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**PHELPS, GLENN ALAN
USING HOLLYWOOD FILMS TO TEACH AMERICAN
CAMPAIGN POLITICS: SOME PROSPECTS AND
PROBLEMS OF FILM-ORIENTED INSTRUCTION.**

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY, D.A., 1978

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USING HOLLYWOOD FILMS
TO TEACH AMERICAN CAMPAIGN POLITICS:
SOME PROSPECTS AND PROBLEMS
OF FILM-ORIENTED INSTRUCTION

by

Glenn Alan Phelps

A Dissertation

Presented to the Graduate Committee

of Lehigh University

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Doctor of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This project attempted to assess the utility of Hollywood films as a learning resource in the college classroom. Specifically, the contribution of such films to the student's understanding of American campaign politics was explored.

There is some foundation in learning theory for supposing that films may be of some help in the learning process. The work of Berlyne, Montgomery and others demonstrate that curiosity seems to be an innate motivating drive that offers great potential for effective learning. Hollywood feature films are especially well-suited for arousing curiosity because their ability to entertain and create empathy is well-documented. Bruner and others propose that learning is better (that is retention is better, understanding is more complete, and analytical skills are more fully developed) when students "discover" knowledge on their own.

The theoretical linkage proposed here is that a stimulus (Hollywood films) will arouse curiosity which, in turn, will initiate self-learning. In this project the goal was to arouse the students' curiosity about the phenomena of American campaign politics.

To test this hypothesis, the investigator resorted to a quasi-experimental design. This was necessary

because of the small n's in both the test group(film-oriented instruction) and control group(more traditional instruction). A number of evaluation measures were used to compare the impact of these two teaching approaches. Valid statistical measures of comparison could not be used because of the small populations involved. However, comparisons provided by other instruments suggest several propositions.

First, students in the film-oriented group showed little or no difference in attitudes toward political participation compared to the students exposed to the traditional approach. This conforms with earlier research by Somit and others that finds political science courses to be generally unsuccessful in generating a sense of political responsibility and participation.

Second, the film-oriented course seemed to emphasize different affective values than the traditional course. Students in the test group commented favorably on the complexity, interest, and self-directedness of the film-oriented approach when comparing it with other courses they had experienced. However, it should be noted that for most of the 25 Likert-type values used in this measure there was little or no difference between the two approaches.

Finally, when students were asked a series of

open-ended questions about "American Political Campaigning and the Hollywood Film" they consistently responded that the films greatly aroused their interest in the subject and that the items depicted in these films greatly clarified their understanding of the assigned reading materials. In addition, the levels of student performance along several criteria were more than satisfactory in the film-oriented course. Thus, while comparisons with other teaching methods are unavailable, it seems clear that students can learn in a college-level course that utilizes Hollywood films.

Several factors prevented this experiment from generating data that would conclusively prove the existence of the aforementioned linkage. The experiment does, however, demonstrate that films can very probably help students to learn about politics as long as certain preconditions are satisfied.

Further research in two areas seems justified. Studies with larger n's are likely to generate more reliable and meaningful comparative data. In addition, longitudinal studies which retest subjects six months or a year after the initial exposure might reveal some interesting data. If the hypothesized linkage does exist then retention will be greater within the film-oriented group.

INTRODUCTION

This project grew out of longstanding personal interests in two areas-- politics and movies. The former was a profession; the latter was an avocation. Yet, at least from a pedagogical viewpoint, a wedding of the two interests seemed unlikely. The teaching of politics is serious business. Movies, on the other hand, are often viewed as merely diverting and trivial. To employ films as part of a strategy to teach politics thus seemed, at least on the surface, to offer the possibility only of diverting students from serious scholarship and substantive learning. Learning might indeed be fun, as the adage says; but it did not necessarily follow that out of fun would automatically come learning.

Two factors accounted for the reconsideration of film's potential as a teaching instrument as discussed here. First, a number of recent influential works argued that films could be a legitimate source of political information.¹ Even granting the claims of films' detractors that movies are made purely for entertainment, these scholars countered that films still contained many valuable insights of real interest to a political sci-

¹See Siegfried Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966); Andrew Bergman, We're in the Money: Depression America and Its Films (New York: Harper & Row, 1971); and Robert Sklar, Movie-Made America: A Social History of American Movies (New York: Random House, 1975).

entist. In particular, films could be a barometer of political culture and political socialization. Just as literature and drama have often been used as sources revealing the political temper of the times, films can serve the same function. Thus, films, if utilized in the proper spirit, could be viewed as far less inconsequential than at first thought.

The second factor causing a reassessment of the potential of film for teaching really derived from two sources. In the interim terms of January 1975 and January 1976, the instructor experimented with a course in which Hollywood films played an important role. While the subject matter was not political science (the course's title was "The American West and the American Western"), it did deal with a serious academic subject. It was not a controlled experiment nor were any comparisons with other teaching strategies attempted, but the experience still seemed promising enough to suggest the value of pursuing the possibilities of film-oriented instruction further. The hope offered by these courses was that the interest and enthusiasm which the films seemed to inspire might be transformed into a more generalized intellectual interest in learning about the subject.

Moreover, recent articles in the professional literature reinforced this possibility. Several of these

articles discussed the use of films in political science courses, always concluding that films were a legitimate teaching resource.² However, these studies offered no details about the process of film-oriented instruction. In most instances, the articles merely mentioned that films had been used and then proceeded to discuss some of the problems and potentialities of film for the college classroom.

Perhaps, then, teaching politics and enjoying films are not mutually exclusive activities. This project extends this discussion about the utility of films as an instrument of instruction in political science into greater detail. The working hypothesis is this: films can be an effective method of teaching and learning about politics. Note that the hypothesis makes no claim that film is more effective than any other method. Indeed, research will be discussed that suggests that such an assumption is really indefensible given the complexities of the teaching-learning process. What is proposed is that films, when used under proper condi-

²See, for example, Patrick O'Meara, "The Use of Full-Length Commercial Films in Political Science Undergraduate Education", Teaching Political Science, 3(January 1976), pp. 215-21; Jose M. Sanchez, "Hollywood Comes to Class: A Course on the American Political Film", Teaching Political Science, 4(October 1976), pp. 93-99; and Dean C. Myers, "Filmography", DEA News, no. 15(Fall 1977), pp. 2-3.

tions, can be one of many possible teaching approaches open to an instructor of political science. The project, thus, also concerns itself with ascertaining what those optimal conditions are.

Chapter One seeks to use learning theory to justify the use of films as an instructional tool. Particular attention is paid to findings which indicate that "curiosity" may be a motivating factor that is highly conducive to learning. Learning seems to be better (that is, retention is higher, assimilation is greater, and understanding is more thorough) when a student is sufficiently aroused, or curious, to pursue knowledge on his own. Hollywood films, it is argued, are exceptionally well-suited to arousing a student's interest. However, Hollywood films are created with the purpose of arousing viewers in areas usually irrelevant to learning about politics. Arousal for its own sake would be of little educational value. Still if (and it is a big "if") Hollywood films can be presented or manipulated so as to relate to the subject at hand, then the linkage between the films and learning could prove highly productive. Chapter One thus seeks to demonstrate the theoretical possibility of such a linkage.

A second problem in using Hollywood films in the classroom is the issue of their validity as sources of

reliable information. As noted previously, a number of scholars point to the value of films in understanding the political culture or political mind of a society. But this project seeks to go further. In Chapter Two an effort is made to show that Hollywood films reveal a great deal of information about politics-- in this instance, about political campaigns and elections. Certainly, there is much in the films examined here that is trivial, sensationalized, or even grossly inaccurate. Yet, the films can be used to demonstrate nearly every commonly-held assumption about campaign politics found in the discipline. If one is willing to engage these films with a critical and analytical eye, one can discover many useful illustrations and insights. In addition, even the inaccuracies of Hollywood films can be turned to advantage if student curiosity is sufficiently aroused by the movies to investigate further.

The real difficulty rests with selecting the films wisely and then helping students develop the skills and sensitivity that they need to extract the wealth of information that is available in these movies. This is the problem faced in Chapter Three. During the 1977 interim term a course, "American Political Campaigning and the Movies", was taught at Iowa Wesleyan College. Chapter Three documents how that course was developed, de-

signed, and implemented. Some of the pitfalls, anticipated and unanticipated, are discussed. The thrust of this element of the project is to try to establish in practice the rather nebulous theoretical linkage between the curiosity aroused by the films and substantive learning in political science.

An attempt to assess the impact of "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" is discussed in Chapter Four. Serious difficulties developed in using empirical methods of analysis for this project. An extremely small number of subjects made conclusions about comparisons with other, more traditional, teaching methods highly suspect. Nevertheless, several measurement instruments were applied to the test group and to a somewhat dissimilar control group. A tentative assessment of the experimental course, however, suggests that, in terms of performance measured along a number of criteria, the films probably contributed to the students learning a great deal about campaign politics. Also, students seemed to rate the film-oriented approach at least as highly as more traditional methods along a number of affective values. None of this data is definitive, nor does it in any way imply that film is a superior method of instruction. It merely suggests that Hollywood films can help a student to learn about politics.

The concluding chapter seeks to summarize the theoretical research and the practical experience. If film is not the most effective teaching method, then under what circumstances is it most likely to succeed? Any decision about whether to use film-oriented instruction is complicated by a number of factors. Several of these are discussed in detail. To conclude, it appears that films can teach us a great deal about politics. There seems little reason to believe that a teacher, aware of the necessary preconditions and attuned to the peculiarities of the medium, could not expect reasonable success using Hollywood movies in the classroom.

CHAPTER ONE:
A RATIONALE FOR USING
HOLLYWOOD FILMS
TO TEACH AMERICAN POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

Films can be used successfully to help college students learn about politics. This hypothesis will be defended at numerous points in this paper. The more specific concern of this chapter is to indicate in some way why one would even suspect that films might be an effective instructional tool. It seeks to trace the development of this rationale by careful discussion of three areas of concern.

First, the chapter reveals that there is some concern about the effectiveness of various current and established teaching methods. A survey of the existing research literature casts considerable doubt that any teaching approach is likely to be 100% "effective", no matter how that term is defined. So new hypotheses regarding effective teaching methods still seem worthy of investigation. Second, an investigation of the literature on learning (as opposed to teaching) suggests that motivation is an extremely important factor affecting a student's propensity to learn. In particular, recent research indicates that curiosity may be especially useful in stimulating a student to learn. Third, the peculiar characteristics of the Hollywood film are discussed. One of its purported advantages is that it might arouse a high level of curiosity. It is this curiosity-

arousing property which commends the current hypothesis and project.

TRADITIONAL CLASSROOM METHODS

Much of the impetus behind the search for better ways of teaching arises out of a disenchantment with traditional college classroom teaching methods. There are numerous ways in which "traditional" may be interpreted. Even scholars and educators who have discussed innovative vs. traditional teaching seem a bit vague about what they mean exactly by those terms.¹ Yet there is some consensus, at least throughout the empirical studies, that what most educators mean by "traditional" is that the lecture is the focal point of the classroom experience. In some of the studies the traditional method was defined as one in which the teacher did nothing but lecture. In other studies, the terms lecture-demonstration or lecture-followed-by-question-and-answer are deemed synonymous with "traditional".

The lecture is still by far the prevalent method

¹See, for example, Commission on Non-Traditional Study, Diversity by Design (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974); Milton Ohmer, Alternatives to the Traditional: How Professors Teach and How Students Learn (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972); Carl Rogers, Freedom to Learn (Columbus: C. E. Merrill, 1969); and Samuel B. Gould and K. Patricia Cross, Explorations in Non-Traditional Study (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972).

of college instruction. As it commands such a considerable following, it is not surprising that a rationale exists to defend its widespread usage. While the following is not a comprehensive list of all the supposed advantages of the lecture, the justifications included below are generally agreed upon by both the defenders and detractors of the method.²

1. It is the status quo.-- Most students are very simply accustomed to having their classes conducted in this way. In a sense, they have been socialized to the lecture format from high school and other college courses. Anxiety thus may be induced when other approaches are used for instruction. Students may often find lectures boring, but at least they are predictable. The student knows what is expected of him-- very little. Methods which might alter that environment could be perceived as threatening.

2. It is efficient.-- No scholar seriously questions that the lecture is very efficient at delivering large amounts of material in a digestible form to the students. No time or effort is wasted as can be the case when, for example, the class pursues a topic or question of marginal importance in a discussion. Because the

²Kenneth R. Walker, "History and Political Science Instruction", Improving College and University Teaching, 11(Autumn 1963), p. 243.

instructor controls the information flow, no irrelevant information is dispensed. It should be noted, however, that efficiency and effectiveness may not be synonymous. It is one thing to deliver information. It is quite another to assure that it is learned.

3. It can simplify complex material.-- The lecturer can bring to his subject interpretations and insights that can aid the student in understanding facts or concepts that might be extremely difficult to grasp without the intercession of the teacher. The organized quality of a good lecture is an asset in that it provides a structure needed by many students.

4. It can introduce new material.-- The lecture can tap a major resource, the instructor's own vast knowledge and experience, by allowing him to present facts, ideas, research, and insights that the student could not normally be expected to have access to by his own efforts. Reading assignments can never cover everything that the instructor believes important.

5. It can inspire.-- Some instructors have a talent for dramatizing their material in such a way as to bring a highly personalized excitement to the course. Students can often be challenged or inspired to learn merely by the example of their teacher.

Yet even if one acknowledges the validity of the

claims on behalf of lecturing, the method continues to attract critics. Criticisms against the method focus on what it fails to accomplish, rather than directly challenging its attributes. Specifically, the lecture-method is criticized for being more concerned with efficiency rather than effectiveness. The lecture certainly "covers" more material than most other methods. However, what is usually meant by this is that the instructor can more efficiently deliver what he deems to be important. But what is efficient in the eyes of the teacher (as he satisfies his personal or professional needs) may not be effective in the eyes of the student. Teaching the material efficiently may provide no guarantee that the student is learning. From this perspective of student-oriented learning there appears to be several drawbacks to the lecture-method.

1. It doesn't induce self-learning.-- Many educators and psychologists argue that a student learns best that which he discovers by his own efforts.³ That is, students actively involved in their own learning are likely to learn better than passive students. The principal efforts in a lecture (from the students'

³While the literature is rife with advocates of the "discovery" approach to learning one of the most authoritative and thorough accounts can be found in Jerome S. Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction (New York: Norton, 1966).

perspective) are paying attention and taking notes-- both clearly passive, rather than active, activities.

2. It doesn't induce thinking.-- The lecture probably does well at adding to a student's cognitive understanding. But indications are that it is probably not equally effective at stimulating independent thinking and problem-solving.⁴ Time allotted to paying attention or taking notes is time that is unlikely to be spent in thought.

3. It wastes time.-- If a lecture is efficient at presenting a clear, concise analysis of a given topic then its efficiency and effectiveness might be improved if the lecture were in written form for the student to peruse at his own pace. There would be less likelihood that facts and ideas would be missed or misinterpreted as they might be in an oral presentation. Class time might be used for other activities.

4. It is hierarchical.-- The lecture usually establishes a social distance or deference between the teacher(viewed as a superior) and the student(viewed as a subordinate). Some humanistic educators argue that learning is encouraged in an atmosphere of mutuality,

⁴B. S. Bloom, "Thought-Processes in Lectures and Discussions", Journal of General Education, 7(April 1953) pp. 160-69.

self-esteem, and caring.⁵ Any arrangement which detracts from this environment by emphasizing the teacher's authority is viewed as not conducive to learning.

5. It is not effective.-- This is the most serious criticism. One study of college students indicated that assimilation of knowledge, as opposed to its acquisition, among students taught by the lecture method is not impressive. Some 50% of the material acquired in a course is forgotten after one year. After two years the loss approaches 75%.⁶

These disenchantments with the lecture take on special significance for the teacher of political science because it appears to be, by far and away, the most popular method of instruction in the discipline. One rather limited survey of college teaching methods indicated that in all college courses, including those in the social sciences, only 30% of the time was spent in lecturing. However, some form of lecturing accounted for nearly 60% of the class time in social science courses.⁷

⁵Rogers, Freedom to Learn, passim.

⁶Robert A. Davis, "How Do College Students Learn", Educational Record, 42(April 1961), p. 108.

⁷Survey by J. G. Unstaad cited in Walker, "History and Political Science Instruction", p. 243.

Yet despite these doubts about lecturing as a method (and even its devotees admit some such doubts), it still remains the most widespread instructional technique. This raises an important observation. It may well be that, as earlier noted, student retention of knowledge in courses taught by the lecture is much lower than the teacher might desire. However, it may well be that no method can really guarantee complete assimilation and mastery of material. If that is the case then the question is not whether the lecture-method is effective. The answer to that appears to be "not as much as one would like". Rather, the question is really whether or not the lecture-method is more effective than other methods of instruction. The next section investigates this question more fully.

LECTURE METHOD VS. OTHER METHODS

Empirical studies comparing the effectiveness of the lecture-method with the effectiveness of other teaching strategies reveal data that does not resolve the previous question very satisfactorily. The literature on this question is extremely voluminous. New studies appear almost daily in each issue of the major educational journals. It is clearly beyond the scope of this project to review all of this research. How-

ever, even by limiting this review to studies which examine college-level teaching in the social science disciplines it is possible to discern a pattern of results. The pattern is simple. Results of these studies continually lead to findings which indicate little or no significant differences in effectiveness between the lecture-method and other teaching methods.

A study at the University of Iowa involved using three methods to teach the Introduction to Political Science course.⁸ One section was given a special self-study program which supplemented the course text. The second section received lectures and were assigned text readings. The third section merely read the text. On the subsequent objective test, the group receiving the lectures performed at a level significantly lower than either the self-study group or the text-only group. Moreover, "the inefficiency of the lecture method was most evident for those upperclassmen with low ability."⁹

Other studies, however, seem far less conclusive about the relative effectiveness of teaching methods. Hovey et.al. sought to compare the large group lecture-

⁸John W. Lewis, "A Study of the Effectiveness of Three Methods of Teaching One Segment of Elementary Political Science", Journal of Experimental Education, 56(Fall 1964), pp. 73-79.

⁹Ibid., p. 77.

method with self-directed study in small discussion groups.¹⁰ They measured each group's achievement along three criteria: mastery of the course material (Educational Psychology), retention of course material, and a measure of curiosity. Their findings indicated a small, but not-significant, difference in the mastery of course material in favor of the small group approach. After ten months, the retention of course material and curiosity were again slightly higher for the small group method, but as before, the difference was not significant.

Patton taught an experimental group in his General Psychology course by means of various student-centered methods, e.g. small groups and independent study.¹¹ His control group was exposed to traditional lecture methods. The experimental group showed more interest in psychology, seemed more satisfied with the course, and was better able to apply psychological knowledge to new problems. Yet, when measured by performance on final

¹⁰ Donald E. Hovey, Howard E. Gruber, and Glenn Terrell, "Effects of Self-Directed Study on Course Achievement, Retention, and Curiosity", Journal of Educational Research, 56(March 1963), pp. 346-51.

¹¹ Joseph A. Patton, "A Study of the Effects of Student Acceptance of Responsibility and Motivation on Course Behavior" cited in Dissertation Abstracts, 15, no. 4, pp. 637-38.

objective-type tests, the differences based on that criterion were not significant, nor were there any significant differences in the students' self-perceptions of how much they had learned.

Another study, involving Introductory Sociology courses, sought to measure the effects of the traditional lecture-method and a non-traditional approach upon the acquisition of information, critical thinking, and attitudes toward sociology as a discipline.¹² Cook's conclusions showed higher scores for the non-traditional group on his attitude scale (higher scores meant higher interest) and on his measurement for critical thinking. Unfortunately, he did not test these differences for significance, though they seem sufficiently large to at least suggest meaningfulness. However, the differences in the third category, acquired knowledge, were identical for each group.

Finally, Short's dissertation compared the effects of traditional vs. non-traditional methods (especially simulations) in the teaching of American Politics.¹³ While his findings suggested that certain attitudes and

¹²Cited in Davis, "How Do Students Learn", p.107.

¹³John N. Short, "Planning, Implementation and Evaluation of a Non-traditional Survey Course in American Politics: A College Curriculum Study", Unpublished D.A. dissertation, Lehigh University, 1976.

behaviors were more favorably inclined among the non-traditional group of students, the end result was that he could discover no significant differences in learning.

These examples of research are not exceptional. Similar results are found in research about nearly every discipline. The majority of studies which compare traditional teaching methods with other methods reveal that, at the very most, the innovative approaches correlate only slightly with improved student performance. It appears at this point that the lecture is neither significantly better nor worse than alternative methods.

LECTURE METHOD VS. INSTRUCTIONAL FILMS

None of the aforementioned studies, however, specifically examines the usefulness of educational or instructional films in college teaching. There may be reasons to believe that film can succeed where other innovations have had only limited success-- that is, in improving upon the record of effectiveness established by the lecture method. The potential of the film has been trumpeted for many years.¹⁴ Even in the era of silent movies, there were educators claiming that instructional films could revolutionize teaching. Fascination

¹⁴See, for example, Mark A. May and Arthur A. Lumsdaine, Learning From Films (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958).

with the communications media as learning devices expanded as the communications industry itself grew with newer and ever more sophisticated technology. Educators at all levels flocked to equip their schools' "learning centers" with the latest in electronics wizardry. First, instructional films, then, beginning in the 1950's, television(both network and closed-circuit), and, finally, video-tape recording (VTR) had their promoters. Several journals emerged that were exclusively devoted to information and research about these new media.¹⁵ Recent public acclaim for such televised presentations as Sesame Street, Electric Company, and the venerable Captain Kangaroo has pressed claims of significant learning among children resulting from exposure to these programs.¹⁶

All of these factors gave educators reason for hoping that these media could improve teaching. Most

¹⁵E.g. Media & Methods, AV Communication Review, Educational Screen, Audiovisual Instruction, and Film and History.

¹⁶Among the more significant studies that have been reported are Aimee D. Leifer, Neal J. Gordon, and Sherryl B. Graves, "Children's Television: More Than Entertainment", Harvard Education Review, 44(May 1974), pp. 213-45; F. Leon Paulson, "Teaching Cooperation on Television: An Evaluation of Sesame Street's Social Goals Programs", AV Communication Review, 22(Fall 1974), pp. 229-46; and S. Ball and G. A. Bogatz, "Summative Research of Sesame Street", in Minnesota Symposia on Child Psychology, Vol. 6, ed. A.D. Pick (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1972).

of these hopes were triggered by the McLuhanesque assumption that the potential of film rested not with its ability to offer content or substance more efficiently than traditional methods, but rather that the "packaging" qualities of film could present the educational message in such a way as to hold the students' attention. Summarizing much of the research in communication theory, Robert Travers observed that

Factors relating to stimulus intensity may be the reason for the high attention-attracting quality of such displays... One of these /factors/ is the possibility that the child has been conditioned to attend to audiovisual displays since they are associated with entertainment both at the movies and on the home television. Whatever conditioning that takes place to attend to such displays may well carry over to formal learning situations in which similar displays are used.¹⁷

However, when these optimistic forecasts are tested in real learning situations, the results, as was the case with other innovative methods, are rather unconvincing. The most definitive studies dealing with a college-age population have been carried out under the auspices of the Office of Naval Research. In order to improve its own training films and justify their use, the agency sponsored a series of experiments, most of

¹⁷Robert W. Travers, ed., Research and Theory Related to Audiovisual Information Transmission, Interim Report, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, Contract 3-20-003 (Salt Lake City: University of Utah, Bureau of Education Research, 1 July 1964), p. 1.26.

which were conducted by Pennsylvania State University, involving high school seniors, college students, and college-age military recruits. While over one hundred reports on different experiments have been issued, the following studies seem to summarize the findings most relevant to this inquiry.

Two studies seemed to confirm that college-age students can learn from films. Ash and Cameron divided their college student sample into four groups: Group A saw two films and were immediately tested; Group B saw the films, took notes, and were tested; Group C saw the films, took notes, were allowed a ten-minute review, and were tested; Group D was given the test without seeing either of the films. Groups A, B, and C all scored approximately 60% on the criterion test (A being slightly higher) while Group D scored only 30%. Thus, students could learn from films.¹⁸ However, no comparisons were made with other teaching methods. VanderMeer also confirmed that students can learn from films.¹⁹ Comparing

¹⁸ Philip Ash and B. J. Carlton, The Value of Note-Taking during Film Learning, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-21 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Special Devices Center, 1951).

¹⁹ A. W. VanderMeer, Relative Effectiveness of Instruction by Films Exclusively, Films Plus Study Guides, and Standard Lecture Methods, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-13 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Training Device Center, 1950).

teaching by films alone, films with study guides, and traditional lecture methods, however, he was unable to discern any significant differences in effectiveness between the three methods.

Kishler indicated that instructional films could successfully teach abstract matters such as values, attitudes, and concepts in addition to the usual factual or "how-to" material.²⁰ This study was important because it verified and extended many of the findings of the classic Payne Fund studies.²¹ These letter studies, conducted in the early 1930's by a team of sociologists, psychologists, and cultural anthropologists maintained that films could alter the attitudes, beliefs, and values of grade-school children toward the directions set forth by the films. Kishler now demonstrated that these effects attributed to theatrical films (Payne studies) could also be generated by instructional films.

A study by McTavish suggested that learning could be increased by repeated viewings of the film. A

²⁰J. P. Kishler, The Effects of Prestige and Identification Factors on Attitude Restructuring and Learning from Sound Films, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-10 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Training Device Center, 1950).

²¹The findings of the Payne Fund studies were summarized in a final volume. See Ruth C. Peterson and Linda L. Thurstone, Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children (New York: Macmillan, 1933).

second showing of the same film revealed markedly higher test scores among most students. Additional screenings increased test performance but at a much lower rate. Students with lower intelligence seemed to especially benefit from the repetition, but all students improved their test performance to some degree.²² Continuing in the same vein, VanderMeer stated that students actually learned how to learn from films. Students who had seen one instructional film were able to learn from a second, different, film more effectively than students who had not previously viewed an instructional film. The pattern persisted with additional films. Students with the most experience in learning from films scored best in criterion tests. Students with less experience performed less well-- those with no film experience performing the least well.²³ Again, however, none of these findings are unexpected since repetition usually increases learning in any method, at least up to a point.

Disagreeing with the long-held argument that students are not always the best judges of how well they

²²C. L. McTavish, Effect of Repetitive Film Showings on Learning, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-12 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Training Device Center, 1949).

²³A. W. VanderMeer, Effect of Film-Viewing Practice on Learning from Instructional Films, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-20 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Training Device Center, 1951).

are performing, Twyford presented some evidence that with some instructional films students can judge whether they are learning.²⁴ While watching an instructional film about measuring instruments, students could depress a key on a film-analyzer that indicated "I am learning from the film" during any portion of the movie. Tests administered after the film revealed a very high correlation between the student's self-perception of his learning and his test scores for that particular section. However, responses to another key on the machine ("I like/dislike the film") showed no correlation with test performance. Enjoyment of a film was not a predictor of successful learning.

In one of the few major studies conducted apart from the ONR, Hovland et.al. demonstrated that student participation in any number of formats improved learning from films.²⁵ Again, though, the authors failed to examine whether learning from the films was any greater or less than learning elicited by more traditional means.

In summarizing the existing research the key question-- whether film can teach more effectively than

²⁴Loran Twyford, Film Profiles, Instructional Film Research Reports, SDC-269-7-23 (Port Washington, NY: U.S. Naval Special Devices Center, 1951).

²⁵Carl I. Hovland, Arthur A. Lumsdaine, and F. D. Sheffield, Experiments in Mass Communication (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

the lecture-- remains largely unanswered. While the literature suggests that students can learn from instructional films it remains unproved that any significant differences exist to favor the film over more traditional approaches.

SUMMARY AND COMMENTARY ON TEACHING RESEARCH

Thus far, the research studies cited have not really discovered any appreciable differences in learning when different teaching methods are employed. Certainly no one method stands out as consistently and significantly superior to other techniques. While some experiments suggested marginal advantages for one method over another, it is difficult to discern any consistent pattern of results favoring a particular method.

Perhaps a broader scope of inquiry could reveal such a pattern. After all, the amount of educational research in the field of college-level social science instruction is small in comparison to the large amount of research conducted in all fields of college teaching (particularly in the natural science). However, there are several works which seek to assemble all the existing research on college teaching and either by summarization or by aggregate analysis come to a conclusion about the relative effects of different teaching methods.

Antoinette Ryan summarized her review of that research literature by reaching six hypotheses which she believed reflected a consensus in the research: 1) there is no conclusive proof as to whether the lecture or the discussion method was more effective; 2) the lecture does appear to be superior for transmitting information to students; 3) many variables, e.g. emotion and order of presentation, affect the lecture method; 4) group processes, e.g. discussions, seem to be effective in developing critical thinking and abstract values; 5) many variables affect the achievement of favorable results from group learning; and 6) student preference of teaching method has no correlation with student achievement.²⁶

But while Ryan qualified her conclusion that there was no significant difference between methods with a series of "maybes", two other studies argued the point even more strongly. A research report from the U.S. Office of Education stated the following conclusion about college teaching.

The consensus of studies made since 1920 is that no one mechanical device, in and of itself, is better than another. Teaching by the lecture, recitation, discussion, tutorial, group-study, reading-quiz, or correspondence or several different laboratory methods (the regular, the drawing, or the psychological

²⁶T. Antoinette Ryan, "Research: Guide for Teaching Improvement", Improving College and University Teaching, 17(Autumn 1969), p. 272.

type) has not been demonstrated to²⁷ be intrinsically better than some other technique.

Dubin and Taveggia attempted to use several aggregate analysis techniques in cumulating the many research results of experiments in comparative college teaching methods. The most comprehensive work in the field, the authors' statistical analysis arrives at the conclusion that "when learning is measured through final exams: THERE ARE NO DIFFERENCES THAT AMOUNT TO ANYTHING".²⁸

Thus after more than fifty years of research into the question of what is the best teaching method one is left with the unsettling conclusion that what a teacher does in the classroom and how he does it makes no difference whatsoever. The teaching technique of the instructor seems to have no significant correlation to the amount of learning a student acquires. The expected linkage between teaching and learning is non-existent, or at least is inconsequential. This situation is what

²⁷Winslow R. Hatch and Ann Bennet, Effectiveness in Teaching, New Dimensions in Higher Education, no. 2 (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1960), p. 10.

²⁸Robert Dubin and Thomas C. Taveggia, The Teaching-Learning Paradox: A Comparative Analysis of College Teaching Methods (Eugene, OR: Center for the Advanced Study of Educational Administration, 1968), p. 8.

Dubin and Taveggia describe as "the teaching-learning paradox."²⁹

Yet college teachers should not become overly distressed at these findings. The factors that are involved in trying to measure the impact of various teaching methods are so numerous one wonders whether it is reasonable to suppose that any research design could be constructed that actually measured the effects of instructional techniques. Effective use of statistical measures of significance gives some assurance that invalid hypotheses in this area will not be accepted, but there are fewer constraints that guard against a valid hypothesis being rejected. The lack of significant conclusions in educational research is not surprising, but one should be reluctant to jump forward and accept the Dubin-Taveggia assertion that teaching and learning are not related. Several reasons can be advanced to explain this reluctance

1. Too many variables-- The teaching-learning process is complex. There are so many variables, e.g. class size, student ability, motivation, physical environment, and type of subject matter to name just a few, that the situation of "all things being equal" is unapproachable. Campbell and Stanley have catalogued twelve

²⁹Ibid., passim.

different categories of variables that can affect the validity of any research design in this area.³⁰ Controlled experiments, given these conditions, are probably an impossibility. To cite one of a myriad of possibilities, two groups of students could be selected so as to be as nearly identical as possible. Yet if the classes are offered at different times or on different days it could be that any differences (or lack of differences) in learning could be as easily attributable to the factor of time as to the different teaching methods employed. The number of possible intervening variables in the teaching-learning process approaches infinity. Thus one can't expect consistency in experimental results; the variables are not constant. Bivariate analysis techniques are simply inadequate to explain a multivariate process.

2. No criteria for teaching methods.-- Even if one could control for all of the variables mentioned above, comparative experiments would still fail to offer convincing results. A "pure" teaching method simply does not exist. There are no commonly-accepted operational

³⁰ Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching", in Handbook of Research on Teaching, ed. N. L. Gage (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963; pp. 175-76. See also Laurence Siegel and Lila C. Siegel, "A Multivariate Paradigm for Educational Research", Psychological Bulletin, 68(November 1967), pp. 306-26 for a discussion of multivariate analysis techniques in research on teaching.

definitions of a lecture, or a discussion, or an instructional film that have replicability. A good lecture may teach better than a poor lecture. Moreover, there is no standard of "good" and "poor" that can be applied in every experiment. The human factor of every teacher being unique cannot be ignored. Even if it were possible to establish more stringent controls on teaching methods other problems would develop. For example,

All comparisons of live vs. television and film teaching run into problems. Experimentally, the cleanest comparison is one between the same teaching format and the same content presented by a live teacher and by television or film.... Conclusions may clearly be drawn about the differential impact of these two modes of teaching. Such comparisons, however, restrict each medium to a limited range of teaching techniques; the live teacher can't engage in an animated, responsive discussion with the students, and... film cannot resort to slow motion, instant replay, or animation. The more nearly unique capabilities of each medium are not³¹ brought into play in presenting the curriculum.

3. Evaluation problems.-- In nearly every experiment the effectiveness of the teaching methods is measured by student performance on some sort of final examination. This examination is nearly always objective-- quite often of the multiple-choice variety. Usage of this measurement raises two serious questions.

