-21 year olds voted for President for the first time.

McGovern was a **Senator from South Dakota**.

McGovern was a leader of the **left wing** of the Democratic Party. He spearheaded changes to the delegate selection process, which resulted in highly visible representation of **women and minorities** at the 1972 Democratic Convention.

McGovern called for an immediate **end to the Vietnam War** and **amnesty** for draft evaders.

McGovern raised over \$12 million through **direct mail marketing** to opponents of the Vietnam War.

McGovern supported **gun control**, the **decriminalization of marijuana**, and **abolition of the Electoral College**.

Labor unions, who traditionally supported Democratic candidates, stayed neutral.

Support for McGovern fell after he abandoned his initial running mate, **Thomas Eagleton**, when it was disclosed that he had been treated for mental illness.

Conservative Democrat **George Wallace** won 5 primaries before being shot and paralyzed at a rally. **Conservative Democrats** then supported Nixon.

“Probably the clearest choice between the candidates for President ever presented to the American people in the twentieth century.”

-Richard Nixon speaking about the 1972 election

TEACHER GUIDE

1972 DOC. #1: "Together with McGovern" Poster

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

After the disastrous 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago when police beat protestors in the streets, the process for selecting delegates to the Democratic National Convention underwent a great change. South Dakota Senator George McGovern had been appointed to head a committee that would recommend changes to ensure "adequate representation" of women and minorities. In 1972 these rule changes resulted in a far more diverse representation of race, ethnicity, gender, and age than had ever before been seen in a major party convention.

The 1972 election represented the first time that 18-21 year olds were eligible to vote for President. At the Democratic convention women made up 40% of the delegates, young people 25%, and the number of African American delegates was double the number present in 1968 (Fischer 146). This meant that there was less space at the convention for the so-called "party regulars" – city bosses, union leaders, and professional politicians. George McGovern emerged from this convention as the nominee.

> **Project** the document.

This is a McGovern campaign poster from 1968 designed by Paul Davis.

QUESTION

What messages about the McGovern campaign are communicated by this poster? Explain your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The Democrats are the party of the people. McGovern is at their center.

EVIDENCE

poster shows representatives of many different social groups in roughly equal numbers; McGovern's face is in front, in the center, and slightly larger than the others; text: "Together with McGovern"

QUESTION

What emotions are meant to be evoked by this poster? Why?

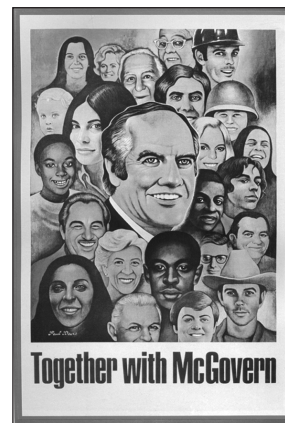
SUGGESTED ANSWER

This poster evokes joy and happiness.

EVIDENCE

everyone is smiling; the layout suggests togetherness and unity

1972 DOC. #1



"Together with McGovern" Poster

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

How did this poster reflect the rule changes that Democrats made for their 1972 convention regarding delegate representation?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The rules allowed far more women, young people, and people of color to be represented, and this diversity is reflected in the faces on the poster.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Would a poster of the same design have worked for Nixon as well? Why or why not?

Who was the target audience for this poster? Who might have felt alienated by this poster?

Should there be quotas requiring representation for traditionally under-represented groups at political conventions? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

In addition to the convention rule changes, more states in 1972 held direct primaries where delegates were selected by popular vote rather than by state party conventions. McGovern, who had been involved in these rule changes himself, hoped to do well in the primaries and then persuade the party regulars to support him in the general election. Unfortunately for McGovern, his candidacy was not supported by many among the traditional Democratic constituency, especially organized labor. Their lack of support contributed to his huge loss in November. One labor leader remarked, "There's too much hair and not enough cigars at this convention" (Fischer 146).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"

Race

Target Audience (supporters of diversity)

TEACHER GUIDE

1972 DOC. #2: McGovern & Nixon TV Commercials

Media:

2a. Does a President Know video (access online or via 1968-1972, 1972 digital media folder)

2b. McGovern Defense video (access online or via 1968-1972, 1972 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The defining issue of the 1972 campaign was Nixon's conduct of the war in Indochina. McGovern had received the nomination as a strong antiwar liberal. He was proud of the fact that he had been against the war since 1963, considering it a "dreadful mistake" (Boller 334) and "a tragic waste of human life" (Armstrong n. pag.). He promised that his first act if elected would be to bring the troops home. The Democratic platform pledged amnesty for those who had evaded or resisted the draft once U.S. troops and prisoners were home.

Nixon had run in 1968 promising a "secret plan" to end the war. Four years later there were still U.S. troops in Vietnam. He was also conducting a secret air war in Cambodia that didn't come to light until after the election. His slogan in 1972 was "Peace with Honor" in which he promised continued peace talks while reducing troop numbers. Nixon had also made historic visits to the Communist leaders in China and the Soviet Union in an effort to lessen Cold War tensions.

The commercials you will see both deal with the issue of war and national security. NOTE: Due to its disturbing images this video may be offensive or uncomfortable for some students.

> **Play** the video clip: 1972 doc. #2a.

Commercial Script:

PAID POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENT

VO (Child) Does a President know that planes bomb children?

THE PRECEDING TAPE WAS PAID FOR BY MCGOVERN FOR PRESIDENT COMMITTEE

QUESTION What impressions does this commercial give about Nixon and his policies in Vietnam? Give your evidence.

SUGGESTED ANSWER This commercial suggests that Nixon's Vietnam policies are immoral, that they have led to the deaths of Vietnamese children, and that Nixon must know this but doesn't care.

EVIDENCE visual image of a dead Vietnamese baby in its mother's arms that appears to have been napalmed by U.S. planes; a child's (innocent) voice asks, "does a President know that planes bomb children?"

1972 DOC. #2a



McGovern "Does a President Know...?" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 45 seconds

QUESTION

What does this commercial imply about McGovern?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

It implies that he is outraged by this immorality and will not let it happen if he becomes President.

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why do you think the McGovern campaign chose not to air this commercial? What are the risks in running emotional, graphics or personal attack ads?

> **Play** the video clip: 1972 doc. #2b.

Commercial Script:

VO | the McGovern defense plan: he would cut the Marines by 1/3, the Air Force by 1/3; he'd cut navy personnel by 1/4. He would cut interceptor planes by half, the navy fleet by half, and carriers from 16 to 6. Senator Hubert Humphrey had this to say about the McGovern proposal: "It isn't just cutting into the fat. It isn't just cutting into manpower. It's cutting into the very security of this country." President Nixon doesn't believe we should play games with our national security. He believes in a strong America, to negotiate for peace, from strength.

DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON
THE PRECEEDING WAS A RECORDED ANNOUNCEMENT
PAID FOR BY DEMOCRATS FOR NIXON.

NOTE

While the McGovern campaign paid for this commercial to be created, they later chose not to air it on television.

1972 DOC. #2b



Nixon "McGovern Defense" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 minute

QUESTION **What messages does this commercial give about McGovern's defense policies? How is that communicated?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This commercial claims that McGovern will make drastic and dangerous cuts in U.S. military preparedness.

EVIDENCE statistics about McGovern's proposed military cuts and images of toy military being swept away; quote from Humphrey: "it's cutting into the very security of this country"

QUESTION **What messages does this commercial give about Nixon's position on national defense? How is that communicated?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER It claims that Nixon will bring about peace but still keep the U.S. strong.

EVIDENCE Nixon's pledge for a "strong America" by "peace from strength;" images of Nixon as Commander in Chief reviewing naval ship with uniformed officers; sound of military drumbeat and music "Hail to the Chief"

QUESTION **Why did the Nixon campaign include a lengthy quote from Hubert Humphrey, a leading Democrat?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Humphrey's criticism helped to paint McGovern as an extreme liberal who lacked support even within his own party. The name of the sponsoring group, "Democrats for Nixon," reinforces this message.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Do political advertisements have to tell the truth?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Political advertisements do not have to tell the truth, since they are exempt from "Truth in Advertising" laws of the Federal Trade Commission.

NOTE

This commercial is credited to "Democrats for Nixon," but was actually created by the Republican Campaign to give the idea that McGovern was too far left for members of his own party.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Both of these are “attack ads,” but McGovern’s commercial was considered too controversial to air even though it didn’t attack Nixon by name. What makes an effective attack ad and when can they backfire?

How are current attack commercials similar or different from these 1972 attack ads? What makes them potentially effective or ineffective?

How are more recent political commercials that deal with war and defense issues similar or different from these 1972 commercials?

ADDITIONAL INFO

McGovern complained that Nixon had vastly more campaign money to spend than he did. McGovern also found it frustrating that his record on defense was being criticized; he had been on the front lines as a bomber pilot in World War II, while Nixon had not served in the military. McGovern only began to run negative commercials late in his campaign when the polls showed him far behind Nixon.

Nixon’s commercials were produced by an all-star advertising team dubbed “the November Group.” Their positive commercials featured Nixon as a world leader and were shot in documentary style with behind-the-scenes looks at the Nixon White House. They attempted to show Nixon as a regular guy playing the piano and joking around.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1972 DOC. #3: Photo of Campaign Workers with Brochures

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Democratic Party platform in 1972 was the most liberal of any major party platform since Franklin D. Roosevelt. It called for an immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, amnesty for war resisters, school busing for racial integration, an end to capital punishment, and a ban on the sale of handguns. One especially controversial plank read, "Americans should be free to make their own choices of life-styles and private habits without being subject to discrimination or prosecution" (Boller 355).

The 26th Amendment to the Constitution was made into law in 1972. This allowed young people between the ages of 18 and 21 to vote for the first time. McGovern was identified with young people during his campaign but less than half of the newly enfranchised voters actually chose to vote in the election. Those young people who did vote split fairly evenly between Nixon and McGovern.

In many campaigns, workers are hired to hand out leaflets about their candidate to the public in the weeks before an election. This photo from The *New York Times* archives shows two campaign workers leafleting on a street corner in the affluent Upper West Side neighborhood of New York City, ten days before the election.

> **Project** the document.

QUESTION

Which candidate does each man support? How do you know?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The man on the right supports Nixon and the man on the left supports McGovern.

EVIDENCE

the man on the right is carrying a bag with Nixon's name printed on it and wearing a button that says "for President Nixon"; the younger man's age, clothing, and hairstyle suggest he is more likely to be a McGovern supporter

QUESTION

What might this photograph suggest about the target audience for each candidate?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

McGovern sought the votes of white, liberal, college-age students. Nixon was looking for votes from white, conservative, middle-class voters.

1972 DOC. #3

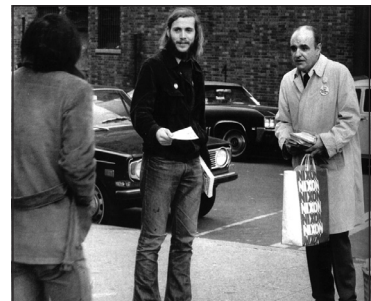


Photo of Campaign Workers with Brochures

PowerPoint Slide

EVIDENCE | both workers are white; the young man working for McGovern looks like a “typical” college student of that time, having long hair and casually dressed in bell bottom pants; Nixon’s worker is a middle-aged man dressed in an overcoat and tie, characteristic of a white-collar worker; they are both working in an affluent neighborhood where white college students and their prosperous parents might live

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why might The *New York Times* have chosen to use this photo?
Does it stereotype McGovern and Nixon supporters?

Do you think today’s campaigns are conscious of the dress and look of their campaign workers? Should they be?

How might a candidate’s stand on social issues help to determine the age and social class of his or her target audience?

ADDITIONAL INFO

McGovern’s enemies labeled him “the candidate of the three A’s: acid, abortion and amnesty.” This charge hurt him and was not entirely honest. He did not favor the legalization of marijuana but was in favor of reducing punishment for marijuana-related offenses from jail time to a simple fine. He did not favor “abortion on demand” but did believe that the Federal government should allow the states to decide. He favored amnesty for war resisters, but only after the war was over (Boller 229).

A Gallup poll in February 1972 reported that “youth 18-24 are less satisfied than the total electorate with the way President Nixon is handling his job” (Jamieson, *Packaging* 297). In a March 14 memo Republican strategists decided on a two-pronged approach for targeting youth. First, they chose to reach out to young voters who were employed and had not attended college by using posters, print ads, radio, and TV spots. Second, they proposed to “minimize, through the use of copy media, general encouragement to vote among 18-24 years olds, especially among college students” (Jamieson, *Packaging* 298). McGovern’s strategy was unsophisticated by comparison. The Democratic National Committee simply released three TV commercials and a radio appeal in the form of public service announcements encouraging youth to register to vote.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias
Reaching Voters (leaflets)

TEACHER GUIDE

1972 DOC. #4: "Landslide" Cartoon

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

> Project the document.

The cartoon you see here was published one week before the 1972 election, when the polls showed that Nixon was likely to win in a landslide over McGovern. It was drawn by Herb Block and appeared on the editorial page of *The Washington Post*.

The words on the falling rocks in the cartoon refer to various scandals of the Nixon administration that Block and other journalists had covered in the year before the election. On June 17, 1972, men hired by Nixon's reelection committee were caught by police while breaking into the offices of the Democratic National Committee at the Watergate building. At the time, Nixon's Press Secretary denied the President's involvement in what he called a "third-rate burglary" (Cornog 276).

QUESTION

What are the main messages the cartoonist is giving about Nixon?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Nixon may win the election but the foundations of justice are being undermined by corruption within his administration.

EVIDENCE

the statue of justice and the ground beneath the man are falling away due to "cover-ups," "secret funds," and "political espionage and sabotage"

QUESTION

Whose perspective is being portrayed in this cartoon?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The perspective is that of the cartoonist and of the editorial page staff of *The Washington Post*.

EVIDENCE

the cartoonist created it (his signature is at the bottom of the drawing); its appearance on the editorial page shows that this is an opinion offered by the editors (unlike comics that would appear on a separate page of the newspaper)

1972 DOC. #4



"Landslide" Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

What does this cartoon suggest about the role of money and influence in the Nixon administration?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The cartoon suggests that money received from powerful interests is causing the system to collapse.

EVIDENCE

text on rocks that are causing a landslide and toppling the statue of justice include: "special deals," "secret funds," and "payoffs from big interests"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can justice be undermined by secrecy and power?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Herb Block, known as Herblock, won three Pulitzer Prizes for his editorial cartoon work for *The Washington Post*. He is best known for his caricatures of Nixon as a shady and unethical character, but Herblock began during the 1950s with cartoons that took on the crusading anti-Communist, Joseph McCarthy. It was Herblock who coined the term "McCarthyism" to describe unfair practices of accusation and investigation to undermine one's opponents. Herblock later spotlighted the scandals that surrounded Nixon years before Watergate forced the President to resign.

Campaign "dirty tricks" arguably reached their zenith with Nixon's 1972 reelection campaign. Nixon's Committee to Reelect the President (CREEP) used many unethical and illegal tactics to ensure victory. During the Democratic primaries they secretly undermined the campaigns of more moderate Democratic candidates like Edmund Muskie to ensure that the left-leaning McGovern would win the Democratic nomination. Although Nixon went on to win a landslide victory over McGovern that November, the Watergate scandal ultimately resulted in the only presidential resignation in U.S. history.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Cartoons

1968-72: A Nation in Crisis



1968: Antiwar Poster



1968: Nixon "Law & Order" TV Commercial



1968: Wallace "Law & Order: Busing" TV Commercial



1972: Herblock "Landslide" Cartoon



1972: McGovern TV Commercial (which never aired)

Essay Question:

Discuss how media messages influenced public understanding of the contentious issues facing the nation during the presidential campaigns of 1968 and 1972. Use at least three of the documents above in your answer.

NAME:

Date:

List three examples of the anti-war perspective in the Vietnam poster.

State two ways in which the Nixon and Wallace commercials proclaimed “Law and Order” to be a campaign issue in 1968.

Describe the argument that the McGovern TV commercial made as to why voters should choose McGovern over Nixon.

Speculate as to why McGovern might have chosen not to air that commercial.

Describe the evidence that cartoonist Herblock used in his pre-election cartoon to predict Nixon’s later downfall in the Watergate scandal.

OVERVIEW

1984-1992: Mass Marketing the Image

Media:

1984-1992 PowerPoint (access online or via 1984-1992 digital media folder)

1984-1992 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 1984-1992 digital media folder)

THE TEFLON PRESIDENT

In the 1980s, actor-turned-politician Ronald Reagan became the most popular President since FDR. "The Great Communicator" had the ability to connect personally and emotionally with voters. Although a majority of Americans were critical of Reagan's policies, they continued to give him high approval ratings. None of the criticism his opponents leveled at him seemed to stick, earning him the nickname, "The Teflon President." Reagan's TV commercials reached a new level of sophistication, using classic advertising techniques to associate the candidate with an upbeat, hopeful, and dynamic vision of "Morning in America."



Reagan's "Morning in America" TV Commercial

MANAGING THE IMAGE

Reagan's public relations success was due in part to his training as an actor but also to his skilled image management team headed by Michael Deaver. Deaver made sure that all images of Reagan were as scripted as

possible: that "the lighting was all set, the backdrop perfect, the camera angle selected" (*American Photography*). Reagan was also probably more comfortable with marketing his image than most professional politicians. During the 1984 campaign he dropped by a campaign advertising meeting and announced, "since you're the ones selling soap, I thought that you would like to see the bar" (Cornog 290).

"I really do believe that people absorb impressions rather than substance, particularly in this day and age."

- Michael Deaver, Ronald Reagan's Deputy Chief of Staff

ATTACKING WITH IMAGES

In 1988 Reagan's Vice President, George H. W. Bush, ran against Massachusetts' Democratic Governor Michael Dukakis. Bush lacked the



What impression of candidate Michael Dukakis was communicated by this photo-op?

personal charisma of Reagan but made up for it with a string of powerful attack commercials. Using thinly veiled references to race, the Bush campaign team successfully

painted the liberal Dukakis as soft on crime and weak on defense.

THE COMEBACK KID

During the 1992 campaign, Bill Clinton managed his media image as successfully as Reagan, bringing “Reagan Democrats” back to the Democratic Party, and winning the presidency. His image-management strategies included: highlighting his humble roots and connections to JFK in a campaign film, talking about his underwear on MTV, playing his saxophone on *Arsenio Hall*, and convincing voters that he could “feel their pain” more genuinely than the incumbent President in a town hall debate. Despite George H. W. Bush’s success in the Gulf War of 1991, voters elected the Southern baby boomer ticket of Clinton and Gore.

MICRO-MARKETING

The 1990s was a time of cutting-edge campaign technologies that allowed managers to identify and target specific demographic



What messages does this 1990 cover of *Campaigns & Elections* magazine communicate about changes in campaign strategies?

audiences and swing voting groups. With the advent of cable television, computer polling, and sophisticated market research, campaigns were able to create upbeat commercials geared towards “soccer moms” as well as anti-free-trade attack ads for “NASCAR dads.” Micro-marketing had arrived and it would have a

profound impact on future elections.

1980s-1990s	early 1980s	1984	1988	1992	late 1990s
CONTINUED USE OF	memorabilia, portraits, flyers, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, songs, magazines, newspapers				
TELEVISION & RADIO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MTV debuts • Televised release of American hostages from Iran 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fox Channel debuts (first new successful broadcast network since 1940s) • Iran-Contra hearings on TV • Berlin Wall torn down, covered by live television 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Live satellite coverage of Gulf War 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Digital TV begins
CHANGING TECHNOLOGIES & MEDIA REGULATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First supermarket scanners in use • First digital manipulation of photographs • Internet begins as ARPANET 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact Disc (CD) invented • Apple Macintosh & Microsoft Windows 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reagan suspends the Fairness Doctrine (equal time for controversial issues) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First direct satellite dish broadcasts • World Wide Web created 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DVDs invented
	Media begin “Ad Watches” to judge accuracy of political ads				
	Begin commercial & popular use of the Internet (e.g., e-mail)				

HANDOUT

1984 ELECTION



RONALD REAGAN
and George Bush

POPULAR VOTE: 54,455,075
ELECTORAL VOTE: 525

REPUBLICAN



WALTER MONDALE
and Geraldine Ferraro

POPULAR VOTE: 37,577,185
ELECTORAL VOTE: 13

DEMOCRAT

Incumbent President Ronald Reagan, dubbed “The Great Communicator” for his ability to connect personally to the electorate, had defeated President Jimmy Carter in 1980 on a platform of strength, optimism, and limited government. Although the policies of this “Teflon President” were not always popular, a large majority of voters liked what they saw.

Ronald Reagan was the **incumbent President**.

Reagan was still running as a “**Washington outsider**” in 1984, advocating a **smaller government** but a beefed up military to confront the Soviet “**evil empire**.”

Reagan’s corporate **tax cuts** and increased **military spending** led to record **federal deficits**.

Reagan called for a Constitutional Amendment to **balance the budget**.

Cuts in social programs helped spur growing economic **inequity** between rich and poor.

Reagan **opposed affirmative action** but received significant African American votes.

Many historically Democratic voters switched to become “**Reagan Democrats**.”

Reagan’s “**Tuesday Team**” of campaign managers was made up of top advertising agency talent.

Market research encouraged simple upbeat commercials such as the “Morning in America” series.

Walter Mondale was **Vice President under Jimmy Carter**.

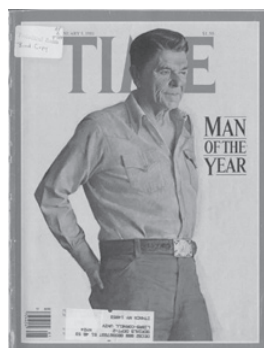
Mondale was successfully labeled by Republicans as a “**tax and spend liberal**” who was “weak on defense.”

Mondale supported a **reduction in military spending** and pledged to **raise taxes** to pay for federal programs.

Geraldine Ferraro was the first female vice presidential candidate on a major party ticket.

Jesse Jackson’s “Rainbow Coalition” pushed the Democratic Party to the left.

FDR’s solidly Democratic **New Deal Coalition** of organized labor, African Americans, and urban voters fell apart as many abandoned the Democratic Party to vote for Reagan.



Time magazine cover with Reagan as “Man of the Year”

What political position is *Time* magazine taking with this article? Should news outlets, such as *Time*, be non-partisan?

“The visual is as critical as what we are saying.”
-Michael Deaver, President Reagan’s Deputy Chief of Staff

HANDOUT

1984 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #4

An Interview with Ferraro

On the joys and challenges of her unprecedented candidacy



Between strategy meetings with Walter Mondale and work sessions with aides who are drafting her acceptance speech, Geraldine Ferraro took time last Saturday afternoon to meet with TIME Correspondent John F. Stacks. Savoring the sun on the deck of a rented Lake Tahoe resort home, Ferraro was relaxed and jocular and occasionally complained about the inevitable "sexist" questions. Her husband John Zaccaro and her daughters Laura and Donna sat near by and sometimes interjected thoughts of their own. Excerpts from the interview:

Q. Did you despair over press reports that you had flunked your interview with Mondale and were not going to be his choice?

A. No. I spoke to Fritz Mondale on Sunday morning [July 8], and I was certain that he had not put out that story about our interview. I was also certain that I was still seriously being considered. He told me so. And he's a very honest man.

Q. What was your reaction to the call from Mondale with word of your selection?

A. I was honored and excited and a little bit emotional about the historical meaning of the whole thing. It was not only that it was Gerry Ferraro, but also that it was a woman. And, God, delight!

Q. Even before your selection, Mondale was seen as an underdog in the general election campaign. Polls show mixed reactions to the idea of a woman on the ticket. Do you feel an added burden as a woman?

A. I don't feel like I'm carrying the burden for anything other than doing my job as a candidate for Vice President well—and then doing my job as Vice President well. That's the only responsibility I feel. Walter Mondale is a very strong candidate. I don't have to carry his candidacy. He'll carry it for himself. He's right on the issues, and Ronald Reagan's record is there for Reagan to defend.

Q. There is always the danger in a campaign of gaffes and serious errors. Do you worry about making mistakes and setting back other women in politics?

A. Those are always thoughts that go through your mind. But I'm not concerned about that. We're going to win.

Q. Is it going to be a difficult transition from being an independent member of Congress to being in the No. 2 position on the ticket?

A. I suspect that one of the reasons I was selected is because I deal honestly with

the problems that face this nation and because I care. I don't think you're going to see a change in that. I think what you're going to see is that perhaps the free-spirited approach will be done more privately when it comes to discussing issues. I recognize what the job of Vice President is, and I intend to work with Walter Mondale very closely in order to fulfill his commitment to his policies. I don't fudge on issues, and I'm not going to fudge on issues now. How do I deal with being second? What does that mean? Does it mean I have to be No. 1? I like being second in a universe this size. It's as good as being No. 1! Actually, I don't think I'm going to be



MASS—PHOTOARTISTS

"This is a first, and it's bound to create concerns; but we are going to put those concerns to rest quickly . . . Could I lead the country? Yeah."

second: I'm going to be the first Vice President to enjoy being a woman.

Q. One thing you're up against, surely, is the old-fashioned notion that a woman's role is to help the man. Will the stereotype of woman as helpmate complicate your candidacy?

A. Why should it? Walter Mondale sees the vice presidency as he experienced the office himself. He redefined the vice presidency. He had his office in the White House. He was an adviser on every issue that came up. I'm not going to be sitting around knitting—if that's what anybody thinks. The job will not be redefined again because I'm a female. I ain't going to be any helpmate.

Q. Some polls show resistance to your candidacy among Southern white men. How do you intend to deal with that problem?

A. I intend to go down South and spend a lot of time talking to some of the tradi-

tional men. I've been down to Birmingham, to Houston, to Oklahoma and North Carolina. After we talked to the Southern chairs [regional party leaders] this week, the only argument among them was where I should go first—not whether I should come. People have been really receptive. In my district I was told I was going to have trouble with Italian men. Now they're my biggest supporters.

Q. Even though women have led other nations, the prospect of a woman President still makes some people—women as well as men—nervous. Why are there concerns?

A. There are, of course, concerns, but that is often because it's not been done before. We had anxieties about Catholics until John F. Kennedy was elected President. There were anxieties about whether a divorced male could deal with the presidency, and Ronald Reagan has dispelled that. We always have anxieties until we do it the first time, and then we usually recognize that those anxieties are baseless. This is a first, and it's bound to create concerns; but we are going to put those concerns to rest quickly.

Q. If your candidacy is successful, there will be the immediate possibility of your being called upon to lead the nation. Are you ready?

A. I think it is an almost awesome responsibility, but it is one I'm capable of handling, or I would have never allowed my name to be considered for this spot. I think I am a person who has good moral background, integrity, intelligence and the capability to make judgments based on facts. I think I am capable of analyzing situations without moving in any sort of precipitous way. Could I lead the country? Yeah. The job of Vice President prepares someone for the job of President. My role as Vice President will help prepare me.

Q. You have two daughters. Does that give this breakthrough special personal significance for you—and for them?

A. Every door I open means that they're not going to be discriminated against, and it's going to be a little bit easier for them.

Q. Beyond the meaning for you personally, does your selection have the potential of producing broader social and cultural change in this country?

A. I hope it does change the way the country works, and I think there are a lot of women out there who hope so as well. It's not only Gerry Ferraro being Vice President and how I deal with the job—it's really opening so much more to young women in this country, as well as to older women and working women. If a woman can be Vice President of the U.S., what job is there that a woman cannot do? I think that's important. The other piece of it is that it creates a whole new role model. There are a lot of women out there saying, when they see me, "I can do it too."

TEACHER GUIDE

1984 DOC. #1: *Time* Covers, Reagan “Man of the Year”

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The “common man” and the “hero” are two candidate personas that have been with us since the very earliest elections. Andrew Jackson, William Henry Harrison, and Abraham Lincoln all succeeded in combining these images, but few have been able to blend them as effectively as Ronald Reagan. It is the job of campaign managers to craft images such as these and to get them to the voters using mass media. A great example of media image-making can be seen in the following portraits of Ronald Reagan from the two occasions he was selected as *Time* magazine’s “Man of the Year.”

One portrait is from the beginning of his first term in January 1981, and the second is from three years later, as he prepared for his reelection campaign. In one of the portraits he is shown back-to-back with Yuri Andropov, leader of the Soviet Union. Neither of these images was created by Reagan’s campaign, but *Time* magazine’s visual constructions of Reagan helped to establish his political and historical image.

> Project the document.

QUESTION **What messages does the portrait on the left convey? Give evidence to support your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Reagan is a regular guy, like an old cowboy, confident and reflective.

EVIDENCE he’s wearing casual clothes, his shirt is unbuttoned, his hands are in his back pockets; his Western-style shirt and belt buckle suggest a cowboy; he’s not surrounded by any signs of power or prestige; his gaze makes it appear as though he’s deep in thought; his jaw is set and his shoulders are back making him appear self-assured

QUESTION **What messages does the portrait on the right convey? Give evidence to support your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Reagan is a patriot, and a strong and determined leader.

EVIDENCE his clothes are red, white and blue; his straight-ahead stare and stern face make him seem forceful; his position facing the artist and Andropov’s turned head make Reagan seem in command of the relationship

1984 DOC. #1



Time Covers, Reagan “Man of the Year”

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION Which portrait do you think was made in 1981 at the beginning of his first term? Which one was made in 1984, at the end of his first four years in office?

SUGGESTED ANSWER The portrait on the left is from 1981 and the right from 1984.

EVIDENCE the portrait on the right shows Reagan facing off with his counterpart in the Soviet Union, and this would not have been the case with a new President who would have no previous history as Commander in Chief; the 1981 image underscores the “outsider cowboy” image that helped attract voters to Reagan in the first place

QUESTION Do these covers suggest that *Time’s* coverage is pro-Reagan, anti-Reagan, or neutral?

SUGGESTED ANSWER These covers suggest that *Time* is pro-Reagan.

EVIDENCE although it is not possible to evaluate the overall coverage of Reagan from just these two covers of the magazines, the designation of “Man of the Year” is a notable award bestowed on few leaders; the portraits of Reagan are positive

SEE NOTE

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Is it appropriate for a newsmagazine to take an editorial position supporting political candidates?

Why might *Time* have chosen to use painted portraits rather than photos for these covers?

NOTE

The 1981 portrait was painted by Aaron Shikler; the 1984 portrait by Alfred Leslie.

NOTE

In its first issue each year, *Time* magazine names a “Man of the Year.” Reagan is one of only five Presidents who have been named as “Man of the Year” twice. The others are Dwight Eisenhower, Lyndon Johnson, Richard Nixon, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. FDR is the only one to be named three times.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Reagan’s advisors carefully crafted his “cowboy” image with repeated photo ops of the candidate at his California ranch, cutting wood, and looking westward. They also took pains to show him in the role of the tough warrior who could stand up to the dangerous Soviets.

During his first term (1981-1984), Reagan moved away from détente (peaceful coexistence and diplomacy) with the Soviet Union, and in one offhand comment he referred to it as the “evil empire” (a reference to the popular *Star Wars* films). He put arms control talks on hold, spent more money on the military, and backed anti-Soviet movements throughout the world. His campaign slogan, “America Is Back, Standing Proud,” reflected Reagan’s commitment to maintaining the U.S. role as global superpower. In 1982 one million people rallied in New York to support a nuclear freeze to keep the U.S. and Soviets from expanding the arms race, prompting Reagan to take tentative steps toward reviving arms control negotiations.

Journalist W.A. Henry described the power of Reagan’s image in this way: “In his most effective moments, Reagan appeared to have attained the goal of every national politician, to embody so thoroughly the myths and traits of the country’s idealized image of itself that a vote for Ronald Reagan would be a vote for the real America” (Melder 193).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Hero”
Media Bias

TEACHER GUIDE

1984 DOC. #2: Reagan "Morning In America" TV Commercial

Media:

2. "Morning in America" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1984 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 1932 Franklin D. Roosevelt won his campaign against Herbert Hoover in the early years of the Great Depression using the theme song, "Happy Days Are Here Again." This optimism was music to the ears of voters who were uncertain about where they stood in times of great change. Before the 1980 election, incumbent President Jimmy Carter had spoken of a "malaise" in the nation brought on by difficult times in the aftermath of Watergate and Vietnam. Ronald Reagan borrowed a page from FDR's songbook and pledged to "bring pride back" to a country wracked by crisis.

A "Tuesday Team" of advertising specialists created the "Morning in America" television commercials. The upbeat and positive message of these commercials stood in stark contrast to the negative commercials that made up the bulk of both campaigns' political advertising. Reagan was a master of political imagery. The *New York Times* Hedrick Smith said, "no presidency has been more image conscious or image driven than that of Ronald Reagan" (Melder 1993). Reagan's genius was in appearing to fit the image of how citizens of the United States wished to see themselves: self-reliant, patriotic, and connected to family and community.

The commercial you will see is titled, "Prouder, Stronger, Better." It was part of the Reagan campaign's "Morning in America" series.

> **Play** the video clip. **Ask** half the class to listen closely to the words and the other half to focus on the images.

QUESTION	What messages are communicated in this commercial? What words are used to support these messages?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The commercial says that the U.S. is doing well under Reagan's presidency and switching to Mondale would return the country to bad times.
EVIDENCE	words: "It's morning again," "more men and women will go to work," "interest and inflation are down," "why would we want to return?"
QUESTION	What are the themes you saw in the images?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The themes of the images include moving ahead, family connection, and patriotic spirit.
EVIDENCE	images that show moving ahead are people going to work and moving into new homes; images of family are the wedding, hugs and kisses; images of patriotism are the Capitol dome, man raising the flag

1984 DOC. #2



Reagan "Morning in America" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

Commercial Script:

VO It's morning again in America. Today more men and women will go to work than ever before in our country's history. With interest rates and inflation down, more people are buying new homes and our new families can have confidence in the future. America today is prouder, and stronger, and better. Why would we want to return to where we were less than four short years ago?

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Is this a message-based commercial, an issues-oriented commercial, or an attack commercial? Explain your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This is a message-based commercial.

EVIDENCE upbeat images and text with no direct reference to policies or to Reagan's opponent

QUESTION **Reagan's "Morning in America" series of TV commercials is considered one of the most memorable, and possibly the most successful, in campaign history. Why do you think this was the case?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The "Morning in America" commercials associated the candidate with emotional images that evoked positive feelings about the nation and the future. The country was still recovering from a loss in confidence stemming from the Watergate scandal and the recession under Carter, as well as from the traumas of the Vietnam War and the Iranian hostage crisis. Using classic advertising strategies, the Reagan team linked the President to idealized images of the United States that rose above these depressing memories and embraced a hopeful future.

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for this commercial?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER White, suburban, middle-class voters are the target audience.

EVIDENCE nearly all the people in the commercial appear to be white and middle class; images of suburban homes (interest rates and inflation would be concerns of this population)

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of television commercials today that use a similar positive image to sell their product?

Is there information left out of this commercial that might be useful in judging the record of the Reagan presidency from 1981-1984? If so, what would it be and why wasn't it included?

NOTE

Mondale was Jimmy Carter's Vice President during the recession of the 1970s.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Phil Dusenberry, one of the leaders of the "Tuesday Team," had many years of experience making soft drink commercials before he joined the Reagan campaign. The soft focus and "happy story" style of these commercials is very similar to Pepsi commercials of that time. Dusenberry explained that the commercials were designed "not to [make viewers] think about or understand so much as to feel. That's the most powerful part of advertising. It stays with people longer and better" (American Museum of the Moving Image, 1984).

Reagan's team unveiled their image-making strategy with an 18-minute-long film at the Republican convention. Some media analysts attempted to point out the ways in which the marketers were using their trade to manipulate voters into "purchasing" their candidate. But these criticisms failed as Reagan's image and idealistic message resonated with so many people (Adatto 22).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Economic Issues

"Family Man"

Target Audience (middle class whites)

TEACHER GUIDE

1984 DOC. #3: Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial

Media:

3. "Trade Defecit" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1984 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

So often in modern U.S. presidential campaigns one candidate simply is more at ease than the other in front of the television cameras. Kennedy looked more self-assured than Richard Nixon in their 1960 debates. Gerald Ford was mocked by Chevy Chase on *Saturday Night Live* for his habit of tripping when on camera. Bill Clinton clearly enjoyed working a crowd in a way that George H. W. Bush didn't.

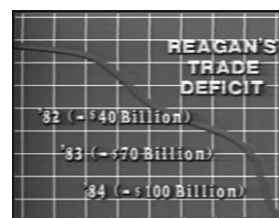
Walter Mondale, Reagan's challenger in 1984, could not match Reagan's personal charisma and ease on television, hardly surprising since Reagan had entered politics after a successful career in films and television. Mondale even admitted, "I'm not comfortable in front of television and I'm afraid I never will be" (Troy 249). Few of Mondale's commercials even contained images of the candidate.

In part due to the candidate's lack of personal appeal, the Mondale campaign chose to air mostly negative commercials. They attacked Reagan for his failure to pursue arms control, the increasing federal deficit, and the growing gap between the wealthy and the middle class. These commercials backfired as many voters failed to accept Mondale's message that the charismatic Reagan was reckless and insensitive.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What messages are communicated about the trade deficit?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The main messages are that the deficit is huge, exports are falling, we are losing jobs, and Mondale will stop this.
QUESTION	How does Mondale come across in this commercial? Why do you say that?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	(opinions will vary) Mondale doesn't seem particularly charismatic.
EVIDENCE	his body language is stiff, the background dull, his facial expressions are muted, his overall presentation is less than dynamic

1984 DOC. #3



Mondale "Trade Deficit" Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

QUESTION **Which seems more central to the commercial: the narration, the music, or the imagery? What is your evidence?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This commercial is centered on the narration.

EVIDENCE no music, only a ticking sound; imagery is limited to a photo of Reagan's smiling face, a graph of the trade deficit going down, a shot of Mondale speaking in an office, and the text: "Mondale for President"

QUESTION **What are the major differences between the styles of these two commercials (doc.#2 and doc. #3)?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Reagan's commercial is upbeat, image oriented, and emotional while Mondale's focuses on a negative issue, it is policy oriented, and it stresses facts and plans over imagery and emotion.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What did Reagan's Deputy Chief of Staff, Michael Deaver, mean when he said, "I really do believe that people absorb impressions rather than substance, particularly in this day and age" (*American Photography*).

Should slick campaign imagery and a candidate's personal charisma be decisive factors in choosing Presidents?

Should voters be concerned about a trade deficit? Why or why not?

Commercial Script:

VO	The Reagan trade deficit is the largest in our nation's history. Farm exports fell for the first time in thirteen years. Two million jobs are being lost.
Mondale	"In my administration we will export American products, not American jobs. No dumping here, no unfair barriers over there. In my plan we will make them play by the rules, then we'll beat the competition."
VO	Mondale for President. This President will know what he's doing.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Class/Labor
Economic Issues

TEACHER GUIDE

1984 DOC. #4: *Time* Ferraro Interview

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Walter Mondale chose former New York Congresswoman Geraldine Ferraro to be his running mate. This was the first time that a woman had been chosen as a major party's nominee for national office. Ferraro was an experienced and skilled campaigner, though questions about her husband's finances and her pro-choice position on abortion often kept her on the defensive.

In recent modern elections the interview format has often been used to introduce candidates to the public. Interviews happen in many different ways – from serious political discussions on Sunday morning news programs to funny stories and banter on late night talk shows. By allowing the public to become involved, call-in shows on talk radio and cable television can simulate a town hall meeting.

- > **Project** the document and **hand out** the interview.
- > **Explain:** This document is a *Time* magazine interview with Ferraro from the week after she was chosen as Walter Mondale's running mate. As you read the interview, pay attention to the questions that are asked.
- > **Have** students read the interview silently or as a class.

QUESTION (projected on the slide) **Which best describes the focus of the interview questions?**

- policy issues
- campaign issues
- gender issues
- personal character issues

Give evidence to back up your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The interview questions are mostly related to gender and campaigning.

EVIDENCE of the eleven interview questions, more than half relate to issues of gender and the campaign, a few could be related to issues of personal character, and only the final question potentially touches on policy issues

1984 DOC. #4



***Time* Ferraro Interview,
July 23, 1984**

**PowerPoint Slide
Student Handout**

QUESTION

How might the questions have been different if Mondale’s running mate had been a man?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

If Mondale’s running mate had been a man, it is likely that questions would have focused on campaign issues, policy, and personal character, but it is unlikely that there would have been any questions about gender.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

- Is this interview sexist?
- What questions would you have asked Ferraro if you were the *Time* correspondent? Why?
- What hurdles do women, minorities, and poor people encounter when trying to break into a political system dominated by wealthy white men?

CONNECTIONS

- (see thematic listing)
- “Family Man (Woman)”
- Media Bias
- Reaching Voters (interview)

TEACHER GUIDE

1984 DOC. #5: Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial

Media:

5. "Bear in the Woods" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1984 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

There is a long tradition of using fear in U.S. presidential campaigns to persuade voters. From the Federalists' attacks on Thomas Jefferson for his supposed attachment to French revolutionaries to the Democrats' suggestion of mushroom clouds erupting under a Goldwater presidency, fear of the enemy has become part of campaign image-making. In 1984, the Reagan campaign team brought a new level of nuance to fear-based advertising.

President Reagan had been a die-hard "cold warrior" for his entire political career. During his first term he once referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and warned that it remained a threat to the United States. Many credit Reagan's tough talk and increased military spending for speeding the downfall of Communism. He was slow to move on arms control, however, and his proposal for a space-based Strategic Defense Initiative, nicknamed "Star Wars," caused some to worry about the start of a new, costly, and dangerous arms race. Mondale attacked Reagan's positions on these issues, saying that he was creating more instability with his tough and threatening posture.

The commercial you will see, called "Bear in the Woods," is regarded as a classic example of the use of simple symbols to attack an opponent without ever speaking his or her name.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION What are the messages that this commercial communicates about Reagan's policies? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Soviet Union is dangerous though some may not recognize this. It is best to be prepared with a strong defense.

EVIDENCE the Soviet Union is represented by the "Russian Bear"; the narrator says some "say it is vicious and dangerous" and some "don't see it at all;" "isn't it smart to be as strong as the bear?"

1984 DOC. #5

Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial

Video Clip
Length: 30 seconds

QUESTION **What techniques are used by the producer to underscore the sense of danger?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The sense of danger is conveyed through the drum sounding like a constant heartbeat in the background, the extreme close-up on the bear's claws, and the bear coming face to face with the man.

QUESTION **How does this commercial respond to Mondale's concerns about overspending and the federal deficit?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This commercial suggests that it's better to spend money on defense than to be caught unprepared by a "vicious and dangerous bear" like the Soviet Union.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why might the metaphor of the bear be more effective than factual information about the Soviet threat in swaying voters?

Commercial Script:

VO There's a bear in the woods.- For some people, the bear is easy to see.- Others don't see it at all.- Some people say the bear is tame.- Others say it is vicious and dangerous.- Since no one can really be sure who is right, isn't it smart to be as strong as the bear?- If there is a bear?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Although Reagan's "Morning in America" series of positive commercials were well received and are widely remembered, his overall campaign actually focused primarily on undercutting Mondale with attack commercials. Reagan's campaign manager, Ed Rollins, said, "The decision was to go with two negative commercials for every positive commercial....Let me say that the commercials clearly worked, we drove [Mondale's] negatives back up" (Kamber 100).

The Soviet Union collapsed in 1991. Reagan's supporters later argued that it was his determination to up the ante that ended the Cold War. His critics argue that the U.S.S.R. was on the verge of collapse during the period in which Reagan perceived them as a real threat and that his policies only increased dangers around the world and economic instability at home.

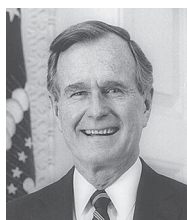
CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Fear
Foreign Policy

HANDOUT

1988 ELECTION



GEORGE BUSH
and Dan Quayle

POPULAR VOTE: 47,946,422
ELECTORAL VOTE: 426

REPUBLICAN

Bush was the current **Vice President**.

Ronald Reagan strongly endorsed his Vice President who pledged to continue the **"Reagan Revolution."**

Bush's strenuous opposition to raising taxes, promising "read my lips, **no new taxes,**" would come back to haunt him in the 1992 election.

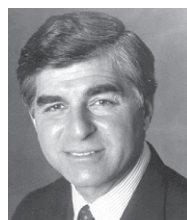
Bush was criticized for his choice of a boyish looking, inexperienced, and inarticulate running mate, **Dan Quayle**.

Bush campaign manager, **Roger Ailes**, went on to become CEO of Fox News.

Bush campaign operative, Lee Atwater, orchestrated appeals to **working-class white voters** using resentments and fear of African Americans.



