

# **White Voters, A Key Piece of the Puzzle: Education, Race, and Electoral Politics**

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## **Appendix A**

### Research Methodology

The study begins with the 1968 presidential election campaign because that period marks the beginning of a more expansive federal involvement in educational policy as necessitated by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The study uses source materials that have received little scholarly examination: internal campaign strategy documents. These documents reveal how political elites understood public opinion about education, including vouchers, and how they sought to make use of that understanding to win elections. Internal strategy documents were located through extensive archival research. Table 1 lists the archives at which research was conducted for this study as well as the collections examined. In addition, online archives, primarily The American Presidency Project and the Museum of the Moving Image: The Living Room Candidate, were used to identify public statements made by candidates and campaigns. Additional sources included media coverage of campaigns from media websites.

Per traditional historical methodology, the interrogation of sources emphasized context and chronology (Sewell 2005). Priority was given to campaign happenings and discourse that research suggests has the strongest potential to impact voters, including nominating convention speeches, debates, and campaign commercials (Brians and Wattenberg 1996; Holbrook 2002; Popkin 1991). Documents were fully read, rather than using content analysis or key word searches. Triangulation was sought both within particular election cycles and across election cycles. Careful consideration was given to the author of each document, in particular to their

standing within the campaign strategy team or administration hierarchy, with more weight given to senior staff and less to more junior advisors. Because campaign messaging occurs in a competitive environment, winning and losing candidates received equal attention.

It is important to note that campaign papers are not considered part of a president’s official papers and, therefore, according to the National Archives and Records Administration’s governing rules, do not have to be made available to researchers. Some governing boards of presidential libraries have enjoyed broad discretion in determining what constitutes “personal political” papers and, often, private donors must fund the processing of such papers. Likewise, donors often must fund the processing of the non-winning candidates’ papers, whose papers are housed in state, private, or university archives, which can create further restrictions to document access. Despite these limitations, political strategy documents provide insights that no other sources can into candidates’ rhetoric and actions. There is less need to infer what a candidate intended with a speech or act when consideration is given to documents detailing what political advisors and the candidate hoped to achieve through specific words or deeds.

Table 1

<b>Archive</b>	<b>Collection</b>
William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum Little Rock, Arkansas	Domestic Policy Council: Kendra Brooks Carol Rasco Bruce Reed Stephen Warnath Speechwriting: Terry Edmonds President’s Advisory Board on Race
Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum Simi Valley, California	Personal Papers: Ronald Reagan 1980 Presidential Campaign Papers Presidential Handwriting Files Lee Atwater Files James A. Baker III Files Richard S. Beal Files Richard D. Darman Files

	<p>David Gergen Files  Douglas Holladay Files  Franklin Lavin Files  Margaret D. Tutwiler Files  Lee Verstandig Files</p>
<p>Richard Nixon Presidential Library and Museum  Yorba Linda, California</p>	<p>Cabinet Committee on Education  Campaign 1968  Committee for the Re-Election of the President:      Jeb Stuart Magruder Papers      Frederic Malek Papers  Nixon Presidential Returned Materials      White House Central Files: Edwin L. Harper  President's Personal File  White House Special Files and Staff  Member and Office Files:      Charles Colson      John Dean      Harry S. Dent      John D. Ehrlichman      H.R. Haldeman      Kenneth L. Khachigian  White House Central Files      Anne L. Armstrong      Patrick J. Buchanan      James Cavanaugh      Michael Balzano, Jr.      Bradley H. Patterson, Jr.</p>
<p>Jimmy Carter Presidential Library and Museum</p>	<p>Jimmy Carter Pre-Presidential Papers  1976 Campaign Committee to Elect Jimmy Carter  Jody Powell Papers  White House Staff Offices:      Chief of Staff      Press Office      Domestic Policy Staff      Office of Staff Secretary</p>
<p>The Robert J. Dole Institute of Politics  Lawrence, Kansas</p>	<p>Robert J. Dole Presidential Campaign Papers  Robert J. Dole Senate Papers-Personal/Political Files  Robert J. Dole Republican Leadership</p>
<p>Northeastern University Libraries: Archives and Special Collections  Boston, Massachusetts</p>	<p>Michael S. Dukakis Presidential Campaign Records  Joseph D. Warren Papers</p>

Gerald R. Ford Library Ann Arbor, Michigan	James M. Cannon Files Richard Cheney Files David Gergen Files Robert T. Hartmann Files Jerry Jones Files David H. Lissy Files Michael Raoul-Duval Files Michael Raoul-Duval Papers A. James Reichley Files Robert Teeter Papers President Ford Committee Records Presidential Handwriting Files
Wayne State University: Walter P. Reuther Library Detroit, Michigan	AFT President's Office Albert Shanker Personal
Minnesota Historical Society St. Paul, Minnesota	Hubert H. Humphrey Papers Walter F. Mondale Papers
Princeton University Libraries: Manuscript Division Princeton, New Jersey	James A. Baker Papers George S. McGovern Papers
Texas State Library and Archives Commission Austin, Texas	Senior Advisor's Office: Education Issues Files Press Office Speech Files Governor George W. Bush Policy Office Records
George Bush Presidential Library and Museum College Station, Texas	Bush Presidential Records: Domestic Policy Office White House Cabinet Affairs White House Counsel's Office White House Office of Chief of Staff White House Office of Intergovernmental Affairs White House Office of Legislative Affairs White House Office of Media Affairs White House Office of Policy Development White House Office of Political Affairs White House Office of Press Secretary White House Press Office White House Office of Public Liaison White House Office of Speechwriting White House Press Office Office of the Vice President George

	Bush Office of the Vice President Dan Quayle David Hoffman
The George Washington University Libraries: The Estelle and Melvin Gelman Library Washington D.C.	National Education Association Records

## References

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