Are results from objective tests the only valid

³¹Aimee Dorr Liefer, "Teaching with Television and Film", Psychology of Teaching, in National Society for the Study of Education, Seventy-fifth Yearbook, pt. 1 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), p. 306.

measurement for evaluating student learning? Factual knowledge is certainly important, but so is problem-solving ability, creativity, and critical thought. A bias favoring cognitive knowledge may be valid for some comparisons of learning, but surely not for all.

Second, many of the experiments comparing methods contain a common intervening variable that places the studies' results into question. Few instructors rely solely on the lecture or the discussion or any other method in these comparisons. In most such experiments, each group of students is also using a common set of materials or textbooks regardless of classroom method. As E. R. Hilgard notes

Most studies have relied very heavily on a common textbook in all the courses, and, in order to be "fair" most of the examination questions are based on that book....Hence, I believe we are often measuring what the student learned from his textbook. ...Maybe textbooks aren't so bad after all, but in any case they may be so powerful as to override differences in teaching.³²

This factor could conceivably explain the consistent lack of significant differences in experimental results. Thus, claims that one is measuring differences in teaching methods by comparing objective test scores must be scrutinized rigorously.

³²E. R. Hilgard as cited in Dubin and Taveggia, Teaching-Learning Paradox, p. 47.

4. Differences in learning objectives.-- Much of the inconclusiveness of experiments about teaching methods could be accounted for by ambiguity of objectives. To illustrate the problem one can examine the question of who was the better hitter, Ty Cobb or Babe Ruth. The best answer would have to be "it depends". If a team were three runs behind in the last of the ninth with two outs and two runners on base, one might argue that Babe Ruth was the best choice in that situation because of his greater home run potential. Yet if the game were tied with no one out and no one on base, Ty Cobb might be the best choice because of his superior ability to reach base. Without additional information about the specific game situation involved, the question of who was the better hitter becomes unanswerable.

It is no less presumptive to try to answer the question of what is the most effective teaching method. Given all of the variables involved in the teaching-learning process it is quite futile to argue that one method is most effective in all situations. A successful approach in a small class of highly-motivated, intelligent political science majors may prove to be disastrous in a large class of indifferent liberal arts majors with a broad range of intellectual ability. The most that one can say is that some methods may be more

appropriate for accomplishing certain objectives with a particular class than are other methods.

B. S. Bloom's research findings are typical of those that defend this proposition.

If the object of education is the development of knowledge about a topic or field, the lecture is a far more efficient method of communicating such knowledge and of securing the attention of students to these ideas than is the discussion. However, if the objective is the development of abilities and skills which are problem-solving in nature, the least efficient discussion is superior to most of the lectures.³³

Bloom's work focuses on teacher-oriented objectives; but research by Barbara Doty examines the interaction of student-oriented needs with varying teaching methods. For example, she notes that with highly creative students or those with high social needs performance was best in small discussion groups. However, for those students with only moderate intelligence and social needs and with low creativity, the lecture seemed best suited.³⁴ In his review of fifty years of research into college teaching, Wilfrid McKeachie puts the case strongly.

We have seen fairly convincing evidence that differing teaching methods do make a difference in learning if one analyzes the different goals of education. Other things being equal, small classes are probably more effective than large, discussions than lectures,

³³Bloom. "Thought Processes", p. 169.

³⁴Barbara A. Doty, "Teaching Method Effectiveness in Relation to Certain Student Characteristics", Journal of Educational Research, 60(April 1967), pp. 363-65.

and student-centered discussions more effective than instructor-centered discussions for goals of retention, application, problem-solving, attitude change, and motivation for further learning....Thus the teacher must make value decisions about what he wants to aim for as well as³⁵ strategic decisions about his means to these goals. (Emphasis mine.)

The above four factors, taken together, argue that the question of which teaching method is superior is wrongly put. To maintain that one method is better than another in all cases is to lead inevitably to the teaching-learning paradox-- that teaching method and student learning are unrelated. Yet, this hypothesis flies in the face of most teachers' visceral reactions as well as research that does note differences in learning depending on different learning objectives and classroom conditions. The resulting observation is that there can be no one superior method. Efforts to discover one only obscure the real issue. Instead, teaching and learning should both be viewed as independent variables. Teaching methods can make a difference but only after a careful assessment of learning objectives, the teacher's strengths and weaknesses, student characteristics, and external variables to determine the most appropriate approach for that particular situation.

³⁵Wilfrid J. McKeachie, "Research in Teaching: The Gap between Theory and Practice", Improving College Teaching, ed. Calvin B. T. Lee (Washington: American Council on Education, 1967), p. 230.

It might even be more appropriate to investigate how and why a student learns. Rather than imposing a teaching method upon the students regardless of their abilities to benefit from it, the instructor might find more value in choosing an approach which is better suited to the needs of his students. Perhaps, "the object of research on effectiveness of teaching should be shifted from the 'tactics' of teaching to the 'logistics' of learning".³⁶ Efforts should be directed at discovering what factors are conducive to learning in each particular classroom situation rather than at seeking to proclaim some universal teaching method, applicable in any situation. How a teacher teaches ought to depend principally upon how a student learns, not the reverse. The next section attempts to make this distinction.

LEARNING AND MOTIVATION

Learning is an excellent complex process. Factors in the external environment and within the individual can affect that process. There is no consensus on exactly what this process is and how it functions. But there is consensus on at least one principle: motivation is highly correlated with all types of learning. A student who is highly motivated to learn performs substan-

³⁶Hatch and Bennet, Effectiveness in Teaching, p.10.

tially better than a poorly motivated student of similar ability in factual retention, abstract thinking, problem-solving, and analysis. The dissensus occurs, however, in describing what generates student motivation to learn.³⁷

One prominent school of thought is the behaviorist perspective. Popularized by B. F. Skinner, behaviorism argues that students can be motivated by a system of rewards and punishments (or reward-deprivation) toward certain goals, e.g. knowledge of a particular subject. Skinnerians have even sought to remove classroom teachers from many of their traditional functions by designing and promoting programmed-learning packages.³⁸ These packages, it was argued, could help a student learn a subject because they set forth learning tasks in a

³⁷An excellent summary of this consensus about learning and motivation can be found in Winslow R. Hatch, Approach to Teaching, New Dimensions in Higher Education, no. 14 (Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, 1966). Hatch discusses the ideas of such prominent authorities on motivation as Robert M. Gagne, Ralph W. Tyler, and Wilfrid J. McKeachie.

³⁸B. F. Skinner's body of work is enormous and his theories of behaviorism have been documented in many of these works. Although it is difficult to point to one piece of writing as the definitive treatment of his learning theories, the following contain elements of particular interest. Skinner, "The Science of Learning and the Art of Teaching", Harvard Education Review, 24(1954), pp. 86-97; Skinner, "Teaching Machines", Science, 128 (1958), pp. 969-77; and Skinner, "Why We Need Teaching Machines", Harvard Education Review, 31(1961), pp. 377-98.

simple-to-difficult gradation and provided the student an immediate individualized reward for his success.

Most other psychologists, however, argue that human motivation is a far more complex process than the simplistic pleasure-pain principles of behavior modification.

A. H. Maslow's classic work places learning motivation into the larger context of human motivation.³⁹ Maslow states that every individual has needs, but that these needs are ordered into a certain hierarchy. At the primary level are physiological needs, e.g. food, drink, clothing. The second level comprises safety needs, e.g. job security, physical safety. These levels progress through love needs and esteem needs to the highest level, self-actualization needs. The desire to learn and to know is such a need. Maslow maintains that self-actualization needs. The desire to learn and to know is such a need. Maslow maintains that self-actualization needs are vitally important because they enable a person to improve the "quality" of his life. But, he must satisfy his lower level needs first. Thus, a person's motivation

³⁹A. H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation", Psychological Review, 50(1943), pp. 370-96. An interesting discussion of Maslow's theory is found in Gary D. Gilmore, "Some Major Factors Influencing Motivation: Implications for Education Setting Events", Journal of Education, 156(November 1974), pp. 28-37.

to learn isn't an isolated trait, but rather is dependent upon the satisfaction of a broad range of other needs.

It is Maslow's emphasis on the interrelationship of needs that serves as the progenitor for the "humanistic" school of educational psychology. As developed by Carl Rogers and others this perspective argues that learning does not occur in a vacuum.⁴⁰ A student learns or doesn't learn largely as a result of the social environment-- the system of human relationships among fellow students, teachers, friends, and parents. A student must feel confident that his "personhood" is not being threatened by peers or teachers. The learning situation must be one of mutual respect and love between students and teachers. Fears, hopes, excitement, and other feelings must be freely expressed and accepted by all. Thus, humanists argue that motivation to learn is promoted when the complex needs of the total person are recognized and dealt with.

Drive-reduction theory reverses the emphasis of most previous learning theories.⁴¹ Maslow, the humanists,

⁴⁰Rogers, Freedom to Learn; Rogers, "The Significance of the Self-regarding Attitudes and Perceptions", in Feelings and Emotions, ed. M. L. Reymert (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950), pp. 374-82.

⁴¹See, for example, the landmark work by C. L. Hull, The Principles of Behavior (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1943).

and, to a certain extent, even the behaviorists, maintained that needs represented certain states which persons saw as desirable and felt compelled to attain. For example, according to Maslow and Rogers, learning resulted from a desire to understand one's environment. According to Skinner learning resulted, indirectly, from a desire for food or acclaim or achievement (learning being a means to another end). Drive-reduction theorists argue that drives are not states that are pursued, but instead are states to be avoided. A person eats to relieve hunger, not to achieve some positive state of well-being. A person builds a house to reduce his fear of being cold and unprotected, not to achieve a positive state of security. Thus, a person is motivated to act in order to reduce certain drives(or states of anxiety). When the dissonant conditions are removed activity ceases. Learning, then, results when a condition of ignorance introduces tensions and anxieties into a person's life. He will be motivated to learn the information necessary for him to reduce those tensions. But he will cease to learn when that drive has been reduced.

To this point theories of learning in general, but especially the behaviorist and drive-reduction approaches, have accepted the principle that motivation is largely extrinsic. Learning is a phenomenon triggered

by reward independent of the value of the learning itself (behaviorist) or by favorable social conditions (humanists) or by the need to relieve anxieties (drive-reduction). Only Maslow and his followers among the major theorists even hints that learning might result from intrinsic motivation.

Two fairly recent theories hold out the possibility that intrinsic drives might be responsible for a person's learning. In the 1950's. David McClelland and several others conducted a number of experiments that led them to believe that persons have an innate "achievement motive" or "competency drive".⁴² Even if a system of rewards is removed or a compelling drive is satiated, so the theory goes, there is a "substantial body of evidence [that] indicates that organisms fail to become quiescent in the absence of these extrinsic forces."⁴³ Individuals have an innate desire for achievement. Even where external rewards do not apparently exist, individuals can still exhibit high motivational levels. They

⁴²David C. McClelland et.al., The Achievement Motive (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1953); also R. W. White, "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence", Psychological Review, 66(1959), pp. 297-323.

⁴³John McV. Hunt, "Toward a History of Intrinsic Motivation", in Intrinsic Motivation: A New Direction in Education, eds. H. I. Day, D. E. Berlyne, and D. E. Hunt (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1971), p. 5.

will learn simply to be able to assert mastery over a part of their environment.

THE CURIOSITY DRIVE

Research into intrinsic motivation has become more specific in recent years. One aspect of this research is of particular interest to this project because it may provide a theoretical basis for attempting to use Hollywood films in college teaching. Specifically, the findings of D. E. Berlyne and K. C. Montgomery in expounding a curiosity(or exploratory) drive are especially revealing.

The first hint that drive-reduction theory was insufficient to explain all learning was uncovered in rat experiments in the early 1950's. Montgomery observed that when rats were placed in a box with two mazes, one simple and one complex, there was a significant preference for the more complex maze. Moreover, the rats continued to explore the complex maze without additional stimulation. Food was provided at the starting point so that the most obvious extrinsic motivation did not come into play. According to drive-reduction theory activity should cease when the hunger need was fulfilled. It did not cease.

According to drive-reduction theory, behavior followed by a reduction in the amount of exploratory drive should be strengthened....However, qualitative observation...has repeatedly suggested an alternative hypothesis: behavior which results in an increase in amount of exploratory drive is strengthened. In other words, it is possible that behavior which produces novel stimulation is reinforced, not because exposure to that stimulation produces an increase in, or at least ⁴⁴maintains, the strength of the exploratory drive.

Berlyne carried this hypothesis further. He asserted that an individual seeks to maintain "an arousal level which avoids both boredom, or an absence of stimulation, and intense excitement, or a surplus of stimulation".⁴⁵ When a person is inundated with sensory demands the curiosity or exploratory drive remains on the sidelines. But when activity is low a person often seeks to increase activity by responding to novel(new) stimuli. Moreover, the individual will continue to explore even after the initial novelty of the stimuli wanes.

In summarizing these and later experiments by Berlyne and Montgomery several hypotheses can be stated about the curiosity drive and learning.⁴⁶ First, the ex-

⁴⁴K. C. Montgomery, "The Role of the Exploratory Drive in Learning", Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, 57(February 1954), p.60.

⁴⁵John P. DeCecco and William R. Crawford, The Psychology of Learning and Instruction, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1974, p. 148.

⁴⁶See Montgomery, "Exploratory Drive in Learning", pp. 60-64; Montgomery and M. Segall, "Discrimination

ploratory drive is intrinsic. It is a motivation that derives internally and seems not to be related to the satisfaction of other needs and rewards. Second, curiosity seems to be heightened by novel stimuli. Arousal, or attention getting, seems to be an important contributor to stimulating that drive. Third, there is an habituation of interest with continued exposure. The same stimulus that was introduced as a novelty can be used repeatedly with some success. Interest will continue to increase though in ever smaller increments. Fourth, general responsiveness can be recovered during unstimulated periods. That is, learning activity will remain even after the novel stimulus ceases.⁴⁷ Thus, curiosity would seem to be a source of considerable potential for learning within an individual.

Enthusiasm for curiosity as an approach to classroom learning must, however, be tempered. A few critics have noted some serious drawbacks to relying on curiosity

Learning Based upon Exploratory Drive", Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology, 58(February 1955), pp. 225-228; David E. Berlyne, "Novelty and Curiosity as Determinants of Exploratory Behavior", British Journal of Psychology, 41(1951), pp. 68-80; Berlyne, "A Theory of Human Curiosity", British Journal of Psychology, 45 (1954), pp. 180-91; and Berlyne, Conflict, Arousal, and Curiosity (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960).

⁴⁷ John F. Hall, The Psychology of Learning (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1966), pp. 83-84.

as the sole organizational schema for the college classroom.⁴⁸ The most valid of these criticisms can be summarized as follows. 1) Curiosity is often very unsystematic and non-cumulative. Much of learning, to be of any lasting value, must be systematic and cumulative. 2) Curiosity may be little more than an immediate desire to know a specific thing, not a generalized motivation to enter into a broad intellectual experience. 3) Curiosity may just as easily be satisfied by incorrect information as by accurate data. 4) Curiosity may be strongest on matters not germane to the subject-- for example, erotic or recreational activities. 5) Curiosity is largely a spontaneous and individual activity. It would, therefore, be very difficult to manage curiosity in a classroom setting.

Nevertheless, research into the exploratory drive may go far in helping to alleviate some of the aforementioned disillusionment with traditional approaches to college teaching. It is probably true that curiosity is not a sufficient condition for learning. But not even the criticisms catalogued above enable one to ignore the very real possibility that curiosity may be a necessary

⁴⁸See, for example, Bernard Z. Friedlander, "A Psychologist's Second Thoughts on Concepts, Curiosity, and Discovery in Teaching and Learning", Harvard Education Review, 35(Winter 1965), pp. 18-38.

condition for learning. Failure by teachers to recognize the importance of arousing the students' curiosity, and thus their motivation to learn, may lead to increased frustration by both parties at their inability to have their respective goals satisfied. Neither party's curiosity is aroused by the other.

Harvard education professor Jerome Bruner reported a general malaise enveloping most college classrooms. His own theory of "discovery learning" was an attempt to counter the ramifications of the lack of concern among educators for curiosity as a learning resource.

The will to learn is an intrinsic motive, one that finds both its source and its reward in its own exercise. The will to learn becomes a "problem" only under specialized circumstances like those of a school, where a curriculum is set, students confined, and a path fixed. The problem exists not so much in learning itself, but in the fact that what the school imposes often fails to enlist the natural energies that sustain spontaneous learning-- curiosity, a desire for competence, aspiration to emulate a model, and a deep-seated commitment to the web of social reciprocity.

Given their choice, students will spend by far the largest portion of their time in pursuits which are appealing to them. Much smaller amounts of time are allocated to activities mandated by other factors, such as social obligations or accomplishing a terminal goal. Furthermore, it appears that monotony significantly decreases a per-

⁴⁹ Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction, p. 127.

son's motivation to learn.⁵⁰ The substantive content of a course in political science ought to be an important goal for the teacher to impart to his class. But if, in seeking to impart that substantive knowledge, the teacher structures and presents the material in such a way as to be unreservedly dull, then he may be seriously diminishing the innate curiosity of his students. Hence, the teaching-learning paradox.

CURIOSITY AND THE HOLLYWOOD FILM

If it is true that the curiosity drive can motivate students to learn, then efforts should be made to create a classroom environment that can arouse the curiosity of most college students. This project argues and seeks to demonstrate that judicious use of the commercial, or "Hollywood", film can motivate students to learn about American campaign politics. Integrated with other traditional and non-traditional methods, the Hollywood film should be able to arouse the students' curiosity level at least as well as other approaches for three important reasons.

1. We are a generation enraptured by the media. Television viewing and movie attendance are both volun-

⁵⁰Paul McReynolds, "The Three Faces of Cognitive Motivation", in Intrinsic Motivation, p. 43.

tary activities appealing enough(or habit-forming enough) to attract us at an ever-increasing rate. The level of per capita television viewing time has risen steadily. More to the point, attendance at movie theaters has risen to the highest level since the pre-television 1940's. Moreover, film attendance is a peculiarly education-sensitive activity. Fully 65% of adults with at least one year of college attend films frequently, compared with 25% of those with less than a high school education.⁵¹ Thus, films seem to be a medium with high recognition from and participation by college students. John Harrington, in his Rhetoric of Film, observes that, "By the time he is 18, he will stockpile nearly 17,000 hours of viewing experience and he will watch at least 20 movies for every book he reads. Eventually, the viewing will absorb ten years of his life."⁵² For whatever reasons, young adults seem particularly receptive to the stimuli offered by film. If film can arouse curiosity for pleasure, then it may be that it can also arouse a similar curiosity for learning.

⁵¹"New 'Great Era' for Movies": What's behind the Comeback", U.S. News and World Report, March 17, 1975, pp. 52-53.

⁵²John Harrington, Rhetoric of Film, cited by Peter C. Rollins, "Film and American Studies: Questions, Activities, Guides", American Quarterly, 26(August 1975), p. 245.

In addition, studies suggest that viewers between the ages of 18 and 21 are at the peak of their film literacy. That is, they seem most able at this age to absorb factual material, articulate abstract concepts, recognize points of view, and interpret symbols as represented in films.⁵³ This suggests that college students are capable of more than merely staring blankly at a screen. The stereotypical media "zombie" may exist, but there is ample potential in most students to be far more receptive and sensitive to the messages of film.

2. The Hollywood film is quite simply different from the instructional or educational film. As previously noted, studies comparing instructional films with more traditional teaching methods have not revealed any significant differences in student learning. Students do not seem exceptionally more motivated or curious about the subject in question after viewing such films. These findings, when added to the high cost, admitted theatricality, and other drawbacks to using the film, seem to establish a prima facie case against the Hollywood film as a pedagogical tool. Such a conclusion, unfortunately, ignores essential differences between the educational film and the Hollywood film. The former, at its best,

⁵³Roy P. Madsen, The Impact of Films: How Ideas Are Communicated through Cinema and Television (New York: Macmillan, 1973), p. 443.

still lacks some very important aspects present in the commercial film. At its worst, it is a combination of the worst of the traditional and non-traditional. Some of these key differences can be seen in an exposition of the three principal types of educational films.

The filmed lecture-demonstration is the most common form of film produced for classroom use. The development of this type arose out of a perceived need for greater economic efficiency in higher education. With larger enrollments in the basic courses, administrators believed that additions to faculty or physical plant could be avoided if the same material could be delivered by one teacher to multiple sections of the same course. Film (and later, television) seemed an appropriate medium. Also, many demonstrations and experiments could be quite expensive (not to mention uncertain of continual success) if repeated for each and every class. Film seemed a useful alternative. But a "talking head" is still a "talking head" whether he is live or on film or on video-tape. In fact, this format seems to provide the worst of both worlds. None of the drawbacks of the lecture are markedly improved by putting it on film. Perhaps, the filmed lecture-demonstration has the advantage of taking the rough edges off the live performance. The lecture can be rehearsed and re-shot until it is just right. Or film

clips of events, places, or persons can be interspliced. The demonstration can be edited with all the mistakes and unnecessary steps removed so that the final product is clear and concise.

But any possible advantages gained in this way are more than counterbalanced. Several studies indicate that the filmed or televised lecture is the teaching method least-liked by students.⁵⁴ The reasons given should be obvious. Whatever limited opportunities for teacher-student interaction that exist in the traditional lecture format are eliminated by the film. A student can't ask a question or interject a comment. If he gets lost he can't ask the teacher to stop and clarify the point. And the necessity to take notes (often in the dark) creates anxiety as the student tries to follow what is often a streamlined, speeded-up lecture. The teacher on screen still dominates the classroom experience, but now, whatever modicum of interpersonal relationships that existed with the live lecture is excised by its filmed counterpart. Some of these problems can be eased by having the instructor stop the film or tape at various

⁵⁴ See, for example, Joe J. Christensen, "The Effects of Varying Class Size and Teaching Procedures on Certain Levels of Student Learning", Dissertation Abstracts, 21 (September 1960), p. 493; and Doty, "Teaching Method Effectiveness", pp. 363-65.

points to respond to student questions or perhaps to interject explanatory comments. With this approach however, one comes full circle in the discussion. The constant transition from mechanical to live presentations can be very awkward. Moreover, the added cost of producing or renting filmed lectures would seem wasted if one dilutes its particular strength-- streamlined presentation. The lecture-demonstration film thus is designed to deliver information, not arouse interest. Still, any audio-visual catalog will reveal that this type of instructional film predominates.

The narrative documentary is the second most numerous type of instructional film. While such documentaries vary greatly in style, they generally contain a series of visual images woven together to tell a story, or present an issue or problem (an illustrative title might be "A Day in the Life of Congressman Graftmore"). Common to nearly all such films is the use of a narrative voice-over. The narrative documentary does offer some advantages over the filmed lecture. For example, it exposes the student to many combinations of visual and auditory stimulation, not merely the auditory stimulation provided by a filmed lecture (you don't have to watch the latter--only listen). This use of multi-sensory stimuli begins to approach the unique characteristics of

the film medium.

Still, the narrative documentary and the Hollywood film are not really comparable. The documentary places greatest emphasis on content. Very little effort is expended upon involving the students' feelings. The reverse is generally true for the Hollywood film. It is this very emphasis upon content that classifies the documentary as less non-traditional than its advocates claim. By focusing on what the teacher wants the student to know, the documentary in some ways is just a visualized textbook--perhaps a bit more entertaining, but still a textbook. However, a written textbook has the advantage of being capable of far more detail than is the documentary film. The teacher-oriented nature of the film, then, keeps the student only passively involved. He is still being lectured.

The docudrama film, although the least numerous of the three types of educational films, most closely approximates the technical aspects of the Hollywood movie. The docudrama may create a situation in which fictional characters deal with a hypothetical, but important, problem. With this format an attempt is usually made to elicit the students' own emotions or thoughts about the problem in question. Another variation of the docudrama is the historical re-creation. Here, actors

portray actual historical figures and re-create, as nearly as possible, the setting and conditions faced by those figures, the thought being that such "living history" must surely be an effective means for students to grasp the texture of an event. Yet while the docudrama is more closely akin to the Hollywood film than are the previous two forms of instructional film, particularly where docudrama seeks to involve the student at an affective level as well as cognitively, there are still some noteworthy differences between it and the commercial variety.

First, the production values of a docudrama can rarely approximate those of a Hollywood film. Docudramas vary widely in quality, yet even the best of them is a low-budget effort compared to the Hollywood standard. It is not unusual for a major film company to spend upwards of \$5 million to produce a popular feature film. An instructional film producer is fortunate to have 1/10 or 1/100 of that amount. More money will be spent on one episode of such a triviality as Charley's Angels than on all but the very best of the network-produced docudramas. The difference in production values, e.g. color, sound, special effects, props, and locations is usually noticeable to even the casual viewer. In the docudrama the student can't expect to see a cast of thousands. In

short, he can't expect to see any of the things he is accustomed to seeing in a Hollywood movie.

Second, the docudrama has the stigma of being "educational". It is only speculation, but there may be a certain discount that one must allow for in any film whose avowed purpose is to teach. Thus, the attempts by docudramas to involve students on an affective level may fail simply because students are conditioned to accept such films only on a cognitive level. The words "produced by Time-Life films" or "a production of NBC News" may trigger a reaction from the students of "here comes another dull educational film that I'm supposed to learn from". They might watch. They might even try to learn. But they won't really care about either the film or what they supposedly learned from it.

3. A Hollywood film will attract and arouse the interest of its viewers because that is its *raison d'etre*. Aside from a relatively small number of aficionados who view film as an art form, most movie-goers attend films to be entertained. They want to be swept up in feelings of adventure, or love, or danger, or happiness. Escapism is often a strong urge in audiences. The Hollywood film gives the viewer what he wants to see, not what the producer wants the viewer to see. This is a crucial distinction between the Hollywood and instructional film.

The Hollywood producer must make a product that arouses the interest and curiosity of the public. If he fails, he loses money. The maker of instructional films, creating for a captive audience in the literal sense of that phrase, is under no constraints to appeal to popular tastes.

But, the argument goes, proving that films arouse a student's interest is not a sufficient justification for using them in a college classroom. Sports and sex also arouse the interests of many students, but those pursuits may be irrelevant and even distracting in the search for political knowledge and understanding. In addition, Hollywood films do distort, glamorize, fabricate, and ignore many of the matters that social scientists would accept as fact. The film could be more of a purveyor of misinformation than of information.

Yet, if recognized and properly used, this very criticism could serve to strengthen the case for using Hollywood film. The film, at one level, can serve as an historical document of the period. The classic work of Siegfried Kracauer which examined the German mind between the two World Wars laid the foundation for other similar works which sought to assess the public psyche of various nations by analyzing the major films of a particular

period.⁵⁵

Film documentation has the advantage rather than the disadvantage of being partially reprocessed data. The high cost of film production has insured that finance-conscious producers have assiduously attempted to second-guess the desires of a mass public and to turn out films that speak to their values and sensibilities. If several million consumers are willing to pay hard cash to purchase a given ideational product it would be extremely arrogant for historians to assume that the product contains nothing of interest.⁵⁶

The possibilities of using film to arouse interest in topics such as political culture and ideology seem particularly promising.

At another level, the very inaccuracies of fact that have made educators wary of using Hollywood films may be one of the films' greatest assets. Reality, especially if presented in a wooden, cheap, or uninspired fashion as it is in most instructional films, can be frightfully dull. Curiosity will quickly be stifled. If, however, the instructor uses film as a starting point for inquiry rather than as a faithful rendition of reality (which it cannot be) then the interest or curiosity aroused by the Hollywood film could lead to some effective learning. Two historians from the American Histori-

⁵⁵ See Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler; Bergman, We're in the Money; and Sklar, Movie-Made America.

⁵⁶ Stuart Samuels and Robert Rosen, "Film and the Historian", AHA Newsletter, 11(May 1973), p. 35.

cal Association's Film as History study group underscore this observation.

Films can go a long way in motivating history classes Like historical novelists, theatrical film makers are free from some of the restrictions to which historians must adhere. They can concentrate on one character's perception of events without concern for the balance or proportion to which the historian is bound, and they can use fiction to fill out their characters and bring them to life. This freedom from factual restrictions which makes most theatrical films unsatisfactory for conveying historical information, considerably heightens the emotional identity with the characters in the film, and may be motivated to learn more about the historical forces that shaped their lives.⁵⁷

The observation that Hollywood films are rife with inaccuracy and distortions of fact may be less important than the assertion that such films may be able to motivate students to seek out for themselves what those facts are.

Finally, Hollywood films may be of value in establishing an affective environment that is conducive to effective learning. There is ample evidence to support the principle that learning is better-- that is, more knowledge is acquired, retention is higher, and the knowledge can be used in new situations-- when students are actively involved in directing their own learning experiences.⁵⁸ Thus, Hollywood films may be an effective ap-

⁵⁷ John E. O'Connor and Martin A. Jackson, Teaching History with Film (Washington: American Historical Association, 1974), p. 21.

⁵⁸ See, for example, Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction; David P. Ausubel, Learning by Discovery",

proach to teaching if they are employed in such a way as to encourage students to explore those areas of interest in which the films aroused their natural curiosity. The learning environment becomes student-oriented rather than teacher-oriented.

And even if the films should prove less successful as a teaching instrument than hoped, they might still be of value by establishing a positive emotional environment as encouraged by Rogerian theorists.

Learning is associated with feelings. When the emotional core of the student is touched, learning begins, whether this core involves association with past experiences or present attitudes of intellectual curiosity and delight. Brain studies...have indicated that knowledge, when recalled, takes place as a totality of experience that included the attitudes and feelings that served as the context for the original learning. The song is recalled, ⁵⁹but so is the emotion associated with the song.

Most students enjoy Hollywood films. Perhaps, at a later time, the knowledge learned as a result of a fondly-remembered film will be less likely to be relegated to the vault of the long-forgotten. The film, like the song, will be remembered-- and so will the thoughts, feelings,

Educational Leadership, 20(November 1962), pp. 113-17; Saul Brenner, "The College Classroom as a Center of Inquiry", Educational Forum, 39(November 1974), pp. 77-84; and William D. Brooks, "Innovative Instructional Strategies for Speech Communication", Paper presented at the Speech Association of the Eastern States, 1972.

⁵⁹Esther M. Seeman, "Experimental Teaching in Political Science", Educational Horizons, 53(Summer 1975), p. 184.

and insights associated with it.

These are the things that lead one to suspect that Hollywood films might be used effectively to teach about American campaign politics.

CHAPTER TWO:
AMERICAN CAMPAIGN POLITICS
THROUGH THE EYES OF HOLLYWOOD

INTRODUCTION

The central thrust of this chapter is toward a revelation of the "reality" of American campaign politics as reflected in the feature films of Hollywood. Such an exploration must be aware of certain caveats. The most important of these is that while films may reveal useful facts and insights about the American electoral process, one must candidly admit that a certain amount of what is portrayed about politics in Hollywood films is clearly inaccurate. The standards of scholarship demanded in the academic disciplines have never applied to the realm of film-making. Film directors have no obligation to truth, only to entertainment. Thus, much of what is seen on the screen is, at best, an imaginative fabrication. Film portrayals of political reality can often be subject to criticisms of being grossly out of context, sensationalized or wildly exaggerated. At other times movies turn potentially serious matters into inanity; or light-weight matters can take on disproportionate importance.

Despite these serious criticisms, there are still reasons for asserting that Hollywood films can serve as a useful source of political knowledge. First, films can be a barometer of public attitudes.

As films are not viewed in a void, neither are they created in a void. Every movie is a cultural arti-

fact--deadly as the phrase may sound, associated with pottery shards, stone utensils, and so on-- and as such reflects the values, fears, myths, and assumptions of the culture that produces it.¹

Significant works by Siegfried Kracauer, Andrew Bergman, and Robert Sklar among others in recent years have all attempted to interpret various aspects of American (or in Kracauer's case, German) society via the representations of popular films.² While one should be wary of carrying any interpretations too far, films may reveal much about the attitudes and values of the American electorate. In short, such examples of popular culture may assist in learning about political culture.

Second, political science is, after all, a divergent, rather than convergent, field of knowledge. Facts and theories do not combine into a unified package. Indeed, the discipline is rich with controversies about what reality is-- even more so, what that reality means.

(I)t is obvious why controversies have developed. Analyses which differ in the questions used, the techniques employed, the elections studied, and the model considered may quite reasonably reach different conclusions....One reason for controversies without resolution is that there is no one "truth". "Truth" depends on how you look at things, what is true from one perspective is not true from another, and there are very different perspectives from which to view voting. People with different perspectives

¹Bergman, We're in the Money, p. xii.

²Kracauer, From Caligari to Hitler; Bergman, We're in the Money; and Sklar, Movie-Made America.

will interpret the same facts in very different ways. And no one point of view is necessarily correct.³

The contention here is that there is an intellectual pluralism within the discipline that makes "truth" a difficult standard for any film to attain. Hollywood films nearly always contain certain characterizations, exaggerations, or distortions in the name of artistic license which would almost be universally criticized as inaccurate by political scientists. Yet there is much material in these films that is controversial. Some political scientists might point to those portrayals as the beacon of truth; others might claim that they are patently false. By judicious use it may be possible, then, to employ a medium in no way committed to truth as a device for illustrating important controversies in the discipline (and therefore allowing students to have a greater appreciation for the demands of scholarly truth).