How were issues of race, fear, and crime used to sway voters in 1988?



MICHAEL DUKAKIS
and Lloyd Bentsen

POPULAR VOTE: 41,016,429
ELECTORAL VOTE: 112

DEMOCRAT

Dukakis was **Governor of Massachusetts**.

Dukakis left the Democratic National Convention in July with a **17-point lead** in the polls over Bush.

Negative TV commercials attacked Dukakis as soft on crime and weak on defense.

A photo op of Dukakis riding in a tank was intended to bolster his **military image**, but backfired when it came across as staged and silly.

Dukakis' claims about a **"Massachusetts Miracle"** of economic recovery were later shown to be untrue.

Affordable health care was stressed by Dukakis.

Dukakis appealed to **working-class voters** to "come home to the Democratic Party."

In October, Bush and Dukakis met for one of two televised debates. CNN anchorman, Bernard Shaw, asked Dukakis the first question: "If Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you favor an irreversible death penalty for the killer?" Although Shaw was criticized for personalizing and oversimplifying a complex issue, Dukakis' intellectual response confirmed the perception that he was a detached "policy wonk."

Barely half of all eligible voters cast ballots in the 1988 election, which was characterized by negative campaigning on network and cable TV stations.

TEACHER GUIDE

1988 DOC. #1: *Newsweek* Cover, Jesse Jackson & *Newsweek* Poll Results

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The twin issues of race and racism rose to the surface in the 1988 campaign in ways not seen since the era of the Civil War and Reconstruction. In early April 1988 it seemed possible that for the first time in U.S. history an African American would be nominated for President by a major party. In 1984 the Reverend Jesse Jackson had run for the Democratic nomination with the support of his Rainbow Coalition, focusing on equal voting rights for all citizens. In 1988 his broader appeal for economic justice found support across lines of race, gender, and class.

In the 1988 Super Tuesday primaries held on March 8, Jackson won five states and placed second in nine others. He did this while spending a mere \$100,000 for television spots compared to the \$5 million spent by his two main challengers, Al Gore and Michael Dukakis. By mid-March, just a few months before the convention, Jackson had won more primary votes than any other Democrat and at that point had only four fewer delegates than Dukakis (Congressional Quarterly 228).

Media attention is essential for any successful presidential campaign. Many candidates get that attention by serving as an incumbent President or by paying for it through paid political advertisements. Since half of all campaign contributions come from the wealthiest 10% of the population, and he had taken a stand as an economic populist, blaming multinational corporations for increasing poverty, Jesse Jackson had a problem. It was unlikely that he would be getting much money from that top 10%.

Jesse Jackson got much of his media attention from staged events, such as marches and press conferences, which were covered by the evening news shows. Then, as he began to win delegates, his role as contender brought the cameras to him. The issue of race almost always came up when Jackson's chances of becoming the Democratic nominee were seriously considered. *Time* magazine came out and asked it in its April 11 issue: "What if Democratic voters actually nominate a black man for President?"

The documents you will see are taken from the March 21, 1988 issue of *Newsweek* magazine, after Jackson's strong showing in the Super Tuesday primaries. The first document is the cover of the magazine and the second document is a chart illustrating findings of a *Newsweek* poll conducted by the Gallup organization a few days after Super Tuesday.

> Project 1988 doc. #1a.

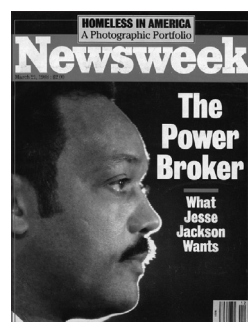
QUESTION

What messages about Jackson's candidacy are being communicated with this cover? Explain your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Jackson is not a genuine candidate with a chance to become the nominee. He is only running to exert power within the Democratic Party leadership.

1988 DOC. #1a



***Newsweek* Cover, Jesse Jackson**

PowerPoint Slide

EVIDENCE | Jackson was labeled as a “power broker” rather than “front runner” or “serious contender,” even though he was running neck-and-neck for the lead in the Democratic primaries at this time; *Newsweek* did not ask “what Michael Dukakis wants” or “what Al Gore wants,” the assumption being that they were serious presidential candidates while Jackson couldn’t be.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Discuss the role of news media in determining who gets considered a serious candidate or not.

Should the news media be “gate keepers” of political legitimacy?

Discuss the possible effect of the same *Newsweek* cover with Michael Dukakis as the “power broker.”

ADDITIONAL INFO

The April 11th *Time* magazine cover story of 1988 titled “JESSE!?” began: “Any American can grow up to be President. That idealistic sentiment began as part of the catechism of democracy, but through generations of rote it has degenerated into a kindergarten fable. Adults, of course, know the truth. The presidency is reserved for white men who have held high office and who have almost always avoided embracing a cause or expressing a sentiment that is far outside the mainstream of established opinion” (*Time* 13). The article went on to underline this “truth” by saying “But even as Jackson arouses Democratic passions, this blossoming love affair cannot forever mask the reality that if he is nominated the party will lose – and probably lose big” (*Time* 18).

Katherine Tate, in her book *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voters in American Elections*, argues that Jackson’s campaigns energized African American voters by stimulating their interest in Presidential campaigns. She points out that Jackson’s role as a strong runner-up to Dukakis encouraged the Democratic party to appoint an African American to the role of national chairman for the first time and to revise party nominating rules that had discriminated against candidates of color.

- > **Explain:** This article and poll appeared as part of the March 21 *Newsweek* cover story, *The Power Broker*, about Jesse Jackson.
- > **Project** 1988 doc. #1b
- > **Have students** read the text and poll results, or read aloud.

QUESTION

Who does the opening paragraph, the poll, and the photo suggest should be the Democratic nominee?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The text, poll, and photo suggest that Michael Dukakis would be the most competitive Democratic nominee.

EVIDENCE

text and poll show him as the most competitive against Bush (the presumptive Republican nominee); the photo shows Dukakis and Bush; the 2nd sentence assumes Jackson voters will go to Dukakis or Gore, instead of Dukakis or Gore voters going to Jackson

FURTHER QUESTIONS

If Jackson had been a white male candidate, might the assumptions have been different? Is this a racist article?

Why would *Newsweek* promote Dukakis over Jackson?

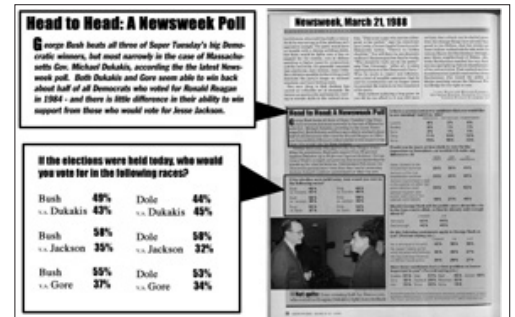
Should polls be used to grant or deny legitimacy to candidates?

Can polls help to determine how and whom voters choose?

Do polls promote or discourage open thinking within the democratic process?

Discuss the issue of racism in the selection of information offered about Jesse Jackson in this article.

1988 DOC. #1b



Newsweek Poll Results

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Public opinion polls have been used since the early 1900s to predict the results of presidential elections, although not always accurately. In November of 1948, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* relied on polls predicting the result of the presidential race between incumbent President Harry S. Truman and New York Governor Thomas Dewey. The result was a now-famous photograph of a beaming and victorious Truman holding the newspaper over his head with the large headline, "Dewey Defeats Truman." This would not be the last time that polls incorrectly predicted the results of an election. In November 2000, most of the major TV networks reported that Florida had gone to Al Gore, thus giving him enough electoral votes to win the presidency. Fox News was the first to report that George W. Bush had actually won Florida, and hours later the other networks recanted their earlier prediction. The election was very close and many of the votes were disputed, but after a controversial U.S. Supreme Court decision, Bush was declared the winner.

Polls may have also altered the results of some elections. In one famous example from 1980, the major TV networks all announced that based on exit polls Ronald Reagan had won the presidential election. This announcement came hours before the voting booths had closed on the West Coast, which is believed to have caused many California Democrats to stay home and may have thus caused the defeat of some Democratic Congressional candidates in that state. The same thing happened in 2000, when the TV networks erroneously called the Florida election for Gore before the polling places were closed in the Western Florida panhandle.

In recent years there has also been a growing trend toward the use of "push polling," when telemarketing firms call potential voters on behalf of a presidential campaign allegedly conducting an objective poll. In push polls, the questions are phrased to imply negative information about the candidate's opponent. Even though many politicians have decried this practice, it continues to be used.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

**Media Bias
Race**

TEACHER GUIDE

1988 DOC. #2: Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial

Media:

- 2a. "Revolving Door No Audio" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1988 digital media folder)
- 2b. "Revolving Door With Audio" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1988 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Since the earliest elections, campaigns have relied on racist beliefs to create fear about the opposition. In 1836 Martin Van Buren's running mate, Richard Johnson, was viciously attacked for having lived openly with an African American woman. In 1864, Democratic candidate George McClellan warned that the reelection of his opponent, President Abraham Lincoln, "and the Black Republican Ticket" would bring on "Negro Equality...Universal Anarchy and Ultimate Ruin" (see 1864 doc. #3). Such racist attacks reappeared in George H. W. Bush's campaign against Michael Dukakis in 1988.

Bush began his campaign seriously trailing Dukakis in the polls. His primary campaign strategy was to use a series of negative commercials focused on Dukakis' positions on defense, taxes, the environment, and crime. These commercials were very effective in raising voter concerns about the relatively unknown Massachusetts Governor. After the commercials aired, Bush rose in the polls. These commercials proved once again that negative campaigning can work, as Lyndon Johnson and Ronald Reagan had demonstrated before with their "Daisy" and "Bear in the Woods" commercials.

Early on in the 1988 campaign, a highly controversial commercial was shown on a number of cable channels, which were just emerging as important marketing sites. The commercial was created by "Americans for Bush," part of the "National Security Political Action Committee." It showed the mug shot of an African American man named Willie Horton who had kidnapped and raped a white woman while on a weekend furlough from a Massachusetts prison during the time that Dukakis was Governor. The commercial was not put out by the Bush campaign, and the Bush team denied any part in its creation, although its underlying message was later reflected in their own negative commercials.

The news media picked up on the issue of negative campaigning and made it a top story during the 1988 election. Although most news reports were highly critical of the Bush strategy, the fact that the commercials were shown again and again on the nightly news had the effect of reinforcing voters' doubts and fears. This occurred in part because the visual images in the commercials had been effectively designed to carry the message without any spoken words.

The commercial you will see is a Bush campaign commercial called "Revolving Door" or "Furlough." A furlough is a temporary leave of absence, usually associated with brief leaves from military service. You will first see it without the audio track. Many voters might have also first seen this commercial on their nightly news programs in this way without the original voiceover.

Instruct students to pay attention to feelings and impressions that a viewer might have by watching these images without the script.

> **Play** the video clip, 1988 doc. #2a (commercial with no audio).

QUESTION	What emotions are stirred and which images stir them?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Emotions of fear and anxiety are raised by the images.
EVIDENCE	guards with guns; prison watchtowers; prisoners leaving through the revolving door; subtitles "268 escaped" and "many are still at large"

- > **Explain** that they will now watch the commercial again with both sound and image. Listen carefully to the words.
- > **Play** the video clip, 1988 doc. #2b (full commercial with audio).

QUESTION	What message is given about Dukakis' record on crime? Give evidence from the narration to support your conclusions.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Dukakis allows drug dealers and murderers to get out of prison to rape and kidnap new victims.
EVIDENCE	quotes: "vetoed mandatory sentences for drug dealers," "vetoed the death penalty," "gave weekend furloughs to first-degree murderers," "committed other crimes," and "many are still at large"

QUESTION	What elements in the audio track and in the way the film was shot might add to viewers' anxiety?
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SUGGESTED ANSWER	The music is uneasy, the revolving door sounds as it rotates, and the film is shot in black and white giving it a stark appearance.
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1988 DOC. #2a



Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial (No Audio)

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

1988 DOC. #2b



Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial (With Audio)

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

Commercial Script:

VO As Governor, Michael Dukakis vetoed mandatory sentences for drug dealers.- He vetoed the death penalty.- His revolving door prison policy gave weekend furloughs to first-degree murderers not eligible for parole.- While out, many committed other crimes like kidnapping and rape, and many are still at large.- Now Michael Dukakis says he wants to do for America what he's done for Massachusetts.- America can't afford that risk.

QUESTION

Who is the target audience for this commercial and why do you think so?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The target audience is most likely racists, and voters who are worried about crime.

EVIDENCE

guards are white and some of the prisoners leaving are men of color; many voters would associate the furlough program with the infamous Willie Horton

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Candidates who sponsor a campaign spot often have their photos projected in full screen at the end of the commercial. Why do you think Bush's photo was so small in this case?

How might people of color have interpreted this commercial? Why?

How might the independently-produced Willie Horton commercial have influenced the later creation of the "Revolving Door" commercial by the Bush campaign?

ADDITIONAL INFO

It was Al Gore, one of Dukakis' opponents in the Democratic primary, who first raised the issue of Willie Horton in a debate before the New York primary.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

Fear

Race

Target Audience (fearful voters)

TEACHER GUIDE

1988 DOC. #3: Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial

Media:

3a. "Packaging Edited" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1988 digital media folder)

3b. "Packaging Full" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1988 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Dukakis at first decided to ignore the Bush attacks. He did not think that these commercials would hurt him and he felt that they might actually backfire on Bush. It was not until late October, just weeks before the election, that Dukakis decided to respond with his own commercials attacking Bush. Unfortunately for Dukakis, it was too little too late; the Bush commercials had already done their damage. Dukakis had not learned from previous campaigns that negative campaigning with powerful images and simple slogans can win an election for the attacker.

One of the major issues raised by the "revolving door" commercial was that of truth in political advertising. Dukakis pointed out that the furlough policy had begun under his Republican predecessor and that such programs were common throughout the country. He noted that serious crime was actually down in Massachusetts while he served as Governor. Although Dukakis criticized the commercial in speeches and interviews, he could not challenge it in court since "truth in advertising" regulations do not apply to political messages, which are protected by the First Amendment. It falls to the media to challenge the accuracy of political commercials.

Some news reporters did point out falsehoods in the Bush commercials, such as the fact that Willie Horton was the only one of the escaped prisoners who had committed rape and kidnapping after release. CBS reporter Leslie Stahl reported that "part of the commercial is false...268 murderers did not escape.... The truth is only four first-degree murderers escaped while on parole" (Adatto 36). Nevertheless, of the ten times that the revolving door commercial was shown on network news, only once was that false statistic questioned.

The real problem for Dukakis lay in the images of Willie Horton's mug shot and of the revolving prison gate that remained in people's minds, not the corrections. News reporters who attempted to challenge the truth of the Bush commercials fell into the same trap of reinforcing those images when they repeatedly showed the questionable commercials in their reports.

> **Explain** that you will now show a portion of the next commercial.

> **Ask students** to try to guess which campaign – Bush or Dukakis – sponsored this commercial.

1988 DOC. #3a



Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial - Edited Video Clip

Length: 25 seconds

- > **Play** the video clip, 1988 doc. #3a (edited commercial, ending before the final frames identifying the commercial's makers).
- > **Ask** for a show of hands as to how many thought it was a Bush commercial and how many a Dukakis commercial. Have a student with each opinion explain why they thought so.

QUESTION	Who made this commercial and for what purpose? Explain your thinking.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Dukakis campaign made this commercial to expose the Bush campaign's manipulation of the facts in the "Revolving Door" commercial in order to mislead the voters.
EVIDENCE	the scene portrays a fictitious Bush campaign meeting demonstrating the cynical way that the Bush team manufactured its commercials by stretching the truth; quotes: "nobody reads anymore," "let's hope not," and "How long do you expect to get away with this furlough thing?"; small text on screen: "paid for by the Democratic National Committee and authorized by the Dukakis-Bentson Committee Inc."

- > **Explain** that you will now show the full commercial.
- > **Play** the video clip, 1988 doc. #3b (full commercial).

QUESTION	What does the narrator mean by "They'd like to sell you a package. Wouldn't you rather choose a President?"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The narrator means that the Bush campaign is trying to sell a package and they expect the public to fall for their manipulation. Dukakis, on the other hand, sees the campaign as too serious to use such techniques and he believes the voters will stand with him.

VERSION 3a:
Commercial Script:

THE PACKAGING OF GEORGE BUSH

Man 1 | Well I think we need another TV commercial on this furlough thing.

THURSDAY 3:55 PM

Man 2 | No way, they're beginning to write about Dukakis' real crime record.

Man 1 | Nobody reads anymore.

Man 3 | Let's hope not. Look, first of all, Dukakis changed that furlough program. Now look at this - more cops on the street, more drug offenders behind bars, crime down 13% in Massachusetts...

(TINY TEXT AT BOTTOM OF SCREEN):
PAID FOR BY THE DEMOCRATIC
NATIONAL COMMITTEE AND
AUTHORIZED BY THE DUKAKIS-BENTSEN
COMMITTEE INC.

Man 2 | Just what I mean. How long do you expect to get away with this furlough thing?

Man 1 | How many more weeks until the election, Bernie? (laughter)

1988 DOC. #3b



Dukakis "Packaging" TV Commercial (full commercial)

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

VERSION 3b:
Commercial Script:

SAME AS ABOVE, PLUS:

VO | They'd like to sell you a package. Wouldn't you rather choose a President?

QUESTION **Could the information presented in this commercial also contain lies?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Yes, because all political commercials are exempt from truth in advertising regulations.

QUESTION **Is this a positive, message-based commercial or a negative, attack-based commercial? Explain your answer.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER This commercial has elements of both.

EVIDENCE it's message-based in having the man in the bow tie explain the truth about Dukakis' record on crime; it is negative in its portrayal of the Bush team as out to fool the public

QUESTION **Polls show that the public does not like negative commercials. Why are they so prevalent during presidential campaigns?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER They are used because they are effective in swaying people to vote against the candidate being attacked.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Some felt that this commercial was too subtle and could be confusing for voters. Do you think this is the case? Why or why not?

How can one know what is true and what isn't when commercials make statements about a candidate's record?

What role should the media play in assessing the accuracy of claims in political commercials?

Should political commercials be covered under truth in advertising regulations? If so, what about freedom of speech?

False statements reported in the press can have a big effect on public opinion, even when corrections are run. How can this problem be addressed?

SEE NOTE →

ADDITIONAL INFO

An additional problem for Dukakis was his campaign structure. Unlike the Bush campaign, which gave much freer reign to its advertising team, Dukakis wanted to approve all commercials before they were shown. This slowed the process of responding to Bush and caused many potential commercials to be scrapped. The result was the resignation of many of the commercial experts who had signed on to the Dukakis campaign.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

**Attack
Media Bias**

NOTE

Note: After the 1988 campaign "ad watches" were instituted by newspaper and television media organizations to track and report on the accuracy of political commercials.

TEACHER GUIDE

1988 DOC. #4: Dukakis "Tank Ride" Photo, and Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial

Media:

4b. "Tank Ride" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1988 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The ability of candidates to be strong leaders of a major military superpower has come up in every election since the Cold War began. This was the case in 1988 when George Bush questioned Michael Dukakis' fitness to be Commander in Chief.

Several Bush commercials featured clips from a failed "photo opportunity" that showed Dukakis riding in an M1 tank at a defense plant in Michigan. This photo became a memorable example of a media event that backfired. It was shown 18 times on network television during the campaign as an example of the way that Dukakis had failed to control his image.

> Project the document.

QUESTION **What message do you think the Dukakis campaign was trying to communicate when they set up this photo op?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Dukakis is strong on defense and comfortable with the military.

EVIDENCE he is shown riding in a tank, has a helmet on, and is smiling

QUESTION **Why do you think this photo op backfired?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Dukakis is wearing a tie and has his name written on the front of his helmet, and the tank isn't traveling on an actual battlefield.

> **Explain** that you will now show a Bush campaign commercial that uses video from this same Dukakis media event.

> **Play** the video clip, 1988 doc. #4b.

1988 DOC. #4a



Dukakis Tank Ride Photo
PowerPoint Slide

1988 DOC. #4b



Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride"
TV Commercial
Video Clip
Length: 30 seconds

QUESTION	What message is the Bush campaign offering about Dukakis? Give evidence.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He has opposed new defense and weapons systems and he has been critical of past military campaigns. He is therefore unfit to become Commander in Chief in a dangerous world.
EVIDENCE	the listing of the defense and weapons systems that he has opposed; quote: "America can't afford that risk"; Dukakis in the tank looking absurd and un-presidential
QUESTION	Does this commercial relate to Dukakis' qualifications for the presidency? Why or why not?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Some elements of the commercial relate to his qualifications and others don't.
EVIDENCE	Dukakis' stand on national defense and weapons systems relates to his qualifications to become Commander in Chief; the image of Dukakis in the tank has little bearing on whether or not he would be a good decision-maker regarding defense policy

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Often much is made about a single slip-up by a candidate. Consider Muskie's supposedly tearful press conference in 1972, or the Howard Dean "screaming" scene that helped knock him out of the 2004 Democratic race. Should a candidate be judged by a single failed media event like this? Why or why not?

Should a candidate's image, or ability to successfully craft and control his or her image, be a major factor in an election?

Does a candidate's support for specific weapons systems indicate his or her ability to be a strong leader in defense of the country? Why or why not?

Commercial Script:

VO Michael Dukakis has opposed virtually every new defense system we developed.- He opposed new aircraft carriers.- He opposed anti-satellite weapons.- He opposed four missile systems, including Pershing II missile deployment.- Dukakis opposed the Stealth bomber and a ground emergency warning system against nuclear attack.- He even criticized our rescue mission to Grenada and our strike on Libya.- And now he wants to be our Commander in Chief.- America can't afford that risk.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Dukakis claimed in his own commercials that the Bush allegations were inaccurate. The Bush campaign then ran another commercial on the same topic with the same footage of the tank. This commercial ran just eight days before the end of the campaign, giving Dukakis little time to respond. This commercial, entitled "Tank 2," showed a caricature of Mount Rushmore with the faces of losing Democratic candidates George McGovern, Jimmy Carter, and Walter Mondale alongside Dukakis.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Foreign Policy

HANDOUT

1992 ELECTION



BILL CLINTON
and Al Gore

POPULAR VOTE: 44,908,233
ELECTORAL VOTE: 370

DEMOCRAT

Clinton was the **Governor of Arkansas**.

Clinton's **charismatic** campaign style helped him, particularly in "town hall" style debates.

Clinton reached out to **young people** through appearances on MTV and *The Arsenio Hall Show*.

Clinton attacked Bush on the \$4 billion **national debt**, **unemployment**, and the **recession**. Clinton campaign strategist James Carville hung a sign saying, "It's the economy, stupid" on their headquarters' wall in Little Rock.

Baby Boomers (those born from 1946-1964) elected their first **baby boomer ticket** (Clinton/Gore).

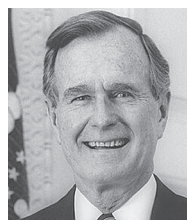
Clinton's **humble roots** helped him to connect with poor people, particularly in the South where Democrats had lost dominance.

Clinton, from Arkansas, and Gore, from Tennessee, were both moderates, giving Democrats a clear **Southern strategy**.

African Americans overwhelmingly voted for Clinton over Bush.

The Democratic Party was **unified** behind a candidate for the first time since 1964.

With support from **Jimmy Carter** who praised his "honesty and integrity," Clinton successfully **refuted charges** of draft dodging and extra-marital affairs.



GEORGE BUSH
and Dan Quayle

POPULAR VOTE: 39,102,282
ELECTORAL VOTE: 168

REPUBLICAN

Bush was the **incumbent President**.

Although Bush had successfully led the largest military campaign since the Vietnam War, the **sluggish economy** was more important to voters than the **Gulf War** of 1991.

Bush urged **campaign finance reform**.

The Reagan administration's **Iran-Contra scandal** hurt Bush, who was accused of playing a key role in the affair.

Anti-abortion, anti-gay, and anti-liberal activists at the convention gave an impression that the Republican Party was **intolerant**.

THIRD PARTIES

Pat Buchanan attacked Bush from the right in the primaries while independent candidate Ross Perot took votes from Bush in the general election that may have given Clinton the margin of victory he needed. Both Perot and Buchanan attacked **Free Trade Agreements** signed by Bush.

Independent candidate **Ross Perot** effectively used appearances on **TV talk shows** to reach voters. He spent \$60 million of his own fortune to buy a series of 30-minute **TV infomercials**.

George Bush reluctantly agreed to three debates with Clinton and Perot, one of which was the first "town hall" debate featuring questions from citizens rather than reporters. One questioner asked the candidates if they knew the price of everyday grocery items like milk. Bush, who had clearly not shopped for himself in a long time, seemed disconnected from middle-class realities. Clinton, who seemed well-prepared for the question, responded in a way that showed he "felt the pain" of people struggling to make ends meet.

NAME:

Date:

Below are excerpts from the voice-overs of each commercial. Identify each statement as either opinion or fact, then decide if any of the facts are debatable and if so, briefly note why.

TEXT FROM THE BUSH COMMERCIAL:

1. In his 12 years as Governor, Bill Clinton has doubled his state debt, doubled government spending, and signed the largest tax increase in his state's history.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

2. Yet his state remains the 45th worst in which to work, the 45th worst for children. It has the worst environmental record.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

3. And the FBI says Arkansas has America's biggest increase in the rate of serious crime.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

4. And now Bill Clinton says he wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas. America can't take that risk.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

TEXT FROM THE CLINTON COMMERCIAL:

5. For 12 years he has battled the odds in one of America's poorest states and made steady progress.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

6. Arkansas is now first in the nation in job growth.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

7. Even Bush's own Secretary of Labor just called job growth in Arkansas enormous. He moved 17,000 from welfare to work.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

8. And he's kept taxes low: Arkansas has the second-lowest tax burden in the country.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

9. No wonder his fellow Governors, Democrats and Republicans, have named him the nation's most effective Governor. Bill Clinton: For people for a change.

☐ OPINION ☐ FACT Debatable? _____

TEACHER ANSWER GUIDE FOR 1992 DOC. #3**TEXT FROM THE BUSH COMMERCIAL:**

- 1. In his 12 years as Governor, Bill Clinton has doubled his state debt, doubled government spending, and signed the largest tax increase in his state's history.**

FACT - These are provable facts but they rely upon definitions that may be biased. A doubling of state debt could simultaneously represent a reduction in the debt as a percentage of the state budget particularly considering inflation and the growth of the budget over 12 years. Was "the largest tax increase in that state's history" over time, or a one-shot increase in sales tax? Was it larger in inflation-adjusted dollars?

- 2. Yet his state remains the 45th worst in which to work, the 45th worst for children. It has the worst environmental record.**

OPINION - "Worst" is an opinion. Worst in what ways, according to what criteria? Who is the Corporation for Enterprise Development, the Center for the Study of Social Policy, and the Institute for Southern Studies, and are they non-partisan?

- 3. And the FBI says Arkansas has America's biggest increase in the rate of serious crime.**

FACT - There is less to debate here since the FBI statistics are not likely to be skewed for partisan purposes and the criteria for "biggest increase" are relatively clear.

- 4. And now Bill Clinton says he wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas. America can't take that risk.**

OPINION - Bill Clinton's statement may be a direct quote but the "risk" is an opinion.

TEXT FROM THE CLINTON COMMERCIAL:

- 5. For 12 years he has battled the odds in one of America's poorest states and made steady progress.**

OPINION - "battled the odds" and "made steady progress" are both opinions

- 6. Arkansas is now first in the nation in job growth.**

FACT - Although this is a provable fact, it is important to consider how job growth is defined. A different definition might result in a different fact. Who is the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and is it non-partisan?

- 7. Even Bush's own Secretary of Labor just called job growth in Arkansas enormous. He moved 17,000 from welfare to work.**

FACT - The quote is provable, the Arkansas Department of Human Services seems like a reliable source, but how did they come up with the number 17,000?

- 8. And he's kept taxes low: Arkansas has the second lowest tax burden in the country.**

BOTH OPINION & FACT - Low is an opinion. What criteria were used to determine this?

- 9. No wonder his fellow Governors, Democrats and Republicans, have named him the nation's most effective Governor. Bill Clinton: For people for a change.**

BOTH OPINION & FACT - The Governors' Award is provable. The slogan is an opinion.

TEACHER GUIDE

1992 DOC. #1: Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial

Media:

1. "Journey" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1992 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In the classic 1939 film, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*, Jimmy Stewart plays a young idealistic man who is elected to the Senate as a Washington outsider, untainted by all the corruption associated with capitol politics. This film was a dramatization of a common theme in U.S. politics. From Andrew Jackson in 1828, to Ronald Reagan in 1980, the role of the heroic outsider who comes in from "out West" to tame Washington has carried many candidates successfully into the White House. Bill Clinton used his "outside the beltway status" to follow that familiar path to the presidency.

Seven months before the election, Bill Clinton's campaign team gathered a focus group of potential voters to determine how the public viewed Clinton. Their findings were that potential voters didn't know or trust Clinton. They thought that he was a typical politician, born to wealth and privilege (Morreale 164). To correct this, his advisors decided to put Clinton in situations that were not typical of candidates up to that point. He played saxophone on *The Arsenio Hall Show*, answered questions about whether he wore "boxers or briefs" on MTV, and ate at McDonalds with the cameras rolling. Soon his image had changed. Over time Clinton was seen as a "New Democrat," different from the Republican President George Bush but also different from "Old Democrats" like Michael Dukakis and Walter Mondale.

Bill Clinton wanted to emphasize his youth. He was part of the first generation born after World War II, a time of Vietnam War protest and the Peace Corps. He was careful not to be seen as too far out of the mainstream, since that perception had destroyed the candidacy of George McGovern twenty years before. At the same time, he wanted to show that he was young and ready to replace the tired, old ideas of the Reagan/Bush era. The video clip you will see is from a 90-second commercial taken from a longer campaign film entitled *The Man From Hope* that had been shown at the Democratic convention to introduce the nominee.

Commercial Script:

CLINTON:

I was born in a little town called Hope, Arkansas, three months after my father died.- I remember that old, two-story house where I lived with my grandparents.- They had very limited income.- It was in 1963 that I went to Washington and met President Kennedy at the Boys' Nation program.- And I remember just thinking what an incredible country this was, that somebody like me, you know had no money or anything, would be given the opportunity to meet the President.- That's when I decided that I could really do public service 'cause I cared so much about people.- I worked my way through law school with part-time jobs, anything I could find.- And after I graduated I didn't really care about making a lot of money, I just wanted to go home and see if I could make a difference.- We've worked hard on education and health care, to create jobs and we've made real progress.- Now it's exhilarating to me to think that as President I could help to change all our people's lives for the better and bring hope back to the American dream.

1992 DOC. #1



Clinton "Journey" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 minute, 30 seconds

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What are the messages of this commercial? Give evidence to support your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Clinton came from a humble family background and he worked hard to be of service to others.
EVIDENCE	"I lived with my grandparents... on a very limited income," "I worked my way through law school," and "I could really do public service"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a warm and friendly man and his election will bring hope.
EVIDENCE	images of Clinton smiling and his friendly voice begins with the words, "I was born in Hope" and ends with, "bring hope back"
QUESTION	What types of images have been selected and what messages are they meant to convey?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The images chosen include black and white scrapbook-type photos to make Clinton seem like a regular guy and just one of the family. Images of him meeting with President Kennedy convey that the torch is being passed to the next generation through Clinton. Color photos of Clinton as Governor appearing with children, elders, and workers make him seem caring and friendly.
QUESTION	What do you notice about the audio, both Clinton's narration and the background music? What message is the audio track meant to convey?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Clinton's talking is quiet and conversational, meant to convey that he is a warm and likeable man. The music is quiet, light, and upbeat, which underlines the hopeful and familiar message of Clinton's words.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What advantages might a biographical commercial like this have over an attack commercial?

Can you think of current examples of candidates using images of hope, family, and community service to encourage voter support?

What groups might this commercial be particularly effective in targeting?

ADDITIONAL INFO

The producers of "Journey," Linda Bloodworth-Thomason and her husband Harry Thomason, had previously co-produced the popular sitcoms *Designing Women* and *Evening Shade*.

The Clinton team wanted to encourage an association between their candidate and the heroes of the 1960s. The film included images and reflections on Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy as well as John F. Kennedy. The JFK footage inspired particular comment from the press. After the election, *Time* magazine reported on the importance of the "Man From Hope" theme: "Indeed, the most memorable moment in the convention video about the man from Hope was the scene of the eager student being inspired by Kennedy's anointing touch." *Newsweek* declared, "the footage rises from mere advertising to the realm of prophetic history. For it documents JFK reaching across the years to a boy he did not know — and to whom the torch of leadership now passes in an emphatic statement of America's desire for change."

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"

"Family Man"

Target Audience (Rural Poor)

TEACHER GUIDE

1992 DOC. #2: Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial

Media:

2. "What I am Fighting For" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1992 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Voters' confidence in the economy is one key indicator as to how people will vote in a presidential election. If people feel the economy is doing well then it is likely that they will see the President as responsible and give him or her their votes. If the economy is seen as doing poorly, the President is likely to be blamed and votes may go to the opponent. In 1992 President Bush was seen as out of touch with the day-to-day economic concerns of the average citizen after he marveled at the "new" scanners at supermarket checkout lanes when such technology had in fact been in place for a long time (as most shoppers knew).

President Bush entered the election campaign in the spring of 1992 with some bad economic news. Unemployment was up, household income was down, health care costs were increasing, and the federal deficit was growing. He faced criticism from third-party candidate Ross Perot for supporting free trade legislation and criticism from conservative Republicans for raising taxes despite his famous pledge in 1988: "Read my lips, no new taxes."

The Democratic team knew that the weak economy would also be a weak point for Bush. A famous sign at Clinton's Arkansas campaign headquarters, "It's the Economy, Stupid," was meant to remind campaign workers to concentrate on economic policy rather than on a host of other issues. Bush's advisors decided to counter this with a series of strong responses in their own political commercials.

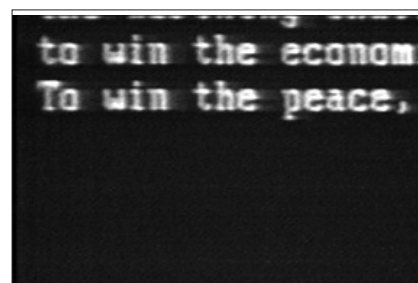
Here is a Bush commercial entitled, "What I am Fighting For." Think about its message and about how it is different from the Clinton commercial you just viewed.

Commercial Script:

BUSH:

The world is in transition. The defining challenge of the '90s is to win the economic competition, to win the peace. We must be a military superpower, an economic superpower, and an export superpower. In this election you'll hear two versions of how to do this – theirs is to look inward, ours is to look forward. Prepare our people to compete, to save, and invest so we can win. Here's what I'm fighting for: open markets for American products, lower government spending, tax relief, opportunities for small business, legal and health reform, job training, and new schools built on competition, ready for the 21st century.

1992 DOC. #2



Bush "What I am Fighting For" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 minute

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What are the messages of this commercial? Give evidence to support your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The United States must remain a superpower in the 21st century. It must compete to win economically and militarily. Bush will fight to help the U.S. to go forward.
EVIDENCE	"we must be a military superpower, an economic superpower, and an export superpower," "prepare our people to compete...so we can win," and "here's what I'm fighting for"
QUESTION	What types of images have been selected and what messages are they meant to convey?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Image of Bush speaking shows him as strong and confident. Images of a military jet, an automotive and steel plant, and a container ship suggest military, economic, and export strength. Images of a tax credit form, a family, and a school shows support for children and family. The projected words are meant to underscore Bush's remarks.
QUESTION	What do you notice about the narration and the background music? What message is the soundtrack meant to convey?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush's delivery is loud and strong, meant to suggest a confident and commanding leader. The music is percussive, rising to a crescendo with applause to suggest enthusiasm as the name "BUSH" concludes the visual images.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Compare this commercial with the "Man From Hope" commercial for themes and style. Which do you think is more effective and why?

Do highly polished commercials like these promote or discourage political participation? Why or why not?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Sometimes a candidate's recorded voice is manipulated to adjust its tone or sound. In 1976, Jimmy Carter's campaign managers speeded up some of Carter's speeches to replace the candidates' slow Southern drawl with a pace reflecting deliberateness. In 1992, the Bush team slowed Bush's voice to make him sound "less whiny" while his primary opponent, Pat Buchanan, sped up the tape to make Bush seem high-pitched (Kamber 222).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Economic Issues
Foreign Policy

TEACHER GUIDE

1992 DOC. #3: Bush & Clinton "Arkansas" TV Commercials

Media:

3a. "Arkansas" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1992 digital media folder)

3b. "Steady" video (access online or via 1984-1992, 1992 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Negative campaigning has been a part of U.S. presidential politics since the first contested election, but the abundance of negative commercials in the 1988 presidential election drew newfound scrutiny. One of the strategies the news media used to examine the issue of negative campaigning was through "ad watches." These are reports on the truthfulness of statements made by candidates in their commercials. In the 1992 campaign, these ad watches became a regular part of newspaper and network news coverage. Not everyone agrees on the effectiveness of ad watches. Supporters say that the ad watches help keep campaigns in check by exposing lies. Critics say that they can't keep candidates from gaining votes from deceptive commercials, since many more people see the commercials than the ad watches.

The Clinton campaign learned a great deal from studying how Bush had effectively attacked Dukakis in 1988. They saw that Dukakis was hurt by failing to respond quickly and forcefully to Bush's charges. This gave many voters the impression that the Bush commercials (like the Willie Horton or Revolving Door commercials) were true. As a result Clinton's team decided to respond immediately to negative commercials from Bush. Pairs of attack and response commercials occurred frequently toward the end of the 1992 campaign when Bush was behind in the polls. Some felt that the speed at which these commercials appeared made it hard for voters to distinguish between what was true and what was false.

You will now watch two commercials about Clinton's record as Governor of Arkansas, the first from the Bush campaign and the second from the Clinton campaign. Again, notice the images and audio track. Ask yourself how a voter might find out the truth in a case where two commercials come to contradictory conclusions.

Commercial Script:

VOICE OVER:

In his 12 years as Governor, Bill Clinton has doubled his state's debt, doubled government spending, and signed the largest tax increase in his state's history.- Yet his state remains the 45th worst in which to work, the 45th worst for children.- It has the worst environmental policy.- And the FBI says Arkansas has America's biggest increase in the rate of serious crime.

And now Bill Clinton says he wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas.- America can't take that risk.

> **Play** the video clip, 1992 doc. #3a.

1992 DOC. #3a



Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

Script on Student Handout

QUESTION **What claims are made about Clinton's record in Arkansas? Give evidence from the commercial to back up your statements.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Things are worse off in Arkansas under Clinton. Taxes, spending, debt and crime are all growing. Jobs, children, and the environment have been neglected.

EVIDENCE quotes: "doubled his state's debt, doubled government spending, signed the largest tax increase in his state's history," the state ranks "45th worst in which to work, the 45th worst for children. It has the worst environmental policy," "biggest increase in the rate of serious crime"

QUESTION **What images and sounds are used in this commercial and for what purposes?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER An approaching thunderstorm and a vulture in a tree suggest dangerous and hard times.

Commercial Script:

VOICE OVER:

For 12 years he's battled the odds in one of America's poorest states and made steady progress.- Arkansas is now first in the nation in job growth.- Even Bush's own Secretary of Labor just called job growth in Arkansas enormous.- He moved 17,000 people from welfare to work.- And he's kept taxes low: Arkansas has the second lowest tax burden in the country.- No wonder his fellow Governors, Democrats and Republicans, have named him the nation's most effective Governor.-

Bill Clinton:

For people for a change.

> **Play** the video clip, 1992 doc. #3b.

1992 DOC. #3b



Clinton "Steady" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 30 seconds

Script on Student Handout

QUESTION **What claims are made about Clinton's record in Arkansas? Give evidence from the commercial to back up your statements.**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Things in Arkansas are better under his leadership.

EVIDENCE quotes: "first in the nation in job growth," "17,000 people from welfare to work," "kept taxes low," "second lowest tax burden in the country," "Governors, Democrats and Republicans, have named him the nation's most effective Governor," he received praise from the Secretary of Labor

QUESTION **What images are used and for what purposes?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The commercial shows Clinton multitasking at his desk to portray him as an active leader.

QUESTION **What sounds are used and for what purposes?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The commercial has upbeat and authoritative music, rising in tone to suggest strong leadership and mounting hope.

> **Distribute** the handout "Clinton's Arkansas Record" that includes the two commercials' scripts. **Have students** work individually or in pairs.

> Discuss their answers using the separate **Teacher Answer Guide** provided with the student handout.

QUESTION **Which statements, if any, are contradictory in the two commercials?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER None of the statements are actually contradictory although they lead to very different conclusions.

EVIDENCE the Clinton commercial claims that "Arkansas is first in the nation in job growth" while the Bush commercial says that Arkansas is "the 45th worst in which to work," they seem contradictory, but we are not told what criteria make a state the "first" or the "worst"; Clinton's commercial cites a figure about movement from welfare to work, while the Bush commercial gives no criteria for concluding Arkansas is the "worst in which to work," it's possible that both statements could be factually true; Arkansas may have made record progress in creating jobs but still lag behind nearly all the other states in other work-related standards, similarly, Arkansas taxes could have been so low to begin with that Clinton "signed the largest tax increase in the state's history" (Bush's claim) while maintaining "the second lowest tax burden in the country"

QUESTION **How can we uncover the truth about claims in political commercials?**

- SUGGESTED ANSWER
- distinguish provable facts from opinions
 - identify the source of the facts and any potential bias in the source
 - evaluate the credibility of statements by asking questions such as: What words are used, what definitions are being used, and how current is the information?
 - research independent sources for less biased information

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Economics

TEACHER GUIDE

1992 DOC. #4: *Time* Cover, Clinton

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

"Can you trust him?" This question has been central in the mass marketing of U.S. presidential campaigns since Watergate. In 1974 the televised impeachment hearings were a daily reminder that President Nixon had deceived the people. In most subsequent elections, issues of character, trust, and honesty have been raised. In 2000, Republican candidate George W. Bush repeatedly attacked Democrat Al Gore for exaggerating the truth about key roles he had played in previous administration, noting that Gore once seemed to imply that he had invented the Internet. The issue of trust was a major factor in Gore's loss. In 2004, Democratic candidate John Kerry attacked incumbent President George W. Bush for having lied about reasons for going to war with Iraq.

The "trust" issue became a major problem early in the Clinton campaign of 1992 when the weekly tabloid *The Star* ran a headline "MY 12-YEAR AFFAIR WITH BILL CLINTON," describing allegations by a woman named Gennifer Flowers. Bill and Hillary Clinton responded to the charges with an appearance on the *Sixty Minutes* evening news program in which Clinton admitted to causing "pain" in his marriage, but denied having the affair. Flowers then held a press conference in which she played tapes of intimate conversations with Clinton, but she lost credibility when it was revealed that she had been encouraged by Republican aides and was paid by *The Star* for her story. The trust question shifted from "Can you trust him?" to "Who do you trust less, the candidate or the media?"

The Bush campaign tried to make an issue of Clinton's character by running commercials questioning his honesty. One of the Bush commercials used the following document, a cover of *Time* magazine from the week of April 20, 1992, to discredit him. In this case the images of Clinton as not-to-be-trusted did not translate into votes for Bush. Clinton got the nickname "the comeback kid" for surviving these charges and going on to win primaries, the nomination, and eventually the presidency.

> Project the document.

QUESTION

What messages are communicated here about candidate Bill Clinton? Give evidence from the cover.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Clinton can't be trusted and this may cost him the election.

EVIDENCE

the text: "Why Voters Don't Trust Clinton," Clinton's image as a photographic negative – implying that the candidate is not as he seems or that something is reversed or hidden

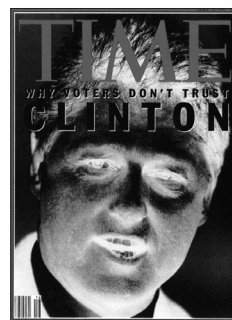
QUESTION

Who created this negative construction of Clinton?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The editors and artists at *Time* magazine.

1992 DOC. #4



***Time* cover, Clinton**

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

Why would *Time* construct this critical image of Clinton?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Time may have been trying to raise important questions about the candidate, to follow up on issues already raised in the campaign, to hurt Clinton's chances, or to use drama and controversy to sell more magazines.

SEE NOTE →**FURTHER QUESTIONS**

Should a candidate's personal life be an issue in a campaign? Why or why not?