Selection of the films used in this chapter was based upon three rather general criteria. These criteria were chosen largely because they reflect the kinds of pragmatic considerations necessary when planning a film-oriented course. 1) The films must have been actually screened by the author. This requirement may have elim-

³Richard G. Niemi and Herbert F. Weisberg, Controversies in American Voting Behavior (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1976), p. 15.

inated some potentially useful films, e.g. All the President's Men and The Senator was Indiscreet. However, the rental costs involved in screening all of the films that might conceivably be useful can be quite expensive-- so expensive that any possible advantages accruing to the films as a teaching tool would quickly be negated. 2) The films must speak at some length about some aspect of campaign politics. Many films contain scenes about campaigns that are a small and relatively inconsequential part of the movie whole, e.g. Wilson. 3) The films must be of substantial artistic and entertainment quality. Students are no more likely to be aroused by poorly-made Hollywood films than they would be by a poor lecture. This is obviously a heavily subjective criterion, but the judgements of film critics can be used to support personal assessments. Ada, for example, is clearly an unacceptable film. Box-office receipts indicate that the film was poorly attended by the public, and critics universally panned the film as childish, inane, and an insult to human intelligence.⁴

The films finally chosen for this study (with their date of release) include: The Dark Horse (1932), The Great McGinty (1940), Citizen Kane (1941), Meet John

⁴See, for example, Time, September 8, 1961, p.89; and New York Times, August 26, 1961, p. 15.

Doe (1941), Hail the Conquering Hero (1944), State of the Union (1948), All the King's Men (1949), A Face in the Crowd (1957), The Last Hurrah (1958), The Best Man (1964), and The Candidate (1972). Because the films were produced over a forty-year period care must be taken in assuming their continued relevance to a discussion of modern campaign politics. Yet it will be demonstrated that even The Dark Horse is of some heuristic value if students are made aware of the potential problems with using dated sources. Moreover, the older and newer films offer some suggestive insights about generational changes in electoral politics.

The films deal with a wide variety of political races. The Best Man, State of the Union, and, indirectly, Meet John Doe and A Face in the Crowd are about races for the Presidency. The protagonist of The Candidate runs for the U.S. Senate. Gubernatorial contests are depicted in The Dark Horse, All the King's Men, Citizen Kane, and The Great McGinty. Hail the Conquering Hero portrays a small-town mayoral race, while The Last Hurrah and The Great McGinty strikingly portray large city mayoral contests. Curiously, all but one film deals with a campaign for an executive position. Legislative races seem to have attracted little interest from Hollywood. Still, the films offer representations of a variety of races

and thus avoid an undue emphasis on the Presidency. As Sorauf points out, Presidential elections, although highly visible to the public, are really very different from other American elections.⁵

It is most certainly not possible in one chapter to discuss in any detail all of the many areas of study relevant to American campaign politics. Such an effort is really beyond the scope of this project. What this chapter proposes is to focus upon several topics in the field of campaign and electoral politics about which there is considerable written in the professional literature, and about which Hollywood films have had much to say. This will demonstrate the utility of these films as sources of political insight and knowledge.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE AMERICAN ELECTORATE

Any aspiring politician who seriously hopes to be elected to public office should have an understanding, or "feel", of the electorate within his constituency. Campaigns do not operate in a vacuum. No criterion presently exists to judge the success or failure of a campaign other than the decisions cast by individual voters at the polling place.

⁵Frank Sorauf, Party Politics in America, 3rd ed. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1976), p. 209.

Voters are individuals. No single theory or model of electoral behavior can possibly explain each and every voter's decision (or non-decision). Kelley and Mirer do advance what they term a Voter's Decision Rule.⁶ But even they grant that each voter has his own Rule which may be quite different from anyone else's. The politician must, nevertheless, make some generalizations about these individuals in order to plan his campaign strategy. In the words of Professor Harold Hill from The Music Man, "You gotta know the territory."

Political scientists would phrase it differently. In "knowing the territory" the politician must have a thorough understanding of its political culture.⁷ Dawson and Prewitt note that there is some agreement that most evaluations of an area's political culture include some or all of the following components: the level of political affect, or lack thereof, of the citizenry; the prevailing social values and political ideology; political traditions and folk heroes; the regard with which poli-

⁶Stanley Kelley, Jr. and Thad W. Mirer, "The Simple Act of Voting", American Political Science Review, 68(June 1974), pp. 588-89.

⁷See, for example, Gabriel Almond and G. Bingham Powell, Comparative Politics: A Developmental Approach (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), pp. 50-66; John Gillin, "National and Regional Cultural Values in the United States", Social Forces, 34(December 1955), pp. 107-13; and Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy (New York: Praeger, 1960), pp. 29-68.

tics and political institutions are held; the rules of the game; and sub-group realities, e.g. ethnic, racial, and religious differences.⁸ Other items could be added but the essence of the concept is that the political culture of a people incorporates their political ideals and belief systems.⁹

Determining what the "typical" American voter is like is extremely difficult. For one thing, an extremely broad brush must be used in painting the portrait. Generalizations about the body politic as a whole may ignore the infinite variety of individual cases. Moreover, the political culture may not be stable over time. Events may change the social, political, or economic environment to a degree that conclusions reached ten years past may no longer be completely valid.

Nevertheless, students of the American electorate seem to be attracted to one or the other of two principal schools of thought. One school, typified but not limited to the findings revealed in Campbell et.al.'s The American Voter, draws a picture of a rather apathetic, igno-

⁸Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), pp. 25-36.

⁹Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Behavior, 3rd ed. (North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1976), p. 72.

rant electorate.¹⁰ In this view the average American is as likely not to vote as to vote.¹¹ He shows relatively little interest in elections. If he does participate in a campaign or vote he is more likely to do so on the basis of his habitual party identification than on the basis of an intelligent analysis of the candidates' personal qualifications or positions on the issues. The voter holds remarkably low levels of political information and understanding. One study went so far as to maintain that

Voters did not use ideological terms such as liberalism and conservatism; they did not even understand these terms when presented with them; their opinions on various issues were not related to one another; and in many¹² cases they did not really have attitudes at all.

If accurate, these findings lead one to agree with H. L. Mencken's ascerbic observation of the species of American body politic as boobus Americanus.¹³

An alternative to the pessimistic portrait described above has been defended by a number of political

¹⁰Angus Campbell et.al., The American Voter (New York: Wiley, 1960). See also Philip E. Converse, "Public Opinion and Voting Behavior", in The Handbook of Political Science, vol. 4, ed. by Fred I. Greenstein and Nelson W. Polsby (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1975).

¹¹Campbell, The American Voter, chap. 4.

¹²Niemi, American Voting Behavior, p. 73.

¹³H. L. Mencken, Notes on Democracy (New York: Knopf, 1926), passim, but especially pp. 64-65.

scientists. Few would argue that the archetypal rational voter who weighs the issue statements of the candidates against his own philosophical position and reaches his decision based upon this comparison actually exists on a mass level. But there may be a great deal more rationality in the American voter than previously thought. In the words of V. O. Key, "the voters are not fools".¹⁴ Given distinct, unambiguous choices the American voter can choose on the basis of factors other than habit.¹⁵ Several studies note the general increase in so-called "issue voting" in recent elections, especially the recent Changing American Voter whose authors argued that voters' issue positions were becoming more consistent and more the basis for their voting decisions.¹⁶ In ad-

¹⁴The "voters-are-not-fools" model is discussed extensively in V. O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966).

¹⁵Mark A. Schulman and Gerald M. Pomper, "Variability in Electoral Behavior: Longitudinal Perspectives from Causal Modeling", American Journal of Political Science, 19 (1975), p. 18.

¹⁶Norman H. Nie, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), especially chap. 8. See also Schulman and Pomper, "Variability in Electoral Behavior", pp. 1-18; Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968", American Political Science Review, 66 (June 1972), pp. 415-28; and Nie and Kristi Andersen, "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure", Journal of Politics, 36 (August 1974), pp. 540-91.

dition, Downs has questioned whether apathy is necessarily an indication of political ignorance. He argues that apathy or non-voting can be a very rational choice for many citizens.¹⁷ Moreover, when compared with other democratic societies, the United States has a very high degree of political participation when categories of activity other than voting are included.¹⁸

Most political scientists attach themselves in some degree to one or the other of these two interpretations. One interpretation sees the public as relatively ignorant, uninvolved, and mechanically partisan. The other views the public as a bit more rational, issue-oriented, and participatory in its behavior. Hollywood films have by and large chosen to portray Americans as more like the former interpretation than the latter.

In particular, films have portrayed the average American as foolish and politically naive. In A Face in the Crowd the egomaniacal Lonesome Rhodes has managed to attract a vast radio and then television audience of average Americans. (He especially seems to attract what Scammon and Wattenberg call the "middle" voter--47-year

¹⁷Anthony Downs, An Economic Theory of Democracy (New York: Harper & Row, 1957, especially chap. 14.

¹⁸Sidney Verba and Norman H. Nie, "The Rationality of Political Activity: A Reconsideration", in Niemi, American Voting Behavior, pp. 45-65.

old housewives from the Dayton, Ohio, suburbs whose husbands are machinists.)¹⁹ Yet Rhodes has utter contempt for them and is using his popularity with them to further his own ambitions. The public is completely taken in by his patter until he speaks his mind into what he believes is a dead microphone--a mike which in fact is broadcasting over national television. Is the public any smarter after this incident? Mel, a former writer for Rhodes, consoles Rhodes' forsaken girl friend, "You were taken in. The way we were all taken in. But we get wise to 'em" That's our strength. We get wise to 'em."²⁰ But John Yates replies in the Journal of Popular Film, "Sure we get wise to 'em, if they happened to be stupid enough to tape record their crimes, and if someone flips the right switch in our control box."²¹ The implication is that enough of the American electorate can be fooled enough of the time to raise real doubts about their ability to make rational choices. This is underlined by the appearance of a new "Lonesome Rhodes" at the end of the film.

¹⁹ Benjamin Wattenberg and Richard Scammon, The Real Majority (New York: Coward, McCann, 1970), pp. 70-71.

²⁰ Budd Schulberg, A Face in the Crowd (New York: Bantam Books, 1957), p. 168.

²¹ John Yates, "Smart Man's Burden: Nashville, A Face in the Crowd, and Poupular Culture", Journal of Popular Film, 5 (1976), p. 23.

Most of the other films add to this pessimistic appraisal. The Dark Horse portrays "voters as venal fools to be bought with flattery and government jobs".²² The plot of Hail the Conquering Hero revolves around a small town's ecstatic nomination of a totally unqualified, apolitical, even silly young man simply because he is a war hero-- and a bogus one at that. When Woodrow Truesmith seeks to decline the nomination(unsucccessfully) he strikes at the heart of the problem.

You'd better save your hoorays for somebody else... for somebody who deserves them...like Doc Bissell here...who tried for so long to serve you...only you didn't know a good man when you saw one... so you elected a phony instead.²³

And the Great McGinty becomes alderman, mayor, and ultimately governor merely because he has the good fortune to benefit from the habitual nature of party voting generated by the party machine. In none of these films does the voter ever really approach any of the various rational actor models--even the more limited ones.

Yet it has been argued that the ignorance and apathy of the American electorate might not be as discouraging as at first glance. The quiescence of the

²²Paul Rotha, The Film Till Now, rev. ed. (Middlesex, England: Hamlyn Publishing Group, 1967), p. 441.

²³Preston Sturges, Hail the Conquering Hero, in Best Film Plays of 1943-1944, eds. John Gassner and Dudley Nichols(New York: Crown, 1945), p. 624.

masses can be interpreted as 1) a benign acceptance of the status quo, thus allowing elected officials considerable latitude in which to make political decisions, and/or as 2) an indication that the masses are less susceptible to fanaticism and manipulation as in some other democratic regimes.²⁴ Both of these apologias point to the relative apoliticism of the American public as a blessing, not a failing. The verdict rendered by Hollywood is considerably less favorable. One finds revealed in several of these films dangerously high levels of the kind of authoritarianism and anti-democratic thinking and action discussed in the works of such as Kornhauser and Lipset.²⁵

In Meet John Doe the rich newspaper publisher, D. B. Norton, commands his own private police force and constantly rails about the American people needing "discipline" and "an iron hand". To achieve this end he sponsors the John Doe movement-- a movement which encourages Americans to become good neighbors and unify as a "non-political" force to make the nation better. The

²⁴This thesis particularly well-argued in Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee, Voting (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

²⁵William Kornhauser, The Politics of Mass Society (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959; Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man: The Social Bases of Politics (New York: Doubleday, 1960), especially pp. 101-22.

movement grows rapidly with a figurehead John Doe as its symbol. When the gullible John Doe character discovers Norton's true intentions he seeks to reveal them at a convention of John Doe clubs, but the crowd turns into an angry mob when they discover Doe's duplicity and nearly kills him. The scene is not a pretty one.

Willie Stark, in All the King's Men, achieves success only after he discovers his ability to whip crowds into a frenzy. Stark recognizes the baser instincts of man, appeals to them to gain power, and then cloaks his fascistic administration in the slogans of mass democracy. Director Robert Rossen reveals a remarkable skill for portraying the dangers he sees inherent in the American political culture (or at least Southern culture).

Rossen delineates the mutual culpability of the strong and the weak, the leader and the led, the process by which the victims of the demagogue become the accomplices of their own captivity. While bands play and newsreel cameras whir, herds of rural folk are unloaded from their buses and stand docile before the capitol, contained by the power of the leather-jacketed highway patrol, Willie's private army. Blank-faced, they cheer on cue-- "We want Willie! We want Willie!"-- are blared at by Willie's message over the loudspeaker...While the camera catches, etched on the capitol wall: THE PEOPLE'S WILL IS THE WILL OF THE STATE...And they cheer.²⁶

There is no doubting that Stark is an effective campaign-

²⁶Alan Casty, The Films of Robert Rossen (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1969), p. 25.

er and politician. He leads and shapes public opinion-- a characteristic common to most politicians. But All the King's Men, a fictionalized account of the career of Huey P. Long, asserts that within the body politic lurks a dark side. This dark side draws upon ignorance, hatred, anti-intellectualism, and mob psychosis. This is certainly not the benign apathy championed by Berelson.

The overt villains of these films are usually conspiratorial cabals seeking to assert authoritarian control over the masses: D. B. Norton and his business-labor-politicians triumvirate in Meet John Doe, Jim Conover and his alliance of special interests in State of the Union, Colonel Haynesworth in A Face in the Crowd, the fat cats and old bosses in All the King's Men. Yet an alternative source of political evil implied in a number of the films, though perhaps unintentionally, is that it is the political culture from which this villainy springs. A public which can so enthusiastically embrace John Doe, Grant Matthews, Lonesome Rhodes, and Willie Stark is a public more interested in appointing a caudillo than in making responsible political choices.

In another sense, however, it may be inappropriate and inaccurate to speak of an American political culture. Daniel Elazar asserts there are at least three

distinct political cultures in America (with numerous permutations thereof). Examples of each of these cultures can be observed in the films examined here.²⁷

The moralistic culture emphasizes a strong devotion among its citizens and public officials toward such values as honesty, selflessness, and a concern for the public good. Politics is viewed as an obligation and public service, and is not to be used for personal aggrandizement. There is a tendency toward non-partisanship and a tolerance for amateurs in politics (in fact, professional "pols" are frowned upon). This quest for the good society often leads to honest, civic-minded government. But these same qualities can degenerate into narrow-mindedness and religious fanaticism. This sort of culture was early found in Puritan New England and is now most common in the northern Great Plains and Upper Midwest.

Meet John Doe showcases all of these facets of the moralistic culture. The John Doe Movement (at face value) is organized on the principles of reestablishing the spirit of brotherhood. It stresses the idea that "a free people can do anything if they all just pull the

²⁷ Daniel J. Elazar, American Federalism: A View from the States (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1966).

oars in the same direction".²⁸ One of its greatest appeals is that it is non-partisan. In fact, no politicians are allowed to join the clubs-- only "ordinary" people are entitled. Amateurism abounds, even to the figure of John Doe (Long John Willoughby)-- an ex-baseball player recruited from the hobo ranks. Interestingly, in a flitting scene a large map is seen in D. B. Norton's office which shows the location of all the John Doe clubs. It certainly accords with Elazar's theory that the greatest number of pins are placed in the states of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. In addition, the potential fanaticism of the moralistic culture is exhibited in the violence at the John Doe convention.

On the other hand, the individualistic culture has little or no concern for moral or community betterment. Here, politics is viewed as a marketplace. Public policy is the result of bargaining among competing groups and individuals, each pursuing his own self-interest. Public officials are more concerned with a limited web of interpersonal relationships than with community-wide values. Politics and power are seen as valid means of self-aggrandizement; hence politics is a profession, not a hobby. Graft and corruption are tolerated, but so is cultural pluralism.

²⁸Cited in Bergman, We're in the Money, p. 147.

The career of The Great McGinty is an example of political life in the individualistic culture. Dan McGinty sees politics as a way of gaining money and stature. In fact, he enters the political machine by performing an enterprising act of election graft. He rises personally and politically by engaging in the bargaining and dealing characteristic of a political marketplace. What loyalty that exists is in the liege-vassal relationship of boss and crony, not between the politician and his public.

The contrast between the moralistic and individualistic cultures is interestingly depicted in a scene from Citizen Kane. Kane, suffering from an acute case of noblesse oblige, is running for governor on the platform of "looking out for the little people". His opponent, Boss Jim Gettys, wants his candidate to win in order to maintain the hold of the Gettys machine. Gettys catches Kane in a morally compromising situation and makes him an offer: withdraw from the race or face personal humiliation and defeat. Gettys is astounded when Kane refuses the offer and, of course, is subsequently defeated and humiliated. Gettys' political culture values personal and even interpersonal needs first. He would avoid shaming his family. Kane, however, is a moralist. It is his perceived duty to fight the good

fight for the good cause whatever the personal price.

Elazar's traditionalistic political culture is best exemplified in the Old South. Politics is viewed as a paternalistic enterprise dedicated to maintaining an elitist social structure. Participation by those not at the top of this socio-political pyramid is neither encouraged nor welcomed. Political leaders are generally conservative and custodial in their orientation. An excellent example of this traditionalistic culture can be seen in the early scenes of All the King's Men. The small Southern town of Kanoma City is the scene of Willie Stark's first campaign, where he is running against an entrenched courthouse gang which is intent on maintaining the status quo. Later, when Willie pursues the governor's post, his opponents will be the Statehouse crowd (Harrison), the plutocrats who decry Stark's radicalism (McEvoy), and the old patrician families (the Stantons) who have been political dynasties for years. Even more significant is the exclusion from the film of any black faces in what is obviously a black belt state. Elazar points out that racism is usually a characteristic of traditionalistic cultures.

Another important aspect of political culture is the impact upon the electoral pattern of the various religious, racial, class, and ethnic groupings within so-

ciety. Many scholars see the 1928-36 elections as important in establishing two competing coalitions (at least at the national level) that remained fairly stable in composition for about two generations. One viewpoint is that these groups are defined on an ethno-cultural basis.²⁹ Ladd, Hadley, and King now assert that this ethnocultural frontier is changing.³⁰ In the New Deal generation, the principal divisions seemed to be between "old stock" and "new stock" immigrants-- the former being largely Protestant and Anglo-Saxon, the latter being primarily Eastern and Southern European as well as Catholic or Jewish.³¹ According to the Ladd thesis, these cleavages have been largely obliterated. Instead, the principal cleavage in the contemporary political culture is that between blacks and whites.³²

Several of the films can be used to illustrate this changing ethnocultural frontier. In two of the older films, The Great McGinty (1940) and The Last Hurrah

²⁹ While this thesis has long been part of the mainstream of scholarship it is perhaps most entertainingly portrayed in Clinton Rossiter, Parties and Politics in America (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960), chapter 3.

³⁰ Everett Ladd, Jr., Charles Hadley, and Lauriston King, "A New Political Realignment", Public Interest, 23 (Spring 1971), pp. 46-63.

³¹ Rossiter, Politics in America, chap. 3.

³² Ladd, "A New Political Realignment", p. 56.

(1958), one can see the New Deal cleavages rather clearly. McGinty is, of course, Irish, while the Boss, who has no other name than "boss", is of uncertain Eastern European origin (as played by Akim Tamirov the boss's accent is rather ambiguous). This cleavage is seen even more distinctly in The Last Hurrah. Skeffington's party machine is unabashedly Irish though some other "ethnics" are given token representation. While a Jewish crony is included in the coalition, the bulk of the membership is Roman Catholic. The opposing coalition is composed mostly of the old stock Yankee Brahmins. They are likely to be Protestant; indeed, an important member of the film's coalition is the Episcopal bishop. Blacks are nowhere mentioned in either of these two films.

The two most recent films, The Best Man(1964) and The Candidate(1972), offer good examples of the newer frontier. In The Best Man the civil rights movement of the 1960's is beginning to assert itself. The convention is alive with reporters and delegates concerned with where the two principal candidates stand with reference to this new political force. Mahalia Jackson's gospel singing at a convention dinner symbolizes the struggle within the party (obviously, in this instance, the Democrats) on how to deal with Blacks. Candidates Joe Cantwell and William Russell represent equally large

blocs of delegate support. Cantwell's candidacy has as one of its touchstones an opposition to "agitators" (a cue word for Blacks) and a preference for state sovereignty in civil rights matters, though he publicly proclaims that he personally opposes discrimination. Russell is more outspoken in favor of Black civil rights and encourages Black support in his electoral coalition. The lines are drawn even more clearly in The Candidate. One of the most effective campaign appeals by Republican Crocker Jarman is his persistent criticism of the welfare state and those who live off the hard work of others (again, obvious cue phrases for the anti-Black voter). Young Bill McKay, on the other hand, actively and openly campaigns in black wards, has black faces appearing in his media advertising, and speaks of human rights. The black/white battle lines are clearly drawn.

As a final word, one finds in almost every one of these films at least one important character (in some cases more) who expresses or represents a cynical perspective of the American political scene in general, and campaigns in particular. In Meet John Doe, for example, Long John's friend, the Colonel, takes a dim view of the John Doe movement's optimistic principles. His cynicism spews forth in such aphorisms as, "If you tore one picket off of your neighbor's fence (a reference to the move-

ments's 'tear down the fences between your neighbors' appeal), he'd sue you", or "The world's been shaved by a drunken barber".³³ In State of the Union, Grant Matthews strikes a responsive chord in the public with his views that the politician's primary motive is to pull the country apart just to get votes. His journalistic friend comments that Matthews has hit upon the ideal platform-- "Drown the politicians". Willie Stark in All the King's Men achieves success only after he taps the well-spring of alienation and disillusionment within a large segment of his poor, rural state. These attitudes coincide with the findings of a 1973 Congressional report noting that "55% of the people displayed profound cynicism and alienation toward their political leadership".³⁴

From the few examples offered here it should be apparent that Hollywood films offer considerable insight into the American political psyche.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Much of the professional literature in recent years has been given over to the question of what the

³³Cited in Richard Glatzer and John Raeburn, eds. Frank Capra: The Man and His Films (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1975), p. 146.

³⁴Cited in Vernon F. Anderson and Roger A. Van Winkle, In the Arena: The Care and Feeding of American Politics (New York: Harper & Row, 1976), p. 7.

role of the modern political party is in the electoral process. Much of the discussion focuses on whether a "New Politics" characterized by candidate-oriented and directed campaigns, decreasing party activity, declining party identification among voters, and increasing use of mass media technology is replacing an "Old Politics" in which parties were the prime movers of campaigns. Some studies, such as those of Burnham, see the existing party system decomposing into something else, as yet undefined.³⁵ Others, such as Sundquist and Beck, seem less sure that the traditional party alignments are approaching a final dissolution.³⁶

First of all, one should pinpoint the principal differences between the Old and New Politics. As a starting point one can look at the analyses of Pitchell, Nimmo, and Leuthold.³⁷ They note a number of differences between these two styles. In order to provide some ex-

³⁵Walter Dean Burnham, Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics (New York: Norton, 1970) pp. 172-75.

³⁶Dreyer, Political Opinion and Behavior, p. 331.

³⁷Robert J. Pitchell, "The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California", Western Political Quarterly, 11(June 1958), pp. 281-82; Dan Nimmo and Robert Savage, Candidates and Their Images: Concepts, Methods, and Findings (Pacific Palisades, CA: Goodyear Publishing Co., 1976), chap. 1; and David A. Leuthold, Electioneering in a Democracy: Campaigns for Congress (New York: Wiley, 1968).

amples of these approaches, several of the Hollywood films discussed here may be useful. The film about the New Politics is clearly The Candidate for reasons that will become evident shortly. Aspects of the Old Politics can be seen to a varying extent in The Last Hurrah, The Great McGinty, All the King's Men, and, in some ways, The Best Man.

One difference between the two political styles is the matter of organization. In the Old(or party-oriented) Politics the party maintained a more-or-less permanent organization between campaigns. The Skeffington machine of The Last Hurrah and the Boss's gang in The Great McGinty are constantly active. Elections find them, of course, at a peak in their activity, but they compete in elections in order to gain the fruits of office for their membership in the interim between elections. The network remains active and is available for use by any of the party's candidates. In fact, the party organization takes full responsibility for any campaigning. As a contrast, the organization in The Candidate is completely ad hoc and divorced from any permanent structure. Its reason for being is the election of one particular candidate at one particular time. It has no organizational network to help in accomplishing post-election goals. The conclusion of The Candidate

has young McKay sitting in a crowded hotel room following his victory asking a political advisor, "What now?". That question would never occur in a party-oriented campaign.

A second aspect of a party-oriented campaign is its heavy reliance upon a network of personal contacts replete with old debts, friendships, favors, and face-to-face precinct work.³⁸ It is the ward captain's responsibility to know most of his constituency on a personal basis.³⁹ He must understand the political pulse of his ward, know its needs, and be prepared to communicate this information to the party leadership. Traditionally, his election activities should include voter identification (finding out "who's for us and agin' us"), voter registration, and voter turnout.⁴⁰ Several researchers suggest the existence of a "5-percent rule".⁴¹ That is, good person-to-person party work can add up to 5 percent

³⁸Pitchell, "Professional Campaign Management", pp. 281-82.

³⁹Robert Agranoff, The Management of Election Campaigns (Boston: Holbrook Press, 1976), p. 448.

⁴⁰Robert Agranoff, The New Style in Election Campaigns, 2nd ed (Boston: Holbrook Press, 1976, p. 124 and p. 143.

⁴¹Phillips Cutright and Peter Rossi, "Grassroots Politicians and the Vote", American Sociological Review, 23(1958), pp. 171-79; and Daniel Katz and Samuel Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity upon the Electorate", Public Opinion Quarterly, 27(1963), pp. 387-98.

more votes than if such activities aren't used. A lack of constituency work can cause a similar decrease. These face-to-face activities are demonstrated in The Great McGinty where the ward heeler played by William Demarest is busy getting out the vote on election night. He is doing so by establishing a soup kitchen whose denizens are then paid to vote the party ticket. This is filmed quite amusingly but still reveals the real advantages accruing to a candidate of that party's organization. Demarest is also responsible for organizing the parades and speeches in his precinct. This, incidentally, suggests that most parties are organized on a geographical, rather than functional, basis.⁴² The ward leaders in The Last Hurrah, too, are expected to read the pulse of their neighborhoods. Indeed, the Pat O'Brien character informs Skeffington that the people in O'Brien's district are angry that the promised public housing has not been built. Skeffington is able to use this information in planning his campaign strategy.

However, Backstrom and Agranoff have pointed out that the ability of these ward leaders to accurately predict elections has been vastly overrated. Modern aggregate analysis techniques can give the prospective candi-

⁴²For a more thorough discussion see Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, pp. 183-90.

date much more accurate information about his constituency.⁴³ This, too, is illustrated in The Last Hurrah when Skeffington loses the election. The local leaders are astounded. They have no explanation for the defeat and lapse into sniping at each other for not pulling their weight. But the lesson seems to be that the informal human network is simply not precise enough for modern elections. The New Politics on the other hand places more emphasis on media campaigning than on the face-to-face campaigning favored by party organizations. The New Politics does not completely ignore the latter. Even in The Candidate a brief scene shows volunteers placing McKay literature on door handles of homes. But the New Politics is far more likely to direct any extra resources into its media efforts than into "walking around" money for the local party people.⁴⁴

Another difference between the Old and New is that in the former the party and party leaders tend to be in the public eye, while the campaign managers and media consultants of the New Politics are largely anonymous. The Lucas Klein's of The Candidate are nebulous

⁴³Charles H. Backstrom and Robert Agranoff, "Aggregate Election Data in the Campaign: Limitations, Pitfalls, and Uses", in Agranoff, New Style in Campaigns, pp. 198-223.

⁴⁴Agranoff, New Style in Campaigns, p. 260.

sorts who drift from campaign to campaign with no vested interest in anything but their own professional marketability. McGinty's Boss, Skeffington, Jim Conover in State of the Union, Duffy in All the King's Men all have roots in the community and must uphold their own or their lieutenants' visibility in the community. They don't have the option of moving on to the next campaign as Klein and Hal Blake can.

Nevertheless, many observers believe that political parties are becoming less important in electoral campaigns.⁴⁵ No single explanation seems to satisfactorily account for this decline. However, the films offer illustrations to document a number of explanations that have been set forth. One of the most compelling theories is that parties are no longer amenable to the needs of the modern candidate-oriented media campaigns. This aspect will be discussed in more detail later.⁴⁶

Another possible factor in the decline of parties may be the fractionalization of political parties.

Parties tend to divide by various warring groups or leaders, often cutting across levels of organization or ideological concerns--often to serve the ambitions or interests of those within the party structure. The factors that contribute to fractionalizing our

⁴⁵Sorauf, Party Politics in America, p. 5.

⁴⁶See below,

parties may make it difficult for the "party" to unite behind every candidate who is running for office on a party ticket.

Many candidates may be choosing to run their own campaigns for fear that they may get lost in the shuffle by relying only on the party. One can see this fractionalization in The Best Man. The Democratic party convention seems hopelessly deadlocked between the two disparate candidates, Joe Cantwell and Bill Russell. For the "good of the party" both are forced to give way to a compromise candidate (Merwin). But there is still some question as to whether Merwin will really receive the support of the Russell and Cantwell factions after the convention. This also holds true in The Dark Horse. Hicks is nominated as the party's compromise candidate for governor, but the party leaders lose interest in him rather quickly because their respective factions have little to gain or to lose in the election.

Closely related to the problem of party fractionalization is the problem of party disinterest.⁴⁸ Each candidate for public office believes that his campaign is worthy of a maximum effort. But a party may often take the stance that some offices are more important than others--or may bear greater potential for success. Clear-

⁴⁷Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, p.16.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 16.

ly, the California Senate race in The Candidate is just such an election. Incumbent Crocker Jarman is so popular that the opposition party does not wish to commit significant resources in what would probably be a losing effort. Into the breach comes Bill McKay who, while gaining the symbolic support of the party (he appears at a large fund raising dinner as the party's candidate), must rely almost entirely on the resources of his personal campaign organization. That the film has him winning only underscores the impotence of the party.

The changing nature of the electorate may also be contributing to the decline of party influence in campaigns. It has already been noted that the public as a whole is becoming more independent-minded. The proportion of the electorate that is willing to identify with a political party has been on the decline for a number of years.⁴⁹ DeVries has further demonstrated that ticket-splitting has been increasing-- another sign of ebbing party loyalty.⁵⁰ An important factor in this decline of party identification may not be so much that people are deserting the parties, but rather that more new voters

⁴⁹ Nie, Changing American Voter, especially chap.4.

⁵⁰ Walter DeVries and V. Lance Tarrance, The Ticket Splitter (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), especially pp. 49-54.

prefer to be considered independents.⁵¹ Jennings and Niemi note that the intergenerational stability of party affiliation is weaker than expected.⁵² This is implied in both The Last Hurrah and The Candidate. In the former, Skeffington's son has no interest in politics at all. The mayor has been unable to transmit his political allegiance to the next generation. In the latter, Bill McKay is, in fact, opposed to much of what his ex-Governor father stands for. Bill is an avowed independent and even states that he's not registered to vote. He has some strong positions on several political issues but these beliefs are not dependent upon allegiance to any particular party tradition or platform.

Along with the increase in the number of independents, the parties are being undermined, to some extent, by their own members. At one time, the prime directive of a party organization was to win elections.⁵³ Even if it performed all of its other functions successfully, a party would be deemed a failure if it continually lost elections. According to the Old Politics, the

⁵¹Nie, Changing American Voter, chap. 4.

⁵²M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), pp. 37-62.

⁵³Sorauf, Party Politics in America, pp. 17-21.

party was concerned most with a candidate's electability. It mattered very little whether the candidate's ideology was "correct" or what compromises were necessary to placate prospective members of a winning electoral coalition. What mattered was winning. Wildavsky and others have argued that one of the justifications of a party convention is that it allows the party professionals (who are interested in finding a candidate acceptable to as many groups as possible) to do the candidate selection.⁵⁴ This process can be seen in The Dark Horse when Hicks is nominated not because he is the party's ideal, but rather because he is the least objectionable man. He wins. In The Best Man one is led to believe that Russell is that "best man". Yet he and Cantwell are both objectionable to too many groups. The convention eventually turns to a compromise candidate (we don't know if he wins the election) who may be less of a man but more electable.

Making the decision of who is electable has now shifted in most cases to those who vote in primary elections. While the party can still be an important factor in favoring one candidate over another, many candidates are now succeeding without the party's help. Woodrow

⁵⁴Aaron Wildavsky, "On the Superiority of National Conventions", Review of Politics, 25(1962), pp. 307-19.

Truesmith, Bill McKay, Willie Stark, and Charles Foster Kane are all essentially nonpartisan candidates even when campaigning under a party label. That is, their loyalty is to their own aspirations, their own values, and most importantly, to their own electorates which they have cultivated on their own, often during a primary campaign, e.g. McKay. Nonpartisanship, even among those running under a party label, seems to be a growing force in the New Politics.

The growth of primary elections has posed another problem for political parties. Turnout in primaries is traditionally lower than in general elections, except in some one-party areas where victory in the primary is tantamount to election. This low turnout may allow a candidate with a narrow but dedicated following to win the primary. These dedicated zealots may comprise a narrow majority, or even a minority, of the party's members. However, by turning out in disproportionate numbers they may win the primary for their candidate. Yet, such a candidate might bring overwhelming defeat for the party in the general election because the very qualities that make him attractive to the faithful may alienate much of the remainder of the general electorate.⁵⁵ Wildavsky refers to these individuals as "pur-

⁵⁵Sorauf, Party Politics in America, p. 221.

rists".

Here we begin to see the distinguishing characteristics of the purists: their emphasis on internal criteria for decision, on what they believe "deep down inside"; their rejection of compromise; their lack of orientation toward winning; their stress on the style and purity of decision-- integrity, consistency, adherence to group norms.⁵⁶

The recent nominations of Goldwater and McGovern show the results of purists' efforts of the right and left. The parties were seized by the purists who employed them for their own purposes-- crusades rather than elections.⁵⁷ Yet the movies are rife with these kinds of candidates. In fact, it is a rather common theme that victory ought to be subordinate to one's principles. Grant Matthews in State of the Union gains his initial political popularity among a loyal group of followers by speaking his mind on the issues no matter who he alienates. The party professionals get control of him and convince him that if he wants to win he must modify some of his stands. In the dramatic climax, Matthews' wife forces him to reassess himself. In this reappraisal he finds himself to be a puppet of the "pols" and not his own man. He confesses the betrayal of his own ideals, withdraws from

⁵⁶Aaron Wildavsky, "The Goldwater Phenomenon: Purists, Politicians, and the Two-Party System", Review of Politics, 27(1965), pp. 386-413.

⁵⁷Seymour M. Lipset and Everett C. Ladd, Jr., "The Fabric of Contemporary American Electoral Politics", in Dreyer, Political Opinion and Behavior, pp. 354-60.

the race, and ludicrously vows to attend both party's conventions to press for his principles. Virtue triumphs. Here is the classic purist-- more concerned with principles than with victory and organizational values.

A similar point is made in The Candidate. When we first meet Bill McKay he is an earnest, forthright young man. He is more interested in championing the environmental cause than in gaining office. In fact, he is apolitical and only agrees to run for the Senate after he is assured that he will lose and, thus, will be free to use the campaign as a forum for his ideas. The campaign consultants gradually convince him to modify his stands until he ultimately becomes even more ambiguous than his opponent and wins the election-- but at the price of his integrity. The theme also occurs in The Best Man. William Russell is a man of high principles. These principles prevent him from executing the compromises and stratagems necessary to win his party's nomination at the convention. A colloquy between Russell and ex-President Art Hockstader(a certified old pro) highlights the dilemma.

R.-- And so, one by one, these compromises, these small corruptions destroy character.

H.-- To want power is corruption already. Dear God, you hate yourself for being human.

R.-- No. I only want to be human..and it is not

easy. Once this thing starts, there is no end to it, which is why it should never begin. And if I start... Well, Art, how does it end this sort of thing?⁵⁸

Here, as earlier, most of the Hollywood movies exhibit a strong anti-party bias. Compromise and party activity are viewed as malevolent, perhaps even un-American. Personal principles should be maintained no matter what. Heroism is more palatable to the viewing public than the everyday routine of creating consensus.

Yet, despite some evidence that they are on the decline, no one seriously doubts that political parties perform important functions during campaigns. Most of the activities discussed above, even if overshadowed by the techniques of the New Politics, are still valuable resources for the potential candidate. Finally, even through the anti-party bias of Hollywood, one can discern an important function of the party. It still serves as the principal recruiter of candidates. The party is always on the lookout for individuals with talent, popularity, or any of the qualities that might be converted into electoral victory. Grant Matthews is sought out by Republican leaders because of his attractiveness, his business success, and his popularity acquired in

⁵⁸Cited in Andrew Sarris, Confessions of a Cult-ist (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1970), p. 159.

private life (Time's Man of the Year). When Woodrow Truesmith returns to his hometown of Oakridge, California, as a war hero, the Progressive Party wants to take advantage of the ensuing civic enthusiasm to recruit Woodrow to head their ticket as candidate for Mayor. Willie Stark's popularity in the rural sections of the state is aroused when he predicts the collapse of a school as a result of graft-ridden construction practices. He subsequently argues the legal case on behalf of the parents whose children were killed. As a result of this notoriety, the downstate party machine co-opts Willie into the party and ultimately makes him its candidate.

For better or worse, parties remain an important element in the electoral equation. Hollywood has portrayed many of these functions in its films. Moreover, while partisan activities are not always shown in a particularly favorable light, these films can still be used to introduce a number of the important controversies of this sub-field of the discipline.

HOLLYWOOD AND PRE-CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

One of the fascinating aspects about political campaigns is that no two are exactly alike. Every campaign has its own unique character suited to its own

candidate and set of conditions. No brief essay can possibly encompass all of the factors, tactics, or strategic considerations that can arise in a hypothetical campaign, nor is it possible to discuss all of the examples of American campaigning that are revealed in the eleven films. This section will, however, try to illustrate some of the current scholarly and practical findings about pre-campaign strategy with material drawn from the Hollywood films.

One current controversy is whether or not campaigns really serve to help people make up or change their minds about voting for particular candidates. Survey research data suggest that as many as 75% of the voters decide who they will vote for before the campaign actually begins.⁵⁹ Campaigns would seem to be acting directly upon only a rather small portion of the electorate (ignoring for a moment the reinforcing functions of a campaign). However, even a small proportion of voters can make a difference in a close election.⁶⁰ Another recent study argues that aggregate survey and poll data will often suggest that campaigns cause only small changes in the electorate as a whole. Oberdorfer ar-

⁵⁹Dreyer, Political Opinion and Behavior, p. 156.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 157.

gues, however, that these net changes obscure much greater opinion movement among individual voters. For example, 3% of the voters may have switched from Humphrey to Nixon while another 3% changed their preference from Nixon to Humphrey. If aggregated these data would suggest that there was no apparent change. However, 6% of the voters clearly changed their preferences. Oberdorfer finds that as many as 20% of the voters had switched preferences in just one month during the Nixon-Humphrey election.⁶¹ This suggests a far greater volatility among voters than previously assumed.

In general, the films exhibit examples of campaigns in which the electorate is very open to suggestion. Bill McKay's early campaign polls show him to be supported by less than 35% of the party's voters. Yet he finally wins both the primary and the general election by comfortable margins. The implication is that campaigning (in this instance, a heavily media-oriented campaign) made a tremendous impact on the voting behavior of the electorate. In All the King's Men, Willie Stark is destined to receive only token support in the gubernatorial race until his "I'm a hick, you're a hick!"

⁶¹ Don Oberdorfer, "Political Polling and Electoral Strategy: The 1968 Election", in Dreyer, Political Opinion and Behavior, p. 60.

campaign catches fire. He nearly wins. Campaigning, according to Hollywood, can make a difference.

But candidates have strategic decisions to consider even before they enter the campaign stage. In assessing his political potential, the prospective candidate, or someone else with campaign experience, must make a realistic appraisal of the candidate's personal qualities and resources. Of course, there is no such thing as the ideal candidate; and many with apparently superficial or ordinary qualities have won elections. But personal qualities remain a valuable resource. Boss Jim Conover, in State of the Union, believes Grant Matthews to be excellent Presidential material. Conover notes that Matthews is a self-made man (worked himself up from a newsboy), is a war hero, has worked successfully with labor in his industry, is loved by women for his dashing personality and by men because he owns a ball club. Moreover, he is an amateur at a time when Conover senses a rising sentiment against incumbents. Such resources at least offer the potential for a successful campaign.

In Hail the Conquering Hero, the leaders of the Progressive Party in a small California town believe that only one personal characteristic is necessary for a successful campaign effort. Given the climate of 1944,

their candidate ought to be a war hero and they press returning "hero" Woodrow Truesmith to be their nominee. Bill McKay attracts attention as a potential candidate because of his name (he is the son of an ex-Governor), his youth, his good looks, and his success in obtaining some favorable press coverage for his work on minority and environmental issues.

A potential candidate must also assess his financial support. He must be able to generate some early "seed" money to establish his organization and have a reasonable assurance of a sufficient flow of money to meet all campaign expenses. This is no off-hand decision; the rise in media advertising alone has spiraled the cost of running a campaign skyward.⁶² Theodore White's portrait of a pathetic Hubert Humphrey running out of money in the 1960 West Virginia primary, while John Kennedy jetted home on the family aircraft, brings home the primacy of money.⁶³ Money is, after all, the most convertible and transferable of campaign resources.⁶⁴

⁶² See, for example, Herbert E. Alexander, Money in Politics (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1972); and David W. Adamany, "Financing National Politics", in Ag-ranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, pp. 379-414.

⁶³ Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1960 (New York: Atheneum, 1961), pp. 279-95.

⁶⁴ David Adamany, Campaign Finance in America (North Scituate, MA: Duxbury Press, 1972), pp. 3-4.

Willie Stark comes upon this realization after he loses in his first try for the governorship. He remarks that "he learned how to win". What follows in the film is a montage sequence of checks flowing into the Stark coffers. Money is what it takes to win. A personal fortune becomes an important resource for any potential candidate, especially with the decline of party influence and the rise of candidate-oriented campaigns. Ex-President Hockstader states the problem colorfully in The Best Man.

Politics has changed a lot since my day. The Age of the Great Hicks to which I belong is over. You rich boys have it all sewed up. Hell, you got to be a millionaire to run for President, nowadays, and it's usually your Daddy's million.⁶⁵

These early assessments about potential resources must lead to an educated guess about probable success. Upset victories are always possible, but there is no room for naivete in making the decision to run or sit it out. Curiously, it is a prognosis of sure defeat that convinces Bill McKay to run. He reasons that with victory an unreachable goal, he can use the campaign as an opportunity to mobilize the electorate's awareness about certain important issues.

This pre-announcement period can also be used as

⁶⁵Quoted from the film, The Best Man.

a time for trial balloons. As a non-candidate, the prospective contestant can make some speeches at civic affairs, speak with media representatives, and appear at public functions to test the political waters.⁶⁶ The purpose of Grant Matthews' nationwide speechmaking tour is to determine whether his personality and ideas can catch on with important opinion leaders and with the general public. The success of this trip becomes part of the calculus that convinces him to announce his candidacy.

The announcement of candidacy, itself, can become an important part of the campaign. It is often useful to make this announcement from a location with historic or symbolic importance.⁶⁷ It can be the first substantial "media event" if well-orchestrated. Bill McKay makes his announcement from the cluttered office of his storefront law office. The image immediately projected is of a man who cares about the poor people, minorities, and the oppressed. Grant Matthews' announcement is staged very differently. He declares his candidacy from his home surrounded by his family and friends. This is designed to elicit a favorable res-

⁶⁶Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, p. 290.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 290.

ponse from those who value traditional family virtues-- a constituency that the campaign staff believes can be especially important to a Republican nominee.

This announcement usually offers an opportunity for the candidate to strike a keynote for the campaign in his "Why I am running" address.⁶⁸ Matthews' abortive speech exemplifies this ploy as he finally returns to the controversial themes he had begun with earlier in his speaking tour. This address should showcase the principal themes of the upcoming campaign. These themes should be few in number and simplistic in their appeal. They should tie together and highlight for the voter the principal issues or candidate qualities that will be stressed in the next several weeks, preferably in a slogan.⁶⁹ "Bill McKay--For a Better Way" emphasized the youth and social activism of McKay, especially as contrasted with Crocker Jarman, his principal opponent. In The Dark Horse, "Hicks From the Stix" is meant to symbolize his rural virtues and common sense (a humorous

⁶⁸James Brown and Philip M. Seib, The Art of Politics: Electoral Strategies and Campaign Management (Port Washington, NY: Alfred Publishing Co., 1976), p.44.

⁶⁹See, for example, Harry N. D. Fisher, "How the 'I Dare You!' Candidate Won", in Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, pp. 82-83; Edward A. Bernays, The Engineering of Consent (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1955), p.16; and Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, p. 295.

irony in that he has neither). The most ambitious slogans are those on behalf of Willie Stark. Stark deliberately attempts to stir the native populism of his poor, southern state with such slogans as "The People's Will Should Be the Law of the State" and "My Study Is the Heart of the People".

Themes may also be developed in the candidate's "standard" speeches. Details may of course vary with the interests of the particular constituents involved or with the requirements of the occasion. But it is useful to have a few set theme pieces designed to stir the political passions of the listeners. Themes are especially useful because they are both general and simple (or should be). Willie Stark learns this campaign truism when he asks his friend, Jack Burden, why his reasoned speeches on a "balanced tax program" are falling on deaf ears.

J.-- All right. Look, Willie, you tell 'em too much. Just tell 'em you're going to soak the fat boys and forget the rest of the tax stuff.

W.-- That's what I say.

J.-- But it's the way you say it. Willie, make 'em cry. Make 'em laugh, make 'em mad at you. Stir 'em up and they'll love it and come back for more. But for heaven's sake don't try to improve their minds.⁷⁰

⁷⁰Robert Rossen, Three Screen Plays (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), p. 30.

(Later)

W.-- Do you want to know what my platform is? Here it is. I'm going to soak the fat boys and spread it thin.⁷¹

Still, the candidate must at the same time avoid allowing the monotony and heavy workload of the campaign turn him into an automaton. He must still be able to differentiate the people and places that he confronts daily.⁷² The standard speech can become a liability (especially in the era of television news coverage) if the candidate doesn't occasionally vary his approach. The danger is humorously illustrated in The Candidate when McKay begins to babble hysterically as he transposes various statements of his standard speech into utter nonsense. He has long since forgotten what his speech really says and what his themes really mean.

Another important early consideration is the selection of a campaign manager. A cardinal rule of politics is that a candidate should not be his own campaign manager.⁷³ Running for office and managing a campaign operation are both full-time jobs. The candidate who chooses to try his hand at both is at a disad-

⁷¹Ibid., p. 42.

⁷²Brown, Art of Politics, p. 143.

⁷³This practical rule is discussed in Brown, Art of Politics, p. 55.

vantage. Hollywood candidates do not violate this rule, although it could be argued that Willie Stark and Frank Skeffington take more responsibility for day-to-day campaign activities than Steven Shadegg would recommend.

But out of all the prescriptions for victory offered here there is one I regard as paramount-- the manager must command the campaign effort. Any division of authority between the manager and his assistants will, at some point in the campaign, produce disaster. I argue this not because I think the campaign manager is in every case or in any case more competent than the candidate. The campaign must have unity....The manager can be objective; the candidate cannot completely divorce himself from the electoral stress of being the candidate.⁷⁴

Campaign managers can be recruited from a number of sources.⁷⁵ The most common source is the ranks of trusted friends and business associates, one study indicating that 60% of campaign managers were drawn from close friends.⁷⁶ Charles Foster Kane's campaign is managed by his best friend, Jed Leland (though Leland becomes disillusioned with his friend as a result of the experience). William Russell's manager is an old friend, Dick Jensen, who also happens to be a professor of poli-

⁷⁴Stephen D. Shadegg, How to Win an Election: The Art of Political Victory (New York: Taplinger, 1964), pp. 25-34.

⁷⁵Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, p. 195.

⁷⁶Robert J. Huckshorn and Robert C. Spencer, The Politics of Defeat (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), p. 95.

tical science. As noted above, the candidates themselves may take charge of the campaign as illustrated by Frank Skeffington's "last hurrah". Family or close relatives may also be campaign managers. Joe Cantwell employs his brother who was himself an ex-Senator and former Presidential candidate.

An incumbent may wish to recruit someone out of his administration (a la Nixon--Mitchell) as manager. While it is difficult to determine whether Willie Stark ever has a campaign manager other than himself, Jack Burden, a member of his personal staff, plays a large role in organizing and implementing the effort. Political parties are still capable of providing experienced persons to potential candidates as campaign managers, though the candidate may have to relinquish some of his independence. The Boss in The Great McGinty takes care of all the arrangements for McGinty's mayoral and gubernatorial campaigns. Jim Conover, an old hand at Republican party politics (references are made about him being part of the "old Harding gang"), is brought in to handle Grant Matthews' campaign.

But by far the fastest growing source of campaign managers, especially for the larger constituency offices, are independent professionals and consulting firms. Rosenbloom states that a survey of major cam-

paigned management firms reveals that they served 842% more Congressional races in the period 1964-69 than in 1952-57 and 626% more statewide races over the same period.⁷⁷ As early as 1932 Hollywood took note of the phenomenon of professional managers with its portrayal of Hal Blake, "the man who can sell anything", in The Dark Horse. Blake is not a management firm in the modern, corporate sense of the term, but there are numerous references to his having travelled from one campaign to another. Indeed, the conclusion of the film finds him leaving for Nevada and a new candidate. The firm represented by Lucas Klein in The Candidate is more out of the modern mold as he brings with him an entire phalanx of specialists and workers. The disturbing, but somewhat unrealistic, aspect of Klein's firm is that it replaces the traditional party function of recruiting candidates. In essence, the campaign manager hires the candidate so as to provide a market for his firm's professional services. Fortunately, there appears to be little documentation to support The Candidate's menacing prospect.

Apart from themes and slogans, the orientation of a campaign must be established early. The basic op-

⁷⁷David L. Rosenbloom, The Election Men: Professional Campaign Managers and American Democracy (New York: Quadrangle Books, 1973), p. 51.

tions appear to be three: 1) a party-oriented campaign, 2) a candidate-oriented approach, and 3) an issues orientation. Certainly any campaign can, and should, contain elements of each of these approaches. However, it is usually best to concentrate campaign strategy upon the orientation best-suited to the particular set of resources and environmental factors. For instance, a campaign stressing the candidate's party affiliation would be most appropriate where party registration was advantageous. Dan McGinty's campaigns come closest to the party-orientation model. His appeals are to loyalty to the party (and to the machine). It is made clear that his party (not named in the film, but clearly the Democrats) represents the interest of the less wealthy, working class, and unemployed while the opposition stands for the well-to-do and privileged. Frank Skeffington's campaign is also oriented toward his party affiliation, though the resources of his personality are also an important factor.

Candidate-oriented campaigns are designed to convince the electorate to vote for "the man, not the party" and are often employed when party registrations are unfavorable or when the nominee has certain exceptionally marketable qualities. The sharpest, and funniest, example of such a campaign is found in Hail the

Conquering Hero. Truesmith is chosen as candidate for mayor on one basis only-- he is a "war hero". There are no issues whatsoever to encumber the campaign. (Indeed, what issues could there be in Oakridge?) There is no partisan appeal to be made. He is a Progressive only because they were the first to have the idea of nominating him. Eight years before Eisenhower's first campaign the sublime possibilities of a hero-candidacy are explored.

The choice of Robert Redford to portray Bill McKay is a deliberate coup. The Candidate's campaign is organized entirely around his blue eyes, handsome face, and virile-looking figure. His issue stands are deliberately obfuscated and party appeals are only tangential. He is surely a celebrity personality as demonstrated by the fawning and fainting of female "groupies" old and young. His campaign managers use this candidate image as their primary thrust.

The kind of issue-oriented campaign recently carried on by Barry Goldwater and George McGovern has no corresponding representation in Hollywood. The nearest approximations are the campaigns of Grant Matthews and Willie Stark. Matthews' popularity is somewhat related to his pleas for national unity and world government. Stark's campaign is filled with issue slogans

such as "Free Medicine For All People--Not As A Charity But As A Right". Moreover, he appeals to the rural segment of his state with his "soak the rich" schemes. Still, in both of these campaigns it is the dynamic qualities of the candidates themselves which really serve as the cutting edge of their campaign efforts.

Again, this section cannot hope to offer a complete picture of campaign politics. There has, however, been an attempt to suggest that the films offer a lode of insights and information about pre-campaign strategy.

HOLLYWOOD AND THE MASS MEDIA

Candidates have long employed mass media as part of their campaign strategy. Even in the earliest years of the republic competitors for public office sought the support of newspapers and tabloids. One would suspect that in those early times newspapers could wield a great deal of influence over a public which had few other sources of information about candidates from other communities, counties, or states.

Newspapers are still an important factor in campaigns today. As with all of the mass media it is extremely difficult to determine how much short-term factors can affect public opinion and, thus, voter behavior. Nimmo, for instance, has stressed the "rule of minimal

effects". At best, the media can have some influence upon opinion leaders who may, in turn, influence their peers. But the media's direct effects appear to be negligible.⁷⁸ But there are some studies which dispute the rule of minimal effects as it applies to newspapers. Robinson, for instance, has reported that in the 1960 and 1968 Presidential elections newspaper editorials may have played a critical role.

With other variables controlled, it was estimated that a newspaper's perceived support of one candidate rather than another was associated with a 6 percent edge in vote for the endorsed candidate over his opponent.⁷⁹

Two films illustrate the power of newspapers. D. B. Norton, the villainous tycoon of Meet John Doe, seeks to extend his control over public affairs through the Bulletin. The John Doe character first appears as a creation of a fired reporter who writes an angry letter-to-the-editor attacking the materialism and selfishness in the world and signs the letter: John Doe. When

⁷⁸See, for example, Nimmo, Candidates and Their Images, p. 20; Walter Weiss, "Effects of Mass Media of Communication" in Handbook of Social Psychology, vol. 5, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1969), pp. 77-195; and Otto Larsen, "Social Effects of Mass Communication" in Handbook of Modern Sociology, ed. by Robert Faris (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1964), pp. 349-81.

⁷⁹John P. Robinson, "Perceived Media Bias and the 1968 Vote: Can the Media Affect Behavior After All", Journalism Quarterly, 49 (Summer 1972), p. 244.

the letter strikes a responsive chord in the public, Norton hires a hobo to portray John Doe and has him "write" more letters to Norton's newspaper. The ploy is so successful that a political movement takes hold at the grassroots which Norton later seeks to exploit. That he ultimately fails does not lessen the central theme. The newspaper, in concert with radio, was able to influence the public on political matters to a very large degree.

This is confirmed again in Citizen Kane. Kane uses his newspaper to thrust himself into the political spotlight. He is seen as a publisher who is willing to exploit, distort, even create news events for his own political advantage. From this popular base Kane runs for Governor and is considered a sure winner until a personal indiscretion gives his opponent some moral ammunition.

The second of the major mass media is radio. Often overlooked because of the current fascination with television, radio is important both for its continuing use as a campaign resource and for its historical impact upon voter turnout. When radio experienced its rapid growth in the 1930's it apparently reduced the costs of obtaining political information sufficiently that voter turnout increased sharply. No such increase occurred

with the advent of television.⁸⁰ Again, the rule of minimal effects seems to prevail in studies of radio's direct effects. Hollywood, however, has portrayed radio as an essential part of any political campaign of the 1940's. Grant Matthews in State of the Union plans to announce his candidacy for the Presidency from his home on a national radio hook-up. Moreover, his candidacy developed its early momentum from a series of speaking engagements in cities across the country, many of which were broadcast on local radio. These served to "build" his grassroots support.

Radio is even more important in Meet John Doe. After developing a local constituency with his newspaper, Norton seeks to expand his influence by putting John Doe on a series of nationwide radio programs. From these springs the real John Doe Movement. In response to Wiltoughby's pleas for brotherhood and common humanity, John Doe Clubs are established throughout the country, leading eventually to a national convention at which Norton unsuccessfully tries to steer the delegates into nominating himself for President. Unfortunately, no films really depict radio as it is used today in political campaigns. The extensive use of "drive time" for

⁸⁰ Angus Campbell, "Has Television Reshaped Politics?", Columbia Journalism Review, 1 (1963), p. 13.

political messages is common to most political campaigns.⁸¹ Yet, even in The Candidate (the most recent of the films) this is largely ignored.

The medium which has come under the sharpest criticism has been television. Most of its critics emphasize the medium's alleged ability to manipulate voters into irrational behavior. Principally, television campaigning is attacked for its emphasis on style rather than substance-- on the image of a man rather than on his performance. Journalist Joe McGinniss states the issue powerfully.

The TV candidate, then, is measured not against his predecessors-- not against a standard of performance established by two centuries of democracy-- but against Mike Douglas. How well does he handle himself? Does he mumble, does he make me laugh, does he twitch? Do I feel warm inside? Style becomes substance the medium is the massage and the masseur gets the votes.⁸²

In a less colorful vein, Dreyer comments that television is a short-term force in any election and has considerable potential for eroding long-term bases of voter support(the so-called "normal vote").⁸³

⁸¹Agranoff, Management of Election Campaigns, pp. 391-94.

⁸²Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President 1968 (New York: Pocket Books, 1970), p. 23.

⁸³Edward Dreyer, "Media Use and Electoral Choices: Some Political Consequences of Information Exposure" Public Opinion Quarterly, 35(Winter 1971-72), p. 551.

Of the four post-1950 films, two, A Face in the Crowd and The Candidate, reflect in some depth upon the phenomenon of television in politics. In general, they agree with the thesis that television sells political ideas and political candidates like it sells underarm deodorant. In fact, in The Candidate Howard K. Smith says precisely that. He appears toward the end of the film as we see him delivering an on-the-air commentary about the McKay-Jarman race. His editorial essentially summarizes what has transpired earlier in the film. He notes that McKay began as a fresh candidate with fresh ideas. Now, he laments, McKay is campaigning more on style and clever packaging. The implication is that the demands of television have corrupted the candidates and deceived the public.

The entire public career of Lonesome Rhodes (A Face in the Crowd) is an indictment of the power that television can exercise over the mass mind. Lonesome is no more than a drunken vagrant when we first meet him. Yet, by using his native good humor and personality he parlays himself into a national television program in which his image as the home-spun, fun-loving guy next door is used to sell everything from "Vitajax" to, ultimately, a potential Presidential nominee. Yet his image and the image of Senator Fuller (the erstwhile

nominee) are totally artificial. Lonesome is a malevolent power-seeking egomaniac interested only in what he can gain from his new-found success. But the power of the television camera is capable of projecting his "old-fashioned mixture of honesty and orneryness and independence and meanness and shirt-off-his-back sentimentality" as reality.

Weiss, Nimmo, and others may argue that the effects of television upon electoral behavior, particularly voter change during the campaign period, are minimal.⁸⁴ The Hollywood verdict, however, is for the McGinniss argument in its extreme. Television can create the demand for a product(candidate) and then help to fill it.

Beyond this generalized anti-television bias, the films recognize the political facts of campaign life. Television is a necessary part of any large-scale political campaign. He who scorns the use of the medium does so at his own peril. This is the lesson that Frank Skeffington painfully learns. With the population explosion of the 20th century, constituencies grew rapidly in size. The face-to-face contact used by most candidates became more difficult to establish. Just as the politician could no longer know each of his constitu-

⁸⁴See footnote 78.

ents, his constituents found it exceedingly difficult to know him. First radio and then television served as useful intermediaries in the attempt to maintain the linkage between voter and politician.⁸⁵ Skeffington fails to recognize this. When he sees his opponent's amateurish appearance on TV, he spurns the medium and continues to campaign as he always has. While McCluskey has, at least, made an attempt to present himself to his constituents, Skeffington relies on the old (literally) ward heelers to bridge the gap. It is no longer enough.

The films offer some interesting illustrations of many of the television campaign techniques and principles currently in vogue. For instance, they can highlight the differences between the use of television as "visual radio" and its use as "coming into your home". According to McLuhan, radio is a "hot" medium. That is, it must thrust itself constantly at the listener in order to hold his attention. When television campaign spots seek to dazzle, entertain, pronounce, or throw visual images at the viewer the medium is being hot and thus more like radio.⁸⁶ Jarman and McKay are experts

⁸⁵Anderson, In the Arena, p. 159.

⁸⁶Marshall McLuhan, cited in McGinniss, Selling of the President, pp. 190-96.

at using hot television (though McLuhan argues that this is an inappropriate and ineffective approach to using television). Their spots are extremely slick. The sights and sounds in them are attractive. The candidates themselves, both handsome and articulate, are revealed in a favorable light. The Jarman "family spot" has a natural and spontaneous look to it, thus presenting a favorable image (this is in marked contrast to the hilarious McCluskey spot in The Last Hurrah). McKay is ably portrayed as the youthful activist, strolling among the people in his shirtsleeves.

While these sorts of techniques are the most common in modern campaigns, McLuhan is convinced that television is a "cool" medium and could be used more effectively via that style.⁸⁷ What the viewer craves is not entertainment but participation. Lonesome Rhodes' "Around the Crackerbarrel" program is an excellent example of TV as a cool medium. Rhodes doesn't attack the audience with images. Rather, he asks to come into the viewer's home and "set a spell". The tone is relaxed, open, unrehearsed-- to show his sense of humor, his one-of-the-boys demeanor, his humanity.

Given the quantity of campaign activity geared toward television it has become customary for larger

⁸⁷Op. cit.

campaigns to hire a specialist in media advertising for the campaign team.⁸⁸ (Witness the work of David Garth in the 1977 New York mayoral and New Jersey gubernatorial races.) As portrayed in The Candidate this specialist has the responsibility for producing all of his controlled TV appearances and may even extend to the actual coaching of the candidate for those appearances. For example, the specialist raves about Crocker Jarman's skill before the cameras. Jarman is the only candidate he has ever known who could gaze at a camera straight ahead without looking shifty-eyed. Such a presence, he continues, must grow out of an understanding that television is a very different enterprise that requires special skills and hard work.

There is, of course, no one universally accepted technique among the political television specialists. In fact, in The Candidate several of the more prominent television strategies can be seen. Roger Ailes, famous for his work with Richard Nixon in 1968, believes that the candidate's voice must receive preeminence. The voter's attention must be focused upon the candidate as much as possible. When other elements are introduced into the spot, the viewer may not always make the cor-

⁸⁸Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, pp. 265-69.

rect connection between message and candidate.⁸⁹ Jarman's spots are done very much in the Ailes style. He appears in front of the camera, relaxed, well-tanned, and confident, and speaks to the audience about his campaign themes.

Another approach is the cinema verite style advocated by Charles Guggenheim. His strategy arises from some recent research which indicates that the uncontrolled media are more effective than the controlled media in influencing the public, particularly in the area of issue awareness.⁹⁰ Controlled media messages are those that the candidate can carefully create, usually in a studio, eliminating any unwanted material or occurrences. Uncontrolled media are those over which the candidate has little or no influence. Such things as television news coverage, live events, question-and-answer panels, and debates are examples of uncontrolled media events. The realism and "live" qualities of these events seem to strike many viewers as more credible than the pre-packaged spots and thus more influential. As Daniel Boorstin notes, credibility is now more valuable than truth because it is far simpler for the viewer to

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 268.

⁹⁰DeVries, Ticket-Splitter, pp. 77-78.

assess.⁹¹

The Guggenheim strategy is to make controlled media appear as uncontrolled as possible. Guggenheim would, for instance, often take a TV crew out on the hustings with the candidate shooting footage of him "talking to the people". This film could then be edited into a package putting the candidate in his best light.⁹² This is precisely the strategy pursued by McKay's media specialists. We see camera crews following McKay as he meets workers at a factory, as he tours a Black neighborhood, as he chats informally with young people on a polluted beach. In fact, these staged happenings are called "media events" and are advocated by almost all media experts.⁹³ The footage has the same jerky, spontaneous quality of news film. Yet it is totally controlled. That this is true is illuminated by a scene where the producer shows McKay a disastrous tape of the candidate in a medical clinic being overwhelmed by crying

⁹¹Daniel Boorstin cited in Anderson, In the Arena, p. 25.

⁹²"Political Advertising: Making It Look Like News", Congressional Quarterly, 30 (November 4, 1972), pp. 2900-03.

⁹³See, for example, Joseph Napolitan, The Election Game (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1972), pp. 97-98; Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, pp. 27-28; and Robert MacNeil, The People Machine (New York: Harper & Row, 1968), pp. 184-93.

babies and hostile Black mothers. This film clip will never see the public light of day.

A third approach is championed by Tony Schwartz. More akin to a theme than a technique, Schwartz's style urges the candidate to direct his media effort into an image appeal. He should ignore issue and partisan appeals. Instead, the campaigner should recognize that voters have feelings and are more likely to respond to an appeal to those feelings than to the voter's intellect. The job of the media specialist is, thus, to communicate to the voter those personal qualities of the candidate that are especially attractive.⁹⁴ Image takes precedence over issues. Both Jarman and McKay make use of the Schwartz style. Jarman's commercials emphasize his reliability and his integrity. They show him as a warm, decent family man. They also show him appearing at football games. McKay's ads stress his youth, his activism(not political, but physical). As played by Robert Redford, McKay's handsomeness is accentuated by shots of adoring crowds.

The Schwartz approach assumes that the popular perceptions of a candidate are a function of the images projected by the candidate (or more accurately, his cam-

⁹⁴Tony Schwartz, "The Inside of the Outside" in Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, pp. 344-58.

paigned spots). According to this image, or stimulus, theory, if a candidate's media ads project an image of humility then that is the image the public will perceive.⁹⁵ Another theory, perceptual balance, asserts that voters project their own values onto the candidate.⁹⁶ That is, if a voter values humility highly he will seek to project that image onto at least one of the candidates.

Research by Gordon suggests that "voters prefer candidates they perceive as benevolent(kind, generous, and helpful) and as having a touch of humility".⁹⁷ Values related to a candidate's desire for power or his strength or egotism are viewed negatively. If Gordon is correct, then the media specialist would do well to have his candidate try to project an image with those positive values. In assessing the TV images of Jarman and McKay one would have to say that their images fall somewhere in the middle of the Gordon continuum. Neither man projects much of a benevolent image. At the same time, neither one seems to stress power or reveal

⁹⁵Nimmo, Candidates and Their Images, pp. 82-84.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 84-89.

⁹⁷Leonard V. Gordon, "The Image of Political Candidates: Values and Voter Preference", Journal of Applied Psychology, 56 (1972), pp. 382-87.

a great deal of egotism-- until the end of the campaign when both men begin to reveal their negative sides.