All voters did not distrust Clinton, at least in 1992. Why didn't the *Time* headline read "Why some voters don't trust Clinton?"

How has the question of character been raised in recent campaigns?

NOTE

Although reputable news magazines have a clear policy against altering news photos within their magazines, they regularly manipulate photographs on their covers. The magazines consider cover images to be advertisements for the magazine, not news.

ADDITIONAL INFO

The text for the cover story on *Time's* magazine was "Qualms about his character could doom him in November." They didn't, but issues of character and trust dogged Clinton throughout his presidency. He was later impeached for having sexual relations with White House intern Monica Lewinsky and lying about it afterwards.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

**Attack
Media Bias**

TEACHER GUIDE

1992 DOC. #5: *Campaigns & Elections* Cover

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

With the rise of new media and technologies in the 1980s and '90s, the techniques of marketing candidates changed dramatically. Mass marketing strategies began to be used in conjunction with newer micromarketing tactics. In mass marketing, campaign managers are able to reach huge numbers of potential voters across the country quickly and efficiently through television and magazines. With micro-marketing, campaign managers target certain voters in particular areas where a handful of votes could sway a "key" district in a "battleground" state and thus win a close election.

Micro-marketing through cable TV allowed campaigns to appeal to specific audiences such as "soccer moms" or "NASCAR dads." Such precise targeting of specific blocks of voters in particular counties in Michigan and Florida may have determined the results of the 2000 and 2004 Presidential election.

The next document you will see is a 1990 cover of a magazine designed for campaign specialists called *Campaigns and Elections*. The image compares new and old campaign methods.

> Project the document.

QUESTION

What are some of the "old ways" of campaigning that are shown in the top frame? Are these tools for appealing to individual voters, to large masses of voters, or to special target populations?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The "old ways" include yard signs, personal letter appeals, and hand counting potential votes. They are examples of tools to appeal to individuals.

QUESTION

What are some of the "new ways" of campaigning that are shown in the bottom frame? Are these tools for appeals to individual voters, to large masses of voters, or to special target populations?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The "new ways" include computer modeling, computer polling, and precinct targeting. They are examples of tools to appeal to both mass populations and special target populations.

1992 DOC. #5

*Campaigns & Elections*
Cover

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION Which types of campaigning does the cartoonist consider more efficient and useful? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The new ways shown on the bottom are portrayed as more effective.

EVIDENCE a manager in the top frame has his eyes closed, another has his tongue hanging out, and a third is looking eagerly towards the bottom frame; the new managers in the bottom frame are focused as a team, smiling, and seem more productive

QUESTION Judging from this image, from what demographic groups are campaign managers likely to come? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Campaign managers are likely to be white upper-middle class men and women.

EVIDENCE of the seven managers shown, all appear to be white and middle class with suits and ties

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters (micro-marketing)

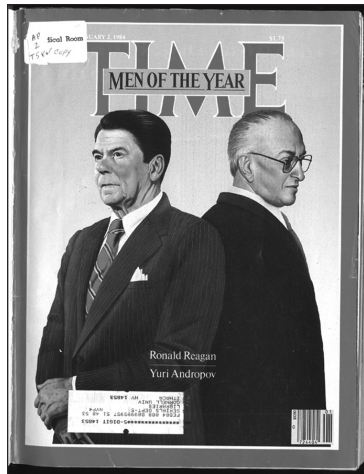
FURTHER QUESTIONS

Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a campaign run by experts in media and marketing.

If a small number of voters control election outcomes, do we really have a representative democracy?

How have new technologies in media and communications aided the process of mass marketing and micromarketing? How has this impacted voter turnout?

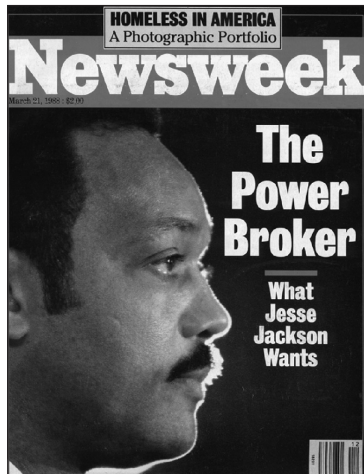
1984-1992: Mass Marketing the Image



1984: *Time* Cover of Reagan & Andropov



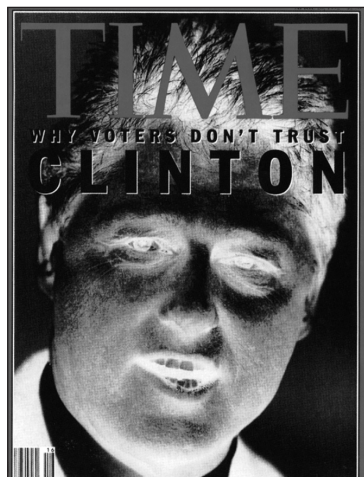
1984: Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial



1988: *Newsweek* Cover of Jesse Jackson



1988: Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial



1992: *Time* Cover of Bill Clinton



1992: Bush "Arkansas" TV Commercial

Essay Question:

Discuss how fear was used in the media to persuade voters in the elections of 1984, 1988 and 1992. Use at least one example from each election year from the documents above.

NAME:

Date:

Name two techniques Reagan's media team used to portray the Soviet Union as dangerous in the "Bear in the Woods" commercial.

Explain how the *Newsweek* cover suggested that Jesse Jackson could not win his party's nomination for President even though he was a front-runner at the time.

Describe how Bush's "Revolving Door" TV commercial used fear to persuade people to vote against Michael Dukakis.

List two ways in which the *Time* cover suggested fear of a Clinton presidency.

List the ways in which Bush's "Arkansas 2" TV commercial used sounds and images to instill fear in viewers.

OVERVIEW

2000-2008: Targeting the Spin

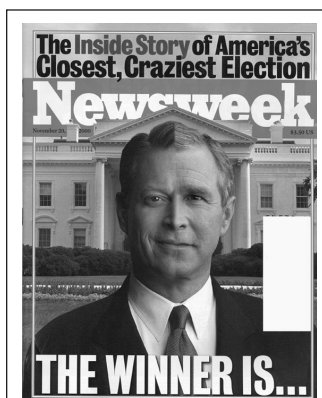
Media:

2000-2008 PowerPoint (access online or via 2000-2008 digital media folder)

2000-2008 Assessments PowerPoint (access online or via 2000-2008 digital media folder)

From our country's earliest political campaigns, candidates have sought to "spin" or manipulate their image and the image of their opponents in the media. In the 18th century this included publishing letters in newspapers and commissioning portraits. More recently, new technologies and vast financial resources have elevated "spin doctoring" to a level never imagined by our nation's founders. Contemporary campaigns use sophisticated polling techniques to identify "swing" states, counties and voters who can make the difference in a close election, and new communication technologies give campaigns unprecedented access to these swing voters. With billion dollar war chests, modern campaigns are using these technologies in a 24/7 rapid-fire targeting of their spin.

Micro-marketing of political candidates contributed



What position is this Newsweek cover taking on the disputed 2000 election?

to the disputed election of 2000 when Al Gore won the popular vote but George W. Bush won the electoral college and took the presidency in the closest election on record. Four years later Bush won re-election, again by only a one-state margin. With an evenly divided electorate both parties focused on identifying and targeting swing voters. Sophisticated ad campaigns blanketed key counties in "battleground states" as candidates reached out to suburban home-

makers, Latinos, religious groups, and young voters. An unprecedented amount of money went into targeting specific demographic groups such as these through an expanding mass media. The growth of cable television and the Internet allowed both parties to target niche markets through specially designed web sites, commercials and print ads. Candidates, once afraid of appearing "un-presidential," now routinely appeared on late-night TV in an attempt to craft their images to appeal to young voters.

SPIN IN THE DIGITAL AGE

The art of political spin—the shaping of a candidate's image in the media—is not new. The managers of William Henry Harrison's 1840 election bid were able to transform a slur on their candidate and "spin" it to victory in the famous Log Cabin and Hard Cider Campaign. By the beginning of the 21st century political spinning became a high art. Spin, or what some critics termed "strategic dishonesty," could now be spread in new ways by Internet blogs and TV commercials from "527" groups (independent advocacy groups like the liberal MoveOn.org, or the anti-Obama American Issues Project). Under new campaign finance laws the "527" groups were allowed to make political contributions to candidates without the restrictions that were placed on the political parties themselves. The result was a flurry of negative spin and counter-spin managed hour by hour online from the campaign "war rooms" of each candidate.

MEDIA LANDSCAPE

Since the earliest U.S. presidential elections, candidates have sought ways to connect to the voters and get their messages across. Two hundred years ago that included letters published in newspapers, handbills, popular songs, and banners carried in parades.



Why is the Internet a particularly effective medium for campaign micro-marketing?

Now there is an astounding and expanding array of new media with which to communicate with an electorate far more diverse in race, gender and age than in 1840. Presidential campaigns have worked furiously to keep up with these changes.

RACE, GENDER, CLASS AND AGE

The election of 2008 was historic not only in the ability of the campaigns to target specific identity groups through new information technologies, but also in the slate of candidates. Barack Obama, the nation's first African American presidential candidate nominated by a major political party, ran neck and neck in the Democratic primaries against Hillary Clinton, the first woman candidate in the frontrunner position. 47 year-old Obama ran in the general election against 72 year-old John McCain who nominated a woman, Sarah Palin, as his running mate.

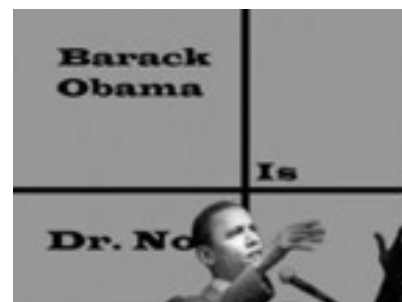
Hillary Clinton, in her hard fought primary campaign, was criticized for being both "cold and emotionless" and for showing "too much emotion." As a woman candidate for the nation's highest office she had the challenge of appearing "tough enough" to be commander in chief while maintaining an "acceptable" female image. Early in his primary campaign Barack Obama was accused by some of not being "Black enough" while in the general election some opponents attempted to spin his image as "too Black" for mainstream America.

Obama, a former community organizer, used the tools of a younger generation to mount the first "networked" campaign of the 21st century. His Facebook

page attracted millions of new "friends," many of them likely voters. He used text messaging to announce his choice of Joe Biden as his running mate. He launched a new web site, Fightthesmears.com, to quickly contradict rumors that spread at a viral pace on the Internet. These strategies and others helped propel Obama to what Politico.com called "the most impressive youth mandate in modern American history," winning 66% of the under-30 vote. Obama's team help set the course for how future campaigns will use new media to reach voters from all identity groups.

MEDIA LITERACY AND DEMOCRACY

Thomas Jefferson wrote that a literate and educated citizenry is essential for the success of American democracy. In Jefferson's day mass communication occurred almost exclusively through the printed word. Today we are saturated by an endless barrage of sounds and images streamed through a diverse and ever-present mass media. In order to be "literate and educated" in the 21st century, our citizens must have the skills to critically analyze and integrate messages from different media sources. We must be able to use media wisely and effectively, to understand and evaluate information from the visual, digital, and print worlds. Media literacy has become essential for a true and lasting democracy.

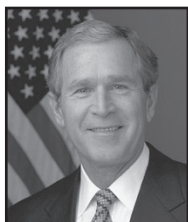


Who spun this image? What are the messages about Barack Obama?

	late 1990s	2000	2004	2008	2010
CONTINUED USE OF		memorabilia, portraits, flyers, banners, signs, posters, pamphlets, direct mail, songs, newspapers, magazines, radio			
TELEVISION RADIO & FILM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Digital TV begins • Coverage of Monica Lewinsky scandal & Clinton impeachment trial 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Major TV networks announce Al Gore elected president • Live coverage of Sept. 11 events & aftermath 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Film <i>Fahrenheit 9/11</i> debuts • CBS "Rathergate" scandal • Al Gore's documentary <i>An Inconvenient Truth</i> wins Oscar 		
			Rise of Clear Channel Radio Network		
			Live coverage of War in Iraq & aftermath		
			Rise of Al Jazeera, first major Arab TV network		
		• TiVo debuts	• YouTube debuts	• YouTube bought by Google	• 3D TV debuts
DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MP3s make music downloads possible • Google debuts • First robocalls 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wikipedia debuts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MySpace debuts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wikileaks.org, open-source site for govt. documents, debuts • Facebook debuts • Facebook overtakes MySpace as most popular social networking site • iPhone debuts • Cell phone users send more text messages than phone calls 	
			Rise of Internet blogging and podcasting		
			Rise of news on the web (Yahoo News, Google News, TV news and print newspapers develop online versions)		
			First wireless laptops		
			Rise of cell phone texting		
			Rise of Twitter		
		• 18 million Internet users in U.S. (1995)	• 40% of U.S. adults go online daily (2005)	• Nearly 80% of U.S. adults go online daily (2007)	• 234 million Internet users in U.S. (2009)
		• 165 million Internet users in U.S. (2002)	• 184 million Internet users in U.S. (2006)		

HANDOUT

2000 ELECTION



GEORGE W. BUSH
and Dick Cheney

POPULAR VOTE: 50,459,211
ELECTORAL VOTE: 271

REPUBLICAN



AL GORE
and Joe Lieberman

POPULAR VOTE: 51,003,894
ELECTORAL VOTE: 266

DEMOCRAT

This was the closest and most disputed election in modern U.S. history. On election night the TV networks initially predicted Gore the winner but later retracted that as Florida results became too close to call. A month later the election was still in dispute when the U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5 to 4 decision, handed down the ruling which resulted in George W. Bush being declared the winner.

George W. Bush was **Governor of Texas** and **son of former President George H. W. Bush**.

"Compassionate conservative" was Bush's self-definition.

Both parties supported **tax cuts** but Bush favored deeper cuts than Gore.

Bush advocated allowing young workers to invest portions of their **Social Security** payments.

Bush targeted religious conservatives, white males, and rural voters.

For the first time the Republican Convention featured African American, Latinos, and women as keynote speakers, emphasizing **diversity** in the party.

John McCain challenged Bush in the Republican primaries calling for campaign finance reform.

The governor of **Florida** (where the disputed election took place) was George W. Bush's brother, Jeb Bush.

Talk-show mania prevailed as both major candidates appeared repeatedly on TV and radio.

Suburban voters were key targets of both major campaigns, and the majority of advertising money was spent in the 15 "battleground states" where polls showed the outcome could go either way.

Al Gore was the **incumbent Vice President**.

Clinton's ethical problems affected Gore's campaign when Bush demanded that Gore denounce the President.

Gore chose Joe Lieberman as his running mate, the **first Jewish candidate** to be named on a national ticket.

Gore was portrayed as a smart but wooden **"policy wonk"** by his opponents.

Gore advocated putting Social Security and Medicare in a secure **"Lock Box"** so it couldn't be used for tax cuts or other federal expenses.

Gore targeted African Americans, college-educated women, and union members.

Senator and former NBA star **Bill Bradley** challenged Gore in the primaries.



RALPH NADER
and Winona LaDuke

POPULAR VOTE: 2,834,410
ELECTORAL VOTE: 0

GREEN PARTY

Green Party candidate Ralph Nader criticized both of his opponents for accepting large donations from corporations and special interest groups. Nader was not invited to participate in the debates. He may have drawn enough liberal votes away from Gore to hand the election to Bush.

The outcome of the election of 1876 was strangely similar to that of 2000. Democrat Samuel Tilden won the popular vote, but lost by one electoral vote to Rutherford B. Hayes who was named President. It took four months before the disputed election was finally decided by an 8-7 vote of a special electoral commission named by a divided Congress. The controversy came down to a quarrel over disputed votes in Florida with suggestions that newly enfranchised African American voters had been intimidated and turned away from voting.

Additional Document Lessons on the Web

The following lessons from the 2000 Presidential Campaign have been deleted from the third edition of *Media Construction of Presidential Campaigns*. They can be found on the web as [Additional Document Lessons](#) at www.projectlooksharp.org.

- Convention Entrances
- Election Campaign Web Sites
- Comic Strips
- *Newsweek* Article: "But Where's the Salsa?"
- *Newsweek* Sidebar: "Faith is Busting Out All Over"

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #1: Music Performances at Conventions

Media:

- 1a. Brooks and Dunn video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)
- 1b. Mickey Hart video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Party nominating conventions have become big business in recent times. Corporations spend huge amounts of money during the conventions to get access to the politicians who will make decisions that will affect their business in the next four years. In 2000 *Business Week Online Magazine* criticized the enormous cost of these conventions - \$50 million for the Republicans and \$45 million for the Democrats. It quoted Fred Wertheimer, president of Democracy 21, a nonpartisan watchdog group: "It's going to reach high levels of obscenity. This is about purchasing access, and it comes at the expense of 250 million Americans who can't do it" (Woellert and Dwyer 2000).

Music has been a part of presidential campaigns in the United States since the early 19th century. In the 21st century music is used at the Party conventions to rouse the delegates before the long-awaited arrival of the nominee.

The following documents are brief clips of the musical performances that preceded the introductions of George W. Bush and Al Gore on the last day of their respective conventions. The Republican convention that you will see first featured country-western stars Brooks and Dunn performing their song "Hard Workin' Man." The second clip shows the Democratic convention, which featured Grateful Dead drummer, Mickey Hart, accompanied by Poncho Sanchez and Teri Lynn Carrington on large surdo drums, and 200 school children with small hand drums. They performed the Vicki Sue Robinson tune, "Turn the Beat Around." The woman in the blue dress is Tipper Gore, the wife of Democratic nominee Al Gore.

As you watch these clips think about the choice of musical styles, lyrics, and performers as a means to persuade certain groups of voters.

> Play the video clip, 2000 doc. #1a.

Excerpt from "Hard Workin' Man"
performed by Brooks & Dunn

*Come Friday night
 I like to party hard
 I carry on with the Cadillac cuties
 Spend my whole week's pay on some weekend beauty
 Come Monday mornin' I'm the first to arrive
 I ain't nothin' but business from nine till five*

*I'm a hard, hard workin' man
 I got it all on the line
 For a piece of the promised land
 I'm burnin' my candle at both ends
 'Bout the only way to keep the fire goin'
 Is to outrun the wind*

*I can't wait to get up in the mornin'
 And do it all over again
 Well I'm a hard livin', hard workin' man
 And women too*

2000 DOC. #1a



Republican Convention
Brooks & Dunn Music

Video Clip

1 min. 30 sec.

> Play the video clip, 2000 doc. #1b.

QUESTION

How might the target audiences be different for these two musical groups or presentations (Brooks & Dunn at the Republican Convention, Mickey Hart and children drumming at the Democratic Convention)?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The performance by Brooks & Dunn may appeal more to working-class whites from rural areas, especially in the South, West and Midwest; the performance by Mickey Hart and the children may appeal more to people of color, women, and people who support diversity.

EVIDENCE

Brooks & Dunn: country-western music like that performed by Brooks & Dunn is most popular with white working-class audiences, and is also more popular in rural areas, especially in the South, West and Midwest; song lyrics: "I'm a hard, hard workin' man," "I got it all on the line for a piece of the promised land," "I ain't nothin' but business from nine till five." Mickey Hart: a woman is the dominant presence on the main stage (Tipper Gore); the band is multi-racial and a popular version of the song was recorded by Gloria Estefan, a Latina singer; the bandleader is a member of the Grateful Dead; the children represent many cultures and races

QUESTION

How do the song lyrics reflect different messages for each party?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

"I'm a hard, hard workin' man. I got it all on the line for a piece of the promised land" reflects the Republicans' message about succeeding through hard work rather than government help. "Turn it upside down, Turn the beat around" suggests the Democratic message of changing the status quo.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Does the choice of music or musicians say anything about the political parties?

Can you think of other campaigns where songs have been used to drive the message of a candidate?

Why has music been such a constant means of campaign expression over the years?

2000 DOC. #1b



Democratic Convention Mickey Hart Music

Video Clip

1 min. 20 sec.

Excerpt from "Turn the Beat Around" by Vicki Sue Robinson as performed by the Mickey Hart Band

*Turn it up, turn it up, turn it upside down
Turn it up, turn it up, turn it upside down
Turn it up, turn it up, turn it up, turn it up,
Turn the beat around
Love to hear percussion
Turn it upside down
Turn the beat around
Love to hear percussion
Turn it upside down
Love to hear percussion
Love to hear it, love to hear it, love to hear it, love to hear percussion*

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Music

Reaching Voters (live music on TV)

Target Audience (country music and Grateful Dead fans)

Consider the songs "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" from 1840 (doc. #4) and "Happy Days Are Here Again" (1932 doc. #1). How were the messages of these songs similar to those of the songs you just heard from 2000? How were they different?

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #2: Biographical Films

Media:

- 2a. Bush Biographical Film video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)
 2b. Gore Biographical Film video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Biographical films of presidential candidates have become a standard part of all national party conventions in recent decades. These films mix information and images from the personal history of the nominee with the larger campaign themes that campaign managers seek to associate with their candidate. These short films are very carefully produced because advisors realize that millions of television viewers will likely get their first in-depth view of the nominee through this medium.

The first clip is from George W. Bush's film shown at the Republican convention prior to his appearance. It is entitled "The Sky's the Limit." The second clip is from the film shown prior to Al Gore's acceptance. It is narrated by Gore's wife, Tipper.

As you watch these clips think about the form (music, images, voice-overs, etc.) as well as the messages.

> Play the video clip, 2000 doc. #2a.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION	What messages are given about George W. Bush in this film clip?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a leader with a vision for America.
EVIDENCE	Bush quote, "You have to know where you want to lead," and "American Dream"; romantic image of U.S. desert West; title: "The Sky's the Limit"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is a pioneer, a cowboy.
EVIDENCE	Bush is driving a pickup truck in a Western desert landscape describing Midland, Texas (his home town) as "on the edge" and Midland people in the '50s as "daring entrepreneurial pioneers"; Midland's slogan: "The Sky's the Limit"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is a common working man.
EVIDENCE	opening images on tractor and in a truck with his dog; old home movie images; informal language with a Texas accent; Barbara Bush quote, "the kids all were the same, they all went to public school"

2000 DOC. #2a



Republican Convention Bush Biographical Film

Video Clip

2 min. 30 sec.

NOTE

If students do not address some of the categories below you can identify the message for them and probe for illustrations in the document through questions such as: "How did the film present George Bush as a visionary leader?" or "What are the messages portrayed by the use of a Western backdrop?"

SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is a caring family man.
EVIDENCE	shown with his dog in a truck, sitting with wife Laura talking about marriage, mother telling touching story about "that caring little boy"
QUESTION	How does the film describe the U.S. in the '50s and '60s when George W. Bush grew up?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The film shows these as ideal times, at least in Midland, Texas.
EVIDENCE	quote: "It was the kinda life most Americans feel is slipping away, safer kids everywhere, baseball, barbeques, football games after church," with faded home movie images of kids raising the flag and playing baseball

> Play the video clip, 2000 doc. #2b.

QUESTION	What messages are given about Al Gore in the film clip?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He has great respect for women.
EVIDENCE	Tipper's role as narrator; focus on women in Gore's life; Tipper's statement that Gore has a "lasting respect for women and their views"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is an everyday guy.
EVIDENCE	snapshots and home movies with Tipper's description: "we also had a lot of fun, riding on his motorcycle, going to concerts, going to the beach, just falling in love"
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Gore has great integrity.
EVIDENCE	story about Al choosing to enlist and go to Vietnam despite his opposition to the war, uplifting music

2000 DOC. #2b



**Democratic Convention
Gore Biographical Film**

Video Clip
2 min.

QUESTION	How does the Gore film present the 1960s?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	According to the depiction in the film, the late '60s were a time of change and crisis.
EVIDENCE	Tipper's quote "an exciting time of great change and controversy" with images of Martin Luther King, Jr., police violence, the Beatles, and a <i>Newsweek</i> cover of an astronaut
QUESTION	Who made these films and for what purpose? Are they accurate portrayals of the candidates?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The films were made by professional filmmakers who were employed by the respective campaigns to highlight the good qualities of their candidate and his campaign themes.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Why might the Gore and Bush films present such different views of the 1960s?

What groups might be targeted by each of these films?

Discuss how biographies relate to job qualifications to be President.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Commoner"

"Family Man"

"Hero"

Reaching Voters (film biography)

- Consider the print biography of Martin Van Buren in 1840 doc. #5, and Bill Clinton's "Journey" TV commercial in 1992 doc. #1. Compare and contrast the form and effectiveness of the biographies of candidates Van Buren and Clinton with those of George W. Bush and Al Gore.
- Consider the 1952 doc. #3 television commercial, "Eisenhower Answers America" and compare the image that Eisenhower is trying to project with the image attempts made by Bush and Gore.

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #3: Election Campaign Commercials

Media:

- 3a. Bush "Dangerous World" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)
- 3b. Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)
- 3c. Nader "Priceless" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Let the voters know who you are and what you stand for. Attack your opponent's character and record. Show that you are the one to trust. These simple rules have often defined a winning strategy for the first 200 years of U.S. presidential election campaigns. In the political campaign ad wars of the 20th century, negative campaigning has become a primary tactic because it has been proven to work, especially since the advent of television as the primary medium influencing voters. President Lyndon Johnson successfully portrayed Republican challenger Barry Goldwater as a dangerous extremist in his 1964 campaign TV commercials (1964 doc. #2), and Goldwater lost by a landslide. Vice President George H. W. Bush attacked Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis mercilessly in his 1988 campaign commercials and was able to come from behind in the polls to win the presidency (1988 docs. #2 and #4).

The following documents are three political campaign TV commercials from the 2000 presidential campaign, one each supporting Bush, Gore, and Green Party candidate Ralph Nader. Pay close attention to both the style and the message of each commercial.

> **Ask** some students to focus on the spoken words, others on the images, and others on the audio track.

> **Play** the video clip, 2000 doc. #3a.

QUESTION **What is the primary message of this commercial?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Bush commercial communicates that the world is a scary place but that he will make the U.S. safer through military strength.

QUESTION **What words does Bush use to communicate this message?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Bush communicates fear through words such as "terror, madmen and missiles," "dangerous world still requires a sharpened sword," and "blackmail." He communicates strength via the phrases, "I will rebuild our military," "missile defense," "touch of iron."

QUESTION **What images does the Bush commercial use to communicate that message?**

2000 DOC. #3a



**Bush "Dangerous World"
TV Commercial
Video Clip**

30 sec.

Commercial Script:

**BUSH "DANGEROUS WORLD"
TV COMMERCIAL**

(Continued on next page)

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The commercial opens with the image of a little girl inside a desolate, fenced in, and windswept compound. This fearful image is followed by quick shots of missiles, night bombings, and a "Caution" sign. The tension is added with images of the little girl disappearing, a rock falling, and a safety cone tipped over. Bush's confident expression and the soldier's hand reaching out to the smiling girl communicate a hopeful image of strength.

QUESTION

What does the audio track contribute to the commercial?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The opening music is deliberately ominous. An open chord with low bass, drums (reminiscent of guns) and an ostinato (a type of repeating rhythm) figure is a musical cliché for danger. This couples well with visuals of an innocent child surrounded by ominous fences. As Bush appears on the screen, the music turns more uplifting and hopeful through its ascending melody. Flutes also enter giving additional lightness and airiness to the message.

> **Ask** some students to focus on the images in the second commercial, others on the audio track, and others on the printed words (there are no spoken words).

> **Play** the video clip, 2000 doc. #3b

QUESTION

What is the primary message of this commercial?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The commercial communicates that Gore is a devoted family man whom you can trust.

QUESTION

What images does the Gore commercial use to communicate that message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The video opens with scrapbook-like images and home movies documenting Al and Tipper's marriage starting with when they were dating to when they were a young family, and together today. This is followed by images of his political work. The commercial closes with dramatic images zooming in on the candidate with children and other supporters.

Bush (VO) Today we live in a world of terror, madmen, and missiles.

GOVERNOR GEORGE W. BUSH

Bush (VO) Our military is challenged by aging weapons and low morale. Because a dangerous world still requires a sharpened sword, I will rebuild our military.

STRENGTHEN MILITARY
RESTORE MORALE
INCREASE PAY

Bush (VO) I will move quickly to defend our country and allies against blackmail by building missile defense systems.

WWW.GEORGEWBUSH.COM

BUILD MISSILE DEFENSE

Bush (VO) As president, I will have a foreign policy with a touch of iron, driven by American interests and American values.

GEORGE W. BUSH
A FRESH START

2000 DOC. #3b



Gore "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial

Video Clip

30 sec.

commercial has no voice over

QUESTION **What does the audio track contribute to the commercial?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Use of horns at the beginning traditionally conveys a heroic sense, an uplifting and spiritual feel. The pentatonic melody used is the base scale of almost all Western folk music and Christian psalms. It is used to give a sense of country, pure Americana, and has an air of spirituality. It is designed to speak to traditional and American values. The soaring strings at the end are reminiscent of music one would hear in a Hollywood film.

QUESTION **What words appeared on the screen and what role do they play in crafting the candidate's image?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The subtitles "29 years a husband," "26 years a parent," "20 weeks a grandparent," "23 years of challenges," "a family's love," "and the blessings and bounty...of one great nation" frame the images and narrate the story for the viewers. The ending title, "Happy Thanksgiving," gives the impression that this is a greeting from the Gore family to the viewers.

> **Ask** all students to look at the interplay of music in the third commercial, images, and text to communicate a message.

> **Play** the video clip, 2000 doc. #3c.

QUESTION **What is the primary message of this commercial?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The commercial communicates that Bush and Gore are tied to big corporate donors, but that Nader is the one you can trust and that his presence in the debates will bring out the truth.

QUESTION **How do the creators of this commercial mix spoken words and images to give that message?**

2000 DOC. #3c



Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial

Video Clip

30 sec.

FOR DOC. #3c:

Commercial Script:

NADER "PRICELESS" TV COMMERCIAL:
(VO AND TEXT ON SCREEN ARE THE SAME)

VO: Grilled tenderloin
for fundraiser - \$1000 a plate
Campaign ads filled with
half-truths - 10 million dollars
Promises to special interest
groups - over 10 billion dollars
Finding out the truth - priceless.
There are some things
money can't buy.
Without Ralph Nader in
the presidential debates,
the truth will come in last.
Find out how you can help.
Go to Vote Nader dot com.
Vote Ralph Nader for President.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The commercial opens with a photo of Nader looking at a video image of Bush at a campaign fundraiser. The narrator lists the costs of fundraising dinners, dishonest advertising, and alleged payoffs from special interest groups as the viewer sees grainy, stop action TV clips of Gore and Bush campaigning. The narrator lists the cost of “finding out the truth” as “priceless” and a blurry image of Nader appears working hard at a desk. The narrator says “without Ralph Nader in the debates the truth will come in last” as a quick collage of Nader images flashes across the screen accompanied by fast-paced drumming. The commercial ends with the narrator calling for viewers to get involved and vote for Nader. Contact information for Nader 2000 is printed on the screen.

QUESTION

What does the audio track contribute to the commercial?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Opening theme “Hail to the Chief” is presidential by itself, but with images and commentary it becomes almost ordinary and commonplace. The halting of this music signifies a departure. The second theme is a synthesized contemporary beat used to show that Nader is modern and not tied to traditions that are musically represented by the old “Hail to the Chief.”

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of current political commercials that use fear, attack, biography, or trust to sell their candidate?

Are TV commercials a good way to get votes? Are they a good way to judge who to vote for? Why or why not? If not, how should voters decide who to support?

Does the amount and source of money spent on campaign commercials pose a problem for the democratic process? Why or why not?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack (Nader commercial)

Class / Labor (Nader commercial)

“Commoner” (Nader commercial)

Economic Issues

(Nader commercial)

“Family Man” (Gore commercial)

Fear (Bush commercial)

Foreign policy (Bush commercial)

- Consider and compare the Lyndon Johnson 1964 (doc. #2) “Daisy Girl” TV commercial with the Bush commercial. How are the messages, words, and images the same and how are they different?

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #4: Newsmagazine Photos and Articles

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2000 the Republican Party worked to persuade voters that it was more open to diverse voices than it had been in the past by inviting Latino and African American politicians to speak on behalf of George W. Bush. Bush visited the African American communities of Harlem and Watts to speak about “compassionate conservatism.” However, this was not enough to persuade most African American voters to abandon their traditional Democratic Party allegiances.

In the years prior to the 2000 election President Bill Clinton was extremely popular among African American voters with approval ratings nearly twice that of his support among white voters (Rosenberg 29). Al Gore was similarly successful in courting the African American vote in 2000, winning 90% of African American votes compared to 8% who voted for Bush.

The following documents show two examples of the ways in which both candidates sought to target voters of a particular racial group through photo opportunities in strategic meetings.

> **Project** the document, 2000 doc. #4a.

> **Explain** that this is part of a *Newsweek* article from January 2000.

QUESTION	What messages about Al Gore are communicated by the headlines and photo?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Al Gore needs Bill Clinton to help him secure African American votes.
EVIDENCE	headline, “Gore has to have a big African American majority to beat Bradley and he needs Clinton to turn out the vote”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Gore is reaching out to African American women.
EVIDENCE	photo of Gore smiling and hugging African American women

> **Project** the document, 2000 doc. #4b.

> **Explain** that this is part of a *Newsweek* article from October 2000, one month before the election.

2000 DOC. #4a

What Bill Can Do for Al

Gore has to have a big African-American majority to beat Bradley—and he needs Clinton to turn out the vote



Newsweek Gore with African American Women

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION **What messages about George W. Bush are communicated by the headlines and photo?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Bush's handling of easy questions on talk shows like *Oprah* will help to prepare him for the more difficult debates.

EVIDENCE "softballs on happy-talk TV shows" suggests easy questions on entertainment programs; "sliders" suggests the hard questions asked of both Bush and Gore during the debates

QUESTION **What does the photo of Bush kissing Oprah seem to say about Bush?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Some students may perceive that Bush is "kissing up" to Oprah while others may see this as an illustration that Bush is not prejudiced.

SEE NOTE

QUESTION **Why might George W. Bush reach out to African American voters if so few of them vote Republican?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER There are many possible reasons for Bush to reach out to African Americans. He may recognize that the nation is becoming more ethnically diverse and want to broaden the appeal of the Republican Party. Perhaps he just wants to appear as though he values diversity so that he does not alienate some white voters. Bush may value diversity for its own sake. He may see the need to win some African American votes in a close election.

QUESTION **Why might the candidates choose to appear on programs like *Oprah* or seek out photo opportunities with magazines like *Newsweek*?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER *Oprah* and *Newsweek* have large audiences and give a candidate wide national exposure, particularly to undecided voters who may not listen to news regularly or watch the debates.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Can you think of other examples of candidates' efforts to appeal to a particular group of voters through public appearances?

Is a candid photograph somehow more honest than a staged photo-op? Why or why not?

2000 DOC. #4b

BETWEEN THE LINES

THE LESSONS OF OPRAHLAND

The softballs on the happy-talk TV shows can be a foundation for the sliders in the debates

By JONATHAN ALTER



IT HAS COME TO THIS: THE WASHINGTON Post's David Broder, dean of political reporters, last week hit the road to cover... Regis Philbin. Never mind that candidates have been appearing on funny TV shows at least since Richard Nixon said "Sock it to me!" on "Laugh-In" in 1968. Something profound has changed in the way we elect a president. From Mayor Daley to "The Daily Show" in a generation.

Soon after Jim Lehrer will ask the candidates something that actually relates to the job of running the country. But before I offer up a few curves and sliders for Lehrer to throw at George W. Bush and Al Gore, a kind word for the softball questions and genial patter heard in the hall of mirrors: entertainment states where this race is now being fought. With a little imagination, voters can actually use the TV contrivance as a foundation for evaluating the candidates' answers to more substantive questions.

When David Letterman's him about global warming, Letterman was acting like "I was obviously smart enough serious; he knows how to muck it off. Owing, he's now most speed to a three- or four-sp bicycle, learning how to touch better than he could. But denoted that "Letterman" for proselytizing, we know Al Gore would have pretty might had there been no do millions of people about the biotechnology or the threat ing detailed in his 1992 best "Earth in the Balance," each sion of his political passions, but he feels forced to r Such contentions can throw Gore off balance. If good on TV, you can almost see him pulling the ol own back. He calibrates and modulates endlessly.

Newsweek Bush with Oprah

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

This could be used as an opportunity to discuss how different people can interpret the same media message differently.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias

Race

Reaching Voters (talk show)

Target Audience (African Americans)

- Consider the photo from 1896 (doc. #2) of an Italian American band that visited with William McKinley during his "front porch" campaign and the 1972 (doc. #1) poster, "Together with McGovern." Compare these with the 2000 campaign photos. How do the candidates attempt to demonstrate connection with specific voter groups via visual images?

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #5: Gore-Bush First Debate

Media:

5. Gore Bush 1st Debate video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

While many people may think that the first presidential debates were the Lincoln-Douglas debates just before the Civil War, those debates actually took place during the 1858 senatorial campaign in Illinois between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen Douglas (see 1860 docs. #1 and #2). The first U.S. presidential debates between major candidates of different parties didn't take place until 1960, when John F. Kennedy and Richard M. Nixon took part in three televised debates prior to the November election (see 1960 doc. #1a). These debates are best known for demonstrating the new and powerful role that television would play in American politics, emphasizing image over issues.

After the lessons learned from the 1960 debates, presidential candidates apparently avoided debates all together until 1976 when Democratic challenger Jimmy Carter debated incumbent President Gerald Ford. Since that time, there have been televised presidential debates during every election, although their formats and sponsors have varied. These debates have benefited some candidates enormously, particularly Ronald Reagan in 1980 and 1984, and Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996. Clinton, in particular, perfected debating in a "town hall" atmosphere with questions coming directly from audience members; Clinton appeared relaxed and engaged easily with audience members, and many feel the debates were central to his win in 1992.

The presidential debates have caused problems for other candidates, however. Gerald Ford was criticized soundly in the press after he misspoke in the 1976 debate, saying "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe." Democratic candidate Michael Dukakis reinforced his "wooden" image when he gave an overly intellectual response to a hypothetical question about what he would do if his wife were raped.

One of the most controversial aspects of presidential debates has to do with which candidates are invited to participate. In 1970, Congress passed a comprehensive campaign reform bill, including a repeal of the equal time provision (Section 315) of the Federal Communications Act, because of concerns about having to include many potential candidates from small third parties in any presidential debates. While Nixon vetoed that bill, the Federal Communications Commission later created a loophole regarding the equal time provision. It ruled debates were "bona fide news events" which meant that if debates were sponsored by some organization other than the networks, coverage of such a "news event" was exempt from the equal time requirements. The League of Women Voters quickly volunteered to sponsor, or "initiate" the debates. Its job of sponsoring debates was taken over by the Commission on Presidential Debates in 1988.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION

What were the two main issues discussed in this four-minute clip from the debates?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The candidates debated tax cuts and Medicare reform.

2000 DOC. #5



Gore-Bush 1st Debate Video Clip

Length: 4 min.

QUESTION

What were George W. Bush's main points about cutting taxes?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Bush stressed that the money belongs to the "hard working people who pay the bills" and 5% of that money should go back to them over the next 10 years. He stressed that the government shouldn't make the decisions about how to spend that money, the people should.

QUESTION

What was Al Gore's response?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Gore stressed that nearly half of the tax cut would go to the nation's wealthiest 1% of the population.

QUESTION

What was Gore's plan for Medicare?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Gore said that he would put Medicare in a "lock box" so that it cannot be spent on anything else.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION

How did Bush respond?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

He accused Gore of scaring voters using "the old style Washington politics."

QUESTION

What did Bush mean by "I'm beginning to believe that not only did he invent the Internet, he also invented the calculator"?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Bush was referencing a quote attributed to Al Gore in which he allegedly said that he had invented the Internet. Although the quote was based on a misinterpretation of a statement made by Gore in 1999, the story helped fuel questions about Gore's honesty.

SEE NOTE →

NOTE

Medicare administers health care for approximately 40 million Americans and is the nation's largest health insurance program. It covers elderly people 65 years or older and disabled individuals under 65. Medicare represents 12% of all federal spending, with a cost of almost \$222 billion in 2000; that amount is expected to more than double by 2011.

NOTE

Al Gore did not actually claim to have invented the Internet. In a 1999 interview, Gore stated that during his service in the United States Congress he "took the initiative in creating the Internet," referring to legislative actions concerning Internet access. This was immediately picked up by the popular press, which printed stories about Gore claiming to have "invented the Internet."

QUESTION **Why did Gore tell the story about George McKinney from Milwaukee who was in the audience?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He was trying to make his point about the need for Medicare reform by pointing to the plight of a real person.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Why did Bush say, “I’m not of Washington, I’m from Texas”?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Bush wanted to distance himself from Washington politicians since most voters do not trust them. Al Gore had been a long-time Senator and could be cast as a “Washington insider.”

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Why wasn’t Ralph Nader in the debates?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Ralph Nader wasn’t invited to participate in the debates.

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Who did you think did better in the clip you watched and why?

What impression did you get about each man and his personality from this clip?

Are debates a better way to assess the fitness of a candidate to be President than other forms of campaigning such as TV commercials and convention speeches?

NOTE

Ronald Reagan began the tradition of picking people in the audience that his staff had researched and telling a little bit of their life story as a way of illustrating a point he was making.

NOTE

Previous Presidents including Jimmy Carter, Ronald Reagan, and Bill Clinton have campaigned successfully for President as “Washington outsiders,” not corrupted by the “politics of the beltway.”

NOTE

The Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) excluded Nader from the 2000 debates because he did not meet the requirements for participating in the debates (see <http://www.debates.org>). The CPD was established in 1987 to ensure “the best possible information to viewers and listeners.” Its primary purpose is to sponsor and produce debates for presidential elections. It sponsored the 1988, 1992, 1996, and 2000 debates.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Economic Issues
Media Bias
Target Audience (seniors)

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #6: *Saturday Night Live* Debate Skit

Media:

6. SNL Presidential Debate Skit video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

An image can be more decisive than reality in influencing votes in presidential elections. Gerald Ford was one of the most athletic of modern Presidents. He played all-state football in high school, and was an all-star on the two-time national championship University of Michigan football team. Yet Ford has suffered an enduring image as a klutz, partly due to several slips and stumbles that were captured by TV cameras and appeared on the nightly news. This image was irrevocably reinforced when Chevy Chase began appearing as Ford in humorous skits on the popular TV comedy show *Saturday Night Live*. Chase made a regular gag out of pretending to trip and hit his head, and thanks to the power of comedy TV to leave lasting impressions, President Ford continues to be remembered as our most uncoordinated President.

In 2004 a Pew Research Center poll found that 21% of 18-to-29 year olds said they regularly got information about presidential candidates and campaigns from comedy TV shows. Although these programs are not produced to serve as credible sources of information, their content may ultimately influence our nation's choice of President, particularly for young voters.

The next video you will see is an excerpt from a *Saturday Night Live* skit that aired just four days after the presidential debate between Bush and Gore that you just saw. As you watch this clip, think about what messages are being communicated about each of the candidates.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What impressions did the skit give of Al Gore? What things in the skit gave you that impression?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Gore is arrogant.
EVIDENCE	he constantly interrupts both Bush and the moderator; he takes more than his fair share of the time; he repeats "lock box" too many times; he sneers at Bush, sighs and rolls his eyes; he states emphatically "THAT IS JUST WRONG" referring to Bush's Medicare policy
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Gore is a boring "policy wonk."
EVIDENCE	he goes on and on about the "lock box" with a detailed and elaborate plan; he gives way too much detail about Etta Munson's ailments
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Gore exaggerates things.
EVIDENCE	he says that under Bush's plan Etta Munson's house will be "burned to the ground"

2000 DOC. #6

***Saturday Night Live*
Debate Skit**

Video Clip
Length: 4 min.

QUESTION	What impressions did the skit give of George W. Bush? What things in the skit gave you that impression?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is ignorant.
EVIDENCE	he seems unable to answer the questions that are asked; he mispronounces the word “inaccurate”
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is not prepared to be President.
EVIDENCE	he looks away in disinterest as Gore discusses policy; he does not seem prepared to answer any of the questions
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush is primarily interested in Texas.
EVIDENCE	he says “don’t mess with Texas!”

FURTHER QUESTIONS

- What makes this skit so funny?
- Do you think that the impressions left by a skit like this could influence a presidential election?
- Why are young people so much more likely to get information about presidential candidates from comedy TV than older voters are?

SEE NOTE

NOTE

A survey by the Pew Research Center in January 2004 showed a large difference across age groups in use of late night talk shows and comedy shows for learning about candidates and campaigns. Here is an excerpt from that report (see more complete chart on the Overview for the 2000 election).