Curiously, when one assesses all of the candidates in the films (including those without the benefit of television campaigns) only two candidates stand out as projecting an image of benevolence. Interestingly enough, the two, John Doe and Woodrow Truesmith, are the most reluctant of the candidates. In fact, the more humility that Truesmith exhibits the more popular he becomes. Of the others, Kane, McGinty, Stark, and Cantwell clearly project images that are negative by Gordon's scale. Frank Skeffington and William Russell seem to project ambiguous images. Some of the public obviously perceives them as benevolent, kind men. Yet their desire for power is evident to other segments of the public.

Finally, can television "create" a viable candidate and then enable him to win an election regardless of his qualifications? Certainly there is ample evidence that voters deem candidate qualities more important than they do issue or party considerations.⁹⁸ As candidate qualities increase in importance, television seems particularly well-suited to promulgating these

⁹⁸Nie, Changing American Voter, pp. 164-73; and Nimmo, Candidates and Their Images, p. 135.

intangible qualities.⁹⁹ Moreover, there is considerable case evidence that candidates who were "unknown" have, through massive media expenditures, eventually won, e.g. John Kennedy in the 1960 primaries, George McGovern in the 1972 primaries, Howard Metzenbaum in the Ohio Senate primary of 1966,¹⁰⁰ perhaps even Jimmy Carter in 1976. Yet, it is unproven that television by itself was sufficient to bring about these victories. There is still much support for the rule of minimal effects. Nevertheless, Hollywood's verdict in The Candidate, A Face in the Crowd, and The Last Hurrah is that television is the great manipulator of public opinion and a force for great anti-democratic potential in American society. At the very least, Hollywood seems to be saying that television offers to change the nature of American campaign politics.

⁹⁹ Stanley Kelley, Jr., "Elections and the Mass Media", Law and Contemporary Problems, 28 (Spring 1962), pp. 309-11; and Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, p. 265.

¹⁰⁰ Agranoff, New Style in Election Campaigns, p. 263.

CHAPTER THREE

AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING

AND THE MOVIES:

A COURSE UTILIZING HOLLYWOOD
FILMS TO TEACH CAMPAIGN POLITICS

INTRODUCTION

The major thrust of this project is to demonstrate that Hollywood films can help students to learn about politics. To this point the principal theme of discussion has been the theoretical aspects of teaching with film. There is a body of research and theory about the teaching-learning process that could justify the use of film in the classroom.¹ In addition, films can, at least in theory, serve as valuable sources of knowledge about politics to the viewer who is willing to look for this kind of information.² The next step is to put the theory to the test.

To this end, "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was offered as an interim term course at Iowa Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant, Iowa in January 1977. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss in some detail how the film-oriented approach was employed to teach campaign politics. Particular stress will be placed on the procedures and strategies used to design, organize, and, finally, implement this course.

¹See the discussion above, pp. 52-65.

²This proposition is discussed at great length in Chapter Two.

THE COLLEGE

One of the basic tenets of this paper is that the success or failure of any teaching method or approach is contingent upon a large number of factors, e.g. class size, physical environment, and student abilities to name but a few.³ Thus any complete discussion of this course must also include information about as many of these environmental factors as possible.

Iowa Wesleyan College is a small, four-year liberal arts college traditionally affiliated with the United Methodist Church. Located in a small town in the southeastern corner of the state, Iowa Wesleyan draws the largest portion of its student body from the rural and small-town areas of Eastern Iowa and Western Illinois. The college offers majors in most of the traditional liberal arts disciplines as well as in a burgeoning nursing program. In recent years declining enrollments, which fell from a high of about 900 students in the late 1960's to a little less than 600 in 1977, had resulted in some very severe financial difficulties.

As one strategy designed to alleviate the deficits, the college embarked upon several programs directed at increasing student enrollment. Normally, such

³See above, pp. 31-41.

matters of administrative policy would be of little concern to the classroom instructor. However, one recruitment strategy was a reduction in admissions standards for incoming freshmen in all but the nursing program. This policy was in effect for the classes of 1979 and 1980. The change was not a dramatic one. Admissions standards at Iowa Wesleyan had never been particularly rigorous. Nevertheless, there was a subjective feeling among many faculty that the classes of 1979 and 1980 were less prepared as a group, especially in basic skills such as writing and reading, than previous classes in recent memory. This is noteworthy because these two classes would probably provide a large portion of the students for "American Political Campaigning and the Movies".

THE INTERIM

The course, "American Political Campaigning and the Movies", was offered during the January 1977 interim at Iowa Wesleyan. The interim is a one-month term of study and is part of a 4-1-4 academic calendar that is now quite popular, especially among smaller private colleges. Some schools choose to offer this term in May as a 4-4-1 arrangement, but the most common setting for the interim is in January. The interim at Iowa Wesleyan is

quite different, both in intent and structure, from the two regular semesters. Because many of the institutional policies regarding the interim affected the planning and teaching of this course, considerable attention will be focused on these special aspects.

1. College policy expressed a clear preference for innovative and non-traditional learning experiences during the interim. While judgements about what is innovative and what is not are largely subjective, this policy was only sporadically enforced. Rarely did more than 50% of the course descriptions for any interim appear to be strikingly innovative or non-traditional. Nevertheless, an institutional climate existed which encouraged faculty to experiment with new approaches.

2. The faculty was expected to offer courses not listed regularly in the college catalog. This policy of offering only "new" courses was in keeping with the theme of the interim as a change of pace. Because "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was not a regular catalog offering, it satisfied the policy. Of course, the fact that a course was not in the catalog did not necessarily make it innovative. Indeed, most of the courses listed for an interim were fairly traditional in their approach, e.g. "Europe in World War II, "Introduction to Biochemistry", or "American Female Poets". For

many faculty members, teaching a course outside of their usual routine was defined as innovation.

3. Interim courses were classified as "general studies". That is, the courses could not require any prerequisites and should be open for enrollment to any student. This meant the coursework had to be such that a student from any grade level and any major should be capable of handling it. Faculty were encouraged to design interdisciplinary courses so as to conform to the spirit of this policy. For this project, however, the "general studies" policy could have created some difficulties in course planning. In this instance, it was conceivable that "American Campaign Politics and the Movies" could have senior political science majors as well as freshmen nursing students. Such examples had occurred in other interim courses. In such a case, the course would probably be a waste for the former or futility for the latter. However, these difficulties were ameliorated in two ways.

First, all political science majors were advised not to take the course. The few majors who expressed some initial interest were urged to take the regular catalog listing, "American Party Politics", during a regular semester. Those who had already taken "American Party Politics" recognized that the interim course re-

peated enough of the same material to reduce its appeal.

Second, all interim courses are elective. Students receive an interim catalog that contains rather detailed course descriptions and requirements. These make it reasonably clear what will be expected of students in each course. Thus, given this process of self-exclusion, one is probably less likely to have either the woefully unprepared or the highly disinterested student enrolling in the course.

4. Class sizes are limited by administrative fiat so as to assure adequate enrollments in all interim courses. The upper limit for most single-instructor courses was 25. While this limit did not guarantee an exact class size, it did provide the likelihood of a moderate-sized class. Such knowledge was very useful in the planning for the course.

5. One could anticipate that most of the students would be freshmen or sophomores. While some proportion would still be upper-classmen, many juniors and seniors do not enroll in interim courses because they are involved in off-campus study or simply do not need the interim credit hours. Students were not required to enroll in the interim. Again, such information proved useful in planning the course.

6. During the interim, students register for

only one course. This arrangement was of particular importance in this instance because of the great scheduling flexibility it allowed. Feature-length films are difficult to integrate into the traditional 50 or 75-minute time blocs common to most courses. The films would have to be edited(probably to their disadvantage), or screened over several class meetings(reducing the dramatic impact), or shown on an extracurricular basis (an imposition upon the students). However, during the interim the student has no other academic responsibilities. Thus, films can be shown in their entirety. Classroom time can easily be adjusted for special activities without any imposition on the students.

FILMS FOR POLITICAL SCIENCE: THE LITERATURE

Before designing "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" a rigorous search of the literature for similar experiments was undertaken. Most of the studies dealing with the uses of film in the college social science classroom are results-oriented. These studies usually report whether or not films had a favorable impact on learning (often supported with little or no empirical data), but they rarely offer any detailed information about course design or course implementation. To this point there are only two prominent stu-

dies dealing with the use of Hollywood feature films to teach American politics at the college level. An article in a recent issue of DEA News suggests that a number of studies and articles will soon be forthcoming.⁴ But as yet there are few guideposts for designing such a course.

Patrick O'Meara discusses the general issue of the use of commercial films to teach political science.⁵ For the most part, the article is written from a speculative and theoretical perspective and deals with such matters as film as a motivator, learning theory, and the impact of film. However, most of these issues have been discussed earlier.⁶ O'Meara offers little specific information or advice about designing a political science course using films. He does, however, offer several general suggestions about using films. The most useful of these will be cited later where appropriate.

Jose Sanchez also reports about efforts to use films to teach American politics. His course at Adelphi

⁴Dean C. Myers, "Filmography", DEA News, no. 15 (Fall 1977), pp. 2-3.

⁵Patrick O'Meara, "The Use of Full-Length Commercial Films in Political Science Undergraduate Education", Teaching Political Science, 3 (January 1976), pp. 215-21.

⁶See the discussion above, especially pp. 52-65.

University did use Hollywood films as a learning resource.⁷ Indeed, the objectives of his course differ only slightly from the objectives of the course described here. Sanchez was concerned principally with increasing the film literacy of his students. That is, his emphasis was upon the study of the film as a political statement. Students were encouraged to extract the major political ideas and meanings from the films. This involved understanding the director's point of view and interpreting the film's political message. All of these objectives were also included in the Iowa Wesleyan course. But a subtle distinction between the two approaches remains. Sanchez appears to place greatest emphasis on the study of films as film. His course is, after all, about the American political film, not about American politics directly. The focus in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was on film as an instrument to stimulate learning about campaign politics. Sanchez's terminal goal seems to be a better awareness of the political content of films. Here the concern is to use film to help students obtain something more-- a better understanding of a substantive area (campaign politics). The films are merely agents in achieving that

⁷ Jose M. Sanchez, "Hollywood Comes to Class: A Course on the American Political Film", Teaching Political Science, 4 (October 1976), pp. 93-99.

end. However, the kind of film literacy encouraged by Sanchez is extremely useful. It makes the films more effective as stimuli for discussions and learning. Some of his ideas for improving film literacy will be noted later. Nevertheless, Sanchez offers few details about the teaching strategies he employed.

There are a few other studies reporting the use of Hollywood films as teaching tools in disciplines closely related to political science. History⁸, sociology⁹, social studies¹⁰, and American studies¹¹ are just a few of the areas in which noteworthy studies have taken place. Again, though, most of the reports merely comment that the films were useful and stimulating or note some favorable comparisons with other teaching approaches. There are very few specific practical sugges-

⁸See, for example, Lawrence L. Murray, "The Feature Film as Historical Document", The Social Studies, 68 (January/February 1977), pp. 10-14; D. J. Wenden, "Films and the Teaching of Modern History", History, 55 (June 1970), pp. 216-19; and Claire Hirschfield, "Teaching History to the Disadvantaged College Student: A History through Film Approach", Film & History, 4 (February 1974), pp. 4-11.

⁹K. G. Collier, "An Experiment in University Teaching", Universities Quarterly, 20 (June 1966), pp. 336-48.

¹⁰O'Connor, Teaching History with Film.

¹¹Peter C. Rollins, "Film and American Studies: Questions, Activities, Guides", American Quarterly, 26 (August 1974), pp. 245-65.

tions or guidelines in the literature to assist the teacher in developing similar courses.

Thus, there were three principal sources for the ideas about teaching strategies, techniques, and planning used in this course. First, some ideas were drawn from the results and interpretations of other research about film-oriented instruction. Second, the instructor had used films as a teaching approach in another course, "The American West and the American Western", that he had taught during the two previous interims. This experience suggested a number of ideas that proved useful in this experiment. Finally, some strategies were developed based upon the principles implied by research in learning theory. Wherever possible, the source of each distinct procedure will be noted.

ESTABLISHING GENERAL GUIDELINES

The first step in designing "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was to establish certain general guidelines. These guidelines were not objectives. Behavioral objectives usually require a rather high degree of specificity. Instead, these guidelines were statements of principle or educational philosophy that could serve as a framework for the more specific details of the course to be developed later.

It was believed, for example, that no matter what teaching methods were finally adopted, the academic standards for the course should be at least as stringent as for any other course offered by the same instructor. There was an obvious danger that students and faculty would perceive the experimental course as a "watered-down" version or as "fun-and-games" time. Great care would have to be exercised to prevent the films from trivializing the subject matter. The project's educational value could only be asserted if substantive learning was taking place. Adequate academic standards would help to uphold the seriousness of purpose demanded by the course.

Another guideline was that a special effort should be made to encourage individual inquiry efforts by the students. This, after all, is a major reason for even exploring film as a teaching-learning resource in the first place. The findings reported earlier suggested that films might prove to be an effective means of encouraging the transition from any interests initiated by the films to substantive learning in the subject area.¹² Means should be found to encourage students to explore their curiosity.

¹²Bruner, Toward a Theory of Instruction; also see the discussion above, pp. 52-65.

In addition, an important guideline for any course in the liberal arts tradition is that there be ample opportunity for oral and written articulation. Knowledge and insight are of little value if the student is unable to effectively express those ideas to himself and to others. Films may provide a stimulus for thought, but the course design should integrate specific exercises and opportunities in such a way as to encourage writing and speaking skills. In this way, the liberal desire for the broadly educated person will more likely be served.

ORGANIZING THE COURSE

Having established general guidelines, the task was now to design a course that implemented those principles. The strategies employed in organizing "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" were not entirely unique. The factor which caused the most significant difference in planning for this course as opposed to others was the use of Hollywood films. Thus, this section emphasizes those areas of course planning upon which films made the greatest impact.

First of all, a decision was made that the course would not follow the traditional building-block

approach used in most courses.¹³ This strategy was adopted for two reasons. 1) It would be difficult to find films whose content could be narrowly defined enough to conform to the limits of a particular instructional unit. Most of the prospective film choices portrayed many aspects of campaign politics. It would be unrealistic to force students to pay attention only to the ideas relevant to their current unit of study. 2) If the films were successful in generating student interest in the subject, an inquiry approach would encourage them to pursue those interests more so than a structured approach. This more informal structure took the form of a topical approach to campaigning.

Thus, this first stage of planning continued with the gathering of various information sources about campaign politics which were then collated and classified under a number of topics. This search relied heav-

¹³The "building block" approach has been defined in many ways. As used here the building-block approach assumes that there is an ordered sequence of items to be learned. For example, a student learns material in stage two because he has been exposed already to the information in stage one. Without that exposure, the material in stage two would be too complex to understand. Thus, stage two "builds" on stage one. Most textbooks acknowledge this practice by introducing terminology in early chapters that is essential to later chapters. Therefore, Chapter 10 of such a hypothetical text becomes difficult to understand without the context provided by the previous nine.

ily on the resources of the Iowa Wesleyan library. A topical bibliography was developed (see Appendix A). The importance of this bibliography was heightened because students would not be required to read a specific textbook. A textbook, with its building-block format, could quickly impose a more formal structure on the class than was intended. Instead, students would be reading from a large number of sources drawn from this bibliography. Each student's reading would depend somewhat on his particular interests. This bibliography is, of course, not comprehensive. But it probably does reflect the kind of materials that are likely to be available in a small college library.

The second step was to prepare a tentative course outline, including a schedule of which topics might be studied. A basic parameter of this course was that the instructor and students could be free to suggest additions or deletions to this schedule, or could suggest that some topics be examined in greater detail. Such flexibility might encourage greater student interest in the course material. Still, some tentative outline was necessary if for no other reason than to provide some criterion for the selection and scheduling of the films.

Selecting the films was the third step. This selection process presented planning problems in at least

three areas.

1. Cost- Unlike most educational films, which are usually available to instructors without cost, commercial feature films can be quite expensive. The latter are usually only obtained through film rental companies whose fees can be quite high depending upon the age and popular demand of a film. Rental fees of \$250 for major releases are not uncommon. A 1972 course at the University of Pennsylvania offered by two history professors, "Film as Social and Intellectual History", employed over 120 feature films. The final cost for this undertaking was more than \$7,000.¹⁴ Departmental monies and outside grants can be pursued. The National Endowment for the Humanities, for one, has occasionally funded film-as-education projects. But as a practical matter, the small liberal arts college is not likely to be a ready source of funds. Thus, costs tend to be an inhibiting factor in the use of Hollywood films for educational purposes. In this instance, it was decided that the students enrolling in the course would be subject to a laboratory fee of \$15-20 (the final amount being dependent on the number of students taking the course). This information was included in the course

¹⁴Samuels, "Film and the Historian", pp. 31-37.

announcement. Because the students were not required to purchase any textbooks (an expense that can easily exceed this modest fee), those who enrolled expressed a willingness to pay the fee. Whether or not the announced cost deterred other students from enrolling, however, cannot be determined.

Some economizing is possible. Older films are generally cheaper than the most recent releases; black-and-white films tend to be less than color; films in multiple release are usually cheaper than films held by a single distributor; films retaining high visibility, especially in the college market; e.g. Citizen Kane, can be expensive as well. Where several distributors handle a given film, prices can vary widely. The Last Hurrah, for instance, can be rented for anywhere from \$18.50 to \$50.

Another cost-saving tactic is video-taping television broadcasts of films. One film used in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was screened in this fashion (Meet John Doe) because of the prohibitive rental fee and the availability of an uncut version broadcast on a local PBS station. But the use of VTR has too many drawbacks to attract serious consideration as a substitute for the films. First, one eliminates most of the supposed advantages of the film as a learn-

ing tool. Television showings of a film are almost always edited-- sometimes quite drastically. Important scenes may be lost in the editing. The technical quality of videotape (especially a third-generation videotape of a televised image of a film) is poor when compared to the film itself. Moreover, students must huddle around a television monitor to watch the replay. The full-screen showing of the movie is far superior in every regard, except cost, to the VTR rendition.¹⁵ Moreover, one cannot expect to tape an entire series of films from television broadcasts. One might never see some desirable films on television; others are shown infrequently. Most stations are reluctant to issue scheduling information more than a few weeks in advance, so listings must be perused weekly and equipment must be accessible on short notice.

Finally, and most importantly, the video-taping of television broadcasts is probably against the law. Public Law 94-553 is an attempt to modernize the Federal copyright laws. A reading of the legislative history seems to state the case quite emphatically. Video-taping for performance, even in a classroom setting, is not exempt from traditional copyright protec-

¹⁵For a more complete critique of film vs. television as an instructional medium see above, pp. 55-57.

tions. The controlling legislation can be found in Section 110 of the new law which stipulates what are not infringements of copyright.

Performance or display of a work by instructors or pupils in the course of face-to-face teaching activities of a non-profit educational institution, in a classroom or similar place devoted to instruction—unless, in the case of a motion picture or other audio-visual work, the performance, or the display of individual images, is given by means of a copy that was not lawfully made under this title, and that the person responsible for the performance knew or had reason to believe was not lawfully made.¹⁶

An important criterion in determining the lawfulness of such a copy is whether it was made in order to avoid paying a royalty.¹⁷ Since this is almost the only reason for preferring a VTR recording to the film itself, then the law would seem to clearly prohibit such activity.

2. Availability- As noted earlier, there are quite a few films which have considerable potential for learning about campaign politics.¹⁸ The decision of which ones to finally select can depend as much upon availability as on cost or suitability. Many distributors require at least three months notice if you desire to sche-

¹⁶U.S. Code Congressional and Administrative News, 94th Congress, 2nd session, vol. 5 (1976), Public Law 94-553, sec. 110.

¹⁷Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 34(September 18, 1976), p. 2942.

¹⁸Several of these films are discussed more extensively in Chapter Two.

dule a film on a specific date, though this requirement can vary. Past experience has shown that some films can be booked as late as two weeks before the play date, but some of the more popular offerings, e.g. Citizen Kane and The Candidate, may have to be booked considerably more than three months in advance. Thus, advance planning is essential to any course using film in order to assure availability of the desired films.

A starting point for almost any film search is Limbacher's Guide to 16mm Feature Films.¹⁹ This volume, available at most libraries, lists nearly all of the feature films currently on the rental market and indicates which distributors handle them. Limbacher does not list prices, however, so one must still peruse several film catalogs to obtain comparative costs.²⁰ Some comparison shopping is possible if one is looking to reduce costs to the absolute minimum. However, past experience suggests that it may not always be the wisest

¹⁹James L. Limbacher, comp., Feature Films on 8mm and 16mm, 5th ed. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1977).

²⁰There is one source that does compare prices-- Kathleen Weaver, comp., Film Programmer's Guide to 16mm Rentals, 2nd ed. (Berkeley: Reel Research, 1975). However, Limbacher is preferred because Weaver's filmography is not as extensive and does not include a number of important distributors. It is, however, a good second choice where Limbacher is unavailable or when film rental catalogs are difficult to obtain.

policy to select the cheapest alternative. Film prints can vary widely in quality. Unfortunately, only trial-and-error can offer the instructor any guidelines in selecting those distributors whose service and prints are consistently satisfactory.

3. Number- An important goal of this project is to use film in such a manner as to spark curiosity-- to arouse the interests of students to learn more about campaign politics. But how many films should be shown? This is a crucial question. It would strain credulity to assume that one film would be sufficient to arouse and sustain this curiosity for four weeks. Yet, some research on curiosity indicates that a novel stimulation can lose its ability to generate curiosity after a certain point-- a kind of law of diminishing returns.²¹ Learning, of course, can continue to take place, but other motivating forces must be introduced to replace the film. Unfortunately, there is no simple formula for determining this point of diminishing returns. Experience with "The American West and the American Western" suggested that interest seemed to wane after about eight or nine films. Post-film discussions failed to break much new ground at that point. Thus, it was de-

²¹Berlyne, "Novelty and Curiosity as Determinants of Exploratory Behavior", p. 74.

cided to use seven or eight films in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies". While this figure was arbitrary, a pattern of two films per week seemed intuitively reasonable. Also, a larger number of films would have raised costs beyond an acceptable limit. The seven films finally chosen (The Dark Horse, The Great McGinty, Meet John Doe, All the King's Men, The Last Hurrah, The Best Man, and The Candidate) were selected on the basis of availability, cost, and compatibility with the tentative topical outline. Some overlap and repetition of subject matter in these films is inevitable, but these seven presented enough variety to merit inclusion.

COURSE OBJECTIVES

With the films now chosen and scheduled into the tentative course outline, the next task was to expand the general course guidelines discussed earlier into a series of more specific objectives. Ideally, such objectives should define the desired end behaviors of students in very specific terms. However, one of the guidelines is that oral and written articulation by the students should be emphasized. Goals such as this are extremely difficult to objectivize. As a result, some degree of ambiguity was unavoidable in developing the

course objectives.

1. Each student shall answer correctly at least 70% of the questions on each of two quizzes. These quizzes shall test the student's knowledge of material covered in lectures, class discussions and assigned readings.

2. Each student shall write short papers (each 4-6 typewritten pages in length) about two issues or controversies in the field of campaign politics. Students may choose their own topics. The objective will be achieved if each of the following criteria are satisfied: a) the opening statement will describe the issue in question and explain why it is important, b) the body of the paper will summarize some of the major findings relevant to the issue and will describe some of the conclusions derived from those findings, c) the final section will include a personal evaluation of the worth of these findings and, also, a tentative personal conclusion regarding the controversy, and d) the entire paper will be written in acceptable grammatical style with proper punctuation and spelling. This last criterion is unquestionably subjective, but the goal here is improvement for each student individually-- thus the need for flexibility.

3. Each student, as part of a small group, will

design a public opinion survey. The successful project will include: a) a working hypothesis capable of eliciting information that would be useful either to a political candidate or to a political scientist interested in understanding political campaigns, b) a questionnaire with a number of valid, reliable questions sufficient to reveal some information useful to the resolution of the working hypothesis, and c) a description of a sampling procedure suitable to the demands of the working hypothesis. Members of the group should be prepared to discuss and defend their survey in class.

4. Each student, as part of a small group, will create one thirty-second commercial and one three-minute commercial for television. These "spots" should be designed to advocate the election of a candidate who can either be an actual political figure or a fictitious character. Students should avail themselves of the college's VTR equipment in producing these commercials. The spots should show evidence of several of the principles of political media advertising revealed in the assigned readings. Members of the group should be prepared to discuss and defend their commercials in class.

5. Each student will, on a daily basis, contribute to class discussions. These discussions will draw heavily on information and ideas derived from assigned

and optional readings, lectures, films, and group projects. For this objective and for objective #6, students should strive for more effective articulation of their ideas.

6. Each student, as part of a panel, will assist in leading class discussion about one of the films. Each student on a panel should be prepared to raise important questions, note discrepancies between film interpretations and material from the readings, analyze some of the significant themes and scenes from the movie, ask discussion-provoking questions of fellow students, and offer personal comments and opinions.

Each of these six objectives was stated clearly for the students in the course syllabus (Appendix B). This syllabus also included an introduction, a brief general statement regarding the purposes of the course, a specific explanation of the grading policy, and suggestions for optional exercises in addition to those planned.

IMPLEMENTING THE FILMS

As stated previously, one rationale for using Hollywood films in an academic setting is that they are interesting and even entertaining. With an appropriate teaching strategy, this generalized interest in the

film might be funneled into a more useful state-- curiosity. Curiosity, because it is self-directed, might lead to more effective learning. This linkage might be represented by the following illustration.

Film(stimulus) → Curiosity → Learning

However, even if this purported linkage were accurate in theory, there would still be two very important obstacles to overcome. First, one would need to present films that, indeed, aroused the students' curiosity. Second, having generated that curiosity, one would need to have teaching strategies available to assist students in converting their curiosity into knowledge and understanding of campaign politics. Aimless, undirected curiosity would be of little educational value.

The problem of eliciting a healthy curiosity was approached from several perspectives. As stated earlier, the great potential advantage that Hollywood film has over educational film is its superior entertainment values.²² The Hollywood film's essential function is to attract the interest and curiosity of the viewer or consumer. However, it would be wrong to assume that all commercial features can interest the

²²See the discussion above, pp. 52-65.

viewer equally well. A poorly-made Hollywood film would certainly not guarantee an arousal of student interest in anything, except perhaps the intermission. Thus, an effort was made to select films that succeeded as entertainment as well as sources of political insight.

The scheduling of the films can also be a factor in increasing their effectiveness. Showing all of the movies within a very short time span, for example, could prove deleterious in two ways. Screening all seven films in a short period of time could turn an entertaining experience into an endurance test. Such constant stimulation would almost surely cross that ephemeral point of diminishing returns. Certainly the uniqueness of the experience would soon wear off. Moreover, the goal is to maintain the students' curiosity throughout the four-week term. Showing the films in one rather concentrated time period might stimulate a great deal of initial curiosity (assuming that the endurance factor can be ignored), but it would not be very likely that this stimulation could maintain activity for the entire interim. In fact, research on the curiosity motive suggests that intermittent novel stimuli may be the most effective way to elicit curiosity.²³ For these reasons

²³DeCecco, Psychology of Learning, p. 148.

the films were scheduled to be shown on a twice weekly basis except for the final week when only one film would be shown.

Some disadvantages may accrue by using some of the films in the early days of the course. Three or four days of readings and lectures are obviously insufficient for preparing students to analyze and synthesize all of the political lore found in these first films. However, even films shown early in the course can have beneficial effects. For example, the films can serve as a common reference point for all students. This can offer even those students with little political science background an opportunity to make contributions in discussions. The level of sophistication in these early discussions will probably not be as high as in the later stages of the course. Thus, there is a kind of educational trade-off. The first films are not as likely to be effective disseminators of information. Given their limited background in the subject at that point, students are going to miss some things. But using films even in the early stages of the course could help to acclimate students to the films as a learning resource. Also, if films can arouse student curiosity then they should be used as soon as possible.

An additional problem was to assure that the

curiosity aroused by the films could be transformed into meaningful learning about campaign politics. A principal means for accomplishing this goal was the post-film discussion. Since an important objective of the course was to encourage students to articulate their thoughts and feelings, discussions seemed an appropriate format. Discussions have long been useful as a teaching strategy even though the method does have certain drawbacks. Some students are by nature reluctant to participate while others tend to monopolize the talking. Student-centered activities such as discussions can easily wander from the important issues and bog down in more trivial matters. By accentuating the importance of discussions to the course objectives it was hoped that these drawbacks would be mitigated. It was stressed repeatedly in the syllabus and in class that the panels and daily discussions were important in the evaluation process. There is the distinct possibility that the sort of stimulus provided by a grade incentive and the sort provided by the films are incompatible. Using both stimuli simultaneously may inhibit the curiosity resulting from the film viewings. Curiosity is, after all, generally considered to be a positive stimulus while grades are sometimes though to be negative. In other words, some students will be motivated to avoid F's, not

achieve A's. Nevertheless, past teaching experience suggested that the additional incentive could prove useful in maintaining the quantity and quality of student participation.

Despite the earlier assertion that film literacy is at its peak during the college age years,²⁴ Sanchez notes that this literacy is not equally distributed.²⁵ Some students seem quite apt at grasping the themes and concepts, both subtle and overt, portrayed in the films. Others have difficulty in grasping even the most rudimentary of filmic ideas.

Several tools were employed to help increase the students' film literacy. An obvious problem for some students was that they had difficulty in viewing the films with an eye toward analysis rather than merely entertainment. For the first few films a study guide was used. These study guides were designed to aid students in looking for the important political ideas expressed in the films and also to offer some suggestions of potential linkages between the films and the more traditional sources of political knowledge. Figure 1 shows the study guide for the first film, Meet John Doe. The

²⁴Harrington, cited in Rollins, "Film and American Studies", p. 245.

²⁵Sanchez, "Hollywood Comes to Class", p. 94.

Figure 1

STUDY GUIDE FOR MEET JOHN DOE

1. Does the John Doe character give you any ideas about how to "create a public figure?"
2. What are Long John Willoughby's character traits when we first meet him? What makes him the ideal John Doe?
3. What seems to motivate most of the individuals in this film (especially when we first encounter them)?
4. Who is D. B. Norton? What does he represent? Is he a stereotype or do you think he represents some elements of reality?
5. What is the Colonel's philosophy? Does he represent American political culture?
6. What is the philosophy noted in John Doe's first speech? Did you find it appealing? Why or why not?
7. How are politicians portrayed in this film? Do you think the portrayal is accurate?
8. Where do the John Doe Clubs get their start? Is there any significance in this? (HINT: Elazar may be of some relevance here.)
9. Does American society always require a great or good man to lead it? Are the masses capable of effectively governing themselves? (The John Doe Convention may be of particular interest here.)
10. What techniques were used to spread the John Doe Movement? Could these techniques be successful in a modern political campaign?
11. Is it possible for a John Doe Party to be successful in this country? Can any third party expect the success spoken of in this film?
12. Is there any latent violence in "John Doe" or any of the other "ordinary" people portrayed in this film? How do they resolve personal and organizational conflicts?

Figure 1(cont.)

STUDY GUIDE FOR MEET JOHN DOE

13. Who is present at the dinner meeting at Norton's? Is there any significance in this? Is government viewed as little more than a grand conspiracy?
14. Are there any contradictions in Cannell's drunken speech to John Doe? Are any of his thoughts revealing about our national character?
15. What is the difference between John Doe and D. B. Norton? In what ways are they very much alike?
16. Does anything bother you about the John Doe Movement? Do you really think it would be a beneficial thing for our society?
17. What role do the mass media play in the rise of the John Doe Movement? Would the Movement have ever happened without the newspapers? without the radio?
18. Are there any modern parallels to the John Doe Movement?

guide was distributed about fifteen minutes before the film was screened, allowing the students to familiarize themselves with the questions posed by the guide. Occasionally, the instructor would also interject a brief (not more than five minutes) introduction to the film. This talk was limited to placing the film in its proper historical setting. Personalities and events referred to in movies made thirty years ago may be unknown to the current generation. An introduction made the students aware of some of these items. The purpose of the guides was merely to improve the students' film literacy and accustom them to asking provocative questions. As soon as the students became able to generate their own insights, opinions, and discussion questions the study guides were no longer used. They were eliminated after the third film.²⁶

Another helpful technique in improving film literacy was what Richard Lacey calls the "sight-sound skim". At the conclusion of the film each student was asked to express what he heard, or saw, or felt during the movie.²⁷ Whenever possible, at least at this "skimming" stage,

²⁶ Samples of each of the film guides used in the course are included in Appendix C.

²⁷ Richard Lacey, cited in O'Connor, Teaching History with Film, pp. 44-45.

statements should be brief. These brief statements, or images, can be recorded on a blackboard. When students have exhausted the skimming stages, discussion could proceed, perhaps with an attempt to explain contrary images or synthesize several images into a coherent theme. Naturally, some of the energy spent on this activity could be characterized as non-germane to political education, but there are still two advantages. Every student is compelled to participate and the film and resultant images become a shared experience for all of the students. Discussions are, thus, less likely to drift into areas where only a few students are interested or knowledgeable. The "sight-sound skim" was formally used only for the first two or three films, although students were then encouraged to use the technique on their own to stimulate their personal thinking.

A third technique of directing curiosity into a productive search for political knowledge was the student-led panel discussion. As noted earlier, three or four students volunteered as leaders for the discussions following each film. It would be their responsibility to generate useful questions, insights, or ideas, and to involve their classmates in this communal thinking-out-loud process. There is a tendency for teacher-centered discussions to become little more than lectures

in disguise. The teacher wants certain points to be made, hence he will interject himself into the process continually to assure that material "X" is covered and understood. This may be an important goal at times, but it does little to further the ends of self-directed learning and discovery. Here, the concern was not to have the discussion proceed along a particular path, but rather it was to make sure that it was travelling in some useful direction. Student interest, so long as it was germane to the goals of the course, was encouraged. Frankly, it was still necessary for the instructor to interject comments from time to time. Conversations did occasionally become mired in triviality. But whenever possible the panel format was intended to allow the students to control at least the direction of the discussions. With students thus having a large voice in determining which substantive areas they wished to explore, the instructor's function was to serve as a reference person directing students toward the sources useful to a resolution of their questions.