Where Americans of Different Ages Learn about Candidates and Campaigns (percent reporting using each source)

Source: Pew Research Center, Jan 11, 2004

Media Source	Age Group		
	18-29	30-49	50+
Comedy TV shows	21	6	3
Late Night TV shows	13	7	8

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack
Media Bias

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #7: Gore and Bush Intro to *Saturday Night Live*

Media:

7. Gore and Bush Intro to SNL video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2000 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Ever since the dawn of mass campaigning in the 1820s, presidential candidates have struggled with the need for broad public exposure and the desire to retain a dignified and presidential appearance. In the 1860 campaign, Democratic candidate Stephen Douglas sought public exposure by making the first campaign tour “on the stump” (1860 doc. #4). He was roundly criticized in the press and by his opponent, Abraham Lincoln, for being undignified. Thereafter he claimed that he was just on a long journey to visit his mother.

With the advent of television the same questions arose. In 1952 the advisors of Republican presidential candidate Dwight Eisenhower persuaded him to do the first TV commercials. He agreed reluctantly, saying, “To think that an old soldier should come to this...” (1952 doc. #3). Sixteen years later, in 1968, both major party presidential candidates saw that television appearances were in their own interest and it was even better if a candidate could get some free air time. That year Hubert Humphrey appeared on Johnny Carson’s *Tonight Show* and Richard Nixon poked fun at himself on the popular *Laugh-In* program. Bill Clinton later perfected the role of TV candidate with his 1992 appearances on *Arsenio Hall* (the first late night talk show hosted by an African American man) playing the saxophone, and on MTV answering the key question: “Boxers or briefs?” that referred to a current popular TV commercial.

In 2000 both Bush and Gore took to the talk-show circuit with the intention of spreading their images far and wide. They knew that polls showed younger voters got much of their political information from the monologues of late-night talk show hosts (Fineman 27). Both appeared with Oprah, Leno, and Letterman. Gore even enlisted Al Franken as a “comedy advisor.” For these candidates the risk of appearing too familiar was offset by the disadvantage of appearing too elite because of their prep school and Ivy League backgrounds. What better way to show that they were regular guys with a good sense of humor than hanging out with the folks on a favorite talk show?

The next clip that you will see is from a *Saturday Night Live* Comedy Special, “Presidential Bash 2000” which appeared on Nov. 4, just three days before the election. The man appearing at the end of the clip is the then-governor of Minnesota and former professional wrestler, Jesse Ventura.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	How does candidate Bush poke fun at himself in this clip?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He mispronounces words and makes foolish comments.
EVIDENCE	“ambivalent” and “offensive”; “I’m Governor of our nation’s second largest state, which is bigger than every other state, except one”

2000 DOC. #7



Gore and Bush Intro to *Saturday Night Live* Video Clip

Length: 1 Min. 30 Sec.

QUESTION **How does candidate Gore make fun of himself in this clip?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER He rolls his eyes and sighs as Bush speaks. He claims to be the first in all things.

EVIDENCE Gore frequently sighed and rolled his eyes when Bush was speaking during the actual debates; quotes: "You know I've always been a fan of *Saturday Night Live*," "I was one of the very first to be offended by material on *Saturday Night Live*"

QUESTION **Who is the target audience for this appearance?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The main target audience is young people.

EVIDENCE younger voters were more likely to watch *Saturday Night Live* and to get their political information from late night and comedy TV shows

QUESTION **How do the candidates make reference to the risk of appearing undignified?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER "We can agree on one thing. For us to open the show with the usual catch phrase would be, in our opinion, 'unpresidential.'"

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Do you think a presidential candidate can risk becoming "too familiar" or too undignified through public appearances?

Do you think that this skit promotes one candidate over another? What is your evidence?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

"Commoner"

Media Bias (comedy portraits of candidates)

Reaching voters (comedy)

- Consider the Fireside Chat of Franklin Roosevelt in 1936 (doc. #1) and the "Nixon's the One" poster in 1968 (doc. #3) and compare these personality appeals to the SNL clip. Explain how each candidate used the medium of the day to target large groups of voters. Who were the target audiences and what was the message about personality for each candidate?

TEACHER GUIDE

2000 DOC. #8: *Newsweek* Cover, “The Winner Is...”

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Tuesday, November 7, 2000 was perhaps the strangest Election Day in the United States since 1876. On election night, as the popular and electoral votes began to accumulate, they were fairly evenly divided between Bush and Gore. Early exit polls indicated that Gore would win Florida and at 8:00 p.m. the major TV networks projected Gore as the winner there. With Florida included in the Gore “win column,” the networks then called the election for Gore, predicting that he would be the next President of the United States. As more precincts reported in with the actual vote totals, however, the vote in Florida became too close to call and the TV networks were forced to pull Florida back out of Gore’s column at 10:00 p.m. By 2:00 a.m. it looked certain that Bush would win Florida, which would give him just enough electoral votes to win the national election, even though he trailed Gore nationally by nearly a half million popular votes. The networks then called Florida for Bush and announced that he would become the next President. With the actual precinct votes continuing to trickle in, by 4:30 a.m. the networks again reversed their earlier projections by saying that the Florida vote count was too close to call.

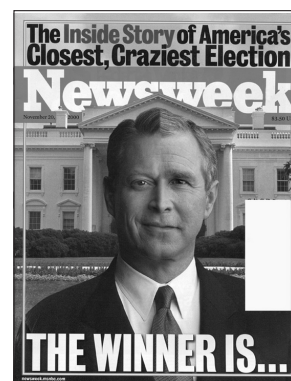
For 35 days after Election Day there was an ongoing controversy over who had accumulated enough votes to be named President. There were charges and counter-charges from both sides. Republicans complained that calling Florida for Gore at 8:00 p.m. Eastern time before the polls had closed in the pro-Bush Florida panhandle had discouraged Republican voters in that part of the state. Democrats complained that there were irregularities in the vote count in largely pro-Gore counties in southern Florida with a high percentage of African Americans. Many criticized the media for making misleading projections on election night. Others complained that the media failed to aggressively pursue the issue of vote fraud. Some argued that this whole mess was a reason to replace the electoral system with election by popular vote or a proportional representation system.

The *Newsweek* cover that you will see from November 20, 2000 reflects the uncertainty of the country in the weeks immediately following the election.

> Project the document.

QUESTION	What is the message of this cover?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	It is uncertain who will be the next President but people shouldn’t worry, everything will work out.
EVIDENCE	the composite of the faces of Bush and Gore and the word “Closest” and “the winner is...” suggests uncertainty as to who has won; the smiling faces, the sturdy White House and manicured lawn suggest everything is in order
QUESTION	If the headline had read, “The Inside Story of America’s Ugliest Disputed Election” and the candidates’ faces were grimacing in front of a stormy White House, how would the message be changed?

2000 DOC. #8



***Newsweek* Cover, “The Winner Is...”**

PowerPoint Slide

SUGGESTED ANSWER	It would suggest uncertainty and anger at the electoral system and it would raise serious questions about the ability of the country to resolve the conflict easily.
EVIDENCE	"Closest & Craziest" along with smiling faces and a sunny day reflects a sitcom with a wild and wacky finish; "Ugly & Disputed" along with angry faces in a storm would reflect a suspenseful thriller that could end all right or in disaster
QUESTION	Which of the cover designs, the original or the one suggested in the second question, reflects the truth?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Neither represents the whole truth.
EVIDENCE	there are elements of truth in both designs; the creators and editors made a conscious decision to reflect the first message rather than the second
QUESTION	Is <i>Newsweek</i> supporting one candidate over another in this cover? What is your evidence?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	<i>Newsweek</i> is being non-partisan in this cover.
EVIDENCE	both candidates make up exactly half the image, there is no indication in the headlines or images of support for one candidate over the other
QUESTION	Why might <i>Newsweek</i> want to be non-partisan in its coverage? Is this true of all newspapers and magazines?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	<i>Newsweek</i> wants to appeal to both Republicans and Democrats. Some newspapers and magazines today are partisan, but most large national news publications try to at least appear non-partisan.

SEE NOTE

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Should newspapers and magazines be non-partisan? Why or why not? What are the political perspectives of some of the magazines you read? How do you know?

Discuss the role that mass media play in the decision to question or not to question the existing system of vote counting and electing the President.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias

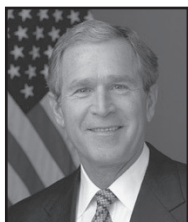
- Compare the partisan newspaper coverage in the *Connecticut Courant* from 1800 (doc. #3), or the editorials about Lincoln's Gettysburg Address (1864 doc. #2) with this *Newsweek* cover.
- Compare this cover with the "Taft-evelt" poster from 1908 (doc. #1)

NOTE

The earliest newspapers and news journals were highly partisan; in fact many were started by political parties. Then new technologies allowed publishers to reach larger and larger audiences and increase circulation. As the population of the country grew in both size and diversity, many publications altered their editorial positions. With a more moderate or non-partisan political perspective, newspapers and magazines could attract a broader audience.

HANDOUT

2004 ELECTION



GEORGE W. BUSH
and Dick Cheney

POPULAR VOTE: 62,040,610
ELECTORAL VOTE: 286

REPUBLICAN

George W. Bush was the **incumbent President**.

Bush campaigned as a **strong and decisive leader** in response to the **9/11/2001** terrorist attacks.

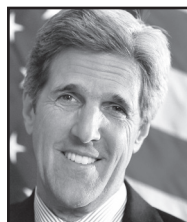
Bush was a wartime president, having attacked Afghanistan and Iraq as a part of the ongoing **War on Terror** during his first term.

Bush won the support of those who based their vote on the issues of **terrorism** or "**moral values**."

Bush was attacked in the controversial film **Fahrenheit 9/11**, which debuted in the summer of 2004, attracting record numbers for a documentary film.

Bush won in the **Great Plains, the Mountain States and the South** where his solid majority sealed the "Republican South," a region where Democrats once were the majority.

Republicans increased their numbers in both Houses of Congress.



JOHN KERRY
and John Edwards

POPULAR VOTE: 59,028,111
ELECTORAL VOTE: 251

DEMOCRAT

John Kerry was a U.S. **Senator from Massachusetts**.

Kerry defeated a field of **nine challengers** for the Democratic nomination after former vice-president Al Gore decided not to run again.

Kerry's **slogan** was, "Stronger at home, respected in the world."

Kerry criticized Bush for incompetence in the **Iraq War**, which he said was a distraction from the War on Terror.

Kerry himself was criticized as a "**flip-flopper**" for having voted to support the **war in Iraq** and then speaking out against it.

Kerry was a decorated Vietnam War veteran who had become a leader of **Vietnam Veterans Against the War**. Some Vietnam-era vets criticized him for being **dishonest and unpatriotic** for his antiwar activities.

Kerry won the support of those who were critical of the **war in Iraq** or whose focus was on **economic issues and health care**.

The 2004 election saw a record turnout. Seventeen million more citizens voted in 2004 than had voted in 2000, an increase of 16% (Ceaser 10). This was the largest such increase in 50 years. The election was close enough that the winner was not decided on Election Day. Ohio turned out to be the key battleground state. Critics there complained of faulty voting equipment and disputed provisional ballots but Kerry decided against a legal challenge. He conceded on the day after the election, with both candidates urging unity and common purpose in the wake of a bitter campaign.

NAME:

Date:

Read over the excerpts and answer the questions for each one.

A. The following excerpt is from an interview about foreign affairs with Senator John Kerry that was published online by The *New York Times* on March 6, 2004.

Kerry: The war on terror depends on the most unprecedented cooperation in American history, the thing they're worst at. The final victory in the war on terror depends on a victory in the war of ideas, much more than the war on the battlefield. And the war—not the war, I don't want to use that terminology. The engagement of economies, the economic transformation, the transformation to modernity of a whole bunch of countries that have been avoiding the future. And that future's coming at us like it or not, in the context of terror, and in the context of failed states, and dysfunctional economies, and all that goes with that.

QUESTION: When Kerry says, "Not the war, I don't want to use that terminology," what is he referring to? Give evidence to support your position.

B. The following excerpt is from a speech Vice President Dick Cheney gave at a reception for Senator Jim Bunning in Florence, Kentucky on March 12, 2004.

Cheney: There are many tasks that those of us in public service must take on, but none is more important than working to ensure that the citizens of this great country are safe and secure. We are now entering into a great national debate on how best to deal with the dangers we face. On one side we have the Democratic nominee, who is uncomfortable with the idea that we are at war. "I don't want to use that terminology," he said last week.

QUESTION: Cheney says that Kerry "is uncomfortable with the idea that we are at war." What does he base that on, and is that an accurate conclusion? Use Kerry's remarks to support your position.

C. The following excerpt is from a March 13, 2004 article by Al Cross in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* titled "Vice President Cheney Discusses Security, Economy During Visit."

Arguing that the most important job at the White House is keeping Americans safe, Cheney said, "We're now entering into a great national debate about how best to deal with the dangers we face. On one side, we have the Democratic nominee, who is uncomfortable with the idea we are at war. Quote, 'I don't want to use that terminology,' he said last week." Kerry's remarks were made in an interview recorded by The *New York Times* aboard his campaign plane on March 5.

QUESTION: Does this excerpt from the newspaper article appear to be pro-Kerry, anti-Kerry, or neutral? Give evidence to support your answer.

D. The following excerpt is from the text of an Internet ad entitled “Keep Our Word” that the Kerry campaign e-mailed to supporters on February 27, 2004.

Bush shown on screen saying: “When we make a pledge we keep our word. When America works, America prospers. So my economic security plan can be summed up in one word. Jobs.”

Text flashes on screen: “2.9 Million Jobs Lost [Bureau of Labor Statistics.]”

QUESTION: What is Kerry’s message and what does he use to support it?

E. The following excerpt is from a February 28, 2004 article by David L. Greene in the *Baltimore Sun* titled “Democrats Talking Overtime about Jobs.”

As Democrats like to point out, nearly 3 million jobs have vanished in Bush’s first three years in office. That makes his record worse than any president’s since Herbert Hoover. The president’s defense is that he inherited a recession and that two wars have weighed down the economy. But his message might not be resonating. In a *Newsweek* poll released last week, 55 percent of voters said they disapproved of Bush’s handling of “jobs and foreign competition.” Only 33 percent said they approved.

QUESTION: Does this excerpt from the newspaper article appear to be pro-Bush, anti-Bush, or neutral? Give evidence to support your answer.

F. The final excerpt is from an online article on the factcheck.org website posted March 3, 2004 titled “Kerry’s Attack Video Misleads on Veterans, Jobs.”

In a news release about its new ad, the Kerry campaign said “George W. Bush has lost credibility” and “his rhetoric does not square with his record.” But the same can be said of some parts of the Kerry ad itself...The ad wrongly states that 2.9 million jobs have been lost under Bush, and cites the Bureau of Labor Statistics as the source. That’s wrong. BLS figures actually show the loss in total payroll jobs has been 2.2 million jobs.

QUESTION: How could the two sources have different figures for the jobless rate even when they both cite the Bureau of Labor Statistics? Which source is more credible (believable) on the jobs statistics, factcheck.org or the Kerry campaign? Explain why.

TEACHER ANSWER GUIDE FOR 2004 DOC. #1

Read over the excerpts and answer the questions for each one.

A. The following excerpt is from an interview about foreign affairs with Senator John Kerry that was published online by *The New York Times* on March 6, 2004.

Kerry: The war on terror depends on the most unprecedented cooperation in American history, the thing they're worst at. The final victory in the war on terror depends on a victory in the war of ideas, much more than the war on the battlefield. And the war—not the war, I don't want to use that terminology. The engagement of economies, the economic transformation, the transformation to modernity of a whole bunch of countries that have been avoiding the future. And that future's coming at us like it or not, in the context of terror, and in the context of failed states, and dysfunctional economies, and all that goes with that.

QUESTION: When Kerry says, “Not the war, I don't want to use that terminology,” what is he referring to? Give evidence to support your position.

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Kerry is referring to “the war of ideas” and “the engagement of economies.” Although the excerpt begins with Kerry speaking about the “war on terror,” he goes on to speak about “the war of ideas” and then comments, “I don't want to use that terminology” before speaking about “the engagement of economies.”

B. The following excerpt is from a speech Vice President Dick Cheney gave at a reception for Senator Jim Bunning in Florence, Kentucky on March 12, 2004.

Cheney: There are many tasks that those of us in public service must take on, but none is more important than working to ensure that the citizens of this great country are safe and secure. We are now entering into a great national debate on how best to deal with the dangers we face. On one side we have the Democratic nominee, who is uncomfortable with the idea that we are at war. “I don't want to use that terminology,” he said last week.

QUESTION: Cheney says that Kerry “is uncomfortable with the idea that we are at war.” What does he base that on, and is that an accurate conclusion? Use Kerry's remarks to support your position.

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Cheney interpreted Kerry's quote in *The New York Times* interview to say that Kerry doesn't want to speak of a “war” on terror. Answers will vary about fairness but a close reading of Kerry's quote points to him being uncomfortable using the term “war” in referring to ideas or economies, rather than the war on terror.

C. The following excerpt is from a March 13, 2004 article by Al Cross in the *Louisville Courier-Journal* titled “Vice President Cheney Discusses Security, Economy During Visit.”

Arguing that the most important job at the White House is keeping Americans safe, Cheney said, “We're now entering into a great national debate about how best to deal with the dangers we face. On one side, we have the Democratic nominee, who is uncomfortable with the idea we are at war. Quote, ‘I don't want to use that terminology,’ he said last week.” Kerry's remarks were made in an interview recorded by *The New York Times* aboard his campaign plane on March 5.

QUESTION: Does this excerpt from the newspaper article appear to be pro-Kerry, anti-Kerry, or neutral? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Anti-Kerry, because the reporter only quotes Cheney's interpretation of Kerry's remarks and doesn't include the context of Kerry's remarks. It would have been more accurate for him to quote both

Cheney and Kerry. He also describes Cheney's remarks as emphasizing "keeping Americans safe" and dealing with the "dangers we face."

D. The following excerpt is from the text of an Internet ad entitled "Keep Our Word" that the Kerry campaign e-mailed to supporters on February 27, 2004.

Bush shown on screen saying: "When we make a pledge we keep our word. When America works, America prospers. So my economic security plan can be summed up in one word. Jobs."

Text flashes on screen: "2.9 Million Jobs Lost [Bureau of Labor Statistics.]"

QUESTION: What is Kerry's message and what does he use to support it?

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Kerry suggests that Bush has not kept to his pledge to provide jobs. The Kerry ad cites the Bureau of Labor Statistics, a government office, as the source for his claim.

E. The following excerpt is from a February 28, 2004 article by David L. Greene in the *Baltimore Sun* titled "Democrats Talking Overtime about Jobs."

As Democrats like to point out, nearly 3 million jobs have vanished in Bush's first three years in office. That makes his record worse than any president's since Herbert Hoover. The president's defense is that he inherited a recession and that two wars have weighed down the economy. But his message might not be resonating. In a *Newsweek* poll released last week, 55 percent of voters said they disapproved of Bush's handling of "jobs and foreign competition." Only 33 percent said they approved.

QUESTION: Does this excerpt from the newspaper article appear to be pro-Bush, anti-Bush, or neutral? Give evidence to support your answer.

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Anti-Bush, because his information appears to come from "Democrats," not an impartial source. It would have been more appropriate for the reporter to have sought independent verification of the statistic and cited his source in the article. It also calls Bush's record "worse than any president since Herbert Hoover" and cites a recent poll with high levels of disapproval of Bush.

F. The final excerpt is from an online article on the factcheck.org website posted March 3, 2004 titled "Kerry's Attack Video Misleads on Veterans, Jobs."

In a news release about its new ad, the Kerry campaign said "George W. Bush has lost credibility" and "his rhetoric does not square with his record." But the same can be said of some parts of the Kerry ad itself...The ad wrongly states that 2.9 million jobs have been lost under Bush, and cites the Bureau of Labor Statistics as the source. That's wrong. BLS figures actually show the loss in total payroll jobs has been 2.2 million jobs.

QUESTION: How could the two sources have different figures for the jobless rate even when they both cite the Bureau of Labor Statistics? Which source is more credible (believable) on the jobs statistics, factcheck.org or the Kerry campaign? Explain why.

SUGGESTED ANSWER: Statistics can be easily manipulated, even when they come from the same source such as the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Kerry campaign statistics on unemployment should be suspect since it has a clear interest in making the Bush administration look bad. Factcheck.org, on the other hand, is a non-partisan web site dedicated to investigating the accuracy of political claims.

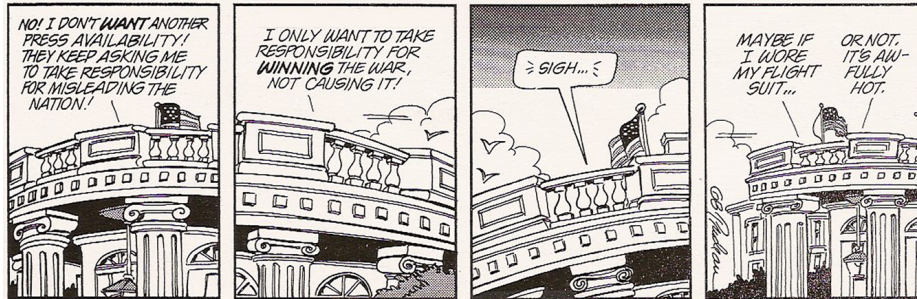
ADDITIONAL INFORMATION: Factcheck.org reported "the Kerry campaign argued that the ad referred to 'the loss of private sector-jobs only, disregarding a large gain in federal, state and local government employment since Bush took office.' But there's no way anyone watching the ad would know that. Kerry has used this misleading tactic before." Factcheck.org listed specific sources following its article to enable readers to check the statistics on their own.

HANDOUT

2004 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #6A-F

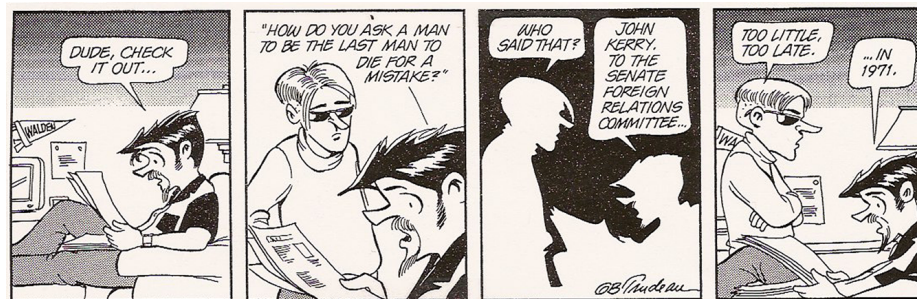
"Doonesbury" cartoon strips by Garry Trudeau

A



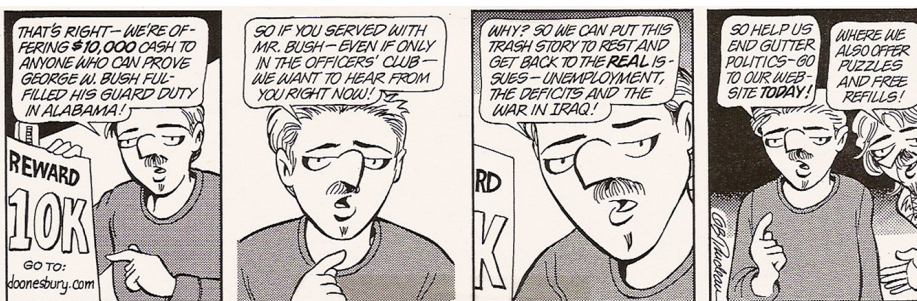
What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

B



What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

C

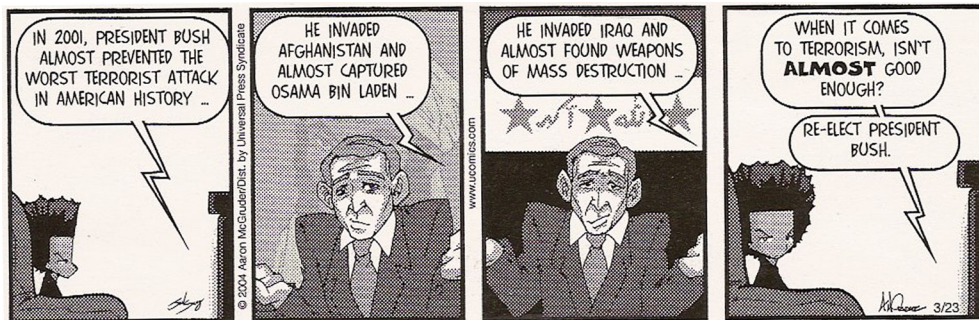


What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

Does the cartoonist, Garry Trudeau, seem to be taking a stand for or against one candidate or the other through these strips? Explain.

"Boondocks" cartoon strips by Aaron McGruder

D



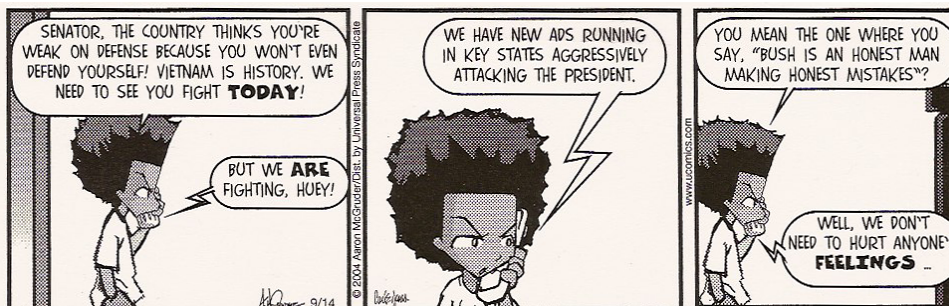
What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

E



What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

F



What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

Does the cartoonist, Aaron McGruder, seem to be taking a stand for or against one candidate or the other through these strips? Explain.

HANDOUT

2004 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7

John Kerry Commercial: "Graduation" - English Translation

Father: We're going to be late.

Mother: I'll go look for her.

Narrator: Only half of Hispanic youth graduate from high school.

Girl: I'm coming!

Narrator: John Kerry and the Democrats aspire for more than a million students to enroll in college.

Woman: Oh, my daughter (sounds more like "oh, my baby"). I am so proud of you!

Narrator: They also want to open the doors to a university education to all our children and improve public education. For a better future, vote for John Kerry and the Democrats.

Kerry: This is John Kerry. I approve of this message.

Text: United with the Democrats.

George W. Bush Commercial: "Mi Familia" - English Translation

Song:

I have faith in this land
that has seen me progress
working every day with effort and joy
to achieve my goals.

I have my faith in this land
And in who can best govern it
Who understands my problems, my culture, my rights
that gives me respect.

I'm with Bush
Because he knows my family
With the Republicans
Your voice and your vote do count
With them
He knows my family

My people do need someone who knows how to deliver
That's why I say
Because he knows my family
I'm with them.

Bush: I am George W. Bush and I approved this message.

HANDOUT

2004 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #8

Excerpt from George W. Bush Campaign 2004 “Values” web page

President Bush: Principled Leadership that Shares Our Values

These years have brought trials we did not ask for, and challenges we never expected to face. We have worked together, and we are rising to meet the duties of our time. Now we look forward with confidence and faith toward greater security and wider prosperity and a stronger culture of life. We pray always for God’s guidance and strength in our lives and for this great nation.—President George W. Bush

President Bush has founded his presidency on the principles that are the backbone of our nation. People of faith across the country recognize the President is a man of strong moral character who has restored honor and dignity to the White House. He has nominated and appointed conservative judges who will strictly interpret the law, supports the sanctity of marriage between one man and one woman by promoting a Federal Marriage Amendment, and has signed into law three major pro-life laws as he works to promote a culture of life.

This effort, led by members of the Bush-Cheney Conservative Values Team, includes voters from across the country talking to friends and family about the President’s record on values, urging them to support the President by getting involved in the campaign, helping to turn out our voters and committing to vote to reelect the President.

If you are interested in supporting President Bush’s effort to stand strong for traditional values that will keep this nation strong, join the campaign today.

1. Give 2 examples of what the candidate means by “our values.”

2. What groups is the candidate targeting with this web site? Give evidence to justify your answer.

3. What messages are being conveyed about the candidate?

Excerpt from John Kerry Campaign 2004 “People of Faith” web page

People of Faith Make a Difference for America

Religious faith compels millions of Americans to reach beyond their own lives to work for the common good. Whether they are fighting for justice, caring for their neighbors, or serving their communities, Americans are motivated and inspired by their faith.

Throughout our history, just as the founding fathers envisioned, people of all beliefs have contributed to the character and greatness of our country by matching democratic ideals with moral values.

John Kerry’s campaign for the White House is strengthened by the moral and prophetic voice of religious Americans. Add your voice to the People of Faith for Kerry community today. With the help of thousands of people like you, we will elect John Kerry and build a genuinely compassionate and stronger America.

John Kerry Shares our Values

“In the end, it’s all about values.”—John Kerry

Thousands of Americans from richly diverse religious backgrounds have written to John Kerry expressing their support for our shared values and vision for America. As people of religious faith, we share common values of compassion, justice, community and service to others.

Building Bridges to the Muslim American Community

John Kerry and John Edwards recognize the many contributions that Muslim Americans have made to our nation and will work to protect and defend the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Muslim Americans. They support rigorous enforcement of our nation’s civil rights laws so that all Americans, including Muslims, can live, work, learn, worship, and gather without fear or discrimination. A Kerry-Edwards administration will not tolerate the targeting of Muslim Americans for threats, violence or discrimination based on their religion.

1. Give 2 examples of what the candidate means by “our values.”

2. What groups is the candidate targeting with this web site? Give evidence to justify your answer.

3. What messages are being conveyed about the candidate?

TEACHER ANSWER GUIDE FOR 2004 DOC. #8**Excerpt from George W. Bush Campaign 2004 “Values” web page**

President Bush: Principled Leadership that Shares Our Values

These years have brought trials we did not ask for, and challenges we never expected to face. We have worked together, and we are rising to meet the duties of our time. Now we look forward with confidence and faith toward greater security and wider prosperity and a stronger culture of life. We pray always for God’s guidance and strength in our lives and for this great nation.—President George W. Bush

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If you are interested in supporting President Bush’s effort to stand strong for traditional values that will keep this nation strong, join the campaign today.

1. Give 2 examples of what the candidate means by “our values.”

“the sanctity of marriage between one man and one woman”

Pro-life or anti-abortion

2. What groups is the candidate targeting with this web site? Give evidence to justify your answer.

Conservatives, those opposed to gay marriage and those identifying as pro-life

EVIDENCE

Conservative—He has appointed conservative judges and stands “strong for traditional values”

Opposing gay marriage—“supports the sanctity of marriage between one man and one woman”

Pro-life—He has signed 3 major pro-life laws

3. What messages are being conveyed about the candidate?

He believes in “traditional values” and is a man of “strong moral character”

Excerpt from John Kerry Campaign 2004 “People of Faith” web page

People of Faith Make a Difference for America

Religious faith compels millions of Americans to reach beyond their own lives to work for the common good. Whether they are fighting for justice, caring for their neighbors, or serving their communities, Americans are motivated and inspired by their faith.

Throughout our history, just as the founding fathers envisioned, people of all beliefs have contributed to the character and greatness of our country by matching democratic ideals with moral values.

John Kerry’s campaign for the White House is strengthened by the moral and prophetic voice of religious Americans. Add your voice to the People of Faith for Kerry community today. With the help of thousands of people like you, we will elect John Kerry and build a genuinely compassionate and stronger America.

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1. Give 2 examples of what the candidate means by “our values.”

To work for the common good, compassion, justice and community
Celebration of religious diversity

2. What groups is the candidate targeting with this web site? Give evidence to justify your answer.

Civil-liberties supporters, Muslim Americans, and people of all different faiths

EVIDENCE

“will work to protect and defend the civil rights and civil liberties of all Americans, including Muslim Americans,” he celebrates religious diversity

3. What messages are being conveyed about the candidate?

He respects diversity in religious belief and is committed to justice and community service.
“Common values of compassion, justice,” “richly diverse religious backgrounds”

2004 DOC. #1: Spin and Counter-Spin: Speeches, Articles, Ads and Web Sites

The American Heritage College Dictionary's definition of the political use of "spin" is "to provide an interpretation of something such as a statement or an event, especially to sway public opinion." The term "spin doctor" ("a person who publicizes favorable interpretations of the words or actions of a public figure, especially a politician") was first coined in the 1984 presidential campaign. The actual practice of spin doctoring, however, is much older. In 1840 the managers of William Henry Harrison's campaign were able to take a remark that was reported in the opposition newspaper as a slam against Harrison and use "spin" to create the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" theme that swept Harrison into the White House (see 1840 Doc. #2).

In this lesson you will read two sets of documents that were released in February and March 2004, early in the campaign season. The first set of documents relates to remarks that John Kerry made about international affairs. They include excerpts from an interview Kerry gave to the New York Times, a speech by Vice President Cheney where he spins Kerry's words, and a newspaper article that quotes Cheney. The second set of documents begins with an excerpt from a Kerry Internet ad criticizing the Bush administration for job losses, followed by a newspaper article and a posting on factcheck.org's Web site.

As you read each document look carefully for the work of spin doctors and consider the role of the media in reporting or questioning a candidate's assertions about his opponent.

- > **Distribute** the student worksheets. Have students work individually or in pairs.
- > **Discuss** their answers using the separate Teacher Answer Guide provided with the student handout.

[illegible]

2004 DOC. #1: STUDENT HANDOUT

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What sources might you use to check the accuracy of candidates' assertions and statistics?

Should the media's role be simply to report on what a candidate says or should it be to check on and to question the accuracy of political statements?

What might be the problem with drawing conclusions based on reading brief excerpts such as those in the handouts rather than the entire texts of the interview, ad, speech or article?

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Following the election the editors of spinsanity.com published a book entitled *All the President's Spin: George W. Bush, the Media and the Truth*. In it they alleged that the media had routinely failed to challenge the intensive spin of the campaign. They also suggested that the level and speed of campaign spin had reached new heights in 2004. "In speeches, media appearances, e-mails to reporters, Internet videos, and television ads, the candidates attacked and counter-attacked with a speed and ferocity that put the famed 1992 Clinton 'war room' to shame. As one high-ranking Bush campaign official put it, 'It's not just rapid response. It's rapid response six times a day'" (Fritz 222).

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

Media Bias

Foreign Policy

Economic Issues

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #2: Howard Dean Iowa Speech

Media:

- 2a. Howard Dean Iowa Speech video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)
- 2b. Howard Dean (Audio Only) video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2002, Howard Dean, a physician and former Governor of Vermont, announced he would seek the 2004 Democratic presidential nomination. He distinguished himself from the other Democratic candidates by boldly criticizing Bush's tax cuts and the war in Iraq. The Dean campaign made unprecedented use of the Internet as a campaign tool. He used the new medium to break fundraising records and to reach young voters.

Dean's criticisms of Bush resonated with many Democratic voters and he was the Democratic frontrunner going into the Iowa Caucus and the New Hampshire primary. Despite his lead, many media outlets ran articles questioning his electability. One week before the Iowa vote, *Newsweek* ran a cover article titled "All the Rage: Dean's Shoot-from-the-Hip Style and Shifting Views Might Doom Him in November."

Dean came in third in Iowa, behind John Kerry and John Edwards. At a speech to his campaign workers following the caucus, Dean rallied his supporters and listed the primaries that he hoped to go on to win. You will watch a short video clip from that speech. What impressions do you get from Dean in this speech?

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION

What does this short video clip from Howard Dean's speech to his campaign workers in Iowa tell you about the candidate?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Answers may vary but in the context of the raucous crowd noises Dean may seem energetic, upbeat and positive as he tries to rally his supporters to continue the campaign.

2004 DOC. #2a



Dean's January 19, 2004 Speech in Iowa

Video Clip
Length: 33 sec.

Speech text:

Well, you guys, you have already got the picture here. I was about to say, you know, I'm sure there are some disappointed people here. You know what? You know something?

CONTINUES ON PAGE 394

QUESTION

Which of the following excerpts from newspaper articles better describes the scene?

1. Dean's "gravelly voice, [was] barely audible over the din of the applause inside the 70s style disco hall" (Gold and Glionna A14).

2. "...his face beet-red, [Dean] punched his fist in the air and spoke in a near-guttural roar" (Gold A11).

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Answers may vary but it is important for students to recognize how the two different reports craft very different impressions of Dean.

> **Explain** that you will now play a brief audio-only clip from that same speech.

> **Play** the Audio Only clip.

QUESTION

Describe the difference between what you heard in the video and what you heard in the short audio clip from the same speech.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The video version has loud cheers from the audience with Dean yelling above the crowd. The audio version eliminates most of the crowd sounds and emphasizes the intensity of Dean's voice.

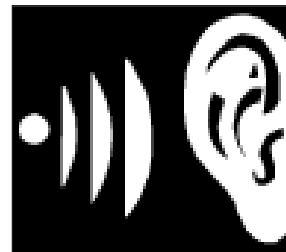
EVIDENCE

the video includes the background sound of cheering and chanting that prompted Dean to yell louder while the audio-only version nearly eliminated the background cheers, artificially isolating Dean's voice

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 391

You know something? If you had told us one year ago that were going to come in third in Iowa we would have given anything for that. And you know something? You know something? Not only are we going to New Hampshire . . . We're going to South Carolina and Oklahoma and Arizona and North Dakota and New Mexico. We're going to California and Texas and New York. We're going to South Dakota and Oregon and Washington and Michigan. And then we're going to Washington D.C. to take back the White House. YEAH! We will not give up. We will not give up in New Hampshire. We will not give up in South Carolina. We will not give up in Arizona or New Mexico, Oklahoma, North Dakota, Delaware, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan. We will not quit now or ever. We want our country back for ordinary Americans.

2004 DOC. #2b



Excerpt of Dean's January 19, 2004 Speech in Iowa

**Audio Only Clip
Length: 17 sec.**

QUESTION

Which version is a more accurate recording of the actual event?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The video version because it includes the sounds of the crowd.

> Explain:

The microphone that Dean used filtered out the sound of the crowd, unnaturally accentuating his voice.

Over the next week the distorted sound bite of his hoarse yell was played nearly a thousand times on network news, cable TV and radio stations across the nation. It became known as “the Dean Scream.” Late night TV hosts cracked jokes about it and MTV.com and NPR played online remixes of the speech layered with music from the Apex Twins and Ozzy Osbourne.

Many media outlets used the sound bite to present Dean as overly aggressive, emotional and unpresidential. These impressions reinforced polls that showed Dean as a weaker candidate against President Bush than more seasoned politicians including John Kerry. The negative impression given by the media coverage is credited with helping to derail Dean’s campaign. He dropped out of the race on February 18 without winning any primaries.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Was it appropriate for media coverage of “the Dean Scream” to influence the presidential primaries?

What role do media play in determining which candidates are legitimate and which are not? Is this appropriate?

ADDITIONAL INFO

Coverage of the Dean speech spun dramatically in the week following the Iowa caucus. Dean gave his speech in Iowa the evening of Monday, January 19, and it contained the segment that came to be known as the Dean Scream. Reporters who were present typically noted Dean’s hoarse voice and high energy. Over the next few days, as the taped version of the “the scream” circulated, media coverage described Dean and his speech as “almost frenzied” (Broder, *The Washington Post* 1/21/04), a “tirade” (Stone, *USA Today* 1/21/04), “an emotional meltdown” (Barabak and Fiore, *L.A. Times* 1/22/04), and a “primal scream” (*NY Times* citing Reuters Report 1/22/04). By the weekend many media outlets were using his speech as evidence that he was not fit to become President of the United States.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters (TV Speech, radio speech)

Attack

Media Bias

In 1988 Jesse Jackson came out of the Super Tuesday primaries with more votes than any other Democratic candidate yet mainstream media outlets did not take his candidacy seriously.

Newsweek’s cover of March 21 was titled “The Power Broker—What Jesse Jackson Wants.” See the lesson for decoding this cover and polling data, 1988 Doc. #1.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Excerpts from newspaper coverage of “the Dean Scream” as cited in Bryan Keefer’s article of January 24, 2004.

Monday January 19, 2004:

Dean delivers now famous “Dean Scream” speech in Iowa.

Tuesday January 20, 2004:

“His voice raspy, Dean... shouted to supporters, ‘We are not only going to New Hampshire,’ then hoarsely listed at least a dozen states that hold contests in the next few months.”

– Patricia Wilson, Reuters

[Dean] “roared to his supporters, in an arm-waving, voice-booming appearance that seemed like a victory address.” – John Harris, *The Washington Post*

“Dean bounded onto stage, high-fiving supporters with a wide grin and waving an American flag. He looked determined not to appear disappointed.” – Nedra Pickler, AP

Wednesday, January 21, 2004:

Dean was “almost frenzied,” [and] “shrieked his determination to win coming contests, while the TV cameras rolled” – David Broder, *The Washington Post*

Thursday, January 22, 2004:

“...a roaring, raucous concession speech that many opponents have held up as evidence that Dr. Dean is unfit to be president.” - Adam Nagourney and Jodi Wilgoren, *The New York Times*

“For many viewers, including some who had previously supported Dean, the moment seemed to offer a glimpse into the candidate’s soul – and most did not like what they saw. It seemed to portray a man full of rage and lacking in self-restraint.” - *The New York Times*

Friday, January 23, 2004:

[Dean’s] “finger jabbing concession speech, punctuated by a surprising scream, has turned him into fodder for late-night comics and raised questions about his emotional stability even among his own supporters.” - Glen Johnson, *The Boston Globe*

For more on newspaper coverage see Bryan Keefer’s article “Spin Buster” from the Columbia *Journalism Review* at www.campaigndesk.org/archives/000051.asp

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #3: MoveOn.org “Child’s Pay” TV Commercial

Media:

3. Moveon.org “Child’s Play” video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

U.S. politics in 1998 was gripped by President Bill Clinton’s sex scandal that led to impeachment hearings. Some citizens wanted to “move on” from the Lewinsky scandal to address what they perceived to be more pressing issues. They founded an online forum for democratic participation at www.MoveOn.org. MoveOn.org was registered as a “527” organization. Under the new campaign finance laws “527” groups were allowed to receive campaign donations for a certain candidate as an independent political advocacy group. The popularity and success of MoveOn.org illustrated the potential for the Internet to become an influential forum in the political process.

MoveOn.org continued its liberal political advocacy even after the country moved on after the Clinton sex scandal. In October 2003, MoveOn.org launched its “Bush in 30 Seconds” political advertising contest, which invited the public to create and submit 30-second commercials critical of the Bush administration. They received over 1,000 entries and raised millions of dollars to purchase airtime to play the Overall Best Ad and People’s Choice Winner, “Child’s Pay,” during the 2004 Super Bowl. A week before the Super Bowl, CBS notified MoveOn.org that it would not air the winning commercial because of its policy against airing “controversial” issue ads. Despite hundreds of thousands of e-mails and phone calls requesting that CBS air the commercial, “Child’s Pay” ended up airing only on CNN during the Super Bowl.

> Play the video clip.

QUESTION	What are the messages of this commercial? How are they communicated?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Children are going to suffer the consequences of Bush’s economic policies.
EVIDENCE	images of kids working as dish washers, housekeepers, garbage collectors, factory workers, grocery store cashiers; words at the end “Guess who’s going to pay off President Bush’s \$1 trillion deficit”; title of commercial replaces the word “play” with “pay”

2004 DOC. #3



MoveOn.org “Child’s Pay” TV Commercial

Video Clip
Length: 33 sec.

QUESTION

What emotions is the commercial trying to provoke and how does it do that?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The commercial may elicit anxiety or regret over loss of childhood innocence, concern for the welfare of future generations, and a sense of anger with the Bush administration for placing this burden on future generations.

EVIDENCE

kids are shown in work settings that are inappropriate and even dangerous for them; expressions on kids' faces are serious and focused, not at all playful

QUESTION

What role does the audio track play in reinforcing the message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The simple acoustic guitar without narration or dialogue helps focus the viewer on the dramatic images and the message. The sound of the guitar is clock-like, reinforcing the drudgery of the children's jobs. The folk guitar sound together with the dingy imagery evokes the plight of working people during hard times. The minor chord provokes a sad feeling.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Should CBS have the right not to air commercials like these?

SEE NOTE →

Why might this commercial have been chosen as the winner of the contest?

Why might MoveOn.org have removed two citizen-produced commercials from its Web site that compared Bush to Hitler? Should it have removed those commercials?

SEE NOTE →

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Economic Issues

Attack

Reaching Voters

Teach about other examples of citizen-produced media using an 1800 banner for Thomas Jefferson, 1800 Doc. #6

NOTE

With more than 135 million Super Bowl viewers, advertisers often reserve their most creative and well-produced commercials for this slot (Anderson). Thirty seconds of airtime during Super Bowl XXXV cost \$2.3 million (Nielsen Media Research).