Every opportunity to use the films and the subsequent discussions as initiating points for additional study was explored. Discussions would often reach a point where students showed a considerable interest in a particular topic or question. Whenever this occurred

the instructor would suggest a reading assignment to enable the students to continue the discussion on a more informed basis the next day. The students quite often accepted this challenge. In those instances, assignments were made from the master bibliography (each had a copy) of materials on library reserve. This chain of events happened often enough that the tentative schedule was rearranged considerably during the course. Most of the topics originally planned were eventually covered, but their order of presentation was altered quite a bit.

In addition, it was made clear to everyone that the subjects for the inquiry papers could be derived from the films as well as from the usual sources. In fact, it was hoped that the films would have a great deal of impact upon this sort of discovery learning. It is, however, rather difficult to determine how many inquiry papers were generated from ideas stimulated by the films. In numerous cases the papers concerned matters introduced in several modes: lectures, discussions, class activities, and readings. Each student was asked where the idea for his paper originated. While this measure is rather crude, indications are that over half of the papers could trace their origins to ideas presented by the films.

THE INQUIRY PROCESS AT WORK

The following is offered as one illustration of how this inquiry, or discovery, process could develop from the usage of the Hollywood films.²⁸ After the showing of The Candidate (probably the most popular of the seven films used) one student immediately commented that this was her favorite film because it starred Robert Redford. She could "watch him all day". The comment was made in mock seriousness, but another student quickly retorted that Redford was, in fact, all wrong for the role. He was "just too young, too handsome, too virile-- he didn't look like any candidates that I know of". In short, the film was completely unrealistic for him. At this point the discussion was extremely frivolous, bordering on the high-schoolish "I liked the film because..." syndrome. But without any instructor direction or intervention, the discussion gradually became more germane.

A debate developed as to whether the Redford figure was a valid representation of a political candidate. At first, the discussion was conducted along generalities, one segment of the class claiming "He is", the other side equally adamant in their belief that "He is not", but each side unable to state reasonable argu-

²⁸See footnote 58, Chapter One.

ments to support their views. One student finally cited some historical examples of so-called "pretty boy" candidates-- the Kennedys, Jim Leach (a local Iowa Congressional candidate), Jerry Brown. After some additional discussion several persons in the class suggested that this whole area of candidate qualities and qualifications be the subject of the next day's assignment. The instructor then offered a reading list that would provide some interesting information and insight into this question. The next day the discussion continued, but now with a far greater depth of analysis as students were able to augment their views with material drawn from the readings. Indeed, the readings themselves became the subject of additional debate as students had different views of how this material should be interpreted.

In addition, the person who made the original comment about Robert Redford's handsomeness now asked to do an inquiry paper on the importance of physical attractiveness to a political candidate.

This example of the process at work is not meant to imply that the usage of Hollywood films is without serious difficulties or that all of the discussions developed in this fashion. In fact, the entire process is fraught with very real problems, many of which have been already referred to. The films themselves contain much

that could fairly be labeled as political misinformation and much that simply isn't pertinent. The films are, after all, produced with an eye toward entertainment, not education. One must be prepared for the possibility that a particular film will not elicit the desired responses. For instance, after the first film, Meet John Doe, the discussion dwelled far too much on trivialities and the most obvious of themes. Even with the use of the study guide, there was very little originality of thought or depth of analysis. However, because this was the first film, this result was not totally unexpected. Film literacy increased markedly with subsequent films and the discussions became progressively more lively, thought-provoking, and informative.

The management of discussions such as these can also pose a perplexing problem. Placing students in charge of their own learning will always be risky. The instructor must always walk a tightrope of whether to interpose himself into the student-directed discussions. At times the direction of a conversation is so patently valueless that teacher direction is necessary, and usually welcomed by the students. Yet, every time the teacher asserts himself in such situations he risks allowing students to withdraw from their responsibilities. "If the professor will tell us what the truth is, then

why waste time talking about it" is a common response of students. However, this a problem familiar to any discussion-type format. It is not unique to the process of learning from films.

CHAPTER FOUR:
EVALUATING THE IMPACT OF
"AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING
AND THE MOVIES"

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM OF EVALUATION

The most serious problem in the realm of educational research is the problem of evaluation. This project is not exempt from this concern. As indicated earlier the teaching-learning process is highly resistant to any sort of causal analysis. So many variables are a part of this process that it is very difficult to isolate any one variable and determine whether or not by itself it has an impact upon learning.¹

One of the most common and traditional measures of evaluation has been grades. They do, after all, indicate the level of student achievement in a course. Ideally, grades summarize a great number of student behaviors. Comparison of grades and Grade Point Averages (GPA's) is, however, rife with problems. Marshall, for instance, notes that grades, and the evaluation process from which they are derived, vary from course to course and instructor to instructor.² Evans summarizes the research on grading by asserting that grades have no common meaning nor do they really represent any kind of

¹See the extensive discussion of the teaching-learning paradox and the multivariate nature of classroom learning above, Chapter One.

²M. S. Marshall, "This Thing Called Evaluation", Educational Forum, 22 (1958), pp. 41-53.

standardized measurement.³

Even where the instructor is a constant, grades are of limited comparative meaning. Every course brings with it its own set of objectives and performance criteria.⁴ Moreover, even the most "objective" of grading standards still involves a degree of subjective judgment. Several studies point out that there is a rather low correlation between the first and second evaluations of an essay by the same instructor.⁵ Thus, even in the same class with the same instructor, two B's, while symbolically equivalent, may represent different evaluations. Student X's grade of B may reflect good scores on cognitive achievement tests, but little classroom interaction. Student Y's grade of B may represent his ability to articulate his ideas well, but his test scores

³Francis B. Evans, "What Research Says About Grading" in Degrading the Grading Myths: A Primer of Alternatives to Grades and Marks, ed. by Sidney Simon and James Bellanca (Washington: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1976), pp. 30-50.

⁴R. M. W. Travers and N. E. Grenlund, "The Meaning of Marks", Journal of Higher Education, 31 (1961), pp. 378-82.

⁵See, for example, W. C. Bells, "Reliability of Repeated Grading of Essay Type Examinations", Journal of Educational Psychology, 21 (1930), pp. 48-52; and G. H. Bracht, "The Comparative Values of Objective and Essay Testing in Undergraduate Education" in Educational and Psychological Measurement and Evaluation, ed. by J. C. Stanley and K. D. Hopkins (Engelwood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), p. 203.

may be lower than those of X.

Nevertheless, grades are used for purposes of comparison despite these questions about reliability and validity.⁶ Thus, it may be of some interest to compare the grade achievements in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" with other courses offered by the same instructor. The GPA for students in this experimental film-oriented course was 2.69 (based on a four-point scale). The mean student GPA for all previous courses offered by the instructor was 3.01. Thus, the performance of the experimental group, at least when measured by grades, was somewhat less than hoped for. However, this film course was considered to be introductory in nature. The GPA for all introductory courses taught by the instructor is 2.64--almost identical with the experimental group. Thus, by examining grades alone it is difficult to see any difference between the film-oriented and traditional approaches.

More varied tools of evaluation are required. Bloom, for example, notes that learning is of two domains-- cognitive and affective. The cognitive domain

⁶N. M. Chansky, "A Note on the Grade Point Average in Research", Educational and Psychological Measurement, 24 (1964), pp. 95-99; and A. F. Etaugh, "Reliability of College Grades and GPA's", Educational and Psychological Measurement, 32 (1972), pp. 1045-50.

consists of knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation. The affective domain comprises such areas as responsiveness and curiosity.⁷ Therefore, it becomes important to use a number of instruments to truly evaluate the effectiveness and impact of a course.

Because of the many problems posed in evaluating subjective values, many researchers avoid the issue altogether. However, as noted earlier, "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was designed with a number of objectives of which several are clearly subjective in nature.⁸ Are students better able to express themselves at the end of the course? Are they better able to analyze issues? Can they relate abstract representations from the films to more concrete principles? Are their attitudes toward politics and the discipline of political science altered? Has a curiosity for learning been aroused?

Because these questions express many of the goals for the course, one simply cannot avoid an attempt

⁷A concise version of Bloom's taxonomy appears in Benjamin S. Bloom, J. Thomas Hastings, and George F. Madaus, Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation of Student Learning (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), pp. 271-77.

⁸The course objectives are discussed above, pp. 158-61.

at evaluating possible changes in these areas. Nor should one simply be satisfied with measuring that which can easily be measured by test scores merely because those scores are amenable to statistical analysis. The techniques used here to measure these subjective values may have serious deficiencies as reliable analytical tools, but the effort to at least begin an assessment of the impact of "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" upon these values is crucial.

RESEARCH DESIGN

There are a number of widely-accepted experimental designs for empirical research in education.⁹ Of these, the most commonly used is the Pretest-Posttest Control Group Design.¹⁰ Briefly, the procedure for this design specifies that two groups must be randomly selected. For each group a measurement is taken so as to provide a baseline for subsequent comparisons. An instrument(independent variable X) is applied to the test group but not to the control group. The two are measur-

⁹The best discussion of educational research designs is found in Donald T. Campbell and Julian C. Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs for Research on Teaching" in Handbook of Research on Teaching, ed. by N. L. Gage (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963), pp. 171-246.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 184

ed again and the results compared.¹¹

Unfortunately, a reliable research design such as this was unattainable here. Ironically, many of the very factors that made the project feasible from a practical standpoint are factors which compromise the research design. It was noted earlier that Iowa Wesleyan's interim term was a conducive environment for educational innovation.¹² The interim, for example, allowed for the great flexibility in time scheduling required by this project. But while the interim benefited the experiment in many ways, it also erected a number of very serious obstacles to a reliable experimental design.

1. Test group and control group are not subject to the same treatment.-- To satisfy the requirements for a reliable design each of the two groups must receive identical treatment save for the independent variable. In this way, any noteworthy difference in performances can be attributed to X. However, because Iowa Wesleyan policy stated that interim offerings should be "new" courses not in the catalog, the possibility of establishing a reliable control group quickly evaporated. In order to generate some comparisons a quasi-control group

¹¹Ibid., p. 184.

¹²See above, pp. 139-43.

was selected-- in this instance, the students enrolled in "American Party Politics" taught at Iowa Wesleyan in the fall of 1976.¹³ It was the catalog offering most similar in content to "American Political Campaigning and the Movies". However, the two classes did not deal with identical material. "American Party Politics" was an upper-level course. "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was designed as an introductory offering. This, again, was a college policy regarding interim courses. Because the students in each group dealt with somewhat different material, the possibility of using standardized test scores as a measurement tool was virtually eliminated.

2. Test group and control group are not random samples.-- To satisfy a reliable design each of the experimental groups must be randomly selected. The circumstances of this case allowed for no randomness. Students in both groups engaged in a high degree of self-inclusion beyond the researcher's capacity to control. As a result, the two groups are more nearly populations than samples.

"American Political Campaigning and the Movies"

¹³The meaning and importance of a quasi-experimental group will be explained later in this Chapter; see below,

was announced in the interim catalog as a course using films as a teaching-learning resource. Thus, students who elected to take the course may have held predispositions that would make them more likely to be motivated to learn from films. Those for whom films held no attraction would not be as likely to enroll. Thus, the students in the test group are not at all a representative or random sampling.

"American Party Politics" was also an elective, but because of the limited number of course offerings in the department it was a virtual requirement for political science majors. Also, its upper-level classification may well have deterred inexperienced non-majors from enrolling. A few of the more obvious differences between the two groups are highlighted in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Population Differences between Groups

	<u>Film Group</u> (N=12)	<u>Non-film Group</u> (N=13)
Political science majors	0%	54%
Previous course with same instructor	58%	92%
Two or more previous political science courses	42%	69%

Each of the three factors highlighted in Table 1 says something important about the lack of randomness and equivalence in the two groups. For instance, one can reasonably assume that political science majors are likely to register a greater interest in matters of politics than are non-political science majors. Thus, the high proportion of political science majors in the non-film group may enter the experiment with a higher level of motivation toward the subject than the members of the film group. The non-film group also has a somewhat higher level of previous political science exposure than does the film group. Previous classroom experience in political science may lead to a greater ability to assimilate material of the discipline. Finally the non-film group shows a higher level of previous exposure to the instructor. This, too, may affect the levels of final performance. Students accustomed to a particular pedagogical style may perform better than those for whom that style is new. Thus, the two groups are certainly not randomly selected, nor are they probably equivalent.

3. The size of the populations.-- Most of the statistical methods of analysis available in educational research require relatively large samples or populations. In this experiment, the two groups were both rather small (12 in the film group, 13 in the non-film group).

Administrative policy at Iowa Wesleyan decreed that enrollments in interim courses could not exceed twenty-five students.

These small populations also prohibit use of the "split-half technique". This procedure is commonly used in education research when an experimenter has no control group. By randomly dividing the test population into two groups of equal size, one can, to an extent, bypass some of the problems that arise when an equivalent control group is difficult to establish. However, halving a test group of twelve subjects cannot be justified.

4. The interim as an intervening variable.-- The character of the interim itself makes it difficult to evaluate the effects of using film or, for that matter, any other innovative teaching techniques employed during the interim. Students may well have been socialized to expect innovation during Iowa Wesleyan's interim. The college catalog, the special bulletin describing specific interim courses, and even school tradition all stresses the uniqueness of the interim as something "different". Any resultant changes in student performance may just as easily be attributable to the students' anticipation of something different as to independent variable X.

5. Time as an intervening variable.-- The contact periods used in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" varied somewhat from day-to-day but were generally three to four hours long. This broad flexibility in scheduling was a crucial factor in allowing the use of full-length feature films as a classroom resource. But daily class sessions of at least three hours may be a fundamentally different environment than the more familiar thrice-weekly one hour class periods employed in the non-film group. Moreover, students take only one course during the interim. This intensive immersion into one course for a four-week period may generate different learning processes than those found in the more traditional fourteen-week semester. Either of these factors could affect student performance.

6. Other intervening variables.-- There are many other potential intervening variables in learning research. It is really beyond the scope of this paper to itemize them all. However, a few of these factors are particularly relevant to this experiment. Ideally, the instructor is a constant for both groups. Instructor variance can thus be controlled. Yet, the possibility of instructor bias cannot be eliminated. The instructor, out of a desire to see the experiment succeed, may unintentionally alter his teaching style considerably.

For example, he might unknowingly teach in the film group class with greater enthusiasm; or he might impart greater effort to this teaching there. Either of these factors could perceptibly affect student performance independent of X.

The two courses were taught in different physical surroundings. The non-film group met in a "typical" classroom replete with desks, chalkboards, noisy halls, and other characteristics of that environment. The film group met in a carpeted, sound-proof room with comfortable furniture (no desks) and good lighting. The process of physical change may in and of itself alter behavior.

Finally, the effects of the experimental experience itself are unknown. Students in the film group recognized the experimental nature of the course when the pretest questionnaires were first distributed. It is conceivable that the Hawthorne effect, whereby subjects perform differently because special attention is being paid to them, came into play. Their behavior may conform to what they perceive to be the instructor's desired ends. Specifically, their responses to the pretest and posttest questionnaires may be affected in this way.

7. Film can't be isolated as independent variable.-- In a reliable research design there must be a

clearly identifiable independent variable(or X). This is not the case in this experiment. Both groups were exposed to a number of teaching techniques. Some non-traditional methods were used with the non-film group, e.g. computer exercises and political cartoons. Some other non-traditional methods were employed in the film group, e.g. video-tape exercises, group work, and independent study. Given this set of circumstances it becomes difficult to isolate the films as the independent variable. All other things, as the caveat goes, are not equal.

Of course, this recalls one of the central themes of this project. The project does not contend that film is a more effective teaching technique than any other. Such a proposition has been carefully debunked by a number of reputable sources.¹⁴ It is proposed that film, either alone or in conjunction with other methods, can be used to effectively teach about politics. Therefore, the inability to isolate film as an independent variable, while unfortunate, is not as devastating to the experimental design as was at first thought.

¹⁴See, for example, Dubin and Taveggia, The Teaching-Learning Paradox; and McKeachie, "Research in Teaching".

QUASI-EXPERIMENTAL DESIGNS

This experiment obviously cannot meet the stringent criteria demanded of a reliable research design. However, an influential work by Campbell and Stanley offers hope of still generating some useful data.¹⁵ They suggest the adoption of quasi-experimental designs-- research designs which are less rigorous than experimental designs, but which can still assist the researcher in evaluating his results. The underlying philosophy is that if one cannot control all conditions, then it is still better to try to control some of those conditions. The most relevant of these quasi-experimental designs suggested by Campbell and Stanley is the Nonequivalent Control Group Design.

One of the most widespread experimental designs in educational research involves an experimental group and a control group both given a pretest and a post-test, but in which the control group and the experimental group do not have pre-experimental sampling equivalence. Rather, the groups constitute naturally assembled collectives such as classrooms, as similar as availability admits but yet not so similar that one can dispense with the pretest.¹⁶

The Nonequivalent Control Group Design is not without its problems, but the addition of even an unmatched or nonequivalent control group reduces the level

¹⁵Campbell and Stanley, "Experimental and Quasi-Experimental Designs".

¹⁶Ibid., 217.

of equivocation one is left with when using such primitive designs as the One-Shot Case Study and One-Group Pretest-Posttest design.¹⁷

Unfortunately, even this quasi-experimental design cannot be attained in the ideal in this project. As discussed earlier, the two groups are not being taught the same material. The film group is not subject to the effects of a specific independent variable. Other potential intervening variables are not controlled. Each of these items adds equivocation to the Nonequivalent Control Group design. These factors could cause one to seriously question any of the results achieved by means of this design.

Still, given the practical limitations established in this project, the design is the best that can be done. Whatever its weaknesses, the design employed here is still an improvement over no research design at all. Even though reliability cannot be attained, any data resulting from the design might still be useful in suggesting patterns of behavior or hypotheses for future research.

In accord with this design model, pretest questionnaires were distributed to each group on the first

¹⁷Ibid., pp. 217-18.

class day. The posttest questionnaires were administered at the final class meetings. Samples of each questionnaire are included as Appendices D and E. The empirical data gathered through the use of the Nonequivalent Control Group Design will be compared in the next several sections of this chapter.

INTEREST IN POLITICAL SCIENCE

One of the issues of interest in this project is the level of student curiosity, particularly toward learning about politics. Unfortunately, this is not a factor that can easily or directly be measured. Berlyne, Montgomery and others who have expounded the existence of a curiosity drive have had difficulty in deriving a reliable direct measurement.¹⁸ The first two questions of Section Two of the questionnaire attempt to generate such an indirect measure.

Question 1- Would you like to take another political science course in the future?

Question 2- Do you plan to take any more political science courses at IWC?

Responses to these questions could be either YES, NO, or NOT SURE. The responses were then appropriately weighted (yes=2, not sure=1, no=0) for comparative purposes.

¹⁸See, for example, Montgomery, "The Role of the Exploratory Drive". Further references can be found at footnote 46 of Chapter One.

The implicit hypothesis underlying this measure was that if students, particularly those in the film group, showed marked changes in their willingness to be further exposed to political science, then this might suggest that some useful curiosity had been aroused.

Of the twelve subjects in the film group, nine (or 75%) showed no difference at all in their level of interest in political science. Two students indicated an increased interest in political science from the pre-test to the posttest. One student indicated a decreased level of interest over this time period. Results were very similar for the non-film group as well. Eleven of the thirteen subjects (or 85%) in this group showed no difference in their interest level. The two remaining students each revealed an increased interest in political science, though the increases were rather small.

These results suggest that neither group experienced much change in their attitudes toward the discipline. One would have expected such a result for the non-film group. A majority of these students were political science majors. One could reasonably assume that these majors would have a fairly high interest in political science that would likely not be affected dramatically by any one particular course. Also, as majors it is likely that they would be required to take addi-

tional political science courses in the future. This nullifies much of the value of Question 2. Thus, one could anticipate that the non-film group would show little change in their level of political science interest.

However, while the results for the non-film group were not surprising, the results from the film group were rather disappointing. "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was an elective course for each student. Moreover, there were no political science majors in this course. Indeed, for 58% of these students it was only their first or second exposure to political science at the college level. Thus, one could anticipate a greater potential for positive change in the film group. The data suggests that this was not the case. There are numerous possible explanations for the lack of noteworthy change. For example, two of the students were seniors. It would be highly unlikely for them to have additional political science courses in their future plans. Moreover, some of the students were enrolled in academic programs that allowed for very few "free" electives to be used for political science courses. Nevertheless, one had hoped to find an increased curiosity level with this measurement instrument. It simply is not there. However, there seemed to be no real decrease in curiosity levels either.

POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Most introductory-level courses in American politics pursue the obvious goal of developing cognitive knowledge and understanding about politics. An additional priority is often to encourage the awareness of and commitment to citizenship responsibilities. While definitions of this function vary, a common element is that political science courses should serve as agents in socializing students to the responsibilities of active and intelligent participation in the democratic process. This goal, however, does not have universal acceptance within the discipline.

Yet, curiously, studies repeatedly indicate that political science courses do very little to "politicize" students. In this aim they seem singularly unsuccessful. Somit et.al. suggest that there is no significant effect by introductory American government courses upon either 1)attitudes toward politicians, 2)general interest in political affairs, or 3)attitudes toward personal participation.¹⁹ A second study by Somit's group notes that even participation-oriented political science courses do not seem to have greatly stimulated an increase in stu-

¹⁹Albert Somit, Rita W. Nealon, and Walter H. Wilke, "Evaluating the Effects of Social Science Instruction", Journal of Higher Education, 26(June 1955), pp. 319-22.

dent participation.²⁰ Garrison finds that political science courses tend to reinforce the political socialization of politically active students. However, casually involved or apathetic students may actually show a decrease in attitudes toward political activity after the course.²¹ A study by Jaros and Darcy states these findings even more strongly.

One is strongly tempted to entertain the hypothesis that any effects of college education in increasing conventional participation are not dependent upon formal instruction with political content. Indeed, one might argue the counter-proposition that knowledge of the political process is just as likely to make students more cynical and, while perhaps increasing a tendency towards change-oriented political activism, if anything decreases motivation toward conventional democratic participation. In any event, there is apparently nothing inherently productive of conventional democratic participation in the receipt of political science instruction in the U. S. today.²²

Perhaps a course utilizing a number of student-oriented activities, such as films, can be more effective

²⁰Albert Somit et. al., "The Effect of the Introductory Political Science Course on Student Attitudes toward Personal Political Participation", American Political Science Review, 52 (December 1958), pp. 1129-32.

²¹Charles L. Garrison, "Political Involvement and Political Science: A Note on the Basic Course as an Agent of Socialization", Social Science Quarterly, 49 (September 1968), pp. 305-14.

²²Dean Jaros and R. Darcy, "The Elusive Impact of Political Science: More Negative Findings", Experimental Study of Politics, 2 (no date), pp. 20-21.

in promoting favorable attitudes toward political participation than a course utilizing more traditional methods.

To test this proposition the remaining five questions from Section Two (Questions #3-8 inclusive) were examined. Each of these questions asked the student to respond to a hypothetical situation about his political activity and ranged from those requiring low levels of involvement to those requiring a rather high commitment to political activity. Students could respond to each of these questions along a five-point Likert-type scale of alternatives ranging from DEFINITELY YES to DEFINITELY NO.

Question 3- Would you vote in an election for President of the United States?

Question 4- Would you vote in an election for City Council of your town?

Question 5- If a friend made a political statement you disagreed with, would you discuss the issue with him?

Question 6- Would you work in a political campaign for a candidate you supported?

Question 7- If friends asked you to run for public office, would you?

Question 8- Would you watch a debate between two candidates on television?

To test the proposition this experiment employs a technique first discussed in Beck et. al. known as the adjusted percentage of agreement.²³ This measure can be demonstrated in Table 2.

²³Paul A. Beck, Jere Bruner, and L. Douglas Dob-

TABLE 2

Film Group Responses to Question 3(N=12)
 "Would You Vote in an Election for President"

		<u>Pretest</u>					
		1	2	3	4	5	
	1	58.3%	0	0	0	0	1=Definitely Yes
	2	25.0%	8.3%	0	0	0	2= Probably Yes
<u>Posttest</u>	3	0	0	0	0	8.3%	3= Maybe
	4	0	0	0	0	0	4= Probably No
	5	0	0	0	0	0	5= Definitely No

The adjusted percentage of agreement is found by first determining the actual level of agreement. This is the percentage of subjects who show no change in their responses from the pretest to the posttest. By adding the percentages found in the left-to-right diagonal, the actual level of agreement for Question 3 is 66. 7%.

If all responses were distributed by chance in a five-by-five matrix, one would expect to find 4% (or 1/25) of the responses in each cell. An expected percentage of agreement can thus be determined by adding the cell percentages of the diagonal in this hypothetical chance distribution. The expected level of agreement can then be subtracted from the actual level of ag-

son, Political Socialization: Inheritance and Durability of Parental Political Views, SETUPS no. 2 (Washington: American Political Science Association, no date), pp. 28-31.

reement. This result is the adjusted percentage of agreement. This calculation is shown below for the data in Table 2.

$$\begin{array}{r} 66.7\% \text{ actual agreement} \\ -20.0\% \text{ expected agreement (by chance)} \\ \hline 46.7\% \text{ adjusted level of agreement} \end{array}$$

Therefore, for Question 3 one can say there is 46.7% more agreement than one could have expected by chance.

The adjusted percentage of agreement is especially useful in comparing this kind of data. Since the proposition expects that there will be no large differences in pretest and posttest attitudes, a measure which shows a high level of agreement can be of considerable help. This measurement is particularly useful because the small n's of the film and non-film groups prevent the use of many of the most common evaluation instruments. Within these limitations, the APA does an acceptable job of indicating patterns of agreement or of change.

The pattern revealed in Table 3 is quite apparent. The adjusted percentages of agreement for all six questions are high. There is considerably more agreement between the pretest and posttest attitudes than one can explain merely by chance. Since the level of agreement can also represent the level of "no change", then it would appear from this evidence that there does

TABLE 3

Adjusted Percentages of Agreement (APA):
Attitudes Toward Political Activity

<u>Question #²⁴</u>	<u>Film Group APA</u> (N=12)	<u>Non-film Group APA</u> (N=13)
3	46.7%	72.3%
4	63.3%	72.3%
5	55.0%	72.3%
6	30.0%	56.9%
7	55.0%	41.6%
8	<u>30.0%</u>	<u>62.0%</u>
MEAN APA	46.7%	62.0%

not seem to be any real change in attitudes toward political activity among those exposed to the more traditional methods of instruction in the non-film group. Thus, this instrument provides little evidence that films can stir a greater participatory interest among students. This finding is consistent with the results found in the earlier studies.

Upon reflection, this failure of the film-oriented instruction method to "politicize" the students in the film group is not really so surprising. As noted earlier, the view of politics and of politicians as portrayed in these seven films is not very flattering.²⁵

²⁴For the text of these questions, see above p. 198; or Appendices D and E.

²⁵See the discussion above in Chapter Two.

Two themes that are quite relevant to this issue surface in all seven films. First, the citizenry is generally pictured as uninvolved, politically naive, ignorant of most political realities, and subject to dangerously volatile outbursts. Second, politicians are usually characterized as having heavy doses of egotism, venality, pettiness, and lack of principle. Given these renditions of political life, the results revealed in Table 3 become more understandable. It may suggest that if political socialization is an educational goal, then the use of Hollywood films as a teaching device (or at least these seven particular films) may not achieve the desired results. For the teacher who is interested in increasing his students' involvement in politics, Hollywood films would probably reinforce the "wrong" attitudes.

AFFECTIVE COURSE EVALUATIONS

Another traditional source of measurement in educational research is the student course evaluation. Such evaluation questionnaires are quite common. Occasionally they are used by college administrators as a tool to evaluate teachers for purposes of promotion or retention. At other times teachers may use them as an aid in assessing their own performance. Whatever the purpose one must immediately recognize that such student

evaluations have certain functional limitations.

Student evaluations are useful for evaluating the everyday order, clarity, and control of classroom presentations. They tell us whether teachers can get and sustain the interests of students and they tell us whether students have overall positive or negative affect for the teacher and the course. But they do not tell us very much about the intellectual and/or academic worth of the course.²⁶

The purpose of Section Three of the questionnaire is to make some assessment of this affective element with regard to the two courses (film-oriented v. traditional). The problem is that the process by which a student determines whether a course is "good" or "bad" varies with each individual. Indeed, the very definitions of "good" and "bad" are rather indistinct. Rather than ask students to respond to one all-encompassing value criterion, this questionnaire asked them to respond to twenty-five different value pairs. Each of these pairs was presented in a nine-point semantic-differential format.²⁷

Example: DULL 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 EXCITING

Students were asked to indicate their feelings

²⁶Bernard Hennessy, "The Evaluation of Teaching: A Collegial Enterprise", Teaching Political Science, 3 (October 1975), pp. 3-17.

²⁷The definitive work on semantic-differential measures is Charles Osgood, G. Suci, and P. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1967).

about the course by placing themselves at the appropriate point on the continuum for each of these twenty-five value pairs. As Osgood points out, this technique is especially useful because it allows subjects to evaluate an object with greater clarity. Subjects are not confined to responding along a single criterion such as good vs. bad. The twenty-five value pairs used here do not exhaust all of the values with potential interest. But they do reflect a number of the values of interest in this experiment.

In the pretest, students were instructed to evaluate the typical or "normal" Iowa Wesleyan College course with reference to each of the twenty-five value pairs. These observations served as a baseline for later comparisons. In the posttest, students were then instructed to judge "this" course (be it "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" for the film group or "American Party Politics" for the non-film group) according to the same criteria. The hypothesis was that students would evaluate "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" more favorably when compared with other courses that they had experienced.

Again, the adjusted percentage of agreement is a measure that is helpful in testing this proposition. However, an error was discovered after the question-

naires had already been designed and administered. Semantic-differential scales begin to lose their reliability when the continua include more than five or seven points. Continua with nine points, as used here, introduce the increased probability that the student responses will become random. In an attempt to restore some meaning to the data derived from the questionnaires, the student responses to the semantic-differential values were rescored. The nine-point scales were compressed into five-point scales.²⁸ This procedure may control for the element of randomness somewhat, but it clearly does not correct it. The original error simply cannot be rectified. The rescored data does have one other advantage, however. The five-by-five tables which it produces are considerably more manageable for the APA measure than nine-by-nine tables.

Table 4 records the APA for the twenty-five values that were measured for both the film and non-film groups. Using the mean APA as a summary measure it would appear that the students did not see film-oriented instruction as vastly different from other teaching approaches they had experienced. There is 15% more agree-

²⁸The rescoring process went as follows: 1 and 2 were rescored a 1, 3 and 4= 2, 5= 3, 6 and 7= 4, 8 and 9= 5.

TABLE 4

Adjusted Percentages of Agreement (APA):
Course Evaluation Value Pairs

<u>Value Pair</u>	<u>Film Group APA(N=11)</u>	<u>Non-film Group APA(N=13)</u>
1. Uncoordinated/coordinated	34.5%	3.1%
2. Unfair/fair	7.3%	10.8%
3. Dull/exciting	7.3%	18.5%
4. Conservative/innovative	7.3%	10.8%
5. Limited/far-reaching	16.4%	10.8%
6. Bad/good	43.6%	3.1%
7. Untimely/timely	16.4%	26.2%
8. Non-action/action	25.5%	49.2%
9. Weak/strong	34.5%	26.2%
10. Disorganized/organized	34.5%	33.8%
11. Passive/active	7.3%	18.5%
12. Rambling/coherent	25.5%	49.2%
13. Easy/difficult	16.4%	10.8%
14. Unsuccessful/successful	52.7%	26.2%
15. Simple/complex	-1.8%	18.5%
16. Empty/full	16.4%	26.2%
17. Unpleasant/pleasant	-10.9%	49.2%
18. Narrow/broad	-1.8%	18.5%
19. Constricted/unlimited	25.5%	-4.6%
20. Disapprove/approve	-10.9%	10.8%
21. Useless/useful	16.4%	18.5%
22. Unimportant/important	-1.8%	18.5%
23. Unclear/clear	16.4%	18.5%
24. Rigid/flexible	-1.8%	18.5%
25. Regressive/progressive	7.3%	-4.6%
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MEAN APA	15.29%	18.18%

ment than one would have expected in a chance distribution. Conversely, one can interpret this as meaning that there is 15% less change than expected. To this point, then, the data offers little support for the hypothesis. Students in the film group apparently see more similarity between film-oriented instruction and traditional instruction than dissimilarity.

However, the mean APA may not be the most appropriate measure to use in comparing these data. First of all, the twenty-five value pairs used here are not necessarily associated. They are independent measures. That is, a student's response to one value does not necessarily imply a similar response to any of the other values. Therefore, a mean APA may not be a particularly valid measure. Second, a mean can often suppress meaningful differences within the individual items of a scale. For example, Table 4 reveals that one value pair (unsuccessful/successful) generated a very high adjusted percentage of agreement of 52.7%, while two other value pairs (unpleasant/pleasant and disapprove/approve) each elicited APA's of -10.9%. Thus, there may be some individual values that should be examined more closely.