NOTE

In early January, the Republican National Committee (RNC) discovered two commercials on the MoveOn.org Web site that compared Bush to Hitler. RNC Chairman Ed Gillespie denounced the ads, and MoveOn.org eventually issued a statement agreeing "that the two commercials in question were in poor taste" and should not have "slipped through our screening process." The commercials were removed from the Web site when the finalists were chosen.

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #4: Swift Boat Veterans for Truth TV Commercial

Media:

4. Swift Boat Veteran for Truth video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Since the war in Iraq was a major focus of the 2004 presidential campaign, it was not surprising that the 30-year-old military records of both candidates drew the media's attention. Once again the Vietnam War became an issue in a presidential election.

George W. Bush was a senior at Yale in 1968 when he volunteered for the Air National Guard. He served in the Guard until 1973. Some critics claimed that Bush used political influence to secure a spot in the Guard and avoid going to Vietnam. During the 2004 campaign, accusations were also made that Bush had not actually fulfilled his duties while in the Air National Guard. But even greater attention focused on Kerry's military record when a political action group raised serious questions about the Senator's military service during Vietnam.

As a senior at Yale in 1966, John Kerry enlisted in the Navy and served in Vietnam, commanding Swift Boats (relatively small but fast patrol crafts) on the Mekong Delta. Between November 1968 and April 1969, Kerry was decorated 5 times, earning a silver star, three purple hearts, and a bronze star. After his third battle wound he transferred to non-combat duty in the U.S. In 1970 Kerry became a spokesman for the group Vietnam Veterans Against the War. He helped to organize an antiwar rally outside the capitol building on April 23, 1971, during which he and other decorated vets threw their medals over the fence in protest. That same day Kerry testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee about "war crimes" committed by U.S. troops in Vietnam. Kerry's antiwar speeches were bitterly resented by some Vietnam veterans.

In March of 2004, shortly after Kerry was nominated as the Democratic candidate for President, a "527" group calling itself Swift Boat Veterans for Truth was formed. In August the group began airing TV commercials attacking Kerry and his war record. As you watch the first and most famous of these commercials, pay attention to the accusations that are leveled against Kerry.

> Play the commercial.

QUESTION

What accusations are made in this commercial against John Kerry? What evidence is given to back up these accusations?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Kerry lied about his war record.

2004 DOC. #4



Swift Boat Veterans for Truth "Any Questions?" TV Commercial
Video Clip
Length: 1 min.

Swift Boat Commercial Script
on next page

EVIDENCE	<p>quotes from Swift Boat Veterans:</p> <p>Lieutenant Commander George Elliot: "John Kerry has not been honest about what happened in Vietnam"; Ensign Al French: "He is lying about his record"; Medical officer Louis Letson: "I know John Kerry is lying about his first purple heart because I treated him for that injury"; Gunners Mate Van Odell: "John Kerry lied to get his silver star, I know, I was there, I saw what happened"; Lieutenant Jack Chenoweth: "His account of what happened and what actually happened are the difference between night and day"; Rear Admiral Roy Hoffman: "John Kerry has not been honest"; Lieutenant Commander Grant Hibbard: "He lied before the Senate"</p>
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Kerry dishonored and betrayed his comrades.
EVIDENCE	<p>quotes from Swift Boat Veterans:</p> <p>Lieutenant Larry Thurlow: "when the chips were down you could not count on John Kerry"; Lieutenant Commander Grant Hibbard: "He betrayed all his shipmates"; Lieutenant Sheldon White: "John Kerry betrayed the men and women he served with in Vietnam"; Lieutenant Bob Hildreth: "John Kerry cannot be trusted"</p>
QUESTION	What are the key questions to ask about this, or any, political ad or commercial if one is to figure out the truth?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	<p>(OPTIONAL – write these questions on the board)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Who made—and who sponsored—this commercial, and for what purpose? -What techniques did the commercial use to influence the viewer? -Is the information accurate and believable? -What is left out of this commercial that is important to know?

> **Walk** students through each of these questions while providing the following information from the suggested answers.

Swift Boat Commercial Script

speaker unidentified: If you have any question about what John Kerry's made of, just spend three minutes with the men who served with him 30 years ago....

text: Here's what these men think of John Kerry.

speaker unidentified: I served with John Kerry.

speaker unidentified: I served with John Kerry.

George Elliot Lieutenant Commander: John Kerry has not been honest about what happened in Vietnam.

Al French Ensign: He's lying about his record.

Louis Letson Medical Officer: I know John Kerry is lying about his first Purple Heart, because I treated him for that injury.

Van Odell Gunner's Mate: John Kerry lied to get the Bronx Star. I know. I was there. I saw what happened.

Jack Chenoweth Lieutenant J.G.: His account of what happened and what actually happened are the difference between night and day.

Roy Hoffman Rear Admiral: John Kerry has not been honest.

Adrian Lonsdale Commander: And he lacks the capacity to lead.

Larry Thurlow Lieutenant J.G.: When the chips were down you could not count on John Kerry.

Bob Elder Lieutenant: John Kerry is no war hero.

Grant Hibbard Lieutenant: He betrayed all his shipmates. He lied before the Senate.

Shelton White Lieutenant: John Kerry betrayed the men and women he served with in Vietnam.

Joe Ponder Gunner's Mate: He dishonored his country, he most certainly did.

Bob Hildreth Lieutenant: I served with John Kerry.

unidentified speaker: John Kerry cannot be trusted.

V.O.: Swift Boat Veterans for Truth is responsible for the content of this advertisement.

text: Paid for by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth and not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee. www.swiftvets.com
Swift Boats for Truth is responsible for the contents of this advertisement.

QUESTION **Who made—and who sponsored—this commercial, and for what purpose?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER Swift Boat Veterans For Truth is a small group of veterans who served on the U.S. Navy's "Swift Boats" during the Vietnam War. The initial financial sponsor for the group was Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, the biggest Republican campaign donor in Texas (Factcheck.org). The purpose of the commercial was to publicize the group's criticisms of John Kerry and to undermine his candidacy.

QUESTION **What techniques did the commercial use to influence the viewer?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER The commercial opens with Kerry's running mate, John Edwards, telling viewers "If you have any questions about what John Kerry is made of, just spend three minutes with the men who served with him." The commercial levels serious accusations of dishonesty and disloyalty against Kerry through first-person testimony by 15 Vietnam veterans, many of whom served with him. The music creates a dramatic and serious mood. The black and white photos give an historic air to the testimony.

SEE NOTE →

QUESTION **Is the information accurate and believable?**

SUGGESTED ANSWER There are many aspects of this video that lend credibility to the charges. Fifteen different veterans appear in the commercial, all criticizing Kerry. A number of the men state that they served with John Kerry and a few of them are shown near Kerry in a Vietnam-era photo, lending credibility to claims that they were there. It would seem from the video that many of the men who served with Kerry do not trust him. One of the speakers is also a Rear Admiral, a title that lends credibility to his statements.

NOTE

Although there are laws regulating "truth in advertising," they do not apply to political advertisements or commercials, which are protected by the first amendment.

QUESTION

What is left out of this commercial that is important to know?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The claims made by the Swift Boat Veterans for Truth were refuted by men who actually served on Kerry's boat, none of whom were shown in the commercial. A 2004 finding by the Navy's Inspector General concluded, "Senator Kerry's awards were properly approved and [we] will take no further action in this matter." Republican Senator and former prisoner of war in Vietnam, John McCain, said of the Swift Boat commercial, "I deplore this kind of politics. I think the ad is dishonest and dishonorable. As it is, none of these individuals served on the boat [Kerry] commanded. Many of his crew have testified to his courage under fire. I think John Kerry served honorably in Vietnam."

It is important to recognize the political context for this commercial. The Swift Boat commercials successfully shifted attention from the controversy over Bush's military record to serious accusations about Kerry's own record in Vietnam. The sponsor for these commercials was a leading Republican donor from Texas with ties to the Bush campaign. The commercials were carefully and skillfully crafted to damage Kerry's chances of becoming president.

QUESTION

How does one judge the credibility of a political ad or commercial and find out the truth?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Examine the bias and credibility of the source. Look for alternative sources on the same subject. Evaluate one's own bias and point of view. Keep open to new information.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Which is more important in political advertising, substance or impressions?

Do you think that John Kerry betrayed his comrades when he testified about war crimes committed by U.S. troops in Vietnam?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Attack

From the earliest presidential campaigns the military record of candidates has been a source of vicious attack ads. The 1828 Coffin Handbill, (doc. #3) for example, painted Andrew Jackson as a murderer and war criminal.

In 1988 (doc. #2) Republican organizations aired the famous Willie Horton attack ads that were credited with helping to defeat Michael Dukakis. The TV commercials were criticized for using polarizing racial imagery and words to unfairly attack Dukakis.

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Swift Boat commercial "Any Questions?" was shown in only three battleground states and would not have gained national exposure if it hadn't been picked up by news media across the country and run hundreds of times on network and cable news programs, with no cost to the Swift Boat campaign. Even when the news programs included commentary that some of the statements in the commercial were distorted and misleading, viewers were often left with the impression that Kerry might not be honest or loyal. Like the famous Willie Horton commercials attacking Michael Dukakis in 1988 (a Massachusetts liberal who was running against George H. W. Bush), the impression left from repeated news coverage of the controversial Swift Boat commercial might have been more important than the truthfulness of the commercial (see 1988 doc. #2).

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #5: Photo Ops and Counter Ops

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 2004 the marketing of presidential candidates appeared to have reached a new level with micro-marketing strategies designed to reach every computer and cable viewer in the country and rapid-fire digital responses crafted to counter any claim. But the process of marketing candidates was nothing new. One hundred years previously the *New York Times* had suggested that “campaigning is only a political name for advertising” (Smith 72).

In 1896 Mark Hanna, William McKinley’s campaign manager, created the first modern campaign with telephones, accountants, and pollsters oiling a successful mass-marketing effort. Hanna was the first campaign manager to make “photo ops” a regular part of the campaign, inviting photographers to come to McKinley’s home where supporters would visit during his “front porch campaign” (see 1896, Doc. #2). George W. Bush’s chief campaign strategist, Karl Rove, modeled himself on Hanna, whose systematic organization and appeals to big business earned McKinley the White House.

By 2004 images of candidates Bush and Kerry were available 24/7 with new shots seemingly available every time you clicked the remote or the mouse. While photos in 1904 were typically used to spin a positive image of the candidate (see 1904, Doc. #3), a century later photos were also often used to spin the art of negative campaigning. Context meant everything as captions, titles and banners could transform a positive message into a negative one at an artist’s or editor’s command. Photo spins were also used to appeal to a particular target audience, either to support one’s own candidate or to diminish one’s opponent.

In this lesson you will see several pairs of photos of Bush and Kerry. For each image notice what messages the photo itself suggests about the candidate and how the message may change in the context of caption, title or added words. Also notice who the target audience might be for each photo.

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5a.

> **Explain** that this image was published in *USA Today* in November of 2003.

QUESTION	What messages about Kerry does the image convey? Give evidence to support your view.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Answers will vary. Possibilities include that he is funny, a risk taker, or a man of mystery.
EVIDENCE	funny and risk taker—he is riding up a ramp on a motorcycle onto a TV set; man of mystery—his face is hidden behind his black helmet, the New York City nightscape suggests mystery

2004 DOC. #5a



Kerry rides motorcycle onto Leno’s *Tonight Show* stage

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION Does the caption shift the meaning behind the photo itself? Give evidence to support your conclusion.

SUGGESTED ANSWER No, it is descriptive rather than editorial.

EVIDENCE “Kerry rides motorcycle onto Leno’s *Tonight Show* stage” simply explains where he is doing this act rather than changing the impression of the act itself

QUESTION Who might be the target audience for this photo op? Give evidence as to why.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Younger voters, TV viewers who enjoy humor.

EVIDENCE Kerry chose *The Tonight Show* for his appearance, a program more likely to be seen by younger viewers

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5b.

> **Explain** that this image and caption was published on the *St. Petersburg Times* Web site in June of 2004.

QUESTION What messages about Kerry are communicated by this image and caption? Give evidence to support your view.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Answers will vary. Possibilities include that he is a risk taker or an establishment man.

EVIDENCE risk taker—he rides in traffic without a helmet; establishment man—he is dressed in business attire and riding a police motorcycle

QUESTION Who was the target audience for this photo and caption?

SUGGESTED ANSWER Florida readers of the *St. Petersburg Times*, supporters of the police

EVIDENCE appeared in the *St. Petersburg Times*, Kerry riding a police motorcycle

QUESTION Why might Kerry have ridden a police motorcycle in West Palm Beach in June, 2004?

SUGGESTED ANSWER The Kerry campaign knew that photos like this would appear in newspapers or on TV. It was likely to have been a photo op to promote Kerry’s image and possibly his relations with police departments.

ADDITIONAL INFO

Kerry frequently used TV talk shows as a means to get in front of the public. In September 2003, prior to the primary season, he appeared on *The Tonight Show* playing a guitar on the street to raise money for his campaign. In August 2004 he chose Comedy Central’s *The Daily Show* as the site of his first major TV interview following the Swift Boat attack ad. American Prospect’s Web site offered the following: “Kerry’s efforts to appear more regular—by riding a motorcycle onto the set of *The Tonight Show* and playing guitar with Moby—have been incredibly awkward and have only called attention to the perception that he is aloof” (<http://www.prospect.org/web/page.ww?section=root&name=ViewWeb&articleId=1396>).

2004 DOC. #5b



AP photo Kerry rides a Palm Beach County Sheriff’s Motorcycle before boarding a plane in West Palm Beach on Tuesday.

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5c.

> **Explain** that this photo was taken the same day as the previous photo. It appeared on the *Michigan Socialist* Web site with this caption in September 2004.

QUESTION	How does the caption “spin” the meaning of the photo? Give evidence to support your conclusion.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The caption is critical of Kerry, suggesting that he is unsuccessfully trying to appear like a rebel but instead looks like a fool.
EVIDENCE	“Rebel without a clue” suggests that Kerry doesn’t even recognize that his attempt to look cool and rebellious is a failure because his clothing, personal style and intellectual demeanor are in such contrast to the image he’s trying to convey; “Michael Dukakis looked better in the tank” refers to the failed photo op of the 1988 Democratic Party candidate who appeared foolish while driving a tank in a suit and tie (see 1988 doc. #4a)
QUESTION	Who might be the target audience for this photo and caption construction? Give evidence as to why.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Those who are wary of Kerry as a true progressive.
EVIDENCE	the Web site of <i>Michigan Socialists</i> suggests a critique of Kerry from the left; the caption encourages questioning of Kerry’s “rebel” credentials

2004 DOC. #5c



Rebel without a clue: John Kerry rides around on a police motorcycle. Honestly, Michael Dukakis looked better in the tank.

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

This photo of Kerry on a police motorcycle appeared in an article by editor Martin Schreader of the *Michigan Socialist* entitled “First as tragedy . . . second as farce: The political significance of the Kerry-Edwards ticket.” In the article Schreader writes: “The Kerry-Edwards ticket is offering the capitalists an opportunity to diffuse the protests, silence the protestors and get back to business.... The race between the Republican and Democratic candidates is a race to see who will be the executive committee of the ruling capitalist class—who will be the overseers in capitalism’s wage-slave system” (<http://www.news.mi-socialists.org/tms009-kerryedwards.html>).

- > **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5d.
- > **Explain** that this image and caption is from a CNN Web site Photo Gallery of the Candidates.

QUESTION

What messages about Kerry do the image and caption convey? Give evidence to support your view.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Kerry is an athlete and a leader.

EVIDENCE

athlete—he is shown in an athletic pose, windsurfing with his biceps flexed; leader—he is shown ahead of another windsurfer; his eyes are focused on the task ahead

QUESTION

Would you say this is a positive or a negative portrayal of Kerry?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

This is a particularly subjective question but students will likely see this as a positive image and caption. Probe for their reasoning.

QUESTION

Where did CNN get this photo?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

From the Kerry Campaign.

QUESTION

Why would the Kerry campaign provide CNN with this photo?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The Kerry campaign wants to get positive pictures of their candidate into the press.

QUESTION

Why would CNN print that it was provided “Courtesy of the Kerry Campaign”?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

CNN wanted to alert viewers to the fact that this photo was provided by the Kerry Campaign as publicity, rather than being taken by a press photographer.

2004 DOC. #5d



An athlete in high school and college, Kerry continues to enjoy sports, including snowboarding and windsurfing, and has often been photographed throwing a baseball while on the campaign trail

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5e.

> **Explain** that this image is a freeze frame from a TV commercial that first aired in September 2004.

QUESTION	What message about Kerry does this image and super-imposed text try to “spin”? Give evidence to support your view.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	He is a “flip-flopper,” changing his position repeatedly.
EVIDENCE	the text “Iraq War—supported and opposed” suggests that Kerry has changed his position on the war; the photo itself is fuzzy suggesting unclear thinking; his position on the board could change any minute depending on the direction of the wind
QUESTION	Who do you suspect produced this commercial? Give evidence to support your answer.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The Bush campaign or another anti-Kerry political group.
EVIDENCE	the Bush campaign regularly attacked Kerry for “flip-flopping” in his position on the war in Iraq

SEE NOTE →

2004 DOC. #5e



PowerPoint Slide

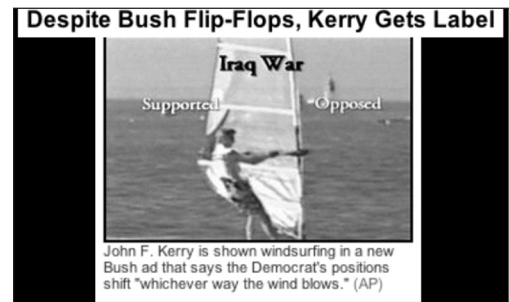
NOTE

Senator Kerry voted to give President Bush the authorization to wage war in Iraq in October 2002, one year after the 9/11 attacks. Kerry later criticized President Bush both for his decision to go to war based on faulty intelligence and for the administration's poor handling of the war. The Bush campaign successfully attacked Kerry's position on Iraq as indecisive and “flip-flopping,” a charge that resonated with many voters. The commercial pictured here edits footage of Kerry windsurfing to make it seem that he is sailing left then right then left again as the narrator mocks Kerry's indecision.

- > **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5f.
- > **Explain** that this image appeared in a *The Washington Post* article shortly after the Kerry windsurfing commercial was aired. The article, titled “Despite Bush Flip-Flops, Kerry Gets Label,” included the caption printed here.

QUESTION	How does <i>The Washington Post</i> “spin” the Kerry image? Give evidence to support your conclusion.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The title suggests that Bush is actually the flip-flopper and the caption suggests that the characterization of Kerry as a flip-flopper is one created by the Bush campaign.
EVIDENCE	the title “Despite Bush Flip-Flops, Kerry Gets Label” clearly pins the flip-flop charge on Bush; the caption explains that the image and the flip-flop suggestion comes from “a new Bush ad”

2004 DOC. #5f



“Despite Bush Flip-Flops, Kerry Gets Label”

John F. Kerry is shown windsurfing in a new Bush commercial that says the Democrat’s positions shift “whichever way the wind blows” (AP).

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

The Washington Post article by John F. Harris entitled “Despite Bush Flip-Flops, Kerry Gets Label” (accompanied by the photo from the anti-Kerry “Windsurfing” ad) began as follows: “One of this year’s candidates for president, to hear his opposition tell it, has a long history of policy reversals and rhetorical about-faces—a zigzag trail that proves his willingness to massage positions and even switch sides when politically convenient. The flip-flopper, Democrats say, is President Bush.” The article goes on to point out Bush’s changes of position on air pollution regulation, on state sanction of same-sex marriage, on creating the Homeland Security Department and on the issue of testimony before the 9/11 commission (<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A43093-2004Sep22.html>).

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. #5g.

> **Explain** that this image appeared on the Major League Baseball Web site in February 2004.

QUESTION	What message about Bush does this image convey? Give evidence to support your view.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Answers will vary but may include that Bush enjoys sports like other “regular” American guys.
EVIDENCE	likes sports—attending NASCAR racing; regular guy—he is in the pit in a jump suit, shaking hands with a driver; American—he appears at the Daytona 500, an American tradition in a sport (NASCAR racing) specific to the U.S. and associated with working class men; he shakes hands with a driver wearing decals for U.S. companies Ford and Champion
QUESTION	Who might be the target audience for this photo and caption? Give evidence as to why.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Men, baseball and auto racing fans.
EVIDENCE	the photo appears on the Major League Baseball site; the sports of baseball and NASCAR are more likely to appeal to men than women; the photo shows only men

2004 DOC. #5g



President Bush (left) greets drivers in the pit at the Daytona 500 on Sunday (Pablo Martinez Monsivais/AP).

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

In the 2000 election “NASCAR dads” (along with “soccer moms”) were said to be one of those small populations of swing voters who could make or break the election. According to the online article “Shifting Gears: When it comes to presidential elections, there may be more to the NASCAR set than meets the eye,” by Matt Thompson, this may not have been the case. “A recent ABC News analysis of the exit polls from the 2000 election concluded that the ‘NASCAR dads’ aren’t swing voters at all, but rather a small and solid part of Bush’s core constituency. It may not be worth it for Democrats to pursue these fans, some experts say” (<http://www.prospect.org/webfeatures/2004/02/thompson-m-02-17.html>).

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. # 5h.

> **Explain** that this image appeared on the anti-Bush Web site topplebush.com. Explain that the original photo has been manipulated with words added.

QUESTION

What messages about Bush are “spun” in this image? Give evidence to support your view.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The speech bubble suggests that Bush is fishing for votes at the race. The digitally added phrase “AWOL From” was added above the National Guard marking on the car. This is a reference to unproven accusations about George W. Bush’s military service in the 1960s.

QUESTION

Who might be the target audience for this manipulated photo construction? Give evidence as to why.

SUGGESTED ANSWER

People who dislike Bush.

EVIDENCE

“ToppleBush.com” by its mere title suggests anti-Bush activism; the attacks on Bush in the manipulated photo underscore the desire to attack and unseat Bush

SEE NOTE

2004 DOC. #5h



President Bush looks over the National Guard-sponsored race car under the guidance of driver Bill Elliott prior to the running of the Daytona 500, Sunday, Feb. 15, 2004, at Daytona International Speedway in Daytona Beach, Fla. (AP Photo/Nigel Cook, Pool)

President Bush looks over the National Guard-sponsored racecar under the guidance of driver Bill Elliott prior to the running of the Daytona 500, Sunday, Feb. 15, 2004, at Daytona International Speedway in Daytona Beach, Fla. (AP Photo/Nigel Cook, Pool).

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document 2004 Doc. # 5i.

> **Explain** that this image appeared on the White House Web site: Week in Photo during the first week of May 2003. The photos documented President Bush's landing on the aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln on May 1st to announce an end to major U.S. combat operations in Iraq.

QUESTION What message about Bush does this image convey? Give evidence to support your view.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Answers will vary. Possibilities include that he is a pilot himself, that he is supported by U.S. troops and that he is "one of the crew."

EVIDENCE pilot—he appears wearing a flight suit and is surrounded by a Navy flight crew; supported by troops—all of the crew are smiling and appear happy to be with Bush; "one of the crew"—he stands in the midst of the group with one of the crew's hand on his shoulder

QUESTION Does the caption shift the meaning behind the photo itself? Give evidence to support your conclusion.

SUGGESTED ANSWER No, the caption only gives the reader the who, where and when.

EVIDENCE Who?—"President George W. Bush"
Where?—"with flight deck crew of the USS Abraham Lincoln"
When?—"May 1, 2003"

QUESTION Who might be the target audience for this photo? Give evidence as to why.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Supporters of the President and the military, young people, and media editors.

EVIDENCE supporters of the President—the photo first appeared on the White House's own Web site where those supportive of the President would most likely be the main visitors; the crew members are all young military people; media editors might use the Web site to download photos and information for their publications

2004 DOC. #5i



White House photo by Paul Morse
President George W. Bush poses with flight deck crew of the USS Abraham Lincoln May 1, 2003.

President George W. Bush poses with flight deck crew of the USS Abraham Lincoln May 1, 2003.

PowerPoint Slide

NOTE

On May 1, 2003, President Bush flew onto the deck of an aircraft carrier USS Abraham Lincoln where he announced the following: "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended. In the battle of Iraq, the United States and our allies have prevailed. (Applause.) And now our coalition is engaged in securing and reconstructing that country" (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/releases/2003/05/20030501-15.html>).

- > **Project** the document 2004 Doc. # 5j.
- > **Explain** that this image and text appeared as a cover for *Time* magazine on Oct 6, 2003, during a time of continued fierce fighting between U.S. troops and the Iraqi insurgency.

QUESTION What message about Bush does this image convey without the text? Give evidence to support your view.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Answers will vary. Possibilities include that Bush is pleased to announce the end of the war or that troops are uncertain about his presence.

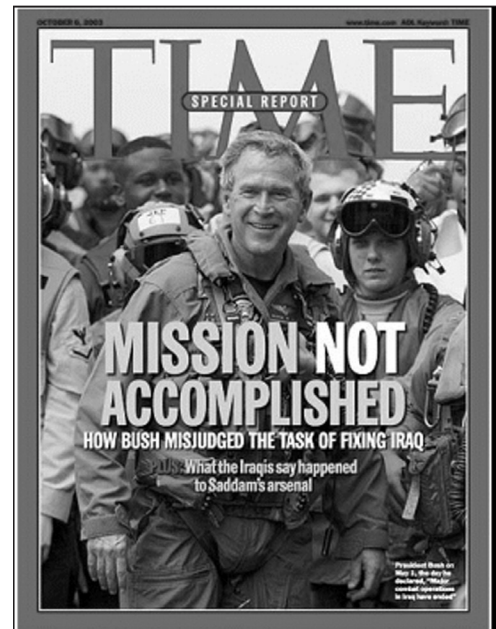
EVIDENCE pleased—Bush is smiling as he stands among the flight crew
uncertain—the female pilot is not smiling, perhaps uncertain of Bush's motives

QUESTION How does the title and text spin the meaning of the photo? Give evidence to support your conclusion.

SUGGESTED ANSWER The words suggest that Bush has not accomplished what he previously promised.

EVIDENCE the headline: "MISSION NOT ACCOMPLISHED" and "HOW BUSH MISJUDGED" suggests that Bush has not done what he said; the smaller text at bottom right reminds readers of the ongoing war and Bush's previous statement: "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended"

2004 DOC. #5j



"MISSION NOT ACCOMPLISHED

**HOW BUSH MISJUDGED THE TASK OF FIXING IRAQ
PLUS: What the Iraqis say happened to Saddam's arsenal**

President Bush on May 1, the day he declared "Major combat operations in Iraq have ended"

PowerPoint Slide

QUESTION

Why might *Time* use this photo from May on their October cover?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

By re-running a familiar photo that was originally used to celebrate success in the war, *Time* is making a provocative editorial statement about the inaccuracy of Bush's earlier claims. The ironic drama of this cover is likely to provoke readers to pick up the magazine, one of the primary goals of a magazine cover.

EVIDENCE

Time inverted the triumphant May 1st slogan, "Mission Accomplished" and the accompanying image of success, to critique the lack of success in the war; magazine covers are advertisements seeking to invite potential customers to buy the magazine; since controversy is an effective sales technique, editors are hoping that casual viewers will want to read an exposé inside and thus buy this "special issue"

SEE NOTE →

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Do you think that it is OK for a partisan Web site to manipulate an image by adding text?

How about if a newspaper or a magazine does the same thing? Why or why not? Does it make a difference if the manipulation occurs on a magazine cover versus in an article or photograph on the inside?

Both Bush and Kerry are very wealthy men. Why might they want to portray themselves as "regular guys" riding Harleys and attending NASCAR races?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Media Bias, Reaching Voters (photo-op), Target Audience, Attack, "Hero," "Commoner"

NOTE

The *Time* magazine cover story began: "On May 1, off the coast of California, President George W. Bush landed in flying gear on the deck of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Abraham Lincoln—which sported a banner reading MISSION ACCOMPLISHED—and said, 'Major combat operations in Iraq have ended.' The war, said Bush, had been carried out 'with a combination of precision and speed and boldness the enemy did not expect, and the world had not seen before.' But the mission wasn't accomplished then, and it still is not. The reconstruction of Iraq has proved far more difficult than any official assumed it would be" (*Time* Oct. 6, 2003)

On May 1, 2003 when the President announced that "major combat operations" in Iraq had ended, 140 U.S. troops had died in the war (<http://icasualties.org/oif/>). When *Time* ran this cover story in October of 2003, the number had reached 330. In October of 2005 U.S. losses surpassed 2000 (<http://www.forbes.com/home/feeds/ap/2006/01/16/ap2452858.html>).

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #6: “Doonesbury” and “Boondocks” Comic Strips

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Political cartoons have been a part of the U.S. presidential election landscape since at least 1800 (doc. #5). Sometimes editorial cartoonists have had a deep impact on the voters' views of candidates. In 1872 (doc. #1) cartoonist Thomas Nast drew cartoons attacking Democratic candidate Horace Greeley so constantly and effectively that Greeley commented after his loss, “I have been assailed so bitterly that I hardly knew whether I was running for the presidency or the penitentiary” (Boller 129). Cartoonist Herblock had a similar adversarial relationship with Richard Nixon (1972 doc. #4). His caricature of “Tricky Dick” contributed to the public's distrust of Nixon, who became the first president to resign from office.

On the other hand cartoonists could elevate the image of a presidential candidate as well. Cartoonist Clifford Berryman forever endeared children to presidential candidate Teddy Roosevelt with his cartoon of the “Teddy bear” that Roosevelt refused to shoot. Franklin D. Roosevelt certainly benefited from Rollin Kirby's cartoons in praise of him (1936 doc. #2).

Garry Trudeau's earliest “Doonesbury” election cartoons, published in his college newspaper, showed Mike Doonesbury sitting in front of the TV and holding his head during the 1968 Nixon versus Humphrey campaign. In 1975 Trudeau became the first comic strip cartoonist to win the Pulitzer Prize for Political Cartooning. Almost thirty years later Mike Doonesbury was again agonizing over presidential election campaigns in cartoons about the 2004 election. He was joined by a new generation of cartoon characters including Huey and Riley from the “Boondocks” strip. “Boondocks” creator Aaron McGruder credits Garry Trudeau as one of his heroes.

Several of the comic strips you will see reflect a media focus on issues of the candidates' military service records during the Vietnam War. John Kerry had received a Purple Heart while commanding a “Swift Boat” during the Vietnam War. In the early 1970s he became a leader of the organization, Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Kerry posed his now-famous question, “How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?” In the 2004 campaign some Vietnam veterans accused Kerry of being unpatriotic for criticizing the war and for lying about U.S. war crimes during his earlier testimony. During the Vietnam War George W. Bush had enlisted in the Air National Guard. In the 2004 campaign he was questioned about having received special treatment as a Congressman's son in order to avoid going to Vietnam. Others alleged that he went absent without leave during his time in the Air Guard.

Another important campaign issue in 2004 had to do with the candidates' responsibility for the invasion of Iraq a generation after the end of the war in Vietnam. Some suggested that Senator Kerry had been wrong to vote for funding the invasion of Iraq. Others accused President Bush of misleading the nation into war by making false accusations about Saddam Hussein's ties with al Qaeda and his stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction.

> **Distribute** the two-page handouts of “Doonesbury” and “Boondocks” comic strips. Have students work in teams to answer the questions and prepare answers for the class.

Have each team present answers to the following questions.

> Project the document, 2004 #6a.

QUESTION	Who is speaking here?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	President Bush and an advisor.
EVIDENCE	the White House is in the foreground; Bush had been questioned by the media about his reasons for going to war in Iraq; Bush had worn a flight suit when he landed on an aircraft carrier in May 2003 to declare that "major hostilities" had ended in Iraq
QUESTION	What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush will not accept responsibility for having misled the nation about the reasons for war. He thinks that patriotic symbolism will help his image.
EVIDENCE	"They keep asking me to take responsibility for misleading the nation . . . Maybe if I wore a flight suit"

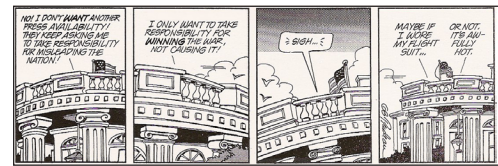
> Project the document, 2004 #6b.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	In contrast to his antiwar statements during the Vietnam War, Kerry failed to take a strong stance against the war in Iraq in 2003.
EVIDENCE	"Too little, too late" is a critical reference to Kerry's delayed and relatively mild criticism of the war in Iraq; "How do you ask a man to be the last man to die for a mistake?" is a quote from Kerry's antiwar testimony before a Senate committee in 1971

> Project the document, 2004 #6c.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush cannot prove that he fulfilled his duty in the Guard.
EVIDENCE	the character offers a reward for proof that Bush fulfilled his enlistment requirement

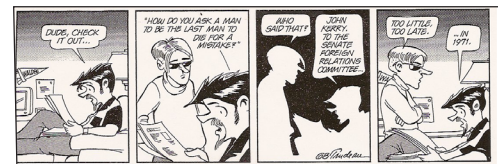
2004 DOC. #6a



"Doonesbury"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

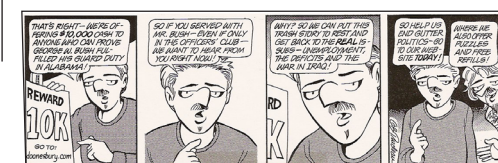
2004 DOC. #6b



"Doonesbury"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

2004 DOC. #6c



"Doonesbury"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

QUESTION The cartoonist devoted a full week's worth of strips to this reward for witnesses to Bush's Guard duty. What are the messages from the cartoonist about whether this story is worthy of media coverage?

SUGGESTED ANSWER The cartoonist thinks that the questions about Bush's Guard duty should be explored in detail.

EVIDENCE he's offering \$10,000 to anyone who can provide proof of Bush's service; he devotes a week's worth of strips to the question; the satirical intent of comments about "this trash story" and "end gutter politics" is revealed by Zonker's humorous offer of "puzzles and free refills"

QUESTION Does the cartoonist, Garry Trudeau, seem to be taking a stand for or against one candidate or the other through these strips? Explain.

SUGGESTED ANSWER Trudeau is critical of both candidates, Bush for being dishonest and Kerry for being weak. He seems to be especially critical of Bush based on the number of strips devoted to questioning his honesty.

> Project the document, 2004 #6d.

QUESTION What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?

SUGGESTED ANSWER President Bush has not fulfilled his commitments and should not be re-elected.

EVIDENCE phrases "almost prevented," "almost captured," "almost found," along with images of Bush with hands up and a pitiful expression; "Isn't almost good enough?" with Huey's dubious expression

2004 DOC. #6d



"Boondocks"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

> Project the document, 2004 #6e.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this strip about Bush and Kerry?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Bush misled the public about the reasons for war with Iraq. Kerry appears rigid and unappealing to most voters.
EVIDENCE	"Bush misled the public about Iraq"; "63% of voters say Kerry reminds them of a petrified oak tree"

> Project the document, 2004 #6f.

QUESTION	What are the messages in this strip about Bush or Kerry?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Kerry appears weak and unwilling to provide a strong challenge to Bush.
EVIDENCE	"The country thinks you're weak on defense;" "We don't want to hurt anyone's feelings"
QUESTION	Does the cartoonist, Aaron McGruder, seem to be taking a stand for or against one candidate or the other through these strips? Explain.
SUGGESTED ANSWER	McGruder seems equally critical of both candidates in these strips. He criticizes Bush for failing to keep his commitments as leader of the "war on terror" and for misleading the public about the reasons for invading Iraq. He criticizes Kerry for being weak, inflexible and overly cautious.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Garry Trudeau is a Yale-educated, white cartoonist who began syndicating his strip nationally in 1970. Aaran McGruder is a young African American cartoonist educated at the University of Maryland who began national distribution of "Boondocks" in 1999. How might the age, race, and background of these cartoonists influence the content of their comic strips?

Can you think of other contemporary cartoonists whose work deals with presidential campaigns?

Discuss what level of political awareness political cartoons like these might require in order for the reader to understand the humor.

Does political cartooning promote political engagement or cynicism? Why or why not?

2004 DOC. #6e



"Boondocks"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

2004 DOC. #6f



"Boondocks"

PowerPoint Slide
Cartoon on student handout

ADDITIONAL INFO

During the 2004 election campaign both Garry Trudeau and Aaron McGruder were outspoken in their public criticism of the Bush administration. Trudeau, who had been reticent to do media interviews in the past, agreed to an August 2004 interview and cover story in *Rolling Stone* magazine in which he said, "Bush has created more harm to this country's standing and security than any president in history" (<http://www.msnbc.msn.com/id/5439743/>).

McGruder was given "The McGruder Award for the Most Outrageous Statement by a Black Public Figure" by conservative columnist Larry Elder in the March 11, 2004 edition of *Capitalism Magazine*. Elder criticized McGruder "for his relentless, almost pathological attacks on President George W. Bush" (<http://capmag.com/article.asp?ID=3560>).

TEACHER GUIDE

2004 DOC. #7: Targeting Latinos TV Commercials

Media:

- 7a. Kerry "Graduation" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)
 7b. Bush "Mi Familia" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2004 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In early 2003 the Census Bureau reported that Latinos had surpassed African Americans as the largest "minority" population in the country. Campaign managers for both parties knew that more Latinos would vote than ever before in the presidential elections of 2004. They also knew that before long Latinos would represent the majority of the voting population in certain southwestern states.

George W. Bush made a point of reaching out to traditionally Democratic groups, especially Latino voters. As recently as the 1980s the Democrats could count on receiving 85-90% of Latino votes in presidential elections. Bush challenged that assumption in the 1998 Texas governor's race and received 48% of the Hispanic vote (Jam 156). Bush's share of the Latino vote rose from 35% in 2000 to 44% in 2004 (Ceaser 140).

> **Distribute** the handout with English translations of these commercials. Have students read the translations before and after viewing each commercial.

> **Play** the video clip, 2004 Doc. #7a.

QUESTION	What is the primary message of this commercial?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	Kerry will provide an opportunity for more Latino youth to graduate from college.
QUESTION	What words do the producers of the Kerry commercial use to communicate this message?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	"Only half of Hispanic youth graduate from high school." "John Kerry and the Democrats aspire for more than a million students to enroll in college." "They also want to open the doors to a university education to all our children and improve public education."
QUESTION	What images do they use to convey the message?
SUGGESTED ANSWER	The young woman preparing for graduation. The mother embracing her daughter. The license plate with the words "Unidos con Kerry" ("United with Kerry").

2004 DOC. #7a

Kerry "Graduation"
TV Commercial

Video Clip (33 sec.)

> **Play** the video clip, 2004 Doc. #7b.

QUESTION

What is the primary message of this commercial?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Latino families are patriotic and have progressed through hard work. Latino voters support Bush because he knows and respects the strength of the Latino families and cultural traditions.

QUESTION

What words do the producers of the Bush commercial use to communicate this message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

"I have faith in this land that has seen me progress working every day." "I'm with Bush because he knows my family." "[Bush] understands my problems, my culture, my rights [and] gives me respect."

QUESTION

What images do they use to convey the message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Hard work and progress—graduation photo, businessman on phone, kids doing homework, mother working at table. Family strength—Father and son together, family on porch, at dinner table, in group photo, mother and father standing over crib, looking at one another. Bush understands—Bush smiling, waving, holding thumbs up sign, holding Latina child.

QUESTION

How do the music and vocals contribute to the message?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

The melody is uplifting and people sing together in chorus, suggesting hope and unity. Vocals include both men's and women's voices, suggesting an appeal to the whole family.

2004 DOC. #7b



**2004 doc. #7b
Bush "Mi Familia"
TV Commercial**

Video Clip (1 min.)

QUESTION

Which commercial do you think might be more effective and why?

SUGGESTED ANSWER

Answers to this can vary though the Bush commercial is more sophisticated. The Bush commercial is longer and much more complex than the Kerry commercial, telling multiple stories with quick cuts and rich colors and imagery while the Kerry commercial uses a simple construction to focus on a single message and story line. Bush himself is repeatedly present in his commercial where Kerry seems more distant, only appearing in a photo at the end.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Discuss why these commercials might focus on imagery and emotion rather than on policy issues affecting the Latino population such as immigration and the war in Iraq.

Based on these commercials why do you think George Bush might have increased his appeal among Latino voters in 2004?

Consider the nature of the changing electorate over the years and discuss why so few documents in this kit are focused on candidate appeals to the Latino population.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Race

Target Audience (Latinos)

Compare theme and imagery in Bush's "Mi Familia" commercial with Reagan's "Morning in America" commercial (1984 Doc. #2).

ADDITIONAL INFO

Both parties made major efforts to court the Latino vote in 2004. The Republicans posted a Spanish-language Web site titled "Abriendo Caminos" (Forging New Paths) while the Democrats hosted Hispanic Leadership Summits. Pollster Sergio Bendixen noted that the biggest issues for Latinos in 2004 were education, jobs, health care, the war in Iraq, and immigration (Green <http://usinfo.state.gov/dhr/Archive/2004/Feb/18-514070.html>).

Latino voting trends have changed significantly over the last 40 years. In 1964 Republican Barry Goldwater won only 10% of Mexican-American votes and 14% of Puerto Rican votes (De la Isla 23). By 1996 Republican candidate Bob Dole had increased the Republican share to 21% (Green). George W. Bush gained 35% of the Latino vote in 2000 and 44% in 2004. Whereas 40 years ago Latinos voted consistently Democratic, today the Latino electorate divide their votes more evenly between both parties, as is the pattern in the general electorate (Ceaser 140).

2004 DOC. #8: Election Campaign Web Sites

Getting your face in front of the public – that’s the challenge for non-incumbent candidates. One hundred years ago railroads gave candidates access to the voters across the country through “whistle stop campaigns.” In the 1930s radio allowed candidates to reach into the homes of millions of citizens across the United States. In the middle of the twentieth century the new medium of television transformed the political landscape. By 1960 a candidate that did not project well over TV had little chance of becoming president. TV commercials became a primary campaign technique to influence voters. Candidates who could not raise huge sums of money to produce slick commercials and buy airtime on major networks had little chance of making it to the White House.

The Internet is a deep departure from previous communication forms. Like radio and books, television is a linear medium in which the viewer follows a prescribed “text” from beginning to end with the only option being that of tuning out. The web allows users to move from place to place, to jump around and to choose their own unique sequence of sources and content. In addition to being nonlinear, the Internet is also interactive, allowing the user to give feedback, ask questions, and even participate in the conversation. Finally the web is very decentralized, not only in who can put up web sites but also in how users access information. Television is pumped into hundreds of millions of homes, delivering an ever-growing but still limited choice of content. Web users choose what web sites to “pull in” from an almost limitless series of choices. As a result, TV news tends to cater to a relatively broad market while web sites typically target a smaller group of users with very specific needs and often very defined political views. As TV becomes more web-like, offering greater choices of content and timing through HDTV and digital devices like TiVo, presidential candidates will need to adapt their messages even more specifically to a growing list of target audiences. The Internet will drive the micro-marketing of presidential candidates.

In this lesson you will study excerpts from the Bush Web site titled “Values” and the Kerry web site titled “People of Faith.” As you read these excerpts pay particular attention to the ways in which each candidate defines “our values” and to whom the Web sites might be attempting to reach as a target audience.

- > **Distribute** the student worksheets. Have students work individually or in pairs.
- > **Discuss** their answers using the separate Teacher Answer Guide provided with the student handout.

[illegible]

Student Worksheet

FURTHER QUESTIONS

How might you use the Internet to research a candidate's positions on moral issues?

Should a candidate's religion or spiritual beliefs play a part in an election? Why or why not?

NOTE

A survey by the Pew Research Center in January 2004 showed a large difference across age groups in the use of the Internet for learning about candidates and campaigns. Here is an excerpt from that report (see more complete chart on the unit Overview).

Where Americans of Different Ages Regularly Learn about the Candidates and Campaigns (percent reporting using each source)

Source: Pew Research Center, Jan 11, 2004

Media Source	Age Group		
	18-29	30-49	50+
Internet	20	16	7
Web Sites of News Organizations	15	13	8
ISP News Pages (e.g., AOL, Yahoo)	15	13	5

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Reaching Voters

ADDITIONAL INFO

Issues of religious faith and moral values may have played a decisive role in the election of 2004. President Bush made a successful effort to reach out to Protestant Evangelical voters and to non-Protestant voters who were deeply rooted in their faith. Kerry was perceived as a secular candidate rather than as a man of faith and, though Catholic by background, he actually lost to Bush among Catholic voters (Ceaser and Busch 138). Bush won overwhelmingly among Protestant voters, among those who attended church weekly, and among those who felt that moral values were the most important issue.

In the 2004 campaign weblogs such as the Republican's "D-bunker" site were used as quick response opportunities to get in front of anticipated criticism. Liberal groups like MoveOn.org and the Center For American Progress (CAP) countered the Republican blogs with their own regularly updated Web sites. The authors of *All the President's Spin* argue that blogs can bring voters directly into the discussion by enabling diverse voices to be heard beyond the offerings of mainstream media. They also point out that the Internet may be able to serve a watchdog role by letting journalists know that untruths and spin will often be named by those outside the media establishment (Fritz, Keefer and Nyhan 250).

HANDOUT

2008 ELECTION



BARACK OBAMA
and Joe Biden

POPULAR VOTE: 66,862,039
ELECTORAL VOTE: 365

DEMOCRAT

Barack Obama was a **U.S. Senator from Illinois**.

Obama used the slogan "**change we can believe in**" to tap into voter frustration with the previous administration of George. W. Bush.

Obama campaigned for strong **economic recovery** efforts, **troop withdrawal** from Iraq and universal **healthcare**.

Obama **rejected public campaign financing** and raised record funds from individual donors.

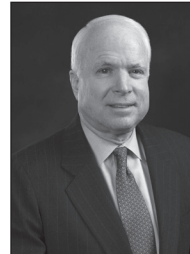
Obama drew on his experience as a community organizer **targeting young voters with new media**-- Internet, e-mail and texting.

Obama prevailed in a challenging primary battle with Senator **Hillary Clinton**.

Obama won a majority of votes from **women, youth and first-time voters**.

Obama's candidacy raised **interest worldwide**. His campaign speech in Berlin drew an estimated 200,000 people.

Obama's wife Michelle and TV host Oprah Winfrey added **strong women's support** for Obama's candidacy.



JOHN MCCAIN
and Sarah Palin

POPULAR VOTE: 58,319,442
ELECTORAL VOTE: 173

REPUBLICAN

John McCain was a **U.S. Senator from Arizona**.

McCain came from a strong **military family** and was himself a Vietnam Veteran and former **prisoner-of-war**.

McCain won a reputation as a **maverick** in the senate, leading a push for **campaign finance reform**.

McCain campaigned on the strength of his **political experience** and for **continued U.S. involvement in Iraq**.

McCain's **age** was the butt of late night TV jokes. At 72 he would have been the second oldest president.

McCain made a surprise pick of Alaskan governor **Sarah Palin** to be his running mate, the first woman to be nominated for vice president from the Republican Party.

The Christian Science Monitor labeled Palin "**not ready for prime time**" following her interviews with network anchors.

High interest in this election led to a voter turnout rate of nearly 62% of all eligible voters, the **highest rate of voter participation** in any presidential election since 1964.

Barack Obama became the **first African American to win the White House**. He grew up under the guidance of his white mother and maternal grandparents in Hawaii and Indonesia. His father, whom he met only once as a boy, was from Kenya. During the primary campaign Obama delivered a speech on race in which he proclaimed "I am married to a black American who carries within her the blood of slaves and slaveowners -- an inheritance we pass on to our two precious daughters...and for as long as I live, I will never forget that in no other country on Earth is my story even possible."

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #1: Biographical Films

Media:

- 1a. McCain Biographical Film video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)
- 1b. Obama Biographical Film video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Candidate biographies have taken many different media forms over the years. In the early nineteenth century candidate Andrew Jackson's story was offered in the song, "The Hunters of Kentucky" while Martin Van Buren's résumé was presented in a full-page advertisement in the party newspaper. A century later President Franklin Roosevelt used the new media of radio to broadcast fireside chats in order to remind voters of his personal story as he mounted successful campaigns for a second, third and fourth term in office. By the twenty-first century video biographies were standard biographical fare, seen via short television advertisements, through campaign Web sites and on YouTube or in longer forms at the party conventions as you will see here. The first clip is from John McCain's film shown at the Republican convention prior to his appearance, and the second clip is from the film shown prior to Barack Obama's appearance at the Democratic convention.

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #1a.

QUESTION

What are the key themes about John McCain and what cinematic techniques are used to develop each theme? Include references to specific stories, images, music, sounds, words, etc.

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Family tradition of selfless military service

EVIDENCE

Quiet horns accompany black and white images of his "four star warrior" grandfather witnessing Japanese surrender and "four star father" commanding troops in Vietnam. Story of father standing on border of North Vietnam contemplating bombing of Hanoi while son John was P.O.W. there.

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Family unity

EVIDENCE

"Some called him father... son... husband" accompanied by images of McCain with his son, with parents and with wife at Grand Canyon, family gathering and on campaign trail. Film of his mother calling him "Mama's boy" and hugging him as a proud mother

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Personal sacrifice and heroism

EVIDENCE

Many references to his experience as a prisoner of war accompanied by black and white film of McCain as P.O.W. in pain with somber soundtrack of muted horns and strings

2008 DOC. #1a



Republican Convention McCain Biographical Film

Video Clip
Length: 3 min. 24 sec.

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #1b.

QUESTION	What are the key themes about Barack Obama and what cinematic techniques are used to develop each theme?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	He fulfills the promise of the American dream of opportunity.
EVIDENCE	Scenes of young children being lifted by parents with the voice-over "It is a promise we make to our children: that each of us can make what we want of our lives"; clip of speech to 2004 convention noting "in no other country on earth is my story even possible."
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Commitment to family and country
EVIDENCE	Obama's speech: "My story is part of the larger American story, that I owe a debt to all those who came before me." Black and white photos of "heartland" Kansas streets during WW2 with grandparents serving in military and bomber production; snapshots and stories of mother who was central in his development
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Personal search for self
EVIDENCE	Opening scenes of a highway from the point of view of the traveler; single photo of Obama with father from their only meeting followed by Obama's comment that he was shaped by his father's absence and image of Obama's hand on railing standing before crowd as an adult with voice-over: "By discovering his own story he would come to know what is remarkable about his country."

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Discuss the filmmakers' presentation of each man as both the common man and a unique individual. Is this a contradiction?

Discuss the role that personal and family military service plays in each of these biographies.

Discuss the filmmaker's use of music and imagery as a means to appeal to voter emotion.

2008 DOC. #1b



Democratic Convention Obama Biographical Film

Video Clip
Length: 3 min. 15 sec.

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Commoner Family Man Hero

- Consider the 1840 doc. #5 newspaper ad for Van Buren and the 2004 #5i White House Web site photo of President George W Bush. Compare the image of military hero that each candidate is trying to project. Are these credible images and claims? Why or why not?

Reaching Voters (film biography)

- Consider the convention biography of Al Gore in 2000 doc. #2b and the Reagan Commercial, "Morning in America" in 1984 doc. #2. Compare and contrast the form and content of these with the film biography of Barack Obama.

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #2: Economy Ads

Media:

- 2a. Obama Endorsed "Out of Touch" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)
- 2b. McCain Endorsed "Dome" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Two constants in U.S. presidential campaigns seem to be that the current state of the economy drives the debate and that both candidates seek to embrace the image of the “common man” while painting their opponent as the enemy of that same “common man.” This was true in the 1908 campaign when candidates William Jennings Bryan and William Howard Taft each produced campaign materials highlighting their supposed association with “the commoner.” It remained true a century later in the 2008 campaign that occurred during the time that the U.S. economy was experiencing the beginning of the deepest economic downturn since the Great Depression.

During the 2008 campaign the symbol of “the commoner” became “Joe the Plumber,” a man who questioned candidate Obama about his tax proposals during a campaign stop in Ohio. During the third presidential debate John McCain referenced him numerous times, at one point saying, “Joe was trying to realize the American dream” and suggesting that he, candidate McCain, would support that dream while candidate Obama would thwart it. Several days later at a campaign stop in Virginia Obama countered, saying of McCain, “He’s not fighting for Joe the Plumber. He’s fighting for Joe the hedge-fund manager.”

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #2a.

QUESTION

What are the main critiques of McCain’s economic policies?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

McCain is a wealthy politician who is out of touch with the economic hardship facing most people in the U.S.

QUESTION

What techniques does the ad designer use to communicate those messages?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Wealthy politician – Images of McCain in golf cart with President HW Bush, “McCain has seven houses” bullet

Out of touch – “McCain unsure how many houses he owns,” and says that “anyone making less than five million dollars a year is middle class,” with McCain video in slow motion, suggesting that he is slow to get the reality of the economic crisis

2008 DOC. #2a



Obama “Out of Touch” TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 30 sec.

Commercial Script:

Call it country club economics—how many houses does he own? John McCain says he can’t even remember anymore. Well, it’s seven. No wonder McCain just said the fundamentals of our economy are strong. And anyone making less than \$5 million dollars a year is middle-class. Maybe McCain thinks this economy is working, for folks like him. But how are things going for you?

> **Play** the video clip, 2008 doc. #2b.

QUESTION

What are the main critiques of Obama's economic policies?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Obama is a liberal politician who will increase the size of big government by raising taxes and hurting families.

QUESTION

What techniques does the ad designer use to communicate those messages?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Liberal politician – Images of Obama in front of Capitol with voice-over “Obama and his liberal Congressional allies”

Big government – Images of the Capitol growing larger and casting a shadow over U.S. homes, “Massive Government” banner

Raising taxes and hurting families – “Painful taxes” and “Skyrocketing taxes” banners, image of sleeping baby being covered by shadow of big government

FURTHER QUESTIONS

In each ad compare the images of the candidates who sponsored the ads with the images of their opponents.

In the Obama ad discuss the use of music and captions to further the theme.

In the McCain ad discuss the use of shadows to further the theme.

How does each ad portray negative associations for the opposing candidate?

2008 DOC. #2b



McCain “Dome” TV Commercial

Video Clip
Length: 30 sec.

Commercial Script:

Narrator: When our economy's in crisis, a big government casts a big shadow on us all. Obama and his liberal Congressional allies want a massive government, billions in spending increases, wasteful pork. And, we would pay—painful income-taxes, skyrocketing taxes on life savings, electricity and home heating oil. Can your family afford that?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

Class/Labor Attack Economic Issues

- Consider the Mondale ad “Trade Deficit” 1984 doc. #3 and the Bush ad “What I Am Fighting For” 1992 doc. #2. Compare economic ads for the party incumbent (Republicans) and the opposing Democratic Party.

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #3: Fear in TV Commercials

Media:

- 3a. Clinton Endorsed "3AM" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)
- 3b. DNC Endorsed "100 Years" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)
- 3c. American Issues Project Endorsed "Know Enough" video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

"Fear sells" is a common saying in the advertising industry. This is as true in politics as it is in commercial marketing. Alex Castellanos is a media consultant who has produced successful fear-based campaign commercials for many Republican candidates. In a review of the 2008 presidential campaign he reflected on the use of fear as a tactic in presidential campaign politics: "Every time we [Republicans] go back to September 11 in New York, we lead the people back to the feeling of security threats . . . Every time Democrats talk about (Hurricane) Katrina, Bush's number goes down. Fear takes us back to the emotional experience we had back then" (Liao).

Campaign advertising is paid for by different sources. Sometimes ads are financed by the candidates' campaign chests, which is the case in the first ad you will see which was produced by the Hilary Clinton primary campaign during her race with Barack Obama for the Democratic Party nomination. Sometimes ads are funded by the Party itself as is the case with the second ad which was produced by the Democratic National Committee during the general election campaign. Some ads are funded by independent not-for-profit groups such as the conservative American Issues Project which produced the final ad you will see during the general election campaign.

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #3a.

QUESTION

What are the fears upon which this ad preys?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Fears that world events may threaten U.S. families

QUESTION

What techniques are used to instill fear?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

A voice-over announcing a 3 am phone call to the White House in response to "something happening" in "a dangerous world," suggests that parents should be concerned for their children's safety in the hands of the alleged untested leader, Clinton's opponent. The peaceful images of sleeping children and protective parent, the calm, uplifting musical score and the image of Hilary Clinton on the phone suggest that a Clinton presidency will offer security in the hands of a "tested" leader. This is a subtle yet effective message contrasting the promised assurance of a Clinton White House with the uncertain and possibly dangerous prospect of an Obama White House.

2008 DOC. #3a



**Clinton "3am"
TV Commercial
Video Clip
Length: 30 sec.**

Commercial Script:

It's 3am and your children are safe and asleep but there's a phone in the White House and it is ringing. Something is happening in the world. Your vote will decide who answers that call.

Whether it is someone who already knows the world's leaders, knows the military, someone tested and ready to lead in a dangerous world. It's 3 am and your children are safe and asleep. Who do you want answering that phone?

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #3b.

QUESTION

What are the fears upon which this ad preys?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Fear of unending war in Iraq resulting in loss of life and enormous expense

QUESTION

What techniques are used to instill fear?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Images of soldiers and civilians under attack accompanied by a musical track of repeated high-pitched piano notes and the sounds of explosion, sirens and crowd distress. The fear of a continuation of Bush policies is communicated through McCain's twice-repeated response that staying the Bush course in Iraq for 100 years is "fine by me," the split-screen image of McCain and the burning van and the closing shot of McCain and Bush arm in arm.

> Play the video clip, 2008 doc. #3c.

QUESTION

What are the fears upon which this ad preys?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Obama's alleged ties to terrorist groups and the fear that he may have surprising aspects to his character since he is a relatively unknown politician

QUESTION

What techniques are used to instill fear?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The ad quotes the political blog politico.com in attempting to link Obama with former Weather Underground founder Bill Ayers. Certain text words (war, bombed) are highlighted in red in order to accentuate fear as are archival photos and news video showing bomb damage to the Capitol and mug shots and wanted poster images of Ayers' group. The ad attempts to connect Ayers (and by alleged relation, Obama) to the terrorist attacks of 9/11 by referencing flight United 93. Uncertainty about Obama is illustrated in the closing image of his face disappearing within unfocused clouds.

2008 DOC. #3b



DNC "100 Years" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 35 sec.

Commercial Script:

President Bush has talked about our staying in Iraq for 50 years.

McCain: Maybe a hundred! That'd be fine with me.

If all he offers is more of the same, is John McCain the right choice for America's Future?

2008 DOC. #3c



American Issues Project "Know Enough" TV Commercial

Video Clip

Length: 1 min.

Commercial Script:

Beyond the speeches, how much do you know about Barack Obama? What does he really believe? Consider this: United 93 never hit the Capitol on 9/11. But the Capitol was bombed thirty years before by an American terrorist group called Weather Underground that declared 'war' continued on page 433.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Are these fear-based attacks fair and justified? Are the allegations accurate? How do you know?

Would it be possible for the ad designer to raise concerns about these issues – Obama’s experience and associations and McCain’s stance on Iraq and ties to President Bush – without using emotional appeals to fear? If so, how?

Do you think that a less emotional appeal would be more effective or more fair than the ads you have seen? Why or why not?

Commercial Script (continued from pg.432):

on the U.S. targeting the Capitol, the Pentagon, police stations and more. One of the group’s leaders, William Ayers, admits to the bombings, proudly saying later: “We didn’t do enough.” Some members of the group Ayers founded even went on to kill police.

But Barack Obama is friends with Ayers, defending him as, quote, “Respectable” and “Mainstream.” Obama’s political career was launched in Ayers’ home. And the two served together on a left-wing board. Why would Barack Obama be friends with someone who bombed the Capitol . . . and is proud of it? Do you know enough to elect Barack Obama? American Issues Project is responsible for the content of this ad.

NOTE: The Obama Web site Fightthesmears.com published its own page, “The Truth About Barack Obama and William Ayers” which accused “a desperate McCain campaign” of “using age-old guilt by association techniques.” (Fightthesmears.com)

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Foreign Policy”

“Attack”

“Fear”

- Consider the Bush ad “Dangerous World” 2000 doc. #4a and the Johnson ad “Daisy Girl” 1964 doc. #2. Compare these ads with the 2008 examples to reflect on the effectiveness of subtle vs. overt appeals to fear.

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #4: Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in Cartoons & Posters

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The 2008 presidential race was historic in many ways, particularly in the “identity politics” arena of race and gender. No woman has ever come as close to being nominated as the presidential candidate of a major party as New York Democratic Senator and former first lady Hillary Clinton. There have been other women who have run for the presidency beginning with Victoria Woodhull in 1872 and including Shirley Chisolm, Elizabeth Dole and Carol Moseley Braun in the second half of the twentieth century. But until Hillary Clinton, no woman had ever won a state primary let alone more than 20 as she did. As Clinton said in her speech to supporters conceding the Democratic nomination to Barack Obama, “Although we weren’t able to shatter that highest, hardest glass ceiling this time, thanks to you, it’s got about 18 million cracks in it” (Milbank). Governor Sarah Palin of Alaska became the first woman to be nominated for vice president by the Republican Party and she came closer to election than did Democratic vice-presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro in her 1984 run with Walter Mondale.

From the early days of Hillary Clinton’s candidacy there were serious allegations of sexism in media coverage of the campaign. In May 2008 the media advocacy groups the Women’s Media Center and Media Matters began a campaign, “Sexism Sells, But We’re Not Buying It,” designed to highlight the pervasive nature of sexism in the media’s coverage. They said “While Hillary Clinton’s campaign has cast a spotlight on the issue of sexism, this isn’t a partisan issue: it’s about making sure that women’s voices are present and powerful in our national dialogue” (Petition).

Distribute the two-page handout of editorial cartoons and the one-page worksheet for each student or group. Divide the cartoons between the groups and have the students prepare to present their answers to the class.

Read to the class the definition of “sexism” from the American Heritage College Dictionary: “Attitudes that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender.”

Project the document, 2008 doc. #4a. Have groups present their answers. Use the following guide to help facilitate the discussion.

QUESTION	Who is depicted?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Hillary Clinton as a job applicant and Uncle Sam as the employer
QUESTION	What is the message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	She is running on her husband’s record
QUESTION	Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
POSSIBLE ANSWER	It promotes sexism by suggesting that Clinton does not have the stature (booster seat) or experience (your husband’s résumé) for the job

2008 DOC. #4a



Glenn McCoy
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

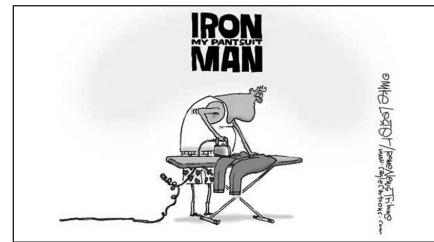
> **Project** the document, 2008 doc.#4b.

QUESTION	Who is depicted?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Bill Clinton
QUESTION	What is the message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Hillary Clinton has stolen her husband's power
QUESTION	Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
POSSIBLE ANSWER	It challenges one stereotype of women being weak but replaces it with another stereotype of women as controlling or emasculating (forcing husband to do the ironing)

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc.#4c.

QUESTION	Who is depicted?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Hillary Clinton
QUESTION	What is the message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	When Hillary Clinton appears in a composed manner she is portrayed as devoid of emotion. When she shows any emotion she is charged with being an "hysterical female"
QUESTION	Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
POSSIBLE ANSWER	It challenges sexist stereotypes that judge women based solely on their expression of emotion – either as emotionless or hysterical

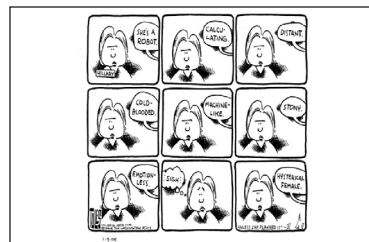
2008 DOC. #4b



Mike Lester
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #4c



Tom Toles
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #4d.

QUESTION

Who is depicted?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Hillary Clinton is depicted as the wicked witch and Barack Obama as Dorothy from The Wizard of Oz

QUESTION

What is the message?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Hillary Clinton's negative campaigning has caused her campaign to de-struct while Obama's "high tone" has aided his campaign

QUESTION

Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It promotes the stereotype that because her campaign has engaged in alleged smears, Hillary Clinton is a witch, a characterization that would be highly unlikely if she were a man

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #4e.

QUESTION

Who is depicted?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Sarah Palin

QUESTION

What is the message?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The nomination and election of Sarah Palin will be a welcome miracle for the United States

QUESTION

Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It challenges sexism by portraying a woman as a hockey champion and as vice president

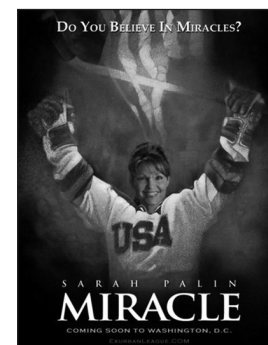
2008 DOC. #4d



Steve Benson
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #4e



Exurbanjon
Poster

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #4f.

QUESTION	Who is depicted?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Sarah Palin
QUESTION	What is the message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Sarah Palin has been selected as a vice presidential candidate solely based on her appearance
QUESTION	Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
POSSIBLE ANSWER	It promotes the stereotype that women are chosen for powerful positions based on appearance rather than genuine qualifications

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #4g.

QUESTION	Who is depicted?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	A Hillary Clinton supporter, John McCain and Sarah Palin
QUESTION	What is the message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	John McCain is cynically trying to persuade supporters of Hillary Clinton to vote for Sarah Palin despite her stance on issues contrary to Clinton's positions
QUESTION	Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
POSSIBLE ANSWER	It challenges the sexist belief that women will vote based on gender solidarity rather than on principles

2008 DOC. #4f



Daryl Cagle
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #4g



Adam Zyglics
Editorial Cartoon

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #4h.

QUESTION

Who is depicted?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Sarah Palin is walking on the glass ceiling while Hillary Clinton watches from below

QUESTION

What is the message?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Hillary Clinton is upset because her struggle to overcome the “glass ceiling” (women’s barrier to higher office) has resulted in Sarah Palin’s success in overcoming the barrier rather than her own

QUESTION

Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It promotes the stereotype that women are catty or jealous of other women’s success while challenging the stereotype that women cannot achieve high political office

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What other forms of opinion-based media might present stereotypes or counter stereotypes regarding Clinton and Palin’s candidacies?

Are editorial cartoons effective in shaping public opinion? Why or why not?

Which of these cartoons and images have the most impact for you? Why?

Do you believe that there is a “glass ceiling” which prevents women from winning access to the highest government offices in the U.S.?

2008 DOC. #4h



**Larry Wright
Editorial Cartoon**

PowerPoint Slide

CONNECTIONS

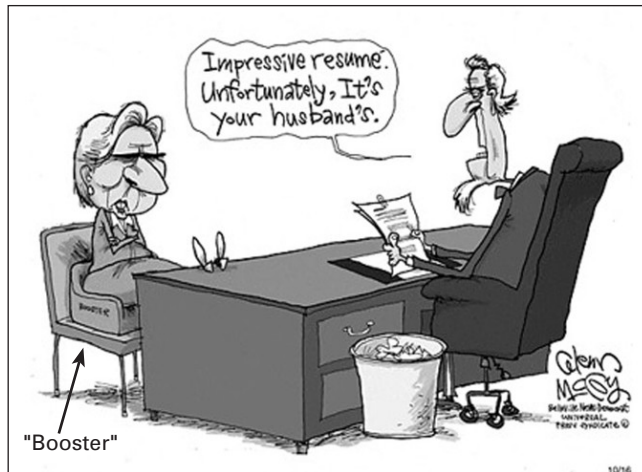
(see thematic listing)

“Attack” “Cartoons”

- Consider the Republican Comic Book and Democratic Convention Program cover 1956 docs # 1 & #2 and the *Time* magazine Ferraro interview 1984 doc #4. Compare these documents with the 2008 cartoons and poster to examine sexism and stereotyping in U.S. political campaigns over the last half century.

HANDOUT

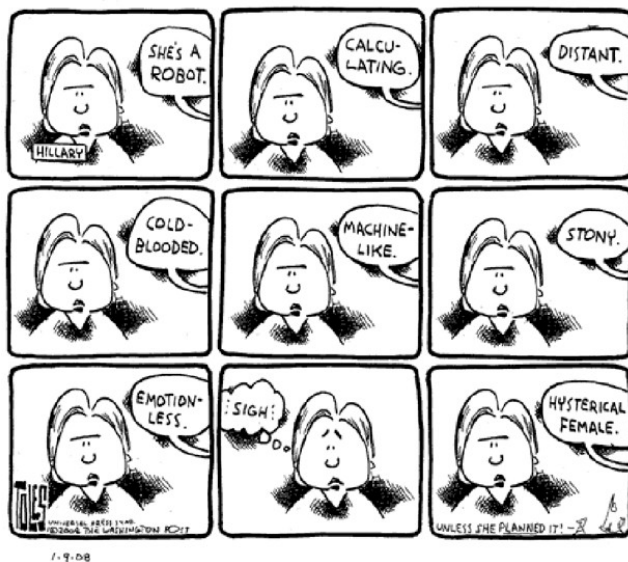
2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #4A-H



4a—Glenn McCoy



4b—Mike Lester



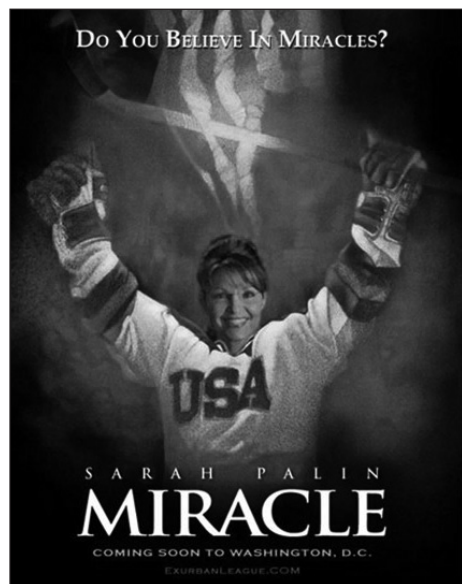
4c—Tom Toles



4d—Steve Benson

HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #4A-H



4e—Exurbanjon



4f—Daryl Cagle



4g—Adam Zyglis



4h—Larry Wright

NAME:

DATE:

DIRECTIONS

For each of the cartoons do the following:

- 1) Tell who is depicted in the cartoon.
 - 2) Describe the editorial messages being communicated.
 - 3) Evaluate the ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism.
- Use this definition of sexism from the *American Heritage College Dictionary*:
 "Attitudes that promote stereotyping of social roles based on gender."

<p>Cartoon # ____ Who is depicted?</p> <p>Message?</p> <p>Ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism?</p>	<p>Cartoon # ____ Who is depicted?</p> <p>Message?</p> <p>Ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism?</p>
<p>Cartoon # ____ Who is depicted?</p> <p>Message?</p> <p>Ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism?</p>	<p>Cartoon # ____ Who is depicted?</p> <p>Message?</p> <p>Ways in which this cartoon challenges or promotes sexism?</p>

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #5: Historic Election Magazine Covers

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

In 1872 Frederick Douglass, former slave, abolitionist newspaper editor and advisor to President Lincoln was nominated for Vice-President on the Equal Rights Party ticket along with suffragist Victoria Woodhull. Douglass led the way as the first African American to be nominated for national office. A century later others followed in his path including Shirley Chisholm, Al Sharpton, Carl Moseley Braun and Alan Keyes. In March 1988 after the Super Tuesday primaries Jesse Jackson led the Democratic field in popular votes. The nomination that year eventually went to Michael Dukakis but Jackson came closer than any other African American yet to being nominated as the presidential nominee of a major party.

When Barack Obama won the presidency he marked the historic nature of the moment in his election night victory speech before a huge crowd in Grant Park Chicago:

This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations. But one that's on my mind tonight is about a woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta. She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing—Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old. She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons—because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin. And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America—the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes we can.

In this lesson you will see several magazine covers. For each one reflect on the target audience for that magazine, the cover's message and the way in which the message about President Obama's candidacy and election might reflect the perspectives of the magazine's target audience.

> Project the document, 2008 doc. #5a.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	African Americans
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Pride and near disbelief
QUESTION	How does the message about President Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	The bold headline "IN OUR LIFETIME" reflects the huge sense of accomplishment African Americans feel at having achieved this milestone. The subtitle "Are we really witnessing the election of the nation's first Black president?" reflects the wonder of such a fact for people who have been disenfranchised for so long.

2008 DOC. #5a



Ebony Magazine March 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Ebony explains that its mission is "to explore the impact of the world on African Americans and the impact of African Americans on the world" (ebonyjet.com).

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5b.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama is popular among Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders
QUESTION	How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	As a man of color from a Pacific island state with a large Asian population, the son of an immigrant and a man who spent part of his childhood in an Asian country, Indonesia, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders are hopeful ("You Gotta Have Hope") that Obama will understand and represent their interests

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5c.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	General audience
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	This is about Obama's decision as a young man to claim his African and African-American identity by way of a name change and Afro hairstyle
QUESTION	How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Newsweek is being provocative, using the cover to entice people to find the answer to the question – "When did Barry become Barack?" As a mainstream magazine Newsweek is using the nation's conflicting views of race and identity to attract readers.

2008 DOC. #5b



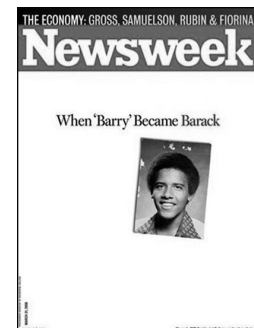
**Asian Week Magazine
February 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Asian Week describes itself as "the oldest and largest English language newspaper serving the Asian/Pacific Islander American community" (asianweek.com).

2008 DOC. #5c



**Newsweek Magazine
April 14, 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Newsweek claims that it presents "comprehensive coverage of world events with a global network of correspondents, reporters and editors covering national and international affairs, business, science and technology, society and the arts and entertainment" (newsweek.com).

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5d.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	General audience
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama was a biracial child whose mother played a key role in his development
QUESTION	How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Much like the previous cover, Time's editors use Obama's biracial identity to interest a mainstream readership. The cover also targets women through a cover story written by a woman about the role of Obama's mother in his life.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5e.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	General audience
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	With Obama's strong multiracial support race may no longer be a divisive issue in our country
QUESTION	How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	White males are far more likely to be asking if race still matters in the United States than are people of color

2008 DOC. #5d



Time Magazine
April 21, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Time calls itself "the original newsmagazine. *TIME* has set the standard for leadership, authenticity and authoritative journalism since 1923" (time.mobi).

2008 DOC. #5e



U.S. News and World Report Magazine
Feb. 25, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

U.S. News describes its audience profile as mainly married male college graduates with an average age of 46 and average income over \$90,000. (mediakit.usnews.com)

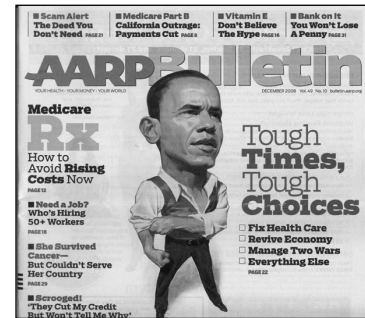
> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5f.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	People over the age of 50
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	A strong President Obama will lead the difficult fight to reform healthcare
QUESTION	How does the message about President Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Elders living in the U.S. are especially concerned about Medicare and health issues which dominate the list of choices and articles. They want a President who will fix the system and protect their interests

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5g.

QUESTION	Who is the target audience of this magazine?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Young people and those interested in music
QUESTION	What is the message in image and text?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama is a messenger of hope who is leading a "people's revolution"
QUESTION	How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama's commanding presence and the bold headline "A New Hope" along with the editor's endorsement listed on the cover suggest that a young people should join his "people-powered revolution"

2008 DOC. #5f



**AARP Bulletin
December 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

AARP describes itself as "a non-profit, nonpartisan membership organization that helps people 50 and over improve the quality of their lives" (aarp.org).

2008 DOC. #5g



**Rolling Stone Magazine
March 20, 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Rolling Stone describes its major-ity audience as internet consumers primarily between ages 18-34 with incomes above \$50,000. (rollingstone.com)

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5h.

Explain that the target audience of this magazine are affluent, middle-aged, well-educated men.

QUESTION

What is the message in image and text?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

This is a satirical rendering of Obama as an icon of Christian faith and suffering, within a U.S. context. NOTE: Students who are not familiar with this magazine may misinterpret the satire as a pro-Christian message.

QUESTION

How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The intellectual appeal of a complex and contradictory rendering might raise the interest of the target audience. The editors hope that the juxtaposition of stage curtains, American flag, iconic halo and the title are enough to cause potential readers to say "What does that mean?" buy the issue or turn the page.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #5i.

QUESTION

Who is the target audience of this magazine?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

African American women

QUESTION

What is the message in image and text?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The Obamas are a loving family. Barack and Michelle are partners both as parents and as community leaders.

QUESTION

How does the message about candidate Obama reflect the interests and perspectives of the target audience?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The portrayal of Michelle and Barack as loving partners and parents is an affirmation of the experience and dreams of many African American women. The interview of both Michelle and Barack on critical community issues such as "racist attacks, the HIV crisis and saving our children" appeals to African American women who cope daily with these issues within their own communities.

2008 DOC. #5h



New Republic Magazine
Jan. 30, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

The New Republic describes its audience profile as 86% male, a majority of whom hold post-graduate degrees. Readers average age is 39 and average income over \$93,000. (tnr.com)

2008 DOC. #5i



Essence Magazine
Sept. 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

Essence describes itself as "the premiere lifestyle, fashion and beauty magazine for African-American women" (essence.com).

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Try switching the covers from one magazine to another and discuss whether that message could work for a different target audience. For instance, could the message of the *U.S. News and World Report* cover work for *Ebony's* audience? Could the *Asian Week* cover work for the audience of *Time* or *Newsweek*? Why or why not?

Which of these are images of a hero? What makes an image heroic?

Which covers appeal to the “family man” theme? Which to the “common man”?

Do home pages of Web sites appeal to target audiences in the same way as magazine covers? If so, how and if not how are they different?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

“Hero”

“Race”

- Consider the portraits of *Newsweek* cover of Jesse Jackson 1988 doc # 1 and the *Newsweek* articles about Al Gore and GW Bush appeals to African American women 2007 doc #7. Compare these media representations of race in election campaigns with the 2008 covers.

“Reaching Voters”

- Consider the portraits of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams 1800 docs # 1 & #2 and the *Time* magazine covers of Ronald Reagan and Bill Clinton 1984 doc #1 and 1992 doc #4. Compare these documents with the 2008 Barack Obama

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #6: Targeting Youth with New Media

Media:

6b. Moveon.org "Talk to your Parents about McCain video (access online or via 2000-2008, 2008 digital media folder)

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Young people played a key role in the 2008 presidential election campaign —as campaign organizers, as recipients of campaign marketing via new media technologies and as voters. According to Tufts University's Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), a research organization on the civic and political engagement of young Americans, more than 23 million young people under the age of 30 voted in the 2008 presidential election, nearly 3.5 million more young people than had voted four years earlier. The 52% youth voter turnout was the highest turnout rate since 1972 and reversed a long history of decline in percentage of youth voters (civicyouth.org).

One of the main reasons for this increase in youth interest and participation had to do with the presence of a young candidate on the ballot. Barack Obama was 47 at the time of the election, 25 years younger than his opponent. Another reason for high youth voter turnout had to do with Obama's appeal to youth culture using various forms of new media technologies. While both candidates used e-mail, Web sites and social networking sites, the Obama campaign, with its candidate's experience as a community organizer, maximized effective outreach through the use of new media. For example the Obama campaign invited Facebook co-founder Chris Hughes to help set up MyBarackObama.com in such a way that visitors might create Obama pages of their own (Ruthart). This new approach was articulated in the title of an op-ed piece by political science professor Christopher Latimer: "U Have 1 New TXT MSG: Obama Embraces Technology."

Distribute the two-page handout of new media images.

Model responses by showing the first two documents. Use the Teacher Guide below to suggest possible answers.

Project the document, 2008 doc. #6a.

Explain that this is an example of an older campaign media form, the candidate T-shirt. This particular example was designed by artist Shepard Fairey.

Ask or offer this question and possible answer.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, a graphic T-shirt, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It is easily reproduced, inexpensive, a means for personal expression of allegiance, and an item (clothing) of daily utility.

2008 DOC. #6a



**T-Shirt
Shepard Fairey
Graphic**

PowerPoint Slide

- > **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6b.
- > **Explain** that this is an example of a new campaign media form, a YouTube video. This particular example was sponsored by the political action committee, MoveOn.org
- > **Play** the video clip, 2008 doc. #6b.
- > **Ask or offer** this question and possible answer.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, a YouTube video, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Anyone with access to a computer may easily access a video or post one of their own. It has video, audio, graphic and print aspects, making it of potential interest to people of many different learning styles. Many YouTube videos, like this one, target young people.

> **Divide** the handouts between seven groups and ask the students to prepare to present their answers to the class. When they are prepared use the Teacher Guide below to help lead the class through possible answers.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6c.

> **Explain** that this is an example of advertising in a video game. This particular example is from the Xbox 360 racing game Burnout Paradise from October 2008.

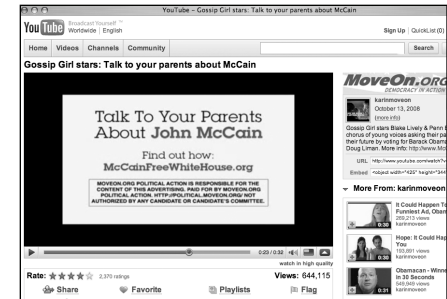
QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, advertising in a video game, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It reaches young male gamers who may not otherwise be reached by the presidential campaign. It is stealthy and fun, appearing on a billboard in an unexpected place.

2008 DOC. #6b



YouTube Video
MoveOn.org
October 2008

Video Clip
Length: 31 sec.

2008 DOC. #6c



Advertising in a videogame
Xbox 360—Burnout Paradise
October 2008

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6d.

> **Explain** that this is an example of live hip hop concert. The poster for this particular example was created by Obama supporters in Davis, CA.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, a live hip hop concert, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Hip hop music appeals to a diverse group of young people. A concert provides the opportunity for concert goers to "vote with their feet" by traveling to an event for the candidate.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6e.

> **Explain** that this is an example of an e-mail. This particular example was sent to a youth supporter from the Obama campaign in August 2008.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, an e-mail, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

It allows quick and personalized access to anyone with connections to the Internet. It provides immediate opportunities to deepen support by donating, sending to a friend or volunteering to help campaign.

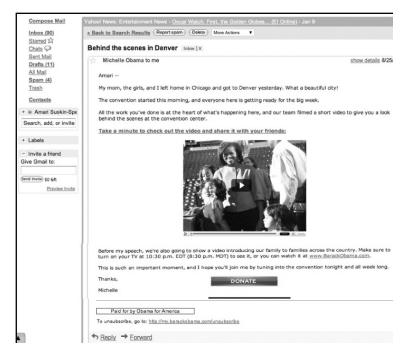
2008 DOC. #6d



**Live Hip Hop Concert
Poster from Davis, CA.
October 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #6e



**E-mail
From Obama campaign
August 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6f.

> **Explain** that this is an example of phone applications including texting, ringtones, wallpaper and twitter. This iphone simulator appeared on ATT's testiphone.com in July 2008.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, phone applications, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Phone applications allow relatively constant and transportable access between the campaign and the consumer. They provide ways to accentuate one's support (ringtones and wallpaper for example) as well as opportunities for multi-way campaign communication (e-mail and twitter).

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6g.

> **Explain** that this is an example of an entertainment TV news show. This particular example was from *The Daily Show* in June 2008.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, entertainment TV news, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Because of its widespread popularity among younger viewers, entertainment TV news sharply increased name recognition for a relatively unknown candidate like Barack Obama. Even if the reports were merely jokes at his expense, regular mentions of his name and images of his face on *The Daily Show*, *The Colbert Report* and *Saturday Night Live's* "Weekly Update" among others brought Obama's name and candidacy to a large populace who might have otherwise not known him.

2008 DOC. #6f



**Phone applications
texting, ringtones,
wallpaper and twitter
July 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #6g



**Entertainment TV News
The Daily News
June 2008**

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6h.

> **Explain** that this is an example of a social networking site. This Obama Facebook page appeared in November 2008.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, social networking sites, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

With the ability to declare oneself a “friend” or “supporter” social network sites add an element of perceived personal relationship with the candidate or president much as Franklin Roosevelt’s Fireside chats did eighty years before. Social network sites also enable clusters of friends and supporters to “gather around” as they create their own pages of support.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #6i.

> **Explain** that this is an example of a Web site home page. This particular example was from President-Elect Obama’s new Web page, change.gov, in December 2008. It is an example of a form of new media that was transformed for a new purpose once candidate Obama became President-Elect Obama.

QUESTION

What are the qualities or strengths of this medium, a Web site, that were used to promote Obama, particularly to youth?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

A Web site provides an opportunity for the candidate and then the president to provide up-to-date information on what he needs from his supporters. It is an opportunity for supporters and constituents to be heard via invitations to blog, join discussion groups and post personal stories. Unlike FDR’s fire-side chats, the Web site allows the viewer the reciprocal opportunity to potentially share their ideas and stories with a mass audience via the vast reach of a presidential Web site.

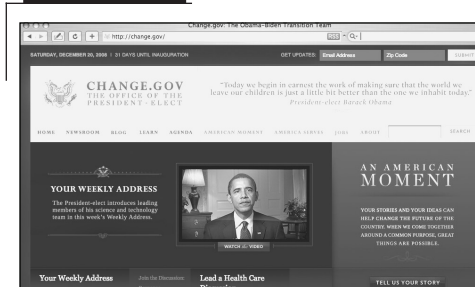
2008 DOC. #6h



Social Networking Sites Facebook Page November 2008

PowerPoint Slide

2008 DOC. #6i



Web site President-Elect Obama December 2008

PowerPoint Slide

ADDITIONAL INFO

From a 9/28/08 op-ed piece by SUNY Cortland political science professor Christopher Latimer in the Ithaca Journal entitled “U Have 1 New TXT MSG: Obama Embraces Technology:”

At about 3 am Saturday, I received a text message from the Obama campaign informing me of his vice
(continued on page 456)

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Do you think that any of the new media forms used in the 2008 presidential campaign will be instrumental in helping to develop a generation of more active and engaged democratic citizens?

What other forms of new media have been used or could be used to further a political campaign?

Have you ever followed or participated in a political campaign through the use of media? If so, what kinds of media have you used?

What role did new media play in the election of Barack Obama?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Target Audience"

- Consider the Nixon poster 1968 Doc #3 and the McGovern poster 1972 doc #1. Compare these documents with the 2008 new media forms to examine campaign outreach to young voters.

"Reaching Voters"

- Consider the FDR Fireside chat radio clip 1936 doc # 1 and the Eisenhower TV ad 1952 doc #3. Compare these documents with the 2008 new media forms to examine the use and impact of new media technologies to reach voters.

ADDITIONAL INFO

(continued from page 455)

presidential running mate. The significance surrounding this event was not the choice of Senator Joseph Biden of Delaware (although the Democrats will argue it is), but how the message was actually delivered. No other campaign has used text messaging to make such an important announcement. Even though Obama is not the first presidential candidate to use technology as a tool to disseminate information—remember Hillary Clinton announced her intentions to run for president by video on her campaign Web site—Obama's campaign represents a more calculating and systematic use of technology that is benefiting him in a number of ways . . .