TABLE 5

Film Group Responses to Value Pair #3:
DULL(=1) vs. EXCITING(=5)
N=11

		<u>Pretest</u>				
		1	2	3	4	5
	1	0	0	0	0	0
	2	0	9.1%	0	0	0
<u>Posttest</u>	3	9.1%	0	9.1%	0	0
	4	0	0	45.5%	9.1%	9.1%
	5	0	0	0	9.1%	0

Using Beck's procedure one can quickly ascertain the adjusted percentage of agreement for the value pair in Table 5 by adding the cells which are on the left-to-right diagonal according to the earlier formula.²⁹

27.3%	actual level of agreement
-20.0%	expected level of agreement (by chance)
<u>7.3%</u>	adjusted level of agreement

However, in observing Table 5 one can readily see that a sizable proportion of the responses fall to the left of the diagonal. Indeed, this may suggest that there may be some change in the direction of the "exciting value in the posttest responses. Using the same logic that Beck used in developing the APA measure, it may be possible to derive a measure that may reveal more about the data in Table 5 than the adjusted percentage of agreement by itself.

²⁹See the example above, p. 200.

In a five-by-five table there are ten cells which lie to the left of the diagonal. Each of these cells would contain observations that indicated a favorable change in the subject's attitude or evaluation of the course. By mere chance one would expect, then, to find that 40% (10 x 4%) of the observations had moved in this favorable direction. In the same way that Beck determined an adjusted percentage of agreement, one can generate an adjusted percentage of favorable change, or APF. For the example presented in Table 5, the APF is calculated below.

63.6%	actual favorable change
<u>-40.0%</u>	expected level of change (by chance)
23.6%	adjusted level of favorable change

In this instance, the test group showed a level of change toward the polar value "exciting" that was 23.6% higher than one could have expected in a chance distribution.

All of the five-by-five tables were reexamined and tested for the APF measure. Table 6 summarizes these findings by including only those variables from the film and non-film groups which have adjusted percentages of favorable change of 20% or more.³⁰ The choice of this threshold is rather arbitrary, but it does allow one to

³⁰In the process of this testing for APF, it was discovered that two value pairs (fair/unfair and approve/disapprove) had changes greater than expected in the direction of unfavorability.

focus on those values which are most likely to show meaningful differences.

TABLE 6

Adjusted Percentages of Favorable Change(APF):
Selected Course Evaluation Value-Pairs

<u>Film Group(N=11)</u>	
<u>Value-Pair</u>	<u>APF</u>
3. Dull/exciting	23.6%
4. Conservative/innovative	23.6%
11. Passive/active	32.7%
13. Easy/difficult	23.6%
15. Simple/complex	32.7%
18. Narrow/broad	32.7%
24. Rigid/flexible	32.7%
25. Regressive/progressive	23.6%
<u>Non-film Group(N=13)</u>	
1. Uncoordinated/coordinated	29.2%
2. Unfair/fair	21.5%
3. Dull/exciting	21.5%
6. Bad/good	21.5%
19. Constricted/unlimited	21.5%

These findings suggest some rather interesting hypotheses. For instance, the data appear to lend some support to the proposition that different teaching methods will emphasize, and hence affect, different educational values. The film group evaluated eight of the twenty-five values more favorably than for other Iowa Wesleyan courses they had taken. The non-film group evaluated five of the values more favorably than could have

been expected by chance. Curiously though, only one of these values appears in both groups (dull/exciting). It would seem that the film-oriented "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" promoted positive evaluation of different values than did the more traditional "American Party Politics".

Thus, seven value pairs were positively evaluated exclusively in the film group. One can arrange these values into three patterns or groups of values. First, film-oriented teaching seems to stress innovation, activity, and a progressive attitude. The second group of values seems to focus upon the difficulty and complexity of the course. Finally, the students seem to favorably compare the breadth and flexibility of the film-oriented course with other courses they had experienced.

Drawing conclusions from the sort of data presented here must be done cautiously. As discussed earlier, the research design is not as rigorous as one would like. The populations are small. There are many possible dependent variables that are not effectively controlled.

Yet one can make some tentative conclusions about these hypotheses. There is little indication that students evaluated "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" more favorably overall than other courses they

had taken. The data from Table 4 suggests that there is more agreement (or lack of change) than chance can explain. This is not surprising. The existing research indicates that claims of universal superiority for any teaching method are not supported by the experimental evidence.

However, there is still a possibility that film-oriented teaching methods can affect certain behaviors and attitudes more effectively than other methods. The data here is based only upon this single experimental case. But the findings noted in Table 6 hold out the possibility that film-oriented instruction may be very appropriate if the instructor wishes to accent such values as innovation, flexibility, and complexity. Thus, while the results do not conclusively find that films have a favorable impact, there is some reason for investigating further research.

STUDENT EVALUATION OF THE FILMS AS LEARNING AIDS

A series of modified open-ended questions was administered in order to more directly confront the question of the effectiveness of the films. These questions asked the students in the test group to evaluate the utility of films as a learning device. Each question was worded so as to elicit a closed-ended response

followed by explanatory comments. A number of problems arose with this instrument as an analytical tool. First, the number of subjects is so small (12) as to prevent any assertions of significance. Indeed, the raw numbers will be used in the ensuing discussion because percentages can be misleading with such a small n. A second problem was in the research design. With no control group at all the design was more akin to the primitive Posttest-Only Design. Third, most of the student responses rarely exceeded one or two sentences in length even though there was sufficient space for greater amplification. As the last section of a rather lengthy questionnaire, it was quite likely that test fatigue had set in. Unfortunately, this fatigue introduced an element of randomness to the responses. Even with these obstacles, data of this sort still can prove useful. It may reveal patterns of behavior or affect that suggest areas for future testing.

Question 1-- Would you take another course in which Hollywood films were used as an important part of the instruction?

Eight of the 12 respondents answered YES; four of the 12 said MAYBE. The most common response among those saying YES was that the films made the course "more interesting" and that they "made things clearer" or, stated a bit differently, "illustrated things for me".

Several chose to comment on the substantive aspect of the films noting that "you can learn a lot from films". One student tendered a mild comparison of teaching methods, "The films help to make the message easier than a plain lecture." One student offered a response meant to praise the use of films but which could easily be classified as an undesirable effect, "I can learn a lot more from a movie in a short time whereas a book takes days to read". No instructor should seriously consider replacing reading literacy with film literacy.

Of the four students who replied MAYBE, three noted that "it would depend on the course" or on the way the instructor used the films. The fourth student argued that on occasion he would have preferred to work on other projects because "I had seen the film already".

From the responses to this question it would appear that most students felt rather favorably toward films as an approach to learning. Question Two examines the issue more closely.

Question 2-- Did the films have any effect on your level of interest in the subject?

Here is the most direct inquiry into verifying the existence of curiosity as a result of the films. The working hypothesis is that Hollywood films will increase the level of curiosity about related subjects.

Ten of the 12 respondents answered that their interest in the subject was increased as a result of the films. Of course, one must be careful not to read too much into these responses. Student self-evaluations are not always accurate indicators of student behavior. Students may not be able to separate the effects of the films from other aspects of the course environment. Interest could have been aroused by a number of factors, but since the question is phrased so as to offer films as the explanatory cause, students might easily opt for the YES response. In this sense, the question may be loaded in that it offers no alternative explanations for the increased interest. But the question may still reveal some useful information. The responses do suggest, at least tentatively, that films can be helpful in spurring interest in political science.

Of the ten positive responses the most common explanation developed along lines that the films helped to pictorialize, illustrate, and, therefore, clarify important ideas. Further, these students noted that this clarifying quality of the films enabled them to increase their critical sensitivity. Among the other explanations offered was that the films "added variety" to the course, that films were not as "boring" as books, and that the films, quite simply, "were fun".

Two of the 12 students answered that the films had little or no impact on their interest in the subject. But their explanations reveal that these responses are far less negative than at first thought. Both of these students noted that their interest in politics was already quite high when they enrolled in the course. This high level of interest did not diminish at all. Thus, the tentative conclusion seems to be that, at least for this measure, films can increase the level of interest in a subject.

Question 3-- Did the concepts and ideas expressed in the films (make it more difficult for you to understand course material; make it easier for you to understand course material; confuse you at times and help you at other times; have little impact on your understanding one way or another)?

This question explores the issue of whether films can do more than merely entertain students. Can they also serve an important role as an explicator of subject material? A bare majority, seven of the 12 students, responded that the films made it easier for them to understand the course material. Of the six students who offered additional explanations, a recurrent theme was that films were useful in helping them to understand the reading assignments. Comments ranged from "it helped me to relate to material from the readings" to "it helped clarify many of the concepts from our readings". The

common thread running through these comments was the role of films as a clarifying force-- a pattern evident in responses to the first two questions as well.

Three students believed that the films confused them at times and not at others. Their explanations touched upon one of the potential problems with using entertainment-oriented Hollywood films. This problem was perhaps best illustrated by the following comment, "it was difficult to keep remembering that it was only a movie and not to believe every part of it". The feeling of empathy which good movies often generate in an audience can apparently make it difficult for some students to separate fact from fiction.

Two students checked the response that the films made it more difficult for them to understand the material. However, an examination of their explanations found their responses arguing that the films made it easier for them to understand the course material. The closed-ended portion of the question may have been incorrectly marked. This may have been caused by poor questionnaire design. In the previous questions, the most positive option was listed in the first position. In this case, the most unfavorable option was first. Some confusion may have resulted.

Thus, it is likely that nine of the 12 subjects

believed that the films helped them toward a better understanding of the substantive material in the course. However, one should not conclude from this that films are superior to other instructional tools. Comparisons are not available in data derived from a Posttest-Only Design. The important observation here seems to be that films probably can help students to learn.

Question 4-- Do you believe the films affected your performance in any way?

Eight of the 12 students said that the films did affect their course performance. Their explanations were diverse, but most of the ideas and themes present in the replies to earlier questions resurfaced. Such responses as "it raised my interest" and "it clarified ideas" were again common. One new comment appeared in some form in three of the answers, however. These students felt that the films had made them more reflective and analytical in their thinking. While this information is far from significant in any statistical sense, it is encouraging.

Three students believed that the films had not really affected their performance. One student explained that he did enjoy the films, but that he probably could have performed just as well had they not been used. A more disquieting comment was made by another student,

"they didn't help me choose my topics for the inquiry papers which were my important performances one might say in learning". This is disturbing because it contradicts one of the reasons for using films in this class. It had been hoped that the films would stimulate independent efforts at learning. In this case that hope fell short. However, just as one shouldn't read too much significance into the positive data, one should not overemphasize this single negative comment. Moreover, as noted earlier the students had stated that the films had stimulated ideas for more than one-half of the inquiry papers.

Question 5-- What advantages (disadvantages) do you think the films brought to this course?

All twelve students listed at least one advantage to the use of films. The most common responses were variations of those that had appeared often in response to earlier questions. These included "it increased my interest", "it helped to clarify", and "it was fun". Other advantages which appeared at least twice in the responses to this question were that the films "encouraged participation" and that they "provided a change of pace from the daily routine".

It may be noteworthy that only five students chose to list any disadvantages to the use of films. No

discernible pattern emerged from these comments. One student complained that the films introduced a lot of unneeded material in order to be entertaining. (While this sentiment is certainly true, it could be argued that the comment's very perceptiveness suggests that the films did little to harm that student's critical abilities!). Another student felt that too many students watched the films strictly for their own entertainment. Another complaint was that the discussions didn't concentrate sufficiently on the issues raised by the films. This criticism, even if valid, is more appropriately directed at the instructor and not at the films. One student believed that they "cost too much money"; while a fifth student asserted that the films interjected too much confusion.

ASSESSING THE COURSE OBJECTIVES

Much of the data analyzed and discussed to this point has been largely empirical in nature. Questionnaires were administered to the students in an attempt to elicit objective data. This kind of data is important, but one should not ignore other potential resources. Much of this evaluation data could be labeled as subjective in that it is largely immune to the rigors of scientific method, lacks any degree of replicability, and

is obtained and evaluated solely through the eyes of the beholder. Yet some behaviors are highly resistant to empirical methodologies. One can measure, for instance, the number of times a student participates in discussions, or the number of times that he volunteers his thoughts. But it becomes very difficult to design empirical measures that will help to evaluate the quality of a student's ideas or the articulateness of his expression. Subjective judgements cannot be avoided. For this experiment, this sort of subjective data derives from two sources.

The instructor is the major source of such information. Every instructor evaluates the quality and level of performance in his classes. He makes some judgement as to the relative success or failure of each course he teaches. Such judgements are, admittedly, rather arbitrary. These perceptions are often subjective and quite unsystematic. Every class has its own unique qualities that make comparative assessments extremely difficult. Moreover, every instructor is likely to engage in selective perception. The desire for experimental success may well cause the instructor to recognize only those student behaviors that favor the desired conclusion. Still, an instructor's evaluation of a course must be considered. The more experienced a teacher is,

the greater the body of data with which the instructor can compare the current course-- and the more likely the teacher will be able to accurately assess its strengths and weaknesses. For this experiment the instructor had approximately four years of teaching experience during which he had offered thirty college courses, including three other interim courses. This provided him with some basis for comparing "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" to previous courses.

A second useful source of subjective data was the students. In addition to the structured, empirically-oriented data discussed earlier, students would often make unsolicited comments regarding their feelings, thoughts, or evaluations of the experimental course. An investigator should not disregard these comments. Their voluntary quality, in fact, makes these comments especially valuable. At other times, various students would engage the instructor in more extended conversations regarding the course. These, too, could prove useful.

In sum, these data are highly subjective, unsystematic, and shaded with unintended bias. Yet, despite these obstacles, an observer would be foolish to dismiss these perceptions. They become especially valuable in the evaluation of goals or objectives that are, themselves, highly subjective. For example, an import-

ant course objective was to improve the quality of the students' writing and speaking abilities. Since the instructor can only evaluate this objective by internal, highly subjective criteria, it would be unrealistic and unwise to exclude such evaluations from the discussion. Therefore, a useful starting point in incorporating this category of data is to return to the original course objectives and reassess each of them on the basis of these two subjective data sources.

Objective 1-- Each student shall answer correctly at least 70% of the questions on each of two quizzes.

The purpose of the quizzes (and of this objective) was to assure that the students were assimilating a satisfactory level of cognitive knowledge and understanding from "American Political Campaigning and the Movies". There was a fear that the loosely-structured, film-oriented nature of the course might allow students to ignore the need to acquire a base of knowledge about campaign politics sufficient to perform the other objectives. These quizzes stressed the importance of material from the lectures, discussions, and assigned readings.

All twelve students performed at the 70% criterion level or higher on each of the quizzes. The quizzes were not administered to any control group, thus any attempt to compare these results would be tenuous. How-

ever, one observation seems quite interesting. Over a period of four years, no other test or quiz given in an introductory-level course by the same instructor ever had a 100% success rate. In fact, every previous examination had had at least a 10% "less-than-satisfactory" (D or F) rate.

There are, of course, many factors that might account for this apparent success. The small class size, the intensity of effort found during the interim, and the difficulty or ease of the tests are among the variables that could have made these results a special case not comparable to other examinations. Nevertheless, this high success rate adds credence to at least two hypotheses. First, students can learn from films (though how much in comparison with other methods remains unresolved). Second, the film-oriented approach appears not to have prevented students from assimilating the more traditional course material.

Objective 2-- Each student shall write short papers about two issues or controversies in the field of campaign politics.

An important objective for this course was to improve the writing and critical skills of the students. Past teaching experience had suggested that many students were lacking in these skills. It was believed that the inquiry papers might serve as a means for improving stu-

dent performance in this area.

The inquiry papers proved to be a pleasant surprise. After a student submitted a paper it was read and returned with comments about possible areas of improvement. If the paper was adjudged to be unsatisfactory, these comments tended to be more extensive and specific. The student was then compelled to rewrite the paper and submit it again. Only those papers deemed satisfactory were included in the calculation of the final grade. Thus an extrinsic motivation (final grade) existed to encourage the student to improve his writing. The judgement as to what was "satisfactory" was, as is the case in assessing most forms of writing, rather subjective. Three general criteria existed to aid in the evaluation. Papers had to have coherent organization. The student was required to exhibit in the paper an adequate understanding of his chosen topic. Finally, the writing style could not be distracting and spelling and grammatical errors had to be minimal. However, the interpretation of these criteria by the instructor was still very subjective.

Using this evaluation procedure, only three papers were returned to students as unsatisfactory. In each case the student resubmitted a second paper which satisfied all the requirements. The three inadequate

papers were found in the first inquiry assignment. All of the papers handed in as a second inquiry assignment met the criteria. In addition, ten of the twelve students showed improved performance on the second paper. This suggests that the exercise was useful, at least somewhat, in accomplishing the objective. Moreover, several students commented specifically that the inquiry papers (and the accompanying instructor comments) had helped them to improve their writing skills.

The relevant issue, however, is to determine what role the films played in improving this performance. The evidence, while inconclusive, seems to suggest that the films were of some value. As reported earlier, at least half of the students cited the films as a source for their project ideas. One person did comment in the questionnaire that the films did not help to generate any ideas for the inquiry papers. But the positive benefits of the films do appear to outweigh the negative in this regard.

Obviously, the films do not by themselves encourage improved writing skills. However, to the degree that films provide students with ideas that promote their enthusiasm about a topic, the films may offer some positive motivation for the students to write well. The linkage between films and improved writing may be tenuous, but

it seems worthy of further investigation.

Objective 3-- Each student, as part of a small group, shall design a public opinion survey.

The purpose of this objective was to introduce the students to many of the assumptions, techniques, and research designs common to voter survey research. The intent was not so much to make the students effective practitioners as it was to provide them an awareness and basic tools necessary for interpreting simple survey research data. The quality of work done with reference to this objective was satisfactory, but not exceptional. Given the brief introduction and the limited resources provided to the students, this level of performance was, perhaps, to be expected. Still, there was the hope that this objective would be as favorably resolved as the others.

This objective was probably the least affected by the use of films. The films, for example, do not offer any useful examples or ideas for creating a public opinion instrument. Such ideas had to originate with the students themselves or with the assigned readings. Because this objective was so little affected by films, the failure to achieve anything more than a modest success cannot be blamed on the films. The objective and the movies were largely independent of each other.

Objective 4-- Each student, as part of a small group, will create one 30-second commercial and one 3-minute commercial for television.

This objective was designed to give students the chance to explore various techniques of political propaganda especially as demonstrated through the medium of television. In addition, it provided an opportunity to further develop verbal and written skills. The nature of the assignment was to create commercials that could successfully persuade viewers to vote for a specific candidate. In such efforts language must be used carefully to generate specific feelings or reactions. This required that the advertisements be written and presented in effective English.

The films used in this project offered many excellent examples of political advertising. Television plays an important role in The Last Hurrah, The Best Man, and The Candidate. Indeed, the latter film extensively portrays the story of a candidate who is totally reliant upon television for the creation and nurturing of his political image. Thus, it was felt that students would be able to draw upon the films, as well as their readings and their own experiences, for ideas in creating their commercials.

Assessing the impact of the films upon this objective is difficult. As the instructor circulated

from group to group to observe the preparation of these commercials, it was obvious that the students were aware of the media advertisements portrayed in the films. There were numerous references to The Candidate; for example, the straight-at-the-camera television style of Senator Crocker Jarman served as a starting point for two of the groups. However; it is impossible to accurately measure the impact of the films upon the projects. Students had access to many sources of inspiration and information. In fact, they were expected to be cognizant of some of the important literature on the subject of media campaigning. While the commercials were technically crude, they showed much creativity and were well-written. Indeed, the films were intended to inspire creativity, not repetition. It seems apparent that the films did contribute to the students' performance toward this objective, but there is no way to make any significant comparisons with other teaching approaches. Whatever the contributing role of the films, the student commercials were quite successful.

Objective 5-- Each student, as part of a panel, will assist in leading class discussions about one of the films.

Objective 6-- Each student will contribute to class discussions effectively and on a daily basis.

These two objectives will be discussed together since their purposes are identical. It was hoped that

the discussions would encourage creativity, analytical and critical thinking, and improved verbal articulation. These, of course, are the kinds of activities that any form of discussion method seeks to advance. These goals are not really altered by the use of the films. What was hoped was that the films would arouse sufficient curiosity and interest for the discussion method to work at its maximum effectiveness.

At first, the movies did not seem to provoke the kind of worthwhile discussions that were desired. Students were hesitant to contribute; when they did, the quality of their remarks was not especially incisive. As noted previously, several devices were employed in an effort to help the students in their discussions. The sight-sound skim was used to trigger the first-reaction responses of the students. Study guides, with questions designed to help students get the most from the movies, were distributed prior to the showing of the first few films.

Gradually, the discussions began to move to a higher intellectual plane. As they did it became unnecessary to use any of the discussion aids. Student panel members were able to elicit useful discussions without any help from the instructor. During the final two weeks students were well able to analyze and criticize

many of the items of political lore promoted in the films. They were infinitely more successful at separating the fact from the fiction than in the early weeks of the course, when many students accepted the movies at face value. Discussions became so intense that a few students would occasionally object to the announcement that the period was over. In such cases, it was common for discussions to continue informally for as long as an hour.

As with the other objectives it is very difficult to assess the specific contribution of the films. The extensive exposure to traditional political science literature required in the assigned readings, as one example, may have done more to improve the students' critical abilities than did the films. Still, most of the students commented spontaneously and in their course evaluation questionnaires that the films helped to stimulate ideas, to show relationships with the reading, and to raise their level of interest in the discussions. Thus, there is some basis for arguing that films can promote quality discussions and the speaking and critical skills that can accompany them.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

CAN FILM BE USEFUL?: SOME TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

This project has focused upon two separate, but related, issues. First, are films valid as sources of political knowledge and insight? Is there anything of heuristic value in Hollywood movies? There is a growing body of literature that suggests there is a great deal that one can learn about politics from films. Most of this literature has, however, concentrated on film as a purveyor of ideology and political symbolism, or as an illustrator of popular political culture. Until now, there has been no research that extended the utility of Hollywood films as a learning resource beyond these areas. This project broadens the range of educational utility for this kind of movie.

Chapter Two examined the value of film as a resource in learning about political campaigning. While even this study is not exhaustive, it demonstrates that Hollywood films can be used to illustrate many of the theories and assumptions and concepts about campaign politics that exist in the professional literature. Similar kinds of research and exposition would be appropriate for other areas of the discipline. It is possible that there are some fields that are resistant to the use of films as a learning resource. But the research discussed in Chapter Two certainly warrants the conclusion

that, at least in the field of American campaign politics, there is much of value to be found in Hollywood films.

The second major issue addressed by this project was whether or not films could be integrated into a course dealing with campaign politics and whether that course could effectively help students to learn about campaign politics. There seems little doubt that Hollywood films can be an essential part of such a course. Indeed, Chapter Three demonstrated, in far greater detail than any other existing literature, how such a course could be designed. The issue of whether film can effectively be used to teach politics is not so easily resolved. The small n and the resultant inadequacies of the research design create a situation in which conclusions can only be tentative. Moreover, it is impossible to isolate the contributions of the films to the learning process. The films, after all, were only one element of a course which was innovative in a number of ways. Nevertheless, the evidence at hand suggests that there is considerable potential for film in the college classroom.

First of all, it appears that films can be effective in helping students to increase their cognitive understanding of the subject matter. One of the great

fears involving the classroom use of Hollywood feature films was that they might detract from the traditional values of serious scholarship. Yet the evidence here suggests that, in this case, the fear was unwarranted. Nearly every student commented on his questionnaire that the films clearly helped him to understand the course material. They also claimed that substantive matters that were left unclear or confusing after their reading assignments were later clarified and illustrated in the films and the subsequent discussions. Every student answered at least 70% of the questions correctly on each of two objective exams. No other introductory-level class taught by the same instructor can make such a claim. Moreover, every student was successful in attaining satisfactory performance in each of the six course objectives. Thus, Hollywood films can be quite complementary to traditional, substantive learning.

Second, films apparently can be useful in provoking student discussion. The students did have some difficulty in grasping the concepts and ideas to be found in the first film, Meet John Doe. But as the students became acclimated to the medium, their creativity and originality of expression increased noticeably over the four weeks. Student evaluations revealed a large majority which believed that the discussions were very

useful to their understanding of the course material. The instructor also believed that the enthusiasm generated in these discussions, while difficult to measure, far exceeded that found in any other introductory-level course taught by the same instructor. Certainly, there are alternative explanations for this result. But it remains possible that the films were a crucial element in the success of the class discussions. Individual interviews with several students revealed that they felt the films gave them something meaningful to contribute in class. Moreover, they noted that the films allowed them to actively initiate their own topics of discussion, rather than merely passively responding to the instructor's questions.

Third, it seems probable that films can arouse student interest in a subject. Certainly, a couple of students stated that the films did not really affect their level of curiosity. No teaching method can be universally appealing to all students. Still, statements such as "the films increased my interest" or "the films aroused my curiosity" appeared at least twice on every course evaluation (albeit occasionally in response to different questions). Moreover, no student missed more than one class day. Though class attendance may not always reflect interest, it is certainly an indirect

measurement that adds weight to the existing favorable evidence.

Interest levels appeared to stay high despite the rigorous demands made by the course. Indeed, every student claimed that the course was one of the most challenging they had ever taken, yet all of them performed at or above the minimum performance standards. In addition, several of them inquired as to whether there would be courses of a similar type offered in the future. This evidence may not be conclusive enough to allow the assertion that Hollywood films help to motivate students, but the premise seems well-worth additional investigation.

SOME CAVEATS FOR FILM IN THE CLASSROOM

This project has demonstrated that Hollywood films can be employed to help students effectively learn about campaign politics. But the relative success of this experiment should not be interpreted as proof that films will be successful in every kind of classroom situation. Film is not a "gimmick" that will enable every teacher to improve student learning in his courses.

An important question is, thus, not just whether film-oriented instruction can be effective (of that we seem fairly certain at this point), but also under what

conditions such instruction is most likely to be successful. Conversely, one should also be interested in the conditions which are the least conducive for effective film-oriented instruction. The following discussion is based upon the instructor's experience with "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" and with "The American West and the American Western". These experiences suggest that any teacher who wishes to extensively use films in a political science course should be aware of certain caveats.

1. Sufficient time-- Feature films of the sort used here require access to blocs of time at least two hours long. The film with the shortest running time in "American Political Campaigning and the Movies" was 75 minutes long; the longest ran 123 minutes. There is really no viable alternative to long class periods. If an instructor wishes to periodically stop the film for comments or discussion (tactic not used here), even longer periods become necessary. Showing the films over two or three class periods on different days is inadvisable because of the loss of dramatic integrity and impact (a major reason for using film in the first place) and because of the ineffective use of class time that it entails. Editing a film so that it can be shown in a single one-hour period would destroy the artistic whole-

ness of the film and make it less compelling and convincing. It would also demand a level of technical expertise not readily accessible in most schools.

Thus, the interim term is an excellent opportunity to use films in the curriculum. The flexibility of scheduling that it allows makes it much easier to integrate the films into a course. With the extensive adoption of the 4-1-4 calendar at many small, liberal arts colleges the film approach may be best suited to such an environment.¹

Nevertheless, it is still possible to integrate films into the traditional two-semester and trimester calendars. For example, even in regular semesters it is often possible to establish a fairly flexible schedule.² It is not a sacred educational dictum that introductory political science courses must meet three times weekly for one hour at a time. A less radical option is simply to install a laboratory period of perhaps one hour which could be appended to a regularly scheduled lecture period to provide the necessary two-hour time bloc. The advantages to this arrangement are sev-

¹It is difficult to determine exactly how many colleges have adopted the 4-1-4 calendar. As of 1970, at least 330 colleges were using some variation of the plan.

²Seminars and evening classes, for example, have often met at irregular times.

eral. The additional time could be used for any number of experimental learning situations, not just films. The instructor would have the opportunity to show a film in its entirety and perhaps even have sufficient time for valuable discussion afterward. The point to be emphasized here is that a school's academic schedule is not necessarily part of the "given" in an educational environment. If the existing schedule is a detriment to the effective use of films, then alternatives can be pursued that would create a more favorable climate.

2. Small class size-- To be most successful, a course utilizing films should encourage student discussion. Showing a film with no opportunity for follow-up discussion would waste the evocative flavor of the medium. However, existing research suggests that the effectiveness of discussion as a teaching method varies inversely with the size of the class.³ The larger the class, the less likely that discussions will result in meaningful learning.

There is no reliable way of judging when a class becomes too large for discussion to be effective as an approach to learning. In this experiment, with twelve students, discussions were quite successful. However,

³See, for example, McKeachie, Research in Teaching".

because film-oriented instruction relies so heavily upon discussions, in classes of more than twenty-five students film may not be as effective as other approaches.⁴ Organizing a large class into smaller discussion sections may ease the problem somewhat, but the logistics of such an arrangement can often be unnecessarily complicated. Clearly, a relatively small class is preferable to a larger one if one expects to use films for effective learning.

3. Sufficient money-- Hollywood feature films are not inexpensive. Indeed, even a modest program of seven films as was used here can cost \$300 or more. An instructor must make a judgement as to whether film-oriented instruction is likely to improve learning sufficiently to justify the additional cost. Such cost-benefit analysis is complicated by the complexity of evaluating learning. Still, one should be prepared to deal with the added costs that films entail.

In a time of economic retrenchment by most college administrations, an instructor should be prepared

⁴This threshold figure is admittedly arbitrary. The choice is based largely on experience with another film-oriented course, "The American West and the American Western". This class was taught twice, each time with approximately 20 students. Even with this number discussions became a bit unwieldy at times. Thus, the figure of 25 seems reasonable as an upper limit.

to look elsewhere for funds. The most obvious source, and the simplest to administer, is the assessment of a laboratory fee for all students enrolled in the course. There are two strong arguments to buttress this practice. First, laboratory fees are commonly used in courses where extraordinary expenses are incurred, e.g. biology and chemistry. In this experiment, each student was assessed a fee of \$18 to defray the film costs. This fee is comparable to lab fees in other courses and thus is likely to be accepted by students as legitimate.⁵ A second rationale for lab fees is that students would normally expect to spend \$10-20 for books in a course.⁶ In "American Political Campaigning and the Movies", students were not required to purchase any other materials. The small class size (mentioned above as a requisite condition) allowed for the use of materials placed on reserve in the library. Thus, students were not required to spend any more for course "materials" than normal. If, however, an instructor insists that students purchase certain books, then he should be aware of the financial

⁵An informal survey of chemistry and biology courses at Lehigh University and Moravian College found lab fees ranging from \$10 to \$25. The \$18 film fee is near the mid-point of these fees.

⁶The average cost for books in all courses taught by this instructor was \$15.83. Again, this is very close to the fee assessed here.

burdens this may place on the students. Film-oriented instruction would likely be less worthwhile under these conditions.

4. Introductory-level course-- Here one returns to the dual problems of motivation and efficiency. Students in an introductory-level course often exhibit low motivation toward the subject. They are sometimes enrolled merely because the course is required for some other program. One is also more likely to find a much higher proportion of non-political science majors in such courses. In these circumstances films offer great promise as a motivational device in that they do seem to arouse student interest in a subject. While the short-term efficiency of the films would appear to be rather low (two hours screening time plus one hour of discussion-- all for a relatively small increment of information), the long-term effectiveness in terms of greater receptivity to additional information and enthusiasm for learning is very promising. The necessity for exceptional efforts at motivation in upper-level courses, on the other hand, is not as imperative. Students in such courses generally have greater interest in the subject and greater intellectual preparation. More efficient means of teaching other than films are available for these upper-level courses. In short, films

take too much time to deliver too little information to be useful in such an environment. Thus, one should give consideration to the kinds of students enrolled in a class before deciding to adopt films. Methods and approaches suitable in one class might be inappropriate in others.

5. Proper course objectives-- It seems obvious that an instructor's educational philosophy and course objectives must be compatible with the qualities found in film. Films are woefully unsuited to the achievement of some educational objectives. For example, if a teacher wished to stress the development of research skills or wanted to maximize cognitive knowledge, films would not be very useful. Such objectives could be much more easily achieved with other pedagogical methods. But if, on the other hand, an instructor wished to arouse student interest in the subject, or promote improved verbal abilities, or develop critical skills, then the evidence suggests that films can be effective.

This leads to the observation that effective teaching may be encouraged best by incorporating a number of different teaching approaches. Since there is apparently no one universally superior method, an instructor might be wise to coordinate several teaching strategies according to which are most appropriate to

the objectives at any particular time. Indeed, the film-oriented approach seems so ineffective at promoting a number of worthwhile objectives, that it really should be used only in conjunction with other methods.

6. Personal style-- Much of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of any teaching method depends a great deal upon the facility which the teacher brings to the technique. A "good" method employed by an instructor who is poorly equipped or poorly motivated to use that method will likely yield disappointing results. Likewise, a "poor" method can be transformed into a much more successful one when the instructor is enthusiastic and well-equipped to accentuate whatever fortes the method possesses. Thus, the effective use of films as a teaching approach depends to a large degree upon the capabilities of the teacher.

It would seem that any instructor who hopes to use films successfully should be as convinced of the value of films in teaching politics as he would be with any other method. Films, after all, do not "teach" by themselves. They are a tool to be used by teachers and like any tool, they must be wielded by individuals who can use them with confidence. This merely suggests that films are not an "easy way out" for any teacher. The method requires the same commitment and intensity that

one expects with any other teaching approach in order for it to be successful. Just as some teachers are uncomfortable with lecturing, or leading discussions, or running simulations, it should be expected that some teachers will be uncomfortable with film. In such a case, the teacher should be expected that some teachers will be uncomfortable with film. In such a case, the teacher should consider experimenting with one or two Hollywood films in a classroom setting before committing himself to the use of films as a central focus of his instructional approach.

SOME FINAL THOUGHTS

This project has attempted to demonstrate that Hollywood films can serve as a viable, effective teaching-learning resource. While one cannot claim that film is categorically superior to other teaching methods, the evidence here seems reasonably clear that given the proper environment film can be an effective instructional tool. The six criteria just discussed have been a speculative attempt to suggest some threshold conditions necessary for effective film teaching. The inference is that where all six preconditions exist, film offers great potential as a teaching strategy. When some of these preconditions are absent, then film-ori-

ented instruction is likely to yield less impressive results.