Another benefit for the Obama campaign was the direct connection with potential supporters. The latest survey by the Pew Center found that 46 percent of Americans are using the Internet, e-mail or phone text messages for political purposes in this election up considerably from 31 percent during the 2004 election. The Obama campaign developed an almost personal connection by inviting ordinary citizens to be among the first to know about his vice-presidential selection. The ability to make an individual feel special by receiving such news should not be dismissed. You might not want to hear important news from a close friend via e-mail or text message, but getting exclusive news from a major political player who seems like a close friend; that's special. (Latimer)

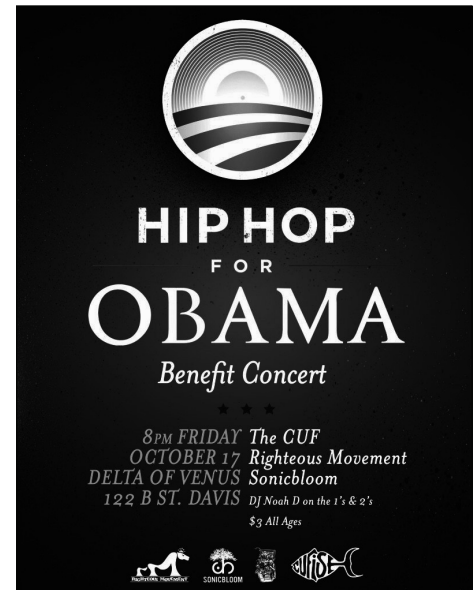
HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #6

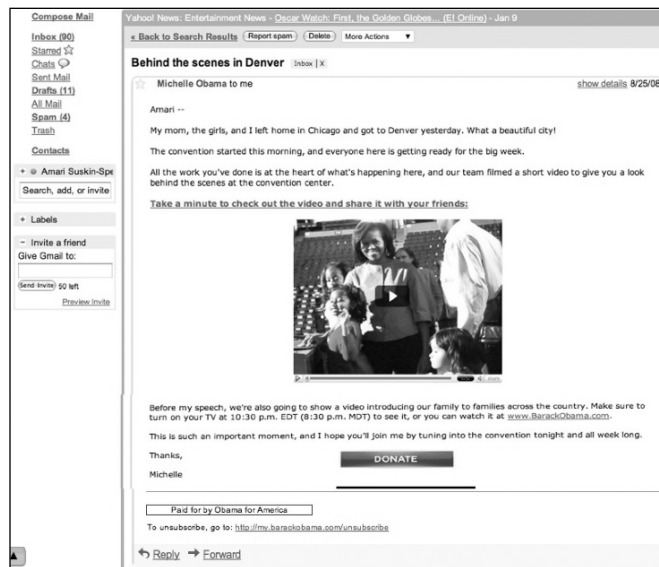
Be prepared to present to the class the qualities or strengths of each medium that were used to promote candidate Obama, particularly to the youth.



Medium—Advertising in a video game
Example—Xbox 360 - Burnout Paradise, Oct. 2008



Medium—Live hip hop concert
Example—Poster from Davis, CA, Oct. 2008

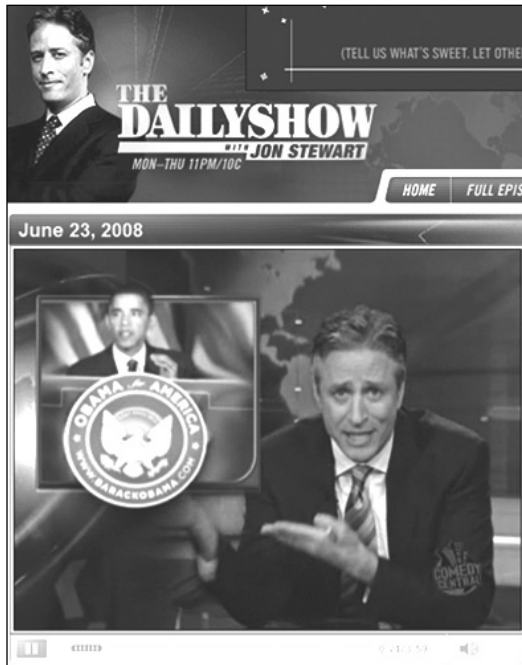


Medium—E-mail message
Example—From Obama campaign, Aug. 2008



Medium—Phone applications
texting, ringtones, wallpaper and Twitter
Example—iPhone simulator, July 2008

Be prepared to present to the class the qualities or strengths of each medium that were used to promote candidate Obama, particularly to the youth.



Medium—Entertainment TV News
Example—*The Daily Show*, June 2008



Medium—Social Networking Sites
Example—Facebook page, Nov. 2008



Medium—Web site
Example—President- Elect Obama, Dec. 2008

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #7: "Is Obama a Muslim?" Sources and Credibility

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Rumors have dogged political candidates ever since Thomas Jefferson was accused of being an agent of French revolutionaries in the 1800 election. In 2004 George W. Bush was accused of going AWOL (absent without leave) from his Air Guard unit while John Kerry was accused of lying about U.S. war crimes during military service in Vietnam. Early in the 2008 election primary season both John McCain and Barack Obama faced allegations that, if unanswered, could have derailed their respective campaigns. In February, 2008 the *New York Times* ran a story entitled "For McCain, Self-Confidence on Ethics Poses Its Own Risk" in which McCain was criticized for "potentially embarrassing conflicts of interest" including the suggestion by some that he had engaged in a romantic relationship with an industry lobbyist. McCain quickly denied the allegations and the *Times* subsequently acknowledged inaccuracies and the potential for unintended conclusions in the original story. (Rutenberg)

One early rumor about candidate Obama had to do with his religious beliefs. In early January, 2008 an anonymous e-mail was circulated suggesting that Obama was a Muslim, despite his long-standing attendance at a Christian church. In the post-September 11 climate such an allegation could surely impact candidate Obama in the primaries. In deciding whether and how to respond to this clearly false rumor Obama also had to consider how his response might contribute to the anti-Muslim prejudice in the U.S. that had worsened since the September 11 attacks. As you read the excerpts in this lesson ask yourself, "How credible is this source and how do I know whether what I am reading is true?"

Distribute the handouts among five groups.

Explain that the handouts include excerpts from five different media sources writing about allegations that Obama is Muslim: a chain e-mail, a university Web site, a political blog, the Democratic National Committee Web site and an online newspaper story.

Ask students to work together to answer three questions with evidence from the document to justify their conclusions:

- 1) What's the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the particular medium (chain e-mail, university Web site, political blog, campaign Web site, online newspaper story) play in informing or misleading the public?

- > When groups are prepared use the Teacher Guide below to help lead the class through possible answers.
- > **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #7a.
- > **Explain** that this is the text of an anonymous chain e-mail originally circulated in Jan. 2008.
- > **Ask** the group to present their conclusions with evidence from the document to justify their answers. Encourage students to use analysis from the slide image as well as the text in their answers.

QUESTION	What's the main message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama is a Muslim. His election would aid those intending to destroy the U.S.
EVIDENCE	"Obama takes great care to conceal the fact that he is a Muslim; Muslims have said they plan on destroying the US from the inside out"
QUESTION	Who produced this and for what purpose?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	This was created by an anonymous person to warn the public of the perceived dangers of an Obama candidacy.
EVIDENCE	Let us all remain alert concerning Obama's expected presidential candidacy.
QUESTION	What role did the particular medium, an anonymous chain e-mail, play in informing or misleading the public?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	E-mail has the capacity to be shared widely and quickly. When an e-mail includes unsubstantiated allegations offered as "facts" it becomes a handy way for anyone to spread rumors. Anonymous e-mails mislead the public through the "viral" spread of such falsehoods.

2008 DOC. #7a



Chain E-mail Anonymous Jan. 6, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #7b.

> **Explain** that this is the text from a university political fact check Web site from Jan. 10, 2008

> **Ask** the group to present their conclusions with evidence from the document to justify their answers.

QUESTION

What's the main message?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

There is a pattern of false e-mails attacking candidate Obama

EVIDENCE

"Dueling chain e-mails claim he's a radical Muslim or a 'racist' Christian. Both can't be right. We find both are false."

QUESTION

Who produced this and for what purpose?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

This was created by a political fact check organization sponsored by the public policy center of a major university in order to correct false information in political campaigns

EVIDENCE

the top banner includes the words "Annenberg Political Fact Check" and a magnifying glass in front of images of the Capitol and a flag suggesting scrutiny of political information

QUESTION

What role did the particular medium, a university Web site, play in informing or misleading the public?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

Due to this Web site's association with a major university (University of Pennsylvania) and a major foundation (the Annenberg Foundation) one can expect the fact checking to be accurate and the information reliable.

2008 DOC. #7b



University Web site
University of Pennsylvania
Annenberg Public Policy Center
Jan. 10, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

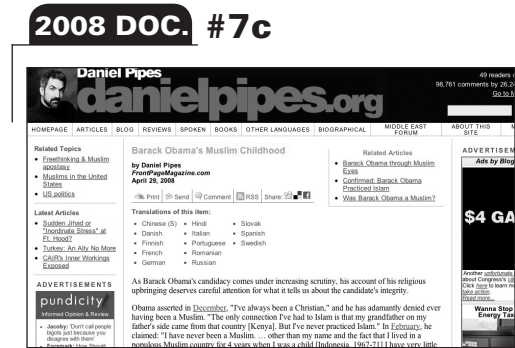
From the About Us page of Fact Check.org:

We are a nonpartisan, nonprofit "consumer advocate" for voters that aims to reduce the level of deception and confusion in U.S. politics. We monitor the factual accuracy of what is said by major U.S. political players in the form of TV ads, debates, speeches, interviews and news releases. Our goal is to apply the best practices of both journalism and scholarship, and to increase public knowledge and understanding. The Annenberg Political Fact Check is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania . . . The APPC accepts NO funding from business corporations, labor unions, political parties, lobbying organizations or individuals. It is funded primarily by the Annenberg Foundation. (factcheck.org/about)

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #7c.

> **Explain** that this is from a political blog by Daniel Pipes.

> **Ask** the group to present their conclusions with evidence from the document to justify their answers.



Political Blog danielpipes.org April 29, 2008

PowerPoint Slide

From About www.DanielPipes.org:

The four articles on Barack Obama's having been raised a Muslim, listed at "Bibliography – My Writings on Barack Obama's Early Years as a Muslim." have an aggregate readership of nearly 700,000. The most common words that bring readers to www.DanielPipes.org via search engines are, in descending order, "Islam/Muslim/Islamic," "sex," "jihad," "Arab," "war," "America," "Israel," and "Saudi." One curiosity: Although Mr. Pipes rarely writes about sex, this subject dominates the readership totals in all three of his formats: articles ("Arabian Sex Tourism"), blogs ("Strange Sex Stories from the Muslim World"), and comments ("Arab Sex"). In addition, the nearly 8,000 readers' comments at "Advice to Non-Muslim Women against Marrying Muslim Men" are by far the largest in number. It would appear that sex really does sell.

QUESTION	What's the main message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama cannot be trusted. He was born and raised as a Muslim.
EVIDENCE	"if he was born and raised a Muslim and is now hiding that fact, this points to a major deceit, a fundamental misrepresentation about himself."
QUESTION	Who produced this and for what purpose?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	This was created by political blogger Daniel Pipes to warn the public that Obama is not fit to be president.
EVIDENCE	"profound implications about his character and his suitability as president."
QUESTION	What role did the particular medium, a political blog, play in informing or misleading the public?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Like e-mail, blogs are shared widely and quickly. Since most political bloggers have no mandate to "fact check" they are more likely to pull out information that supports their point of view as opposed to a university site that typically has a much higher standard for proving that its information is credible.

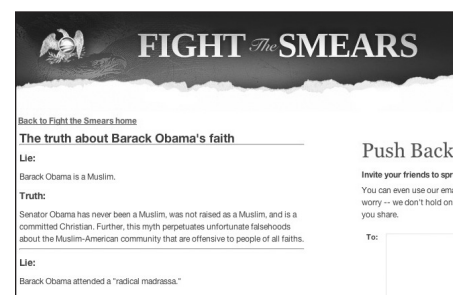
> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #7d.

> **Explain** that this is from the Democratic National Committee Web site, Fight the Smears posted in June 2008.

> **Ask** the group to present their conclusions with evidence from the document to justify their answers.

QUESTION	What's the main message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Obama is a Christian, was sworn in on the family Bible and never attended a "radical madrassa"
EVIDENCE	the charges are each labeled "Lie." "Truth" responses are brief and to the point and include a CNN video "to learn the truth: "CNN Report Debunking Obama Muslim Hoax."
QUESTION	Who produced this and for what purpose?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	"The Obama campaign to defend against potentially damaging rumors."
EVIDENCE	the title of the web page "Fight the Smears"
QUESTION	What role did the particular medium, a Web site, play in informing or misleading the public?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	National political committee web pages receive a great deal of traffic during an election campaign and as such are effective means to reach many people quickly. By their nature as competitive enterprises campaigns will nearly always publish material which will either help the candidate or lessen damage to that campaign.

2008 DOC. #7d



Campaign web page Fight the Smears June 2008

PowerPoint Slide

From the "Who's Behind the Smears" page of Fight the Smears.com:

"What you won't hear from this campaign or this party is the kind of politics that uses religion as a wedge, and patriotism as a bludgeon—that sees our opponents not as competitors to challenge, but enemies to demonize."

- Barack Obama, June 3, 2008

Join the Obama Action Wire: Stay Up To Date on Right Wing Smears

Sign up for the Obama Action Wire on Facebook

Sign up for the Obama Action Wire on MySpace

Received an e-mail Smear? Forward it to us at watchdog@barackobama.com

Paid for by Organizing For America, a project of the Democratic National Committee . . . This communication is not authorized by any candidate or candidate's committee.

- > **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #7e.
- > **Explain** that this is from an online newspaper story by a major national newspaper, *The Washington Post*, dated June 28, 2008.
- > **Ask** the group to present their conclusions with evidence from the document to justify their answers.

QUESTION	What’s the main message?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Although the source of the “Obama is a Muslim” e-mail is unknown, the false rumor was spread for political purposes. It became “viral” on the Internet, influencing millions.
EVIDENCE	The web site FreeRepublic.com spread the anonymous e-mail. “The labor of generating an e-mail smear is divided and distributed amongst parties whose identities are secret even to each other.”
QUESTION	Who produced this and for what purpose?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	The story was written by Washington Post staff writer Matthew Mosk. As a for-profit corporation, <i>The Washington Post</i> hired Mosk and published this story to make money through the sale of advertising. It also seeks to strengthen its reputation as a credible national source of investigative journalism.
QUESTION	What role did the particular medium, an investigative news story by a national newspaper, play in informing or misleading the public?
POSSIBLE ANSWER	Given the nature of the story, an investigation into the way in which political rumors are spread, and the reputation of the newspaper it is likely that the editors went to great lengths to assure that the story is factual. Even so major national newspapers like the <i>The Washington Post</i> print inaccurate stories from time to time.

2008 DOC. #7e

An Attack That Came Out of the Ether
Scholar Looks for First Link in E-Mail Chain About Obama

By Matthew Mosk
Washington Post Staff Writer
Saturday, June 28, 2008

PRINCETON, N.J.

The e-mail landed in Danielle Allen's queue one winter morning as she was studying in her office at the Institute for Advanced Study, the renowned haven for some of the nation's most brilliant minds. The missive began: "THIS DEFINITELY WARRANTS LOOKING INTO."

THIS STORY
• An Attack That Came Out of the Ether
• Interview With Dr. Danielle Allen

AUDIO



Interview With Dr. Danielle Allen
The Post's Matt Mosk speaks with Dr. Danielle Allen of the

Online news story
The Washington Post
June 28, 2008
PowerPoint Slide

From the *Washington Post* article: “An Attack That Came Out of the Ether: Scholar Looks for First Link in E-Mail Chain About Obama” by Matthew Mosk June 28, 2008 (Doc #7e)

Allen discovered that theories about Obama’s religious background had circulated for many years on the Internet. And that the man who takes credit for posting the first article to assert that the Illinois senator was a Muslim is Andy Martin. Martin, a former political opponent of Obama’s, is the publisher of an Internet newspaper who sends e-mails to his mailing list almost daily.

Martin was trying to launch a Senate bid against Obama when he says he first ran the Democrat’s name by a contact in London. “They said he must be a Muslim. That was interesting to me because it was an angle that nobody had covered. We started looking. As a candidate you learn how to harness the Internet. You end up really learning how to work the street. I sort of picked this story up as a sideline.” Martin said the primary basis for his belief was simple—Obama’s father was a Muslim. In a defamation lawsuit he filed against the *New York Times* and others several months ago, Martin says that Obama “eventually became a Christian” but that “as a matter of Islamic law began life as a Muslim” due to his father’s religion.

> **Ask** students to evaluate and discuss the relative credibility of different information sources on the Internet such as e-mails, fact check Web sites, blogs, Web sites for political parties, and independent news organizations. Are some sites inherently more credible than others?

FURTHER QUESTIONS

What responsibility should the consumer of news take in assessing credibility when confronted with questionable information about a political candidate?

Is credibility enhanced or diminished by non-text online media such as the video links in these documents?

Should it be illegal to publish false or misleading information about a candidate? Why or why not?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Media Bias"

- Consider the newspaper editorials on the Gettysburg address 1864 Doc #2 and the *New York Times* article on Robert Kennedy and Cesar Chavez 1968 doc #2. Discuss credibility and advocacy in light of these documents and the media sources presented in this lesson.

"Religion"

- Consider the John F. Kennedy address to the Ministerial Conference 1960 doc # 2. Compare the Kennedy campaign efforts to deal with issues of the candidate's religion with that of the Obama campaign.

HANDOUT

STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7A

Text of anonymous e-mail, originally circulated January 6, 2008

QUESTIONS:

- 1) What's the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the medium (anonymous e-mail) play in informing or misleading the public?

If you do not ever forward anything else, please forward this to all you contacts . . . this is very scary to think of what lies ahead of us here in our own United States . . . better heed this and pray about it and share it.

Who is Barack Obama?

Probable U. S. presidential candidate, Barack Hussein Obama was born in Honolulu, Hawaii, to Barack Hussein Obama, Sr., a black MUSLIM from Nyangoma-Kogel, Kenya and Ann Dunham, a white ATHEIST from Wichita, Kansas. Obama's parents met at the University of Hawaii.

When Obama was two years old, his parents divorced. His father returned to Kenya. His mother then married Lolo Soetoro, a RADICAL Muslim from Indonesia. When Obama was 6 years old, the family relocate to Indonesia. Obama attended a MUSLIM school in Jakarta. He also spent two years in a Catholic school.

Obama takes great care to conceal the fact that he is a Muslim. He is quick to point out that, "He was once a Muslim, but that he also attended Catholic school." Obama's political handlers are attempting to make it appear that that he is not a radical. Obama's introduction to Islam came via his father, and that this influence was temporary at best. In reality, the senior Obama returned to Kenya soon after the divorce, and never again had any direct influence over his son's education.

Lolo Soetoro, the second husband of Obama's mother, Ann Dunham, introduced his stepson to Islam. Obama was enrolled in a Wahabi school in Jakarta. Wahabism is the RADICAL teaching that is followed by the Muslim terrorists who are now waging Jihad against the western world. Since it is politically expedient to be a CHRISTIAN when seeking major public office in the United States, Barack Hussein Obama has joined the United Church of Christ in an attempt to downplay his Muslim back-ground. ALSO, keep in mind that when he was sworn into office he DID NOT use the Holy Bible, but instead the Koran.

Barack Hussein Obama will NOT recite the Pledge of Allegiance nor will he show any reverence for our flag. While others place their hands over their hearts, Obama turns his back to the flag and slouches.

Let us all remain alert concerning Obama's expected presidential candidacy. The Muslims have said they plan on destroying the US from the inside out, what better way to start than at the highest level—through the President of the United States, one of their own!!!!

HANDOUT

STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7B

“Sliming Obama,” on Factcheck.org, Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania’s political fact check Web site on January 10, 2008

QUESTIONS:

- 1) What’s the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the medium (university Web site) play in informing or misleading the public?

Dueling chain e-mails claim he’s a radical Muslim or a ‘racist’ Christian. Both can’t be right. We find both are false.

If these two nasty e-mail messages are any indication, the 2008 presidential campaign is becoming a very dirty one. One claims that Obama is “certainly a racist” by virtue of belonging to Chicago’s Trinity United Church of Christ, which it says “will accept only black parishoners” and espouses a commitment to Africa. Actually, a white theology professor says he’s been “welcomed enthusiastically” at the church, as have other non-blacks.

Another e-mail claims that Obama “is a Muslim,” attended a “Wahabi” school in Indonesia, took his Senate oath on the Koran, refuses to recite the Pledge of Allegiance and is part of an Islamic plot to take over the U.S. Each of these statements is false . . .

The Manchurian Islamic Candidate?

Readers have also asked us about an oft-forwarded e-mail falsely claiming that Obama is a Muslim and suggesting that he is part of an Islamic plot to take over the U.S. “from the inside out” with “one of their own.” This screed reads like the outline of a bad remake of the 1962 movie *The Manchurian Candidate*, in which Frank Sinatra unravels a Communist plot to make “one of their own” the president . . .

This claim, and others similar to it, originated with a Jan. 2007 *Insight Magazine* article – a publication owned by News World Communications, which also owns the conservative Washington Times newspaper: *Insight: Are the American people ready for an elected president who was educated in a Madrassa as a young boy and has not been forthcoming about his Muslim heritage?*

This article, citing anonymous sources, claimed that “Mr. Obama, 45, spent at least four years in a so-called madrassa, or Muslim seminary, in Indonesia.” But this allegation was quickly shown to be false. Days after the article appeared, CNN sent reporter John Vause to Jakarta, Indonesia, to visit the school. He reported:

CNN: I came here to Barack Obama’s elementary school in Jakarta looking for what some are calling an Islamic madrassa ... like the ones that teach hate and violence in Pakistan and Afghanistan. ... I’ve been to those madrassas in Pakistan ... this school is nothing like that. CNN interviewed the school’s deputy headmaster, Hardi Priyono, who said: “This is a public school. We don’t focus on religion.”

HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7C

**“Barack Obama’s Muslim Childhood” by Daniel Pipes
posted on danielpipe.org April 29, 2008**

QUESTIONS:

- 1) What’s the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the medium (political blog) play in informing or misleading the public?

As Barack Obama’s candidacy comes under increasing scrutiny, his account of his religious upbringing deserves careful attention for what it tells us about the candidate’s integrity. Obama asserted in December, “I’ve always been a Christian,” and he has adamantly denied ever having been a Muslim. “The only connection I’ve had to Islam is that my grandfather on my father’s side came from that country [Kenya]. But I’ve never practiced Islam.” In February, he claimed: “I have never been a Muslim. ... other than my name and the fact that I lived in a populous Muslim country for 4 years when I was a child [Indonesia, 1967-71] I have very little connection to the Islamic religion.”

“Always” and “never” leave little room for equivocation. But many biographical facts, culled mainly from the American press, suggest that, when growing up, the Democratic candidate for president both saw himself and was seen as a Muslim.

Obama’s Kenyan birth father: In Islam, religion passes from the father to the child. Barack Hussein Obama, Sr. (1936–1982) was a Muslim who named his boy Barack Hussein Obama, Jr. Only Muslim children are named “Hussein”.

Obama’s Indonesian family: His stepfather, Lolo Soetoro, was also a Muslim. In fact, as Obama’s half-sister, Maya Soetoro-Ng explained to Jodi Kantor of the *New York Times*: “My whole family was Muslim, and most of the people I knew were Muslim.” An Indonesian publication, the *Banjarmasin Post* reports a former classmate, Rony Amir, recalling that “All the relatives of Barry’s father were very devout Muslims...”

The public school: Paul Watson of the *Los Angeles Times* learned from Indonesians familiar with Obama when he lived in Jakarta that he “was registered by his family as a Muslim at both schools he attended.” Haroon Siddiqui of the *Toronto Star* visited the Jakarta public school Obama attended and found that “Three of his teachers have said he was enrolled as a Muslim.”
...

Obama’s having been born and raised a Muslim and having left the faith to become a Christian make him neither more nor less qualified to become president of the United States. But if he was born and raised a Muslim and is now hiding that fact, this points to a major deceit, a fundamental misrepresentation about himself that has profound implications about his character and his suitability as president.

HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7D

“The truth about Barack Obama’s faith” posted on “Fight the Smears,” a web page on the Democratic Committee Web site in June 2008

QUESTIONS:

- 1) What’s the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the medium (candidate web page) play in informing or misleading the public?

Lie: Barack Obama is a Muslim.

Truth: Senator Obama has never been a Muslim, was not raised as a Muslim, and is a committed Christian. Further, this myth perpetuates unfortunate falsehoods about the Muslim-American community that are offensive to people of all faiths.

Lie: Barack Obama attended a “radical madrassa.”

Truth: Barack Obama never attended a “radical madrassa.” Watch the video below to learn the truth: “CNN Report Debunking Obama Muslim Hoax”

(Transcript:) JOHN VAUSE, CNN CORRESPONDENT (voice-over): In the quadrangle of this elementary school, boys and girls, aged from 6 to 12, neatly dressed in uniform, playing together, just as a young Barack Obama would have done almost 40 years ago. Here, they’re taught science and math and practice traditional Indonesian dance.

Besuki Elementary follows a national curriculum, just like it did in the ‘60s and ‘70s. Take a close look at Obama’s teachers, women and men, all in Western-style dress. There are religion classes once a week. Most of the 450 students are Muslim and are taught about Islam. The handful of Christians learn that Jesus is the son of God. The deputy headmaster tells me he’s unaware that his school has been labeled an Islamic madrassa by some in the United States, and bristles at the thought. “This is a public school. We don’t focus on religion,” he told me. “In our daily lives, we try to respect religion, but we don’t give preference to one or the other.”

Bandung Winadijanto attended Besuki with Obama, who, back then, was known as Barry. They were in Boy Scouts together. And he says in all these years not a lot has changed at his old elementary. BANDUNG WINADIJANTO, BESUKI ALUMNI: It is not an Islamic school. It is common and general because there’s also a lot of Christian students, Buddhists, Buddhism students and also (?) students.

Lie: Senator Obama was sworn into the U.S. Senate using the Koran.

Truth: Barack Obama was sworn in using his family Bible.

HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #7E

Excerpts from: “An Attack That Came Out of the Ether: Scholar Looks for First Link in E-mail Chain About Obama”

by Matthew Mosk, *Washington Post* Staff Writer, June 28, 2008

QUESTIONS:

- 1) What’s the main message?
- 2) Who produced this and for what purpose?
- 3) What role did the medium (newspaper story) play in informing or misleading the public?

The e-mail landed in Danielle Allen’s queue one winter morning as she was studying in her office at the Institute for Advanced Study, the renowned haven for some of the nation’s most brilliant minds . . .

The anonymous chain e-mail makes the false claim that Obama is concealing a radical Islamic background. By the time it reached Allen on Jan. 11, 2008, it had spread with viral efficiency for more than a year.

During that time, polls show the number of voters who mistakenly believe Obama is a Muslim rose—from 8 percent to 13 percent between November 2007 and March 2008. And some cited this religious mis-affiliation when explaining their primary votes against him . . .

Allen studies the way voters in a democracy gather their information and act on what they learn. She was familiar, of course, with the false rumors of a secret love child that helped sink McCain’s White House bid in 2000, and the Swift boat attacks that did the same to Democrat John Kerry in 2004. But the Obama e-mail was on another plane: The use of the Internet made it possible to launch anonymous attacks that could reach millions of voters in weeks or even days . . .

Her search showed that the first mention of the e-mail on the Internet had come more than a year earlier. A participant on the conservative Web site FreeRepublic.com posted a copy of the e-mail on Jan. 8, 2007, and added this line at the end: “Don’t know who the original author is, but this e-mail should be sent out to family and friends.” . . .

“What I’ve come to realize is, the labor of generating an e-mail smear is divided and distributed amongst parties whose identities are secret even to each other,” she says. A first group of people published articles that created the basis for the attack. A second group recirculated the claims from those articles without ever having been asked to do so. “No one coordinates the roles,” Allen said. “Instead the participants swim toward their goal like a school of fish -- moving on their own, but also in unison.” . . .

“This kind of misinformation campaign short-circuits judgment. It also aggressively disregards the fundamental principle of free societies that one be able to debate one’s accusers.”

TEACHER GUIDE

2008 DOC. #8: Political Satire or Libel?**BACKGROUND INFORMATION**

The American Heritage College Dictionary defines satire as “Irony, sarcasm, or caustic wit used to attack or expose folly or vice.” The roots of satire run back at least to ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome. In modern times satire has had a long history in U.S. presidential campaigns. Abraham Lincoln’s supporters mercilessly satirized his opponent Stephen Douglass for being so bold as to seek votes by “stumping” in public, an act viewed as undignified in the mid 19th century.

In the 21st century satire has become a common means of political commentary. Animated television programs like *South Park* and *The Simpsons*, mock newspapers like *The Onion* and comedy news programs like *The Daily Show* and *The Colbert Report* each use irony, sarcasm and wit to get a laugh while attacking perceived dishonesty in high places. According to Daily Show co-creator Lizz Winstead, “A good political joke deconstructs an issue using humor and satire. It has the person hearing the joke think about the hypocrisy that’s being pointed out in the joke” (Newsweek.com).

During the 2008 presidential campaign *The New Yorker* magazine published a cover by artist Barry Blitt that was very controversial. The cover caused much discussion on the editorial pages in the days following its release. The title of the image, “The Politics of Fear,” was included in the magazine’s contents page but not on the cover itself. As you view this cover try to consider the different potential impacts of this image. How might the Obama family react to it? How might someone of Muslim background react? How might the age, race or political identity of the viewer impact their reading of this message? By recognizing the potential for very different interpretations, we take care in our own responses to do no harm to another who may see this in a very different light than we do.

NOTE: Due to its use of disturbing stereotypes this image may be offensive or uncomfortable for some students. Teachers should always evaluate the appropriateness of working with stereotypical documents with their particular students and assess their impact should they choose to use them in the classroom. If we do not teach students to analyze these images and words in our classrooms, our students are unlikely to decode their meaning, critically evaluate their messages, and understand the cultural context of their power outside the classroom. Used appropriately, critical decoding of media messages can teach students to understand and evaluate the sources and the impact of racist and stereotypical messages.

You may want to ask the class for agreement on appropriate responses (no laughter, side comments or mocking) before projecting the image.

> **Project** the document, 2008 doc. #8.

> **Ask** the group to reflect on the image and respond to the following questions as a group.

QUESTION

At what point in the campaign season was this published?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

In July, after the primary season but before the political conventions.

EVIDENCE

The primary season usually ends in June and the party conventions happen later in the summer prior to the general election campaign. In 2008 the Democratic convention was held the last week of August and the Republican convention a week later.

QUESTION

Who is portrayed and what is the setting?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The caricatures show Michelle and Barack Obama in the White House with a portrait of Osama Bin Laden

QUESTION

What stereotypes has the artist used?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

This image shows the Obamas as terrorists.

EVIDENCE

Michelle has a gun over her shoulder, an afro hairdo, combat boots and camouflage pants. Barack is dressed in Muslim clothing while the American flag burns in the fireplace beneath Bin Laden's portrait.

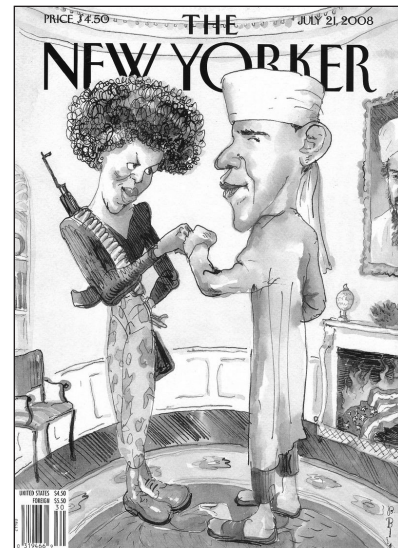
QUESTION

What is the message?

POSSIBLE ANSWER

The title of the image, "The Politics of Fear," suggests that this is an image designed to highlight and satirize the ways in which the Obama's opponents have tried to use fear to harm the Obama campaign.

2008 DOC. #8



**The New Yorker Magazine cover
Barry Blitt, artist
July 21, 2008
PowerPoint Slide**

ADDITIONAL INFO

From a *New York Times* front page story "Want Obama in a Punch Line? First, Find a Joke" by Bill Carter on July 15, 2008:

What's so funny about Barack Obama? Apparently not very much, at least not yet. On Monday, *The New Yorker* magazine tried dipping its toe into broad satire involving Senator Obama with a cover image depicting the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee and his wife, Michelle, as fist-bumping, flag-burning, bin Laden-loving terrorists in the Oval Office. The response from both Democrats and Republicans was explosive. *The New Yorker* faced a different kind of hostility with its cover this week, which the Obama campaign criticized harshly. A campaign spokesman, Bill Burton, said in a statement that "most readers will see it as tasteless and offensive — and we

> **Distribute** the handouts

> **Explain** that these are a series of six excerpts from news and editorial commentary about the *New Yorker* cover

> **Ask** each student to read the excerpts and be prepared to discuss which of the writings most represent their thinking.

> **Remind** the students that respect for different opinions is a prerequisite for constructive dialogue about the potentially hurtful nature of stereotypes and satire.

FURTHER QUESTIONS

Which of the writings most reflected your opinion about the cover and why?

Why do you think this cover generated such strong feelings?

What is required for constructive dialogue about issues such as this in the media? In the classroom?

How do one's personal history and identity influence one's perspectives about media representations of race, religion and political belief?

CONNECTIONS

(see thematic listing)

"Satire"

- Consider the Stephen Douglas "Taking the Stump" cartoon, 1860 doc #4, the Ralph Nader "Priceless" TV ad, 2000 doc #4c and the 2000 *Saturday Night Live* TV appearances by candidates Gore and Bush, 2000 documents #11 & 12. Discuss the nature and limits of satire within a political campaign in light of these documents and the *New Yorker* cover.

ADDITIONAL INFO

(Continued):

agree." Asked about the cover at a news conference Monday, Mr. McCain said he thought it was "totally inappropriate, and frankly I understand if Senator Obama and his supporters would find it offensive."

The cover was drawn by Barry Blitt, who also contributes illustrations to the *New York Times's* Op-Ed page. David Remnick, the editor of *The New Yorker*, said in an e-mail message, "The cover takes a lot of distortions, lies, and misconceptions about the Obamas and puts a mirror up to them to show them for what they are. 'It's a lot like the spirit of what Stephen Colbert does — by exaggerating and mocking something, he shows its absurdity, and that is what satire is all about,'" Mr. Remnick continued.

Mr. Colbert said in a telephone interview that a running joke on his show has been that Mr. Obama is a "secret Muslim"; *The New Yorker* cover, he said, was consistent with that. "It's a completely valid satirical point to make — and it's perfectly valid for Obama not to like it," he said. Mr. Colbert said he had been freer to poke fun at Mr. Obama than other late-night hosts because "my character on the show doesn't like him. I'm expected to be hostile to him."

Mr. Stewart, who is also an executive producer of *The Colbert Report*, said the Obama campaign's reaction to the *New Yorker* cover seemed part of what is now almost a pro forma cycle in political campaigns. "Nothing can occur without the candidate responding," he said.

HANDOUT

2008 STUDENT HANDOUT FOR DOC. #8

Excerpts from news reports and editorials concerning the *New Yorker* cover

"Barry Blitt Defends His *New Yorker* Cover Art Of Obama," posted by Nico Pitney in the *Huffington Post*, July 13, 2008:

Barry Blitt is the artist behind this week's very controversial *New Yorker* cover of Barack and Michelle Obama. Via e-mail, I asked him to respond to those who feel that his work was offensive, and to explain his own personal feelings about the Obamas. Here's what he wrote: "I think the idea that the Obamas are branded as unpatriotic [let alone as terrorists] in certain sectors is preposterous. It seemed to me that depicting the concept would show it as the fear-mongering ridiculousness that it is."

"*The New Yorker's* Obama Cover: Fanning the Fire" posted by Eboo Patel on Asia Society.org, July 15, 2008:

The New Yorker cover is not so much offensive as it is dangerous, precisely because of the prevalence of negative stereotypes of Muslims (not to mention the resurrection of the ghost of black militancy), stereotypes now further cemented in much of America . . . I believe America is fundamentally a nation in which people from different backgrounds—white and black, Muslim and Christian, gay and straight—live together in equal dignity and mutual loyalty. That is the nation that our founders envisioned . . . That is the America Obama speaks about building, and it is that America that those who are leading the whisper campaign are deliberately violating. My sense is that the editors at *The New Yorker* were trying to depict that battle. Unfortunately, their efforts ended up illustrating the fantasies of conspiracy theorists rather than the possibilities of America.

"Satire? Tasteless? *New Yorker* Slammed for Obama Terrorist Portrayal" posted by Eric L. Hinton on DiversityInc.com, July 15, 2008:

Amina Rubin, a spokesperson with the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR), also condemned the cover. "I think the efforts by *The New Yorker* and others we've seen are really playing off of and exploiting existing anti-Muslim sentiment in our country. We agree with both campaigns that the cover is tasteless and offensive," she says. "It looks more like it was done to promote controversy and get media attention than to try and make a serious political point."

Rubin acknowledged that repeated insinuations that Obama is Muslim place him in the awkward position of having to profess his Christianity without appearing to smear those of Muslim faith. "As we see in our work, there's still a very concerning amount of anti-Muslim sentiment in our country, which can be used as a fear tactic by political groups who are looking for ways to harm a candidate," Rubin says. "It's unfortunate that saying he's a Muslim could be used as a smear, and we should take a look at what that means in our society."

Art Spiegelman Defends *New Yorker* Obama Cover broadcast on NPR, July 15, 2008:

Renowned graphic artist Art Spiegelman knows a thing or two about controversial *The New Yorker* covers. His 1993 cover called, "The Kiss," showed a Hassidic Jewish man and a black woman kissing. It came after tensions between the two groups spurred intense riots in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn. Speaking with Farai Chideya, Spiegelman defended the latest controversial *New Yorker* cover, which the magazine says satirizes misconceptions about Barack and Michelle Obama. "It seems to me that showing the fevered image directly will be a possible way of looking at and dissipating that image," Spiegelman said. "I think, as a result, it's a fairly brave thing to do."

"David Remnick On That *New Yorker* Cover" posted by Rachel Sklar in the *Huffington Post*, July 13, 2008:

Question: This cover has quickly become very controversial. The Obama campaign has called it "tasteless and offensive." Why did you run it?

David Remnick, the editor of the *New Yorker*. Obviously I wouldn't have run a cover just to get attention — I ran the cover because I thought it had something to say. What I think it does is hold up a mirror to the prejudice and dark imaginings about Barack Obama's — both Obamas' — past, and their politics. I can't speak for anyone else's interpretations, all I can say is that it combines a number of images that have been propagated, not by everyone on the right but by some, about Obama's supposed "lack of patriotism" or his being "soft on terrorism" or the idiotic notion that somehow Michelle Obama is the second coming of the Weathermen or most violent Black Panthers. That somehow all this is going to come to the Oval Office. The idea that we would publish a cover saying these things literally, I think, is just not in the vocabulary of what we do and who we are... We've run many many satirical political covers. Ask the Bush administration how many.

"It's only a cartoon! But Obama adds that *New Yorker* [sic] cover insults Muslims" by Michael Saul in *The Daily News*, July 15, 2008:

Barack Obama to the *New Yorker*. It's your right - but you weren't right. In his first substantive talk about the magazine's inflammatory cartoon depicting him and his wife as fist-bumping terrorists, Obama told CNN's Larry King the image fueled misconceptions and insulted Muslim Americans. "I know it was The *New Yorker's* [sic] attempt at satire. I don't think they were entirely successful with it," Obama said. "But you know what? It's a cartoon . . . and that's why we've got the First Amendment." The presumptive Democratic nominee said he wasn't personally stung by the cartoon. "I've seen and heard worse," Obama said. "[Still], in attempting to satirize something, they probably fueled some misconceptions about me instead."

"But, you know, that was their editorial judgment," Obama added. "Ultimately, it's a cartoon, it's not where the American people are spending a lot of their time thinking about." Obama has spent the better part of the past 18 months debunking false Internet rumors that he's Muslim and defending his patriotism. He's Christian, but Obama said he's been derelict in pointing out how hurtful these attacks are to Muslim Americans.

2000-2008: Targeting the Spin



Brooks and Dunn at the Republican National Convention



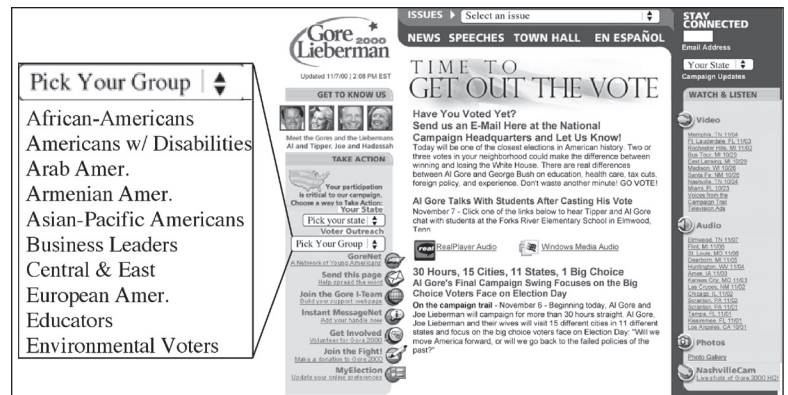
Obama Facebook page

What Bill Can Do for Al

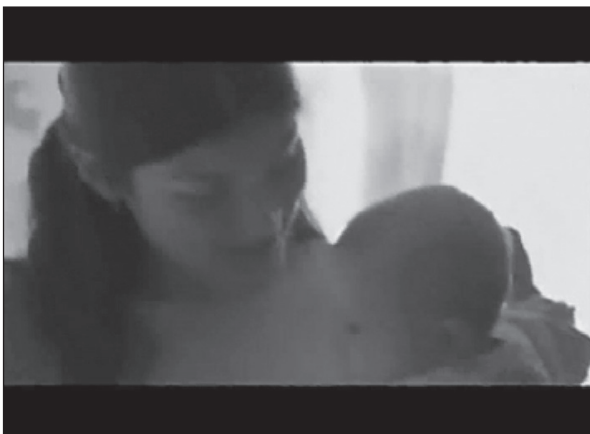
Gore has to have a big African-American majority to beat Bradley—and he needs Clinton to turn out the vote



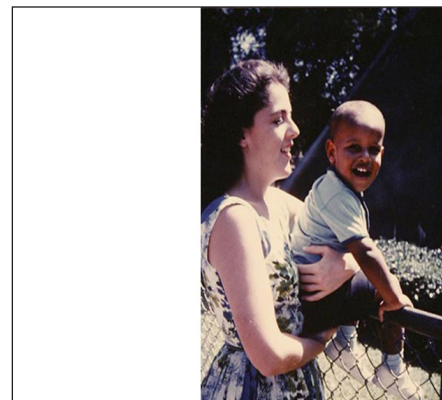
Newsweek "What Bill Can Do For Al"



Gore Web Site (including "Pick Your Group" Pull-Down List)



Bush "Mi Familia" Television Commercial



Obama "A Mother's Promise" biographical film

Essay Question:

Discuss the ways in which modern campaigns use spin techniques to market candidates for specific target groups. Use at least three of the above documents as examples.

NAME:

Date:

Name at least three forms of media that were used during the 2000/2004/2008 campaigns.

Identify at least three different voting groups that were targeted by candidates during these campaigns.

List four techniques used by presidential campaigns to present positive spin for their candidate or negative spin for their opponents during the 2000/2004/2008 campaigns.

Give two examples of how different media were used to appeal to different age groups in the 2000/2004/2008 campaigns.

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

CULMINATING ASSESSMENTS

ASSESSMENTS

CULMINATING ASSESSMENTS

Below are 17 suggested document-based essay questions (DBQs) tied to the core themes that run through the entire kit. Each question is followed by a list of Suggested Documents and their corresponding titles to use with the essay question. See the Unit Assessments for examples of what a completed DBQ handout looks like. Teachers may use the questions below to inspire the development of their own questions and document lists or they may create assessment handouts from the lists below.

Creating DBQ Handouts With the Documents:

If you are familiar with an image program like *Photoshop* you can copy and paste documents from the *PowerPoint* slides into an image file and add text. If not, follow these directions.

- Make a new *PowerPoint* presentation with 4 or 6 documents using the directions under "How to Re-Order the Slides" in the *How to Use These Materials* section of this kit.
- Print a series of 4 or 6 documents on one page by clicking *File, Print, General, and Microsoft PowerPoint*. You should now be able to choose how many slides you want to print on one piece of paper.
- Write the essay question and paste it (by hand is fine) above of the images.
- Photocopy and give to students.

SWAYING THE VOTERS

Pick three historic documents from the list below to explain how media messages influence voters. For each document

- describe who produced this media message
- explain the purpose of the document
- describe the techniques the producers used to sway the voters

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1800 #6: Jefferson Banner
- 1832 #2: King Andrew Handbill
- 1864 #2d: *Chicago Times* Editorial on the Gettysburg Address
- 1908 #1: "Taft-evelt My Policies" Poster
- 1932 #2: "The Girl I Love is a Democrat" Sheet Music
- 1956 #1a: Republican Comic Book
- 1972 #4: Herblock Cartoon "Landslide"
- 1988 #2: Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial
- 2000 #6: *Saturday Night Live* Comedy Skit
- 2008 #8: *New Yorker* cover

MEDIA BIAS

Most contemporary news sources claim to present "fair and balanced" perspectives on political candidates. Choose three of the following documents and explain how each media construction favors one candidate over another. Make sure to address the decisions made by the creators of the news such as the broadcasters, publishers, editors, reporters, or photographers.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1936 #1: FDR Fireside Chat
- 1960 #1: Televised Nixon-Kennedy Debates
- 1984 #1: *Time* Covers, "Reagan: Man of the Year"
- 1988 #1: *Newsweek* Cover, "What Jesse Jackson Wants"
- 1992 #4: *Time* Cover of Bill Clinton
- 2004 #5k: *Time* Cover, Bush "Mission Not Accomplished"
- 2008 #7c: danielpipes.org blog

TARGET AUDIENCE

Campaigns have always targeted specific groups of voters. Choose 3 of the following documents.