The experiment documented here met those pre-conditions reasonably well. Given the problems in designing a research methodology that was likely to yield meaningful results, the data from this experiment were interpreted conservatively. However, it appears that there is sufficient evidence, both empirical and subjective, to suggest a tentative conclusion that films, when utilized under the proper conditions and integrated with other appropriate teaching strategies, can effectively help students to learn about politics. Perhaps this tentative conclusion can serve as an hypothesis for further research. It might be useful, for example, to teach such a course under conditions that would allow for a more rigorous research design. Especially valuable would be a research design that provided valid comparisons of film-oriented instruction with other techniques.

APPENDIX A

STUDENT READING LIST FOR
"AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND THE MOVIES"

ADVANCE WORK

1. Brown & Seib, The Art of Politics, Chap. 11-Scheduling and Advancework(139-52).
2. Cottin, Jonathan, "Advance Men Ensure Campaigners Against Silent Mikes, Short Stories" in Agranoff (104-22).

AVAILABILITY

1. Brown & Seib, The Art of Politics, Chap. 2-Getting Started in Politics(27-36).
2. David, Paul et.al., "The Candidates" in Johnson & Walker(26-35).
3. David, The Politics of National Conventions Chap. 7-Patterns in the Nominating Process(126-42); also in Owens & Staudenraus(155-70)
Chap. 8-The Candidates(143-65)
4. Fishel, Jeff, "Party, Ideology, and the Congressional Challenger", APSR, 58(1213-32).
5. Prewitt, Kenneth, "Political Ambitions, Volunteerism, and Electoral Accountability", APSR, 64(5-17).
6. Prewitt, The Recruitment of Political Leaders Chap. 2- The Social Bias in Leadership Selection(23-52)
Chap. 4- Entry into the Active Stratum(83-108)

BASIC BELIEFS OF THE AMERICAN VOTER

1. Converse, Philp E., "The Stability of Belief Elements over Time" in Niemi & Weisberg(85-93).
2. Cutler, Stephen and Robert Kaufman, "Cohort Changes in Political Attitudes: Tolerance of Ideological Non-conformity", POQ, 39(63-81).
3. Free & Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans Chap. 3- Ideological Outlooks(23-40)
Chap. 4- Self-Identification as Liberal or Conservative(41-50)
Chap. 5- The Concerns of Americans(51-58)
Chap. 8- Syndromes & Prejudices(113-33)
Chap. 11- American Political Credos: A Psychological Overview(174-81)
4. Gelb & Palley, Tradition and Change in American Party Politics, Chap. 5- Voting in America(93-129).
5. Levin, Murray B., "The Alienated Voter" in Ruchelman (62-78).

6. Litwak, Eugene et.al., "The Ideological Complexity and Middle-American Rationality", POQ, 37(317-32).
7. Lowi, Theodore, "The Artificial Majority" in Annual Editions(204-06).
8. Miller, Arthur H. et.al., "A Majority Party in Disarray: Policy Polarization in the 1972 Election" in Niemi & Wesiberg(176-95).
9. Mueller, John, War, Presidents and Public Opinion, Chap.5- Sources of Support for the Wars(115-54).
10. Nie, Norman and Kristi Andersen, "Mass Belief Systems Revisited: Political Change and Attitude Structure" in Niemi and Weisberg(94-137); and in Dreyer & Rosenbaum(289-320).
11. Stimson, James A., "Belief Systems: Constraint, Complexity, and the 1972 Election" in Niemi & Weisberg (138-59).

BROADCAST MEDIA

1. Auer, J. Jeffrey, "The Counterfeit Debates" in Kraus (142-49).
2. Becker, Samuel and Elmer Lower, "Broadcasting in Presidential Campaigns" in Kraus(22-55).
3. Brown & Seib, The Art of Politics, Chap. 8- Media Usage(105-18).
4. Califano, Joseph, "Television and the Loyal Opposition" in Ippolito & Walker(34-47).
5. "Campaign Media in the Age of Television" in Agranoff (259-73).
6. Congressional Quarterly, "Political Advertising: Making It Look Like News" in Agranoff(285-95).
7. Crouse, The Boys on the Bus, Chap. 7- Television(149-90).
8. Devlin, L. Patrick, "Contrasts in Presidential Campaign Commercials" in Agranoff(259-73).
9. Emery, Edwin, "Changing Role of the Mass Media in American Politics", Annals, Sept. 1976(84-94).
10. Gelb & Palley, Tradition and Change in American Party Politics, Chap. 4- The Use and Effects of the Mass Media(69-90).
11. Hennessy, Public Opinion
Chap. 17- Mass Communication and Public Opinion(243-53)
Chap. 18- Television and Radio(254-68)
12. Kelley, Stanley, "The Emerging Conventions of Campaign Television" in Agranoff(277-83).
13. Lubell, Samuel, "Personalities vs. Issues" in Kraus (151-62).

14. McGinniss, Joe, "Honoring the Illusion" in Collier (126-36).
15. McGinniss, The Selling of the President.
16. McGinniss, "The Selling of the President 1968" in Greenberg & Young(276-85).
17. MacNeil, Robert, "Candidate Exposure in Uncontrolled Media" in Agranoff(310-19).
18. Mendelsohn, Harold and Irving Crespi, Polls, Television and the New Politics
 Chap. 4.- Does Exposure to National Broadcasts of Election Forecasts and Results Affect Terminal Voting Behavior(170-246)
 Chap. 5- Indirect Political Effects of Mass Media (247-319)
19. Mendelsohn & Crespi, "Television and the New Politics" in Ippolito & Walker(34-47).
20. Minow, Newton & Lee Mitchell, "Incumbent Television: A Case of Indecent Exposure", Annals, May 1976(74-87)
21. Napolitan, Joseph, "Media Costs and Effects in Political Campaigns", Annals, Sept. 1976(114-24).
22. Nixon, Richard, "The Checkers Speech" in Christenson (375-83).
23. Patterson, Thomas & Robert McClure, "Television and the Less-Interested Voter: The Costs of an Informed Electorate", Annals, May 1976(88-97).
24. Schwartz, Tony, "The Inside of the Outside" in Agranoff (344-58).
25. Seltz, Herbert and Richard Yoakam, "Production Diary of the Debates" in Kraus(25-55).
26. Tuchman, Sam and Thomas Coffin, "The Influence of Election Night Television Broadcasts in a Close Election", POQ, 35(315-26).
27. White, 1960, Chap. 11- Round Two: The Television Debates(279-95); also in Owens & Steidenraus(228-40).
28. Witcover, Jules, "Radio Use in the Television Era" in Agranoff(296-99).

CAMPAIGNS(GENERAL)

1. Agranoff, Robert, "The New Style of Campaigning: The Decline of Party and the Rise of Candidate-centered Technology" in Agranoff(3-48).
2. Bibby & Davidson, On Capitol Hill, Chap. 2- Campaigns and Elections: Two Cases(25-78).
3. Bone & Ranney, Politics and Voters, Chap. 5- Nominations(76-99).
4. Cantor, Voting Behavior and Presidential Elections, Chap. 7- Presidential Election Campaign Techniques (95-111).

5. Clem, The Making of Congressman, any chapter but esp. Chap. 9- Seven Campaigns for Congress: A Comparative Perspective.
6. Davis, Lanny, "Why Lowenstein Lost: Ethics, Crooks, and Carpetbaggers" in Peters & Fallows(234-46).
7. Fisher, Harry, "How the 'I Dare You' Candidate Won" in Agranoff(79-86).
8. Polsby & Wildavsky, Presidential Elections, Chap. 5- The Campaign(157-91).
9. Ross, Irwin, "The Supersalesmen of California Politics: Whitaker and Baxter" in Christenson(442-52).
10. Schoenberger, Robert, "Campaign Strategy and Party Loyalty: The Electoral Relevance of Candidate Decision-making in the 1964 Congressional Elections", APSR, 63(515-20).
11. Sorauf, Party Politics in America, Chap. 10- The Election for Election(234-65).
12. Stokes, Donald E. "Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency", APSR, 60(19-27).
13. White, 1964
Chap. 11- Barry Goldwater's Campaign(315-46)
Chap. 12- Lyndon Johnson's Campaign(347-77)
14. White, 1960, 64, 68, 72, passim.
15. Heard, Alexander, "The Organization and Function of Campaigns" in Johnson & Walker(52-72).
16. Shapiro, Walter, "One Who Lost" in Peters & Fallows (234-46).

CONVENTIONS

1. Burke, Fred, "Senator Kennedy's Convention Organization" in Weinbaum & Gold(121-27).
2. Burns, James M., "The Case for Smoke-filled Rooms" in Johnson & Walker(40-42).
3. Congressional Quarterly, Current American Government 76, "Delegate Selection"(123-33).
4. David, The Politics of National Party Conventions
Chap. 9- Apportionment and Voting Structure(166-92)
Chap. 13- The Delegations(248-64)
Chap. 14- Voting Power and Strategy: The Road to Consensus(265-91)
Chap. 15- Convention Action and Election Results
5. Herring, E. Pendleton, "The Uses for National Conventions" in Johnson & Walker(36-39).
6. McCloskey, Herbert, "Are Political Conventions Undemocratic" in Bach & Sulzner(80-91).
7. Mailer, Norman, "Miami & the Siege of Chicago" & "St. George and the Godfather" in Weinbaum & Gold(187-95).

8. Polsby, Nelson W., "Decision-Making at the National Convention" in Weinbaum & Gold(196-200).
9. Polsby & Wildavsky, Presidential Elections, Chap. 4- Nomination: At the Convention(122-53).
10. Sorauf, Party Politics in America,(287-305).
11. Sullivan, Explorations in Convention Decision Making Chap. 2- Changes in Presidential Nominating Conventions and Their Political Environment(16-29)
Chap. 4- The Institutionalization of Group Caucuses (67-80)
Chap. 6- Convention Decision Making: The Crucial Decisions(287-305)
12. Sullivan, The Politics of Representation Chap. 1- Four Dilemmas in Representation(1-16)
Chap. 3- Arenas of Decision(41-70)
Chap. 4- Innovation and Compromise: The Making of a Party Platform(71-115)
13. White, 1964, Chap. 7- Barry Goldwater's Convention: Coup at the Cow Palace(190-220).
14. White, 1972, Chap. 7- Confrontation at Miami(158-92).
15. Wildavsky, Aaron, "What Can I Do?: Ohio Delegates View the Democratic Convention" in Weinbaum & Gold(235-43)

DETERMINING FACTORS IN VOTING

1. Bone & Ranney, Politics and Voters, Chap. 1- Setting and Psychology of Voting(1-16).
2. Brody, Richard & Benjamin Page, "The Assessment of Policy Voting" in Niemi & Weisberg(196-209).
3. Cantor, Voting Behavior and Presidential Elections, Chap. 5- Issues and Candidates(61-78).
4. Erikson & Luttbeg, American Public Opinion, Chap. 7- Elections as Instruments of Popular Control(213-52).
5. Fleitas, Daniel, "Bandwagon and Underdog Effects in Minimal-Information Elections", APSR, 65(434-38).
6. Greenstein, American Party System, Chap. 3- Citizen Politics: The Behavior of the Electorate(18-42).
7. Kelley, Stanley and Thad Mirer, "The Simple Act of Voting" in Dreyer & Rosenbaum(247-72).
8. McCormick, Richard, "Ethno-Cultural Interpretations of 19th Century American Voting Behavior", PSQ, 89 (351-77).
9. Pomper, Voter's Choice, Chap. 9- Variability in Electoral Behavior.
10. Schulman, Mark and Gerald Pemper, "Variability in Electoral Behavior: Longitudinal Perspectives from Causal Modeling" in Niemi & Weisberg(196-209).

11. Tufte, Edward R., "Determinants of the Outcomes of Midterm Congressional Elections" in Niemi & Weisberg (248-73); also in APSR, 69(812-26).

ELECTORAL COALITIONS

1. Axelrod, Robert, "Where the Votes Came From: An Analysis of Electoral Coalitions" in APSR, 66(11-20).
2. Gelb & Palley, Tradition and Change, Chap. 6- The Changing Nature of Political Alignments(130-64).
3. Nie et.al., The Changing American Voter
Chap. 13- The Party Coalitions(210-42)
Chap. 14- Attitude Change among Groups(243-69)
4. Orum, Anthony, "Religion and the Rise of the Radical White: The Case of Southern Wallace Support in 1968" in Nimmo & Bonjean(474-88).
5. Phillips, The Emerging Republican Majority
Chap. 1- Introduction(25-42)
Chap. 6- The Future of American Politics(461-74)
6. Rubin, Party Dynamics
Chap. 1- Democrats and the Changing Metropolis(11-29)
Chap. 2- The Catholic Factor(30-49)
Chap. 3- Labor and the Democratic Coalition(50-64)
Chap. 5- The Changing Democratic Electorate and Elite Factionalism(87-106)
7. Scammon, The Real Majority
Chap. 4- Demography is Destiny: Unyoung, Unpoor, Unblack(45-58)
Chap. 5- Demography is Destiny: Middle-aged, Middle-Class Whites(59-71)
8. Sundquist, James, "The Myth of New Majorities" in Dreyer & Rosenbaum(334-41).

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

1. Brams, Steven & Morton Davis, "The 3/2's Rule in Presidential Campaigning", APSR, 68(113-34).
2. Kallenbach, Joseph, "Our Electoral College Gerrymander" in Johnson & Walker(105-12).
3. Pierce, The People's President
Chap. 2- The Birth of the Electoral College(28-57)
Chap. 5- Electing a President Today
Chap. 6- Reform Efforts of Two Centuries(151-204)
Chap. 8- Today's Alternative: Direct Vote or the Status Quo(253-301)

ETHNIC POLITICS

1. Buckley, William, "Manipulating the Jewish Vote" in Ruchelman(106-17).
2. Fuchs, Ethnic Politics
Fuchs, "Some Political Aspects of Immigration(10-31)
Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting"(163-93).
3. Hadde, Jeffrey, "The Making of the Negro Mayors, 1967" in Ruchelman(122-39).
4. Levy & Kramer, The Ethnic Factor
Chap. 1- The Ethnic Factor(9-24)
Chap. 8- The Ethnic and Winning the Presidency (191-221)
5. Lockard, New England State Politics, Chap. 11- Ethnic Elements in New England Politics(305-19).
6. Parenti, Michael, "Ethnic Politics and the Persistence of Ethnic Identification", APSR, 61(717-26).

FINANCING

1. Adamany, David, "Financing National Politics" in Agranoff(379-409).
2. Adamany, "The Sources of Money: An Overview", Annals, May 1976(17-32).
3. Agree, George, "Public Financing After the Supreme Court Decision", Annals, May 1976(134-42).
4. Alexander, Financing Politics
Chap. 2- Dollar Politics: Increasing Costs of Campaigns(13-38)
Chap. 3- The Pocketbook Advantage: Does Money Win Elections? (39-60)
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APPENDIX B

SYLLABUS FOR

"AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND THE MOVIES"

AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND THE MOVIES
Facts and Fantasies in the Hollywood Film
Prof. Glenn Phelps Interim 1977

INTRODUCTION: This course is meant to be an introductory experience to the world of American political campaigning. It will, however, employ an approach that is probably a bit different than in most other courses. Serving as our focal point of study will be a series of seven(7) Hollywood films. Aside from being entertaining, these films are important in the context of this course because they say some interesting things about American campaign politics. Some of the ideas in these films are, to some degree, realistic appraisals. Other ideas are based on what the filmmaker believes is true, but, in fact, probably is not. Many other ideas expressed in the films fall somewhere between fact and fiction. These seven films will be used to set the agenda for this course. The questions they help raise will be resolved(hopefully) by subsequent reading, thinking, discussions, and other activities.

DESIGN: Another way in which this course seeks to be different is that a great deal of freedom and initiative in the learning process will rest with you, the student. While certain objectives will be required of all students, each of you will be expected to embark on areas of study and activity that appeal to you. A preliminary schedule of activities is included in this syllabus. The films will, because of booking requirements, almost always be shown on the dates listed. However, it is hoped that your questions, curiosity, and interest will help determine what topics will be dealt with and in what order. Other topics or activities can and will be added or subtracted from this preliminary list whenever students show sufficient interest in an area.

EVALUATION: Final grades for this course will be determined through the use of an open-ended point system. The minimum point totals required for each grade are:

A = 425 points
B = 350 points
C or S= 275 points
F or U= less than 275 points

Some activities will be required of every student in the class. Below is a list of these activities and the maximum points possible for each. Any work which does not achieve the objectives stated in the evaluation criteria will be returned without a grade. It may be resubmitted and reevaluated when all of the objectives have been satisfied.

<u>Required Activity</u>	<u>Maximum Points</u>
Quizzes(2) 50 pts@	100
Inquiry papers(2) 50 pts@	100
Opinion research project	50
Class participation	60
Panel discussion	20
Television campaign ads	50

Each student must complete all of the above activities by the end of the interim. Additional optional exercises may be performed for credit(see Optional Exercises section of this syllabus).

INQUIRY PAPERS(100 points): One of the reasons for using films in this course is to get you to think about campaign politics. Specifically, you should be stimulated to ask questions about the facts or fantasies illustrated in these movies. Inquiry papers are opportunities to explore those questions or ideas on your own. The procedure for doing an inquiry paper is as follows: 1) select a question or concept that interests you, 2) meet with the instructor to get your topic approved and mutually agree on a reading list, 3) use these readings to develop the answers to your question. Again, the hope is that you will pursue topics that interest you. The criteria for a successful paper are:

- A) Each paper must begin with a statement summarizing the problem(or question) and explaining why you have an interest in it.
- B) The paper's body should summarize some of the alternatives to the question and compare, contrast, or analyze the key points of each of the alternative viewpoints.
- C) The paper should conclude with your evaluation of the findings. Whose approach do you think is more correct? Why?
- D) The entire paper should be approximately 1,000 words long and must be written with accurate spelling and correct syntax.

QUIZZES(100 points): There will be two announced quizzes occurring near the end of each two-week period. The quizzes will be worth a maximum of 50 points a piece. They will cover any material discussed in class as well as any readings which have been assigned to the entire class. The format of the quizzes will be announced at least two days prior to each quiz. Failure to achieve at least 35 points on each quiz will result in a retest.

CLASS PARTICIPATION(60 points): This evaluation will be based upon four one-week periods, each of which will be worth a maximum of 15 points. The evaluation criteria are as follows:

- A) You are expected to read any and all assignments and be prepared to discuss them in class.
- B) You are urged to offer questions, insights, or criticisms on any relevant matters.
- C) The quality of your contributions will be considered. Quantity alone will not guarantee the top grade.
- D) Any unexcused absence will result in an automatic 3 point decrease in that week's total. Repeated absences will result in greater penalties.

PANEL DISCUSSIONS(20 points): Every person will appear in at least one panel discussion(usually 3 persons at a time). These panels will convene shortly after each film. Discussion questions will be circulated to all students prior to the film. Members of the panel should be prepared to offer their views concerning any of those discussion questions. In addition, panelists should be prepared to field other questions or ideas from the class as a whole.

OPINION RESEARCH PROJECT(50 points): This project seeks to acquaint you with the methodology of public opinion (or survey) research. The exercise will be a group effort involving 3-5 students per group. The specific objectives for this project are:

- A) Develop a working hypothesis for your survey, e. g. College Students are more Democratic than their parents. Be prepared to explain why your hypothesis is important.
- B) Develop a questionnaire that will provide information sufficient to determine the validity of the hypothesis.
- C) Design a sampling technique and be able to describe how you would administer the survey.

Readings will be available that should help you to understand each of these tasks. The questionnaire itself must be reproduced(mimeo) so that the entire class can have a copy for their examination. The work may be shared in any way the group prefers to do it, but each person will receive the same grade, and each person must be able to answer questions about the project. Some class time may be allowed for this activity.

TELEVISION CAMPAIGN ADS(50 points): This project is designed to familiarize each student with the peculiar techniques of political image-selling utilized in television ad campaigns. Each group of 3-5 students will do the following:

- A) Write a 30-second spot ad for a candidate(real or fictitious) of their choice.
- B) Write a 3-minute TV ad for the same candidate.
- C) Utilizing the video-tape equipment, produce each of these ads in an effective manner.
- D) Be prepared to discuss the political and media principles you used in writing and producing these advertisements.

These programs will be shown in class. Members of the group should be able to discuss their work. Tasks may be shared but, again, each group member receives the same grade. Video equipment is tightly scheduled so you will need to arrange times with the A-V office well in advance for your productions.

OPTIONAL EXERCISES: One of the keystones of this course is that students are encouraged to pursue relevant topics which interest them. Efforts to engage in new activities, especially those that you have never tried before, are welcome. You might wish to relate ideas from your own academic field to this course. All such projects must have advance approval from the instructor, however. The procedure for all optional exercises will be as follows:

- A) Discuss your idea with the instructor.
- B) The student and instructor will define the task to be done and agree on a reasonable value for the work.
- C) The student will then carry out the project and complete it by the end of the interim.

Some suggestions for optional work include(but are certainly not limited to) such things as:

- 1) Additional panel discussions-- Everyone must be given the opportunity to do the required panel work before anyone may do a second one.

- 2) Additional inquiry papers-- The procedure and criteria remain the same as stated earlier.
- 3) Computer analysis-- Our computer has access to almost unlimited amounts of raw data from the Survey Research Center. The SRC has conducted public opinion surveys for over 30 years. Those with some computer experience (or even those without) might wish to investigate some hypotheses about elections by using the computer.
- 4) Survey research-- You may wish to administer the survey that you developed earlier. You could do this and analyze your data and reach some conclusions about your hypothesis.

TENTATIVE SCHEDULE OF ACTIVITIES

- Jan. 10 I- Orientation
11 I- Fact and Fantasy in Film, II- American Political Culture: Are Americans a Unique People?
12 I- MEET JOHN DOE, II- Panel Discussion
13 I- What are the Attitudes and Beliefs of the American People?, II- How is Public Opinion Formed?
14 I- THE DARK HORSE, II- Panel Discussion
17 I- Who Participates in Campaigns?, II- Are Issues of any Importance?
18 I- ALL THE KING'S MEN, II- Panel Discussion
19 I- What Role Do Political Parties Play?, II- What Are the Prerequisites to Running for Political Office?
20 I- How Do You Organize a Campaign?, II- How Do You Raise Money For a Campaign?
21 I- THE GREAT MCGINTY, II- Panel Discussion
24 I- Ethnic Politics: What's in a Name?, II- What is the Role of the Political Machines?
25 I- THE LAST HURRAH, II- Panel Discussion
26 I- Does the Electoral College Make a Difference?, II- What Strategies are Available in Getting Delegates?
27 I- What is the Role of a Primary?, II- How Does a Convention Choose a Candidate?
28 I- THE BEST MAN, II- Panel Discussion
31 I- What Practical Rules Apply to Political Campaigns?, II- Do the News Media Play a Large Role in Campaigns?
Feb. 1 I- Can You Create an "Image"?, II- Is Television the Deciding Factor?
2 I- THE CANDIDATE, II- Panel Discussion
3 I- TV Ad Projects, II- What Does the Future Hold for American Elections?
4 I- Are Any Reforms Necessary?, II- QUIZ

NOTE: This schedule is only a tentative one. We may spend more time on some topics and less on others. You are encouraged to suggest additional topics or activities. Other in-class activities will be added as necessary.

APPENDIX C

STUDY GUIDES FOR
"AMERICAN POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING AND THE MOVIES"

Study Guide for MEET JOHN DOE

1. Does the John Doe character give you any ideas about how to create a public figure?

2. What are Long John Willoughby's character traits when we first meet him? What makes him an ideal John Doe?

3. What seems to motivate most of the individuals in this film(especially when we first meet them)?

4. Who is D. B. Norton? What does he represent? Is he a stereotype or do you think he represents some elements of reality?

5. What is the Colonel's philosophy? Does he represent any aspect of American political culture?

6. What is the philosophy stated in John Doe's first radio speech? Did you find it appealing? Why or why not?

7. How are politicians portrayed in this film. Do you think the portrayal is accurate?

8. Where do the John Doe Clubs get their start? Is their any significance in this? (HINT: Elazar may be of some interest here.)

9. Does American society always require a great or good man to govern it? Are the masses capable of effectively governing themselves? (The John Doe convention may be of some interest here.)

10. What techniques were used to spread the John Doe Movement? Could these techniques be successfully used in a modern political campaign?

11. Is it possible for a John Doe Party to be successful in this country? Can any third party expect the success spoken about in this film?

12. Is there any latent violence in "John Doe" or any of the other "ordinary" people portrayed in this film? How do they resolve personal and organizational conflicts?

13. Who is at the dinner meeting at Norton's? Is there any significance in this? Is government viewed as little more than a grand conspiracy in this film?

14. Are there any contradictions in Cannell's drunken speech to John Doe? Are any of his thoughts revealing about our national character?
15. What is the difference between John Doe and D. B. Norton? In what ways are they very much alike?
16. Does anything bother you about the John Doe Movement? Do you really think it would be a beneficial thing in our society?
17. What role do the mass media play in the rise of the John Doe Movement? Would the Movement have ever happened without the newspapers? without the radio?
18. Are there any modern parallels to the John Doe Movement?

Study Guide for THE DARK HORSE

1. What does "dark horse" mean? Does Hicks conform to what one should expect in a dark horse candidate?

2. Is the convention realistically depicted? Could a hick such as Hicks really be nominated?

3. Is it possible for a candidate to be "sold" like any other consumer product?

4. Do the "media events" arranged for Hicks have any semblance with reality? Have there been historical examples of these kinds of staged events?

5. How does Hicks handle press relations? Would his responses to a press conference be satisfactory today?

6. Does Hicks have the qualities necessary for a viable candidacy? What qualities does he lack?

7. Does Hal Blake make any attempt to be truthful? Is he characteristic of all campaign managers and of all campaigns?

8. Would you consider the campaign a "dirty" one? How would you define that term?

9. Is it ironic that we first meet Blake when he is in jail? Does this suggest anything about the integrity of political campaigns?

10. How is the voting public viewed in this film? Are they seen as intelligent or foolish? What does Hal Blake think?

11. How likely is it that a political party would call in an outside expert to run a campaign?

12. Is personal morality a matter of great importance in modern campaigning? Is Hicks' lechery likely to be a campaign issue in modern campaigns?

Study Guide for ALL THE KING'S MEN

1. In what state or region do you think this film takes place. Why? Does this suggest the existence of regional political cultures?
2. Lord Acton once remarked that "Power tends to corrupt. But absolute power corrupts absolutely." Do you think this aphorism helps one to understand Willie Stark?
3. Is there anything unsettling about the fact that Stark is supported by so many people-- even some who seem to be quite intelligent?
4. When Willie Stark states that he has learned "how to win", do you know what he means? Do you think that Stark's success formula is universal?
5. What makes Willie such an attractive candidate (he certainly isn't good-looking)?
6. Does the Kanoma County Courthouse represent an accurate portrayal of rural party politics? Is the rural political machine any different from the urban sort?
7. Where does the money come for Stark's campaign? Is this a fair representation of political reality?

8. Can a candidate who appeals to the electorate strictly on the basis of issues win? Was Willie successful with this strategy?

9. How does Stark use the Governor's office to guarantee that he will win future elections?

10. Does Willie Stark's career suggest that reform within a political party is possible?

11. What is the role of the press in this film? Is Jack Burden the modern Jody Powell or _____ Chuck Colson?

12. Is the kind of political campaigning seen here similar to modern styles of campaigning?

13. Why is the character of the Doctor so important to the film? Why is he chosen for the film's final act of violence?

APPENDIX D

PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE A

SECTION ONE-- Please answer all of the following questions to the best of your present knowledge and understanding.

1. What is your present Grade Point Average? _____
2. What is your academic major? _____
3. What is your class standing? _____
4. How many interim courses(not including this one) have you taken? _____
5. Have you ever taken a course with this instructor?

6. How many college political science courses have you taken? _____
7. Did you ever take a political science/government course in high school? _____
8. Have you ever taken a course in which Hollywood films were used? _____
- 8A. If answer to 8 is yes, explain how the films were used as an educational tool?

SECTION TWO-- The questions in this section will present you with a situation and then ask you to choose from several alternative responses. Please circle the response which comes closest to your present beliefs.

1. Would you like to take another political science course in the future?
YES NO NOT SURE
2. Do you plan to take any more political science courses at IWC?
YES NO NOT SURE

For questions 3 through 8, the numbers beneath each question represent the following opinions:

- 1= DEFINITELY YES
- 2= PROBABLY YES
- 3= MAYBE
- 4= PROBABLY NOT
- 5= DEFINITELY NOT

3. Would you vote in an election for President of the US?
 1 2 3 4 5
4. Would you vote in an election for City Council of your town?
 1 2 3 4 5
5. If a friend made a political statement you disagreed with, would you discuss the issue with him?
 1 2 3 4 5
6. Would you work in a political campaign for a candidate you supported?
 1 2 3 4 5
7. If friends asked you to run for public office, would you?
 1 2 3 4 5
8. Would you watch a debate between two candidates on TV?
 1 2 3 4 5

SECTION THREE-- This section asks you to evaluate the typical IWC course. Simply circle the point (or number) on the scale which you believe most nearly represents your evaluation of a typical IWC course.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1. uncoordinated | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | coordinated |
| 2. unfair | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | fair |
| 3. dull | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | exciting |
| 4. conservative | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | innovative |
| 5. limited | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | far-reaching |
| 6. bad | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | good |
| 7. untimely | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | timely |
| 8. non-action | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | action |
| 9. weak | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | strong |
| 10. disorganized | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | organized |
| 11. passive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | active |
| 12. rambling | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | coherent |
| 13. easy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | difficult |
| 14. unsuccessful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | successful |
| 15. simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | complex |
| 16. empty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | full |
| 17. unpleasant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | pleasant |
| 18. narrow | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | broad |
| 19. constricted | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | unlimited |
| 20. disapprove | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | approve |
| 21. useless | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | useful |
| 22. unimportant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | important |
| 23. unclear | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | clear |
| 24. rigid | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | flexible |
| 25. regressive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | progressive |

APPENDIX E

POSTTEST QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONNAIRE B

SECTION ONE-- Please answer all of the following questions to the best of your present knowledge.

1. What is your present Grade Point Average? _____
2. What is your academic major? _____
3. What is your class standing? _____
4. How many interim courses(not including this one) have you taken? _____
5. Have you ever taken a course with this instructor?

6. How many college political science courses have you taken? _____
7. Did you ever take a political science/government course in high school? _____
8. Have you ever taken a course in which Hollywood films were used? _____
- 8A. If the answer to 8 is yes, explain how the films were used as an instructional tool.

SECTION TWO-- The questions in this section will present you with a situation and ask you to choose from several alternative responses. Please circle the response which comes closest to your present beliefs.

1. Would you like to take another political science course in the near future?
YES NO NOT SURE
2. Do you plan to take any more political science courses at IWC?
YES NO NOT SURE

For questions 3 through 8, the numbers beneath each question represent the following feelings:

- 1= DEFINITELY YES
- 2= PROBABLY YES
- 3= MAYBE
- 4= PROBABLY NOT
- 5= DEFINITELY NOT

3. Would you vote in an election for President?
1 2 3 4 5
4. Would you vote in an election for City Council of your town?
1 2 3 4 5
5. If a friend made a political statement you disagreed with, would you discuss it with him?
1 2 3 4 5
6. Would you work in a political campaign for a candidate you supported?
1 2 3 4 5
7. If friends asked you to run for public office, would you?
1 2 3 4 5
8. Would you watch a debate between two candidates on TV?
1 2 3 4 5

SECTION THREE-- This section asks you to evaluate this course. Simply circle the point(or number) on the scale which you believe most closely represents your evaluation of this course.

- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|--------------|
| 1. uncoordinated | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | coordinated |
| 2. unfair | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | fair |
| 3. dull | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | exciting |
| 4. conservative | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | innovative |
| 5. limited | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | far-reaching |
| 6. bad | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | good |
| 7. untimely | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | timely |
| 8. non-action | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | action |
| 9. weak | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | strong |
| 10. disorganized | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | organized |
| 11. passive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | active |
| 12. rambling | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | coherent |
| 13. easy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | difficult |
| 14. unsuccessful | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | successful |
| 15. simple | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | complex |
| 16. empty | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | full |
| 17. unpleasant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | pleasant |
| 18. narrow | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | broad |
| 19. constricted | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | unlimited |
| 20. disapprove | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | approve |
| 21. useless | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | useful |
| 22. unimportant | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | important |
| 23. unclear | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | clear |
| 24. rigid | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | flexible |
| 25. regressive | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | progressive |

SECTION FOUR-- The questions in this section are designed to reveal your feelings regarding the use of films in this course. As in the other sections, it is hoped that your responses will be honest. Several of the questions ask you to respond in more detail. Use the back if you need to.

1. Would you take another course in which Hollywood films were used as an important part of the instruction?
 YES NO MAYBE
Please explain your answer.

2. Did the films have any effect on your level of interest in the subject?
 my interest was increased
 my interest was decreased
 there was little or no change in my interest
Please explain your answer.

3. Did the concepts and ideas expressed in the films...
 make it more difficult for you to understand the course material?
 make it easier for you to understand the course material?
 have little impact on you one way or another?
Please explain your answer.

4. Do you believe the films affected your performance in this course in any way? Please explain.

5. What advantages do you think the films brought to this course? What disadvantages do you think they brought? Please explain.

6. Was the time spent viewing and discussing the films...

_____ too much?

_____ too little?

_____ about right?

Please explain your answer.

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