For each document

- name the group targeted by the document
- describe one message that is being given in the document
- explain what techniques were used to communicate that message

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

1872 #2: Grant "Working-Man's Banner"
 1896 #2: McKinley Front Porch Visitors Photo-Op
 1908 #3: Photo-Op of Taft Haying
 1956 #2: Democratic Convention Program Cover
 1972 #1: "Together with McGovern" Poster
 2004 #5a: Kerry Rides Motorcycle onto *Leno* TV Show
 2008 #6h: Obama Facebook page

TARGETING THE WORKING CLASS

Pick three of the following documents and discuss how candidates have reached out to working class voters through the media.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

1872 #2: Grant "The Working Man's Banner"
 1896 #3: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster
 1904 #2: Debs "Socialist Party" Poster
 1908 #2: Bryan Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard
 1944 #1: 1944 – FDR "Our Friend" Ben Shahn Poster
 2004 #5h: Bush at Daytona 500

TARGETING DIVERSITY

Pick two of the following documents and discuss ways that candidates have targeted traditionally disenfranchised groups such as immigrants, African Americans, women and Latinos. For each document discuss the candidate's attempt to reach out to a particular audience through the media.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

1872 #2: Grant "The Working-Man's Banner"
 1896 #3: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster
 1904 #2: Debs "Socialist Party" Poster
 1908 #2: Bryan Commoner vs. Plutocrat Postcard
 1944 #1: FDR "Our Friend" Ben Shahn Poster

1896 #2: McKinley Front Porch Photo-Op with Italian Republican Club

1956 #1b: Republican Comic Book

1968 #2: Robert Kennedy with Caesar Chavez (article)

1972 #1: "Together With McGovern" Poster

2000 #4a: *Newsweek* Gore with African American Women

2004 #7b: Bush "Mi Familia" TV Commercial

2008 #5b: Obama *Asian Week* cover

REACHING VOTERS

Presidential candidates have always sought more effective ways of reaching voters and getting their messages across. Choose four forms of mass media from those listed below (e.g., newspaper article, radio speech). For each, give an example of how that media was used during a particular election by a particular candidate or party to influence voters. For each example make sure to:

- name the media form
- name the election year
- name the candidate or party
- explain how that media form helped the candidate or party to influence voters

You may use the documents below as examples but you are not limited to these examples.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

1800 #3: newspaper article
 1872 #2: poster
 1932 #1: recorded music
 1936 #1: radio address
 1960 #1: televised debate
 1988 #4a: photograph
 2000 #7: comedy TV
 2004 #8: web site
 2008 #6f: texting and Twitter

RACIAL CONFLICT

Racial conflict has been a theme in many presidential contests, particularly during the civil war and civil rights movement. Pick three of the documents below to write an essay about the role that racial conflict has played in U.S. presidential elections. For each document explain when, why and how it was used.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1864 #3: "Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster
 1868 #2: "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
 1964 #4: Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party Testimony
 1968 #7: Wallace "Law and Order: Bussing" TV Commercial
 1988 #1: Newsweek cover, Jesse Jackson
 1988 #2: Bush "Revolving Door" TV Commercial
 2008 #8: *New Yorker* Obama cover and editorials

FOREIGN POLICY

Pick one of the following documents to discuss foreign policy during an election year.

- Identify the document, who produced it and when.
- Briefly describe the foreign policy issues at the time that are relevant to this document.
- Describe the position that this document takes on a particular foreign policy issue.
- Evaluate the effectiveness of this document in making its point.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1800 #5: "The Providential Detection" Cartoon
 1900 #2: McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
 1904 #4: Teddy Roosevelt "New Diplomacy" Cartoon
 1960 #3: Race Against Communism Broadside
 1964 #2: Goldwater "We Will Bury You" TV Commercial
 1968 #1: "LBJ and Vietnam" Poster
 1988 #5: Bush "Dukakis Tank Ride" TV Commercial
 2000 #3a: Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial
 2004 #4: "Swift Boat" TV Commercial

FEARING THE ENEMY

Discuss the similarities and differences between these TV commercials. Include discussion of the use of fear in political campaigning.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1964 #2: Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
 1984 #5: Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial
 2000 #3a: Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial
 2008 #3b: Democratic National Committee "100 years" TV Commercial

ECONOMIC WORRIES

Fear of job loss has been a consistent theme in many presidential campaigns. Pick two of the following documents and discuss how campaigns used economic concerns to win votes.

For each document:

- describe who produced the document and for what purpose.
- discuss the economic concerns facing the nation at that time.
- explain how the document exploits those fears in an attempt to win votes.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1896 #3: McKinley "The Real Issue" Poster
 1900 #2: McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
 1984 #3: Mondale "Trade Deficit" TV Commercial
 1992 #3a: Bush "Arkansas 2" TV Commercial
 2008 #2b: McCain "Dome" TV Commercial

MEDIA ATTACK

Presidential campaigns have always involved political attacks in the media. Draw a line linking the document on the left with the candidate being attacked.

(NOTE: Teacher will want to re-order the candidates so that the correct candidate is not directly opposite the document.)

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

1800 #5: "The Providential Detection" Cartoon
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Thomas Jefferson)

1832 #2: King Andrew Handbill
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Andrew Jackson)

1860 #4: "Taking the Stump" Cartoon
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Steven Douglas)

1936 #3: "An Attack on the New Deal" Cartoon
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Franklin Roosevelt)

1944 #2: FDR "Fala Speech"
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Thomas Dewey)

1964 #2: "Daisy Girl" TV Commercial
 (Candidate Being Attacked: Barry Goldwater)

1972 #2: "Does a President Know..." TV Commercial (Candidate Being Attacked: Richard Nixon)

1972 #4 Herblock "Landslide" Cartoon (Candidate Being Attacked: Richard Nixon)

1988 #2b: "Revolving Door" TV Commercial (Candidate Being Attacked: Michael Dukakis)

2000 #3c: Nader "Priceless" TV Commercial (Candidate Being Attacked: George W. Bush & Al Gore)

2004 #5j: Bush on Flight Deck During Iraq War

2008 #4d: "I'm Melting" cartoon (Candidate Being Attacked: Hillary Clinton)

USING FEAR

Pick three of these documents and describe how fear was used to sway voters. Include a description of who produced the document and for what purpose.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1828 #4: "Little Wat Ye Wha's A-Comin" Song
- 1864 #3: "Lincoln-Ruin/McClellan-Peace" Poster
- 1868 #2: "White Man's Government" Nast Cartoon
- 1900 #2: McKinley/Roosevelt "Promises" Poster
- 1940 #2: "Do You Want A Dictator?" Button
- 1964 #3: "Go With Goldwater" Button
- 1968 #6: Nixon "Law and Order" TV Commercial
- 1984 #5: Reagan "Bear in the Woods" TV Commercial
- 2000 #3a: Bush "Dangerous World" TV Commercial
- 2004 #3: MoveOn.org "Child's Pay" TV Commercial
- 2008 #3c: American Issues Project "Know Enough" TV Commercial

"HERO"

Pick three of the following documents and explain how a particular candidate is depicted as a powerful, honored or heroic leader. For each document list at least two ways in which heroic qualities are communicated.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1828 #2: "The Hunters of Kentucky" Song about Andrew Jackson
- 1840 #4b: *Log Cabin* Banner Illustration of Richard Johnson

1868 #4: "Let Us Have Peace" Emblem of Ulysses S. Grant

1904 #3: Photograph of Teddy Roosevelt Speaking

1944 #1: "Friend" Poster of Franklin Roosevelt

1984 #1: *Time* Covers "Reagan Man of the Year"

2008 #5a: *Ebony* "In Our Lifetime" Obama Cover

"COMMONER"

Although most presidential candidates have been quite wealthy, campaigns have often constructed images of their candidate as a hard working common man. Pick three of the documents shown above. Give at least two examples from each to illustrate how his campaign has constructed images of "the common man."

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1872 #2: Grant – "Working-Man's Banner"
- 1908 #3: Taft – Haying Photograph
- 1952 #1: Nixon – "Checkers" Speech
- 1972 #5: Stevenson – Photo of Hole in Shoe
- 1992 #1: Clinton – "Journey" biographical TV commercial
- 2000 #2a: Bush – biographical film from Republican Convention
- 2008 #1b: Obama- Democratic Convention Biographical Film

"FAMILY MAN"

Images of presidential candidates with their wives and children became more prevalent after women got the vote. Pick two of these media constructions that show the candidate as a "family man." For each document explain how the construction was created to emphasize the candidate's connections to family.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1952 #2: Nixon – Postcard following his "Checkers" Speech
- 1956 #1: Eisenhower – Republican Comic Book
- 1956 #2: Stevenson – Democratic Convention Program Cover
- 1984 #1: Reagan – "Morning in America" TV Commercial
- 2000 #2a: Bush – Republican Convention Biographical Film
- 2000 #3b: Gore – "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial
- 2008 #1a: McCain- Republican Convention Biographical Film

MUSIC

Music has the ability to stir emotions, set a mood, and communicate feelings about a candidate. Pick two of the songs listed below and explain how each was used in an election and its intended effect on the audience. Include a discussion of the lyrics, the music and the messages each gave about the candidate.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1840 #4: Harrison: "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too" Song
- 1840 #6: Van Buren: "Rock-a-bye Baby, Daddy's a Whig" Song
- 1932 #1: FDR: "Happy Days Are Here Again" Song
- 2000 #1a: Bush: "Hard Workin' Man" at Republican Convention (Brooks & Dunn Music)
- 2000 #3b: Gore: Music in "Happy Thanksgiving" TV Commercial

CARTOONS

Political cartoons have played an important part in attacking candidates since the earliest elections. Pick two of the following cartoons. For each explain what candidate or candidates are depicted, what messages are given about the candidate(s), and whether the cartoonist is attacking or supporting a particular candidate.

SUGGESTED DOCUMENTS:

- 1800 #5: "Providential Detection"
- 1860 #4: "Taking the Stump"
- 1872 #1: "Greeley and Tweed"
- 1904 #4: "New Diplomacy"
- 1936 #2: "Makers of History"
- 1972 #4: "Landslide"
- 2004 #6e: "Boondocks"
- 2008 #4h: "Glass Ceiling"

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

RESOURCES AND FURTHER INFORMATION

RESOURCES AND FURTHER INFORMATION

RESOURCE LIST

MEDIA CONSTRUCTION OF PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

This resource list has been created to provide links that can aid in the teaching of this kit. A quick reference Content Chart follows the annotated listing. Included in the links below are election and/or media literacy-related lesson plans, presidential election background information, and campaign media. The links to campaign media such as political cartoons and television commercials can especially serve as great items to decode in the classroom.

The following resource list is divided into six categories. These categories are respectively Presidential Elections and Campaigns, The 2008 Election, Teacher Resources, Student Civic Action, Media Literacy, and Media Sources. Many links overlap categorically, and are placed according to which category the link most qualitatively fits. The Content Chart as well as the labels (see KEY) and annotations in this list will provide more descriptive information about the content in each source. Links in the first three categories are numbered in coordination with the Content Chart while the other three categories are more specific and thus better suited with descriptive annotation alone.

The sites picked for this list should serve as good references, but also as beginning points. There are many other very similar and very different sites on the Internet, so it is best to also further explore. In addition, as with this kit itself, each site should be viewed critically utilizing the principles of media literacy.

KEY

LP = Lesson Plans	Vid = Video
+ EI = Elementary School	OA = Online Activities
MS = Middle School	08 = 2008 Election
HS = High School	08TV = 2008 TV Commercials
Shdt = Student Handout	Tref = Teacher Reference
MLit = Media Literacy	Sref = Student Reference
I = Images	ref = General Reference
PC = Political Cartoons	SCiv = Student Civic Action
Aud = Audio	

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND CAMPAIGNS

This section contains Web sites that provide background information on elections/campaigns, biographical information on Presidents, lesson plans, and election media such as political cartoons, buttons, and television commercials.

1. America Votes (I)

Duke University

<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/americanvotes/>

This site is a Duke University online collection of memorabilia from past presidential campaigns from 1796-2000. It includes images of letters, pictures, posters, sheet music, song lyrics, and buttons that can be printed out and/or displayed for classroom use.

2. American Political Prints 1766-1876 (I, PC)

Harpweek

<http://loc.harpweek.com/default.asp>

This site contains images of political cartoons between 1766-1876. Some are presidential election images, and have good size and quality for classroom use.

3. American President (ref)

Miller Center for Public Affairs and the University of Virginia.

<http://www.americanpresident.org/>

This site gives biographical information on each U.S. President, as well as the first lady (or future first gentleman), and cabinet members. The site also describes the role of the presidency in the context of governmental affairs.

4. The American Presidency (08, ref)

Grolier Online

<http://teacher.scholastic.com/products/grolier/>

This site provides organized links to multiple encyclopedias for biographies on all U.S. Presidents, first ladies (or future first gentlemen), Vice Presidents, and certain historical and present day presidential candidates. The site also contains information on the governmental roles of the President, and follows the 2008 election and arising issues.

5. Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections (I, ref)

Dave Leip

<http://www.uselectionatlas.org/>

This site has all of the presidential election results throughout U.S. history as well as a national map for each election with a color-coded electoral college break-

down. There is also a history of the Electoral College and description of its process. Access to this information is free, although for a fee, you can obtain more specific information on voter breakdown by states and precincts

6. Bill of Rights in Action (08, ref)

Constitutional Rights Foundation

<http://crf-usa.org/election-central/election-links.html>

This site contains a wide variety of links to sources on the 2008 election including

Broadcast News, Newspapers, Print Magazines, Online Magazines, Blogs and Opinion Polls as well as Historical Data about the Election & Campaign Process, the Electoral College and Campaign Finance Reform.

7. The Center for Voting and Democracy (ref)

http://www.fairvote.org/about_us/index.html

This site contains the Center's views on voting reform issues. Included in their "Online Library" is the issue of third-party candidates in campaigns, instant run-off voting, and proportional representation, among other topics.

8. CNN Campaign Commercial Archive (Vid)

CNN

<http://www.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/1996/candidates/ad.archive/>

Campaign television commercials spanning from Eisenhower/Stevenson's 1952 race to Ronald Reagan's 1984 "Morning In America." The commercials can be viewed as a "movie" file.

9. Collection of Political Americana (I)

Cornell University

<http://cidc.library.cornell.edu/political/>

This site has multiple images of pamphlets, posters, textiles, broadsides, and banners between 1789-1960 that can be downloaded and printed. All of the sizes and quality suit the needs for classroom use.

10. Election Lessons LPEI-HS, 08

Cyberbee

<http://www.cyberbee.com/election/election.html>

This educator-run site contains lesson plans related to the 2008 campaign, but also to elections and government in general. Links are included next to the lesson plans, with more lesson plans in some of those links.

11. The Living Room Candidate (Vid, 08TV)

American Museum of the Moving Image

<http://livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us/>

This site is one of the most comprehensive archives of campaign TV commercials that can be viewed online. It contains many commercials for each election ranging from the 1952 to 2008 elections. It does include some third-party commercials, but very few.

12. Media: Covering the Campaign (08, ref)
George Washington University
<http://www.gwu.edu/~action/2008/media08.html>

This site provides links to sources of information about the 1996-2008 presidential campaigns including the Internet, wire services, the networks, local news, cable, radio, newspapers, newsmagazines, and opinion magazines.

13. National Campaign Materials: 1820-1860 (I, Aud)
Northern Illinois University
<http://dig.lib.niu.edu/message/index.html>

This site contains audio, text, song lyrics, and some images from campaigns between 1820-1860. The quality and size of images are suitable for classroom use. The audio requires RealPlayer.

14. The Papers of George Washington (I, ref)
University of Virginia
<http://gwpapers.virginia.edu/>

This site contains an examination of the role of the Electoral College in the first presidential election. Also on the site are images of maps and portraits of George Washington.

15. Political Advertising Resources (MLit, I, Vid, OA, 08, 08TV, ref)
University of Iowa
<http://faculty.kutztown.edu/richards/220/ad-archive.html>

Similar to this resource list, this site contains *many great links* to Web sites that contain campaign TV commercials from 1952 to 2008 ("The Living Room Candidate" being one of the sites), as well as online activities to dissect commercials. The site also contains analysis and tutorials about campaigns and commercials.

16. Presidents of the United States (ref)
Internet Public Library
<http://www.ipl.org/div/potus/>

This site includes biographical information as well as electoral college/popular vote statistics for every presidential election.

17. Presidential Elections 1860-1912 (I, PC, ref)
Harpweek
<http://elections.harpweek.com/>

This site contains images of presidential campaign cartoons between 1860-1912. They are of good size and quality for classroom use. This site also contains biographical information on candidates in each of those elections (mostly major party names), and a timeline for each election with national events of the times.

18. Presidential Voter Turnout Statistics Since 1924 (ref)
The Center for Voting and Democracy
<http://www.fairvote.org/turnout/>

This site contains links to data and information on voter turnout in U.S. presidential elections. It also contains data and information on youth voter turnout and links to international voter turnout.

19. The :30 Candidate (MLit, Vid, OA)
Public Broadcasting Service
<http://www.pbs.org/30secondcandidate/index.html>

A site that contains a history of campaign television "spot" advertising, as well as several online campaign advertising clips to view in the "Timeline" section. These can be viewed with either QuickTime or RealPlayer. Also, this site contains a very clever section called "Tricks of the Trade" that shows step-by-step how the same footage can be manipulated to create very different meanings.

20. Vote Smart Lessons (LPEI-HS, Shdt, MLit, 08)
Project Vote Smart
http://www.vote-smart.org/resource_classroom_01.php

Lesson plans and handouts for all grade levels that revolve around politics and discovering various aspects of an election (can apply to presidential or any other public election). Certain plans focus around getting students to figure out who represents them the best. One of the plans goes through the dissection of a political commercial; a good opportunity to use commercials from the many resources in this section of the kit. This page also features many links to lesson plans of various government/social studies topics and for all grade levels, and most are completely text. Since they are cross-catalogued, many of the same plans appear repeatedly.

TEACHER RESOURCES

This section contains Web sites of several organizations that teachers can get involved with to enhance the learning environment for students. Certain organizations in this section provide services and resources to schools and teachers in the student critical thinking process, while the other sites serve as references to further student inquiry into civic engagement.

21. Center for Civic Education (LPEI-HS, Tref)
<http://www.civiced.org>

CCE is one of the leading advocates for civic education, not only in the U.S., but also around the world. Most social studies teachers are familiar with their programs such as *We, the People* and *Project Citizen*. They have lesson plans and activities for civic education.

22. Center for Democracy and Citizenship (ref)
<http://www.publicwork.org/home.html>

The Center itself provides workshops for young people and adults and supports initiatives around the world (but mainly in the U.S.) to put democracy into action through different forms of citizen empowerment. Students and teachers can find out about these initiatives, and possibly even become involved through participating or having a training.

23. Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago (Tref)
<http://www.crfc.org/>

According to its Web site, the Constitutional Rights Foundation Chicago helps schools foster critical thinking skills and responsible civic action in students. Non-profit and non-partisan, CRFC has been a national leader in the design and implementation of quality law-related education programs for elementary and secondary school students and their teachers.

24. Kids Voting USA (LPEI-HS, OA, ref)
<http://www.kidsvotingusa.org/>

Developed by teachers, this site provides online activities for students, and also provides lesson plans on voting and democracy in PDF (Adobe Acrobat) format. If you are a teacher living in communities with a Kids Voting USA affiliate, you may be able to receive many more materials from them. To check if you live in such a community, click the "USA Network" tab on the webpage.

THE 2004 ELECTION

This section contains Web sites that give updated information on the 2004 Presidential Election, analysis of media related to the election, and/or media materials for use in the classroom. Included in the links are sites that contain various strong views on certain candidates, while some of these views are also reflected in short video clips that would be great for decoding.

25. Badnarik for President (Vid, 04, 04TV)
<http://www.badnarik.org/>

This site is the official Libertarian Michael Badnarik for President site and features one television commercial as of the release of the first edition of this kit. The specific commercial criticizes both Bush and Kerry's stances on the war in Iraq, and calls for the return of all U.S. forces. This site would also be a great one to decode.

26. Bush Flash (Vid, 04, 04TV)
 Eric Blumrich
<http://www.bushflash.com/>

This site contains many video/animation clips in the "Media" and "Animation" sections that criticize the Bush Administration in policy and in character. These are great clips to decode and view as they are great examples of internet-based election media. One thing to note is that many of these clips may only be suitable for high school students as they at times contain explicit language and graphic images (i.e., war images). There occasionally is a warning for such clips.

27. Bush for President (Vid, 04, 04TV)
<http://www.georgewbush.com/>

This is the official George W. Bush for Reelection Web site. This site contains recent TV spots and, similar to the other 2004 presidential campaign sites, would be great to decode.

28. By the People Election 2004 (LPEI-HS, MLit, 04)
 Public Broadcasting Service
<http://www.pbs.org/elections/kids/index.html>

This site is a port for several great links. One of the two featured links is the Democracy Project, which includes online campaign and elections activities for students in elementary school. The other, a teacher's link, contains elections lesson plans including two that are media-centered. The "Savvy Voter" section contains media literacy information on dissecting commercials, interpreting debates, and viewing news critically, among others.

29. C-Span Campaigns and Elections (LP, Shdt, MLit, Vid, 04, 04TV, ref)
C-Span
<http://www.c-span.org/classroom/govt/campaigns.asp>

This site provides lesson plans, and television campaign commercials from the 2000 and 2004 campaigns. Several from past years can also be viewed. In addition, this site contains online activities for students. A small additional C-Span site that can be printed out in which students evaluate candidate webpages can be found at <http://www.c-span.org/classroom/govt/evaluation.asp>

30. Daily Updated Political Cartoons (I, PC, 04)
Cagle
<http://cagle.slate.msn.com/politicalcartoons>

This site has editorial/political cartoons from around the country everyday. The images are of fair size and good quality for hand out and projection purposes.

31. Democracy for America (04, SCiv)
Founded by Former Vt. Governor Howard Dean
<http://www.democracyforamerica.com/>

This organization aims to put more progressive politics in government by supporting certain Democrats in their respective candidacy bids for 2004. This site may be an option for decoding.

32. Democracy In Action (04, 04TV)
George Washington University
<http://www.gwu.edu/~action/2004/comms04.html>

This site contains stills and scripts from 2004 primary and general election campaign TV commercials.

33. Democracy in Action: Race for the White House, 2004 (04, ref)
George Washington University
<http://www.gwu.edu/~action/P2004.html>

A more extensive site than the last, this site would work well for teachers and students in the middle and high school grades. It covers the current presidential race, has

links to every candidate's Web site, and examines media coverage of candidates and issues.

34. Election Lessons (LPMS-HS, MLit, 04)
The New York Times Learning Network
<http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/elections.html>

This site specifically provides elections-related lesson plans (2004, 2000, and general) for middle and high school grade levels. A few lesson plans are media-related with analysis of news coverage and commercials. A link for Daily Lesson Plans is also in this site.

35. Election 2004 (LPMS-HS, Shdt, OA, 04)
New York Times Learning Network
http://www.nytimes.com/learning/issues_in_depth/20040128.html

This site provides 2004 election issue oriented information, but also has lesson plans and resources for teachers. The topics include past elections, the electoral process, and government. Also provided are printable or online crossword puzzles on the electoral process and U.S. Presidents. A link for Daily Lesson Plans is also in this site.

36. Election 2004 Lesson Plans (LPHS, 04)
Educators for Social Responsibility Metropolitan Area
<http://www.teachablemoment.org/high.html>

This continuously updated site contains election lesson plans for high school students. The first provides an introduction for students to the 2004 elections, and the following lesson plans deal with the main issues of the election.

37. Kerry for President (Vid, 04, 04TV)
<http://www.johnkerry.com/>

This is the official John Kerry for President Web site and contains many advertisements of his campaign. Like the other 2004 presidential campaign Web sites, this would be a great one to decode.

38. Learning NC (LPEI-HS, 04)
University of North Carolina
<http://vote.learn.unc.edu/teaching/lessons.php>

This site provides links to lesson plans on presidential elections. Many are labeled for each grade level, and range from elementary to high school. It also provides information on North Carolina politics.

39. Media for Democracy 2004 (MLit, 04)

Mediachannel.org
<http://www.mediafordemocracy.us/>

A non-partisan citizens' initiative to monitor mainstream news coverage of the 2004 elections and advocate standards of reporting that are more democratic and issues-oriented.

40. Nader for President (Vid, Aud, 04, 04TV)

<http://www.votenader.com>

This site is the official Ralph Nader campaign site and features three video campaign commercials that could possibly be aired. It also has the audio versions of the commercials and may be a great way to highlight the impact that image has on a message. This site would also be great to decode.

41. Politics 1 (04, ref)

Ron Gunzberger
<http://www.politics1.com/p2004.htm>

This site contains information on Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates in the 2004 elections. In addition this site features several 3rd-party candidates along with most of their past and present candidates. One thing that is especially unique about this is that the candidates of the 3rd parties are featured with pictures and descriptions in a manner as prominent as are the two major party candidates. This site could be a good site to decode or use as a reference.

42. Political Communication and Campaign 2004

Resources (I, PC, 04, ref, SCiv)

University of Iowa
<http://www.uiowa.edu/~commstud/resources/polcomm.html>

This site contains great links for informational and analytical resources on candidate debates, and civic engagement. It also has a link called "Political Humor" that contains political cartoons and jokes from the 2004 campaign.

43. Politics On TV (I, Vid, 04, 04TV, ref)

Campaign Media Analysis Group
<http://politicsontv.com/>

This site includes analysis of current political commercials, as well as sample storyboards and commercials from recent political races around the country (with RealPlayer). However, to get new and archived commercials, storyboards, or VHS copies of commercials, you have to purchase the services of CMAG.

44. Stop Hanoi John Kerry (Vid, 04, 04TV)

Stopjohn.com
<http://www.stopjohn.com>

This site contains a few video/animation clips that criticize John Kerry's policy stances and character. These are great examples of internet-based sources as election media to decode and view.

45. Video Data Bank

<http://www.vdb.org>

A resource for videotapes by and about contemporary artists, including the film "Political Advertisement 2000" by Antonio Muntadas and Marshall Reese. Presented without commentary, this hour-long film features TV commercials from the 1950s through the 2000 campaign and shows the development of the political TV spot.

THE 2008 ELECTION

This section contains Web sites that give updated information on the 2008 Presidential Election, analysis of media related to the election, and/or media materials for use in the classroom. Included in the links are sites that contain various strong views on certain candidates, while some of these views are also reflected in short video clips that would be great for decoding.

46. 2008 Campaign political cartoons (I, PC, 08)

Cagle
<http://www.cagle.com/news/2008best/>

This site has editorial/political cartoons from around the country everyday. The images are of fair size and good quality for hand out and projection purposes.

47. Campaign Communications (MLit, ref, I, 08, 08TV)

George Washington University
<http://www.gwu.edu/~action/2008/comms08.html>

This site would work well for teachers and students in the middle and high school grades. It covers the current presidential race, has links to resources and reports about the 2008 campaign. It examines media coverage of candidates and issues via TV and radio ads, blog ads, direct mail, robocalls, billboards, print ads, Web sites and literature.

48. CNN Politics.com (Vid, 08, 08TV)

<http://www.cnn.com/2008/POLITICS/11/04/election.president/index.html>

This site is CNN's election night page reentitled "Obama: 'This is your victory.'" It includes print transcripts of McCain's concession speech and print and video of

Obama's election night speech.

49. Election Lessons (LPMS-HS, MLit, 08)

The New York Times Learning Network

http://www.nytimes.com/learning/issues_in_depth/election2008.html

This site specifically provides elections-related lesson plans (2008 and general) for middle and high school grade levels. Topics include divisiveness, political caricatures, negative attacks and endorsements.

50. Election 2008 Lesson Plans (LPHS, 08)

Morningside Center For Teaching Social Responsibility

<http://www.teachablemoment.org/high/electionrace.html>

This continuously updated site contains election lesson plans for high school students. More than 25 election plan topics include issues of race, foreign policy, the financial crisis and inequality.

51. Fight the Smears (08)

<http://www.fightthesmears.com/>

This is the Web site put up by the Obama campaign to challenge rumors about the candidate and then president and his wife Michelle. It includes responses to false allegations that emerged during the campaign that President Obama is a Muslim and a close associate of former Weather Underground leader Bill Ayres.

52. George Phillies for President (Vid, 08, 08TV)

<http://phillies2008.org/>

This site is the official Libertarian George Phillies for President site and features video clips from the Heartland Libertarian Conference Debate.

53. John McCain Facebook page (08)

<http://www.facebook.com/johnmccain>

This is one of the social networking sites that John McCain's campaign used during the 2008 presidential campaign. One year after the 08 campaign McCain had over a half million supporters tallied at his Facebook page.

54. John McCain (08)

<http://www.johnmccain.com/>

This is Senator McCain's Web site that replaced the campaign's Web site. It contains information related to current concerns of

Senator McCain.

55. Learning NC (LPEI-HS, 08)

University of North Carolina

<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/election-2008/3.0>

This site provides links to lesson plans on presidential elections. Many are labeled for each grade level, and range from elementary to high school. It also provides information on North Carolina politics.

56. Nader for President (Vid, Aud, 08, 08TV)

<http://www.votenader.org/>

This site is the official Ralph Nader campaign site and features Blog postings, press releases and videos from the Nader/Gonzalez campaign.

57. Organizing For America (08)

<http://www.barackobama.com/>

This is President Obama's Web site that replaced the campaign's mybarackobama.com site. It contains information related to current concerns of the administration.

58. PBS Vote 2008 (LPEI-HS, MLit, 08)

Public Broadcasting Service

<http://www.pbs.org/vote2008/>

This site is PBS' site on the 2008 election. It includes teacher tools such as its Curriculum Guide, Access, Analyze, Act: A Blueprint for 21st Century Civic Engagement which invites teachers to "discover the power of social media while promoting your students' civic engagement." There are links to blogs, YouTube and other videos related to the 2008 election. This site is a port for several great links including Get My Vote, Ballotvox and Select-a-Candidate.

59. Politics 1 (08, ref)

Ron Gunzberger

<http://www.politics1.com/p2008.htm>

This site contains information on Presidential and Vice Presidential Candidates in the 2008 elections. In addition this site features several 3rd-party candidates along with most of their past and present candidates. One thing that is especially unique about this is that the candidates of the 3rd parties are featured with pictures and descriptions in a manner as prominent as are the two major party candi

dates.

This site could be a good site to decode or use as a reference.

60. Politics On TV (I, Vid, 08, 08TV, ref)

Campaign Media Analysis Group

<http://politicsontv.com/>

This site includes analysis of current political commercials, as well as sample storyboards and commercials from recent political races around the country (with RealPlayer). However, to get new and archived commercials, storyboards, or VHS copies of commercials, you have to purchase the services of CMAG.

61. Right Change (08)

<http://www.rightchange.com/>

This site posted advertisements against Barack Obama during the 2008 presidential campaign.

62. The Role of Media in Elections

Frank Baker

<http://www.frankwbaker.com/opalpws.htm>

Excellent collection of more than 40 lessons designed to help students understand media's influence in election campaigns.

63. Video Data Bank

<http://www.vdb.org>

A resource for videotapes by and about contemporary artists, including the film "Political Advertisement 2000" by Antonio Muntadas and Marshall Reese. Presented without commentary, this hour-long film features TV commercials from the 1950s through the 2008 campaign and shows the development of the political TV spot.

STUDENT CIVIC ACTION

This section contains links to organizations where students can find information about how to take action through civic engagement with a specific emphasis on electoral politics.

Congress.org (Tref, SCiv)

<http://www.congress.org/congressorg/home/>

This site is an action hub for legislation and contacting your representatives, including the President and Vice

President.

Rock The Vote (SCiv)

<http://www.rockthevote.com/election-center/>

This site has information aimed primarily at the younger and up and coming voting population to encourage civic engagement. It is presented in a way that aims to make civic engagement and voting "cool" by using cultural trends as attractions. There is also an opportunity for students to register to vote if they are of age.

YouthNoise (SCiv)

http://www.youthnoise.com/page.php?page_id=77

A site with ways for youth to find opportunities to engage with issues of the world and have an impact. Online chat rooms for students are also on this site to discuss civic action in their school and community.

MEDIA LITERACY

This section contains sites and organizations that promote engagement on media literacy issues.

Action Coalition for Media Education (ACME)

<http://www.acmecoalition.org/>

ACME's Web site contains information and analysis on the effects of mass media, and the current U.S. media landscape. It also features a different lesson plan each month, and has a links section for students to search out organizations that do work with media and media literacy.

National Association for Media Literacy Education (NAMLE)

<http://www.namle.net>

A membership organization helping all people to be able to critically analyze and create messages using the wide variety of media technology and communication tools now available.

Center for Media Literacy

<http://medialit.org>

A nonprofit educational organization that provides leadership, public education, professional development, and educational resources nationally.

Media Awareness Network

<http://www.media-awareness.ca/>

A Canadian nonprofit with a comprehensive collection of media education and internet literacy resources, including lesson plans, articles, research, reports, and reference materials.

MediaChannel

<http://www.mediachannel.org/>

"The global network for democratic media," features criticism, news-breaking journalism, and investigative reporting from hundreds of organizations worldwide.

Media Literacy Clearinghouse

<http://www.med.sc.edu/medialit>

A large listing of resources including lesson plans, critical analysis, and links. Includes sections on War Reporting/ Resources, Images of War, and Visual Literacy.

Media Literacy Review

<http://interact.uoregon.edu/medialit/mlr/home/index.html>

An extensive list of resource links and a biannual online publication of information and resources related to the influence of media in the lives of children, youth, and adults.

Project Look Sharp (MLit, 04, Tref)

<http://www.ithaca.edu/looksharp>

Project Look Sharp is an initiative to promote and support the integration of media literacy into classroom curricula at all grade levels and instructional areas, as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of media literacy education in the schools. This site will also be continuously updated for this kit with supplemental resources and links.

MEDIA SOURCES

This section features links to a number of media outlets with divergent political perspectives (as determined by Project Look Sharp).

Democracy Now!

Radio/Television News (left leaning)

<http://www.democracynow.org/>

Fox News

Television News (right leaning)

<http://www.foxnews.com/>

The Nation

Magazine Publication (left leaning)

<http://www.thenation.com/>

National Public Radio

Radio News

<http://www.npr.org/>

The New York Times

Newspaper

<http://www.nytimes.com/>

The Washington Post

Newspaper

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/>

The Washington Times

Newspaper (right leaning)

<http://www.washingtontimes.com/>

The Weekly Standard

Magazine Publication (right leaning)

<http://www.weeklystandard.com/>

Links to English-language publications/programs from around the world:

<http://www.ithaca.edu/looksharp/links/>

RESOURCES AND FURTHER INFORMATION

ABOUT PROJECT LOOK SHARP



PROJECT LOOK SHARP is a media literacy initiative of Ithaca College, working in collaboration with local school districts, New York State

BOCES, the National Association for Media Literacy Education (NAMLE), and other national media literacy organizations. The project is designed to promote and support the integration of media literacy and critical thinking into curricula at all grade levels and across instructional areas, as well as to evaluate the effectiveness of media literacy education in the schools. This curriculum-driven initiative works directly with teachers and support staff to reach students and aims to foster a spirit of collaboration among educators using media literacy. Project Look Sharp provides strategies, advice, and curriculum materials for media literacy instruction, and acts as a liaison between educators and the media literacy field at large.

The **primary goals** of Project Look Sharp are:

- To promote and support media literacy education at the community, state, and national levels
- To provide teachers with ongoing pre-service and in-service training and mentoring in media education
- To work with teachers to create new or revised teaching materials and pedagogical strategies that incorporate media literacy and enhance classroom practice
- To develop and publish curriculum materials that infuse media literacy into core content

- To evaluate the effectiveness of media literacy as a pedagogical approach to education
- To develop a model for including media literacy in the school curriculum at all grade levels and in all instructional areas, and to show how media literacy can help teachers address new and existing learning standards.

PUBLICATIONS

Project Look Sharp publishes curriculum kits and other media literacy materials for national distribution, each using media literacy as a pedagogical approach for teaching core content in social studies and other curriculum areas. **To inquire about purchasing a mobile non-Internet based version of this curriculum on a digital media device or to watch for upcoming kits and lessons, visit our web site at www.projectlooksharp.org.** Check the Project Look Sharp Web site (www.projectlooksharp.org) for other available kits on Peace and Justice, War, Africa, Soviet History through Posters, and the Environment series. The booklet *12 Basic Basic Ways to Integrate Media Literacy and Critical Thinking into Any Curriculum* (Scheibe & Rogow, 2008) is available, free, at the Project Look Sharp Web site.

PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT SERVICES

Project Look Sharp offers a variety of services for individual teachers and school districts, teacher education students and faculty, and other professionals working with K-12 school systems. These services include:

Workshops and Speakers

Project Look Sharp personnel are available for large or small group presentations and workshops on a variety of topics. These range from a general introductory presentation on the use of media literacy in the classroom to topical workshops (e.g., Youth Culture and New Technologies) and trainings for Look Sharp kits including Presidential Campaigns and Middle East. Please refer to our Project Look Sharp Web site at www.projectlooksharp.org for more information regarding workshops.

Summer Media Literacy Institute

Each year Project Look Sharp conducts an intensive media literacy institute for teachers, support staff, college faculty, and other professionals working with students in an educational setting. Participants receive training in the theory and practice of media literacy, learn applications for digital technology, and work individually with a Look Sharp “coach” to develop a media literacy integration project during the following year. Graduate course credit from Ithaca College is also available through an additional online component as a follow-up to the Summer Institute.

WEBSITE: www.projectlooksharp.org

The Project Look Sharp Website contains free curriculum kits and lessons, archived webinars, general information about the project, and links to other media literacy Websites.

For information about purchasing non-Internet copies of curriculum kits with media materials, Project Look Sharp services, or to inquire about upcoming events, contact Project Look Sharp at:

email: looksharp@ithaca.edu

phone: 607-274-3471

fax: 607-274-1925

mail: **Project Look Sharp**

1119 Williams Hall

Ithaca College

Ithaca, NY 14850-7290

RESOURCES AND FURTHER INFORMATION

INTRODUCTION TO MEDIA LITERACY

MEDIA LITERACY is typically defined as the ability to access, analyze, evaluate, and produce communication in a variety of forms. It is similar to *information literacy* and involves many components of *technology literacy* as well.

The term “*media*” generally refers to **mass media** messages communicated through visuals, language, and/or sound that are produced for a remote mass audience using some form of technology. These include traditional print-based media (e.g., books, newspapers, magazines, direct mail); audiovisual media (e.g., radio, television, movies, video games); and computer-assisted communication (e.g., computer games, the Internet). Media also include recorded music, billboards and other signs, most games, package labels³, and advertising in all of its forms. In the classroom, the media are likely to include textbooks, posters, and maps.

Like traditional literacy, media literacy involves critical thinking, analytical skills, and the ability to express oneself in different ways. Being **media literate** also entails using media wisely and effectively, including being able to judge the credibility of information from different sources. A media literate student will be aware of media’s influence on beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, and the democratic process. And in the same way that traditional literacy includes *writing* as well as *reading* skills, media literacy also emphasizes producing effective communication through a variety of different media forms.

There are **SIX KEY CONCEPTS OF MEDIA LITERACY**:

1. **All media messages are “constructed.”**
2. **Each medium has different characteristics, strengths, and a unique “language” of construction.**
3. **Media messages are produced for particular purposes.**
4. **All media messages contain embedded values and points of view.**
5. **People use their own individual skills, beliefs and experiences to construct their own meanings from media messages.**
6. **Media and media messages can influence beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors and the democratic process.**

INTEGRATING MEDIA LITERACY INTO THE CLASSROOM

In order for students to develop the analytical and technical skills needed to be fully literate in a contemporary sense, media analysis and media production should be continuously reinforced from kindergarten through high school (and beyond) in many different subject areas. The curriculum materials in this kit use media literacy as a pedagogical approach to study topics and concepts that are already part of the traditional school curriculum. Media literacy can be readily integrated into existing curricula on a wide range of topics and can be a

valuable tool for exploring approaches to education that are interdisciplinary and that recognize different learning styles. Media literacy is particularly powerful in encouraging participatory citizenship and the appreciation of multiple perspectives.

When engaging in critical analysis of any media message, it's useful to ask some or all of the following

SIX QUESTIONS:

- 1. Who made – and who sponsored – this message, and for what purpose?**
- 2. Who is the target audience and how is the message specifically tailored to that audience?**
- 3. What are the different techniques used to inform, persuade, entertain, and attract attention?**
- 4. What messages are communicated (and/or implied) about certain people, places, events, behaviors, lifestyles, etc.?**
- 5. How current, accurate, and credible is the information in this message?**
- 6. What is left out of this message that might be important to know?**

These questions are particularly useful when introducing the concept of media literacy to a group or class of students, or when first using a new media resource in the classroom. **The Five Key Concepts and Six Questions appear on a separate handout at the end of this section.**

Following are some ***best practices for using media literacy in the classroom*** that Project Look Sharp has developed from years of working with teachers at all grade levels, kindergarten through college.

- Always encourage students to get information from more than one source and to compare information gathered from different sources. (Are there discrepancies across sources? Which sources are most credible for specific types of information?)
- Encourage students to pay attention to print, audio and visual elements in media sources, noting information that can be learned, and impressions created from the images and sounds.
- For any media source (including textbooks, videos, and Web sites) make sure the students know *who* wrote or produced it, and *when* it was produced or published. If appropriate, discuss the implications for its usefulness in your current exploration. (What perspectives might be included or left out? What information might be out of date?)
- Begin the school year or the exploration of a new unit by developing an *information plan* in consultation with the students. What types of media and other information sources will the class be using? Where should students go for information on a particular topic, and what might be the strengths and weaknesses of each source?
- Identify erroneous beliefs and expectations that students may bring to the study of a particular topic, especially if they have been created by media derived from fiction. Take opportunities to identify and correct misleading or inaccurate information presented in current media sources and encourage students to bring in examples themselves.
- Train students to learn from videos (and other traditionally entertaining forms of media) in the same way that they learn from teachers, books, and other sources. When showing videos or films in the classroom, show only short segments at a time rather than the full film without interruption, leaving the lights on—if possible—to facilitate active viewing and discussion. Before showing a video, let the students know what things they should be looking and listening for. Pause the tape periodically to point out or ask questions about important information. If appropriate, encourage students to take notes and to raise their hands during a video if they don't understand something they saw or heard.
- Use excerpts from different types of media sources as part of an end-of-unit assessment. For example, show students a short video clip, image, or advertisement, and have them identify things that are true or untrue based on what they have learned.
- Build elements of media production into the classroom experience. For example:
 - > Encourage students to scan or download images into reports and term papers, making sure that they use images as part of the research process by including captions and citing the appropriate sources.
 - > Provide options for individual or small group presentations such as using PowerPoint, audio or videotape, or desktop publishing.
 - > Create a class newspaper, or video presentation for parents (e.g., about a topic the class is studying, or illustrating a typical day in the classroom).
 - > Be sure to emphasize an awareness of the five key media literacy concepts and six questions as part of the production process. Ask the students: What is *your* purpose? Who is *your* target audience? What information will *you* leave out, and how will that bias *your* message?

SIX QUESTIONS AND SIX KEY CONCEPTS**SIX QUESTIONS TO ASK ABOUT ANY MEDIA MESSAGE**

1. Who made – and who sponsored – this message, and for what purpose?
2. Who is the target audience and how is the message specifically tailored to that audience?
3. What are the different techniques used to inform, persuade, entertain, and attract attention?
4. What messages are communicated (and/or implied) about certain people, places, events, behaviors, lifestyles, etc.?
5. How current, accurate, and credible is the information in this message?
6. What is left out of this message that might be important to know?

SIX KEY CONCEPTS OF MEDIA LITERACY

1. All media messages are “constructed.”
2. Each medium has different characteristics, strengths, and a unique “language” of construction.
3. Different people may interpret the same media message in different ways.
4. Media messages are produced for particular purposes, including profit, persuasion, education, and artistic expression.
5. Media messages have embedded values and points of view.
6. Media and media messages can influence beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors and the democratic process.

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