

An Appeal to Newspaper Authority in Television Political Ads: A Case Study



Chris Roberts

Doctoral Student

The University of South Carolina

chrisrob@chrisrob.com

Presented August 2005

Ethics and Politics: Exploring Issues in Ads, Campaigns and Coverage

Media Ethics Division

Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

San Antonio, Texas

ABSTRACT: A textual analysis of two television advertisements, created by a U.S. Senate candidate during the 2004 general election in South Carolina, shows how newspapers are used (and misused) to introduce perceptions of independent authority in partisan political advertising. The functional theory of political discourse is used to examine how the ads use newspapers as a third-party authority to defend against opposing ads, to attack opponents, and to acclaim the candidate's achievements.



Screen shots from Inez Tenenbaum's "Truth" and "Progress" TV ads

An Appeal to Newspaper Authority in Television Political Ads: A Case Study

INTRODUCTION: During the general election for the U.S. Senate in South Carolina¹ in 2004, Democratic Inez Tenenbaum and eventual winner Republican Jim DeMint combined to spend millions of dollars for television advertising (Hall, 2004) to peddle themselves as the better candidate. Both candidates' televised ads cited newspapers as sources. This paper uses two Tenenbaum ads – "Truth" and "Progress," which debuted in last six weeks before the Nov. 2 election – as examples of how newspapers are used in hopes of bolstering the credibility of the candidate's argument in television advertising. These two ads may or may not be representative of ways newspapers are used in televised political advertising. This paper argues that ads typify Slade's observation (2002) that the use of newspapers as an appeal to authority gave those ads a force that derive from "ambiguities and possibilities of elaboration they contain." Simply put, the ads' creators reinterpreted the newspapers' original meaning behind what was published, and sometimes in misleading ways, to send overt and latent messages to the audience. This argument may not be

¹ Because of the relatively high cost of producing a television ad and buying air time, most broadcast political ads in South Carolina in the July-to-November political season were for the U.S. Senate.

generalizable beyond the scope of these two ads, but a cursory look at political advertising literature and collections of political television ads available online shows that TV ads rely on newspapers as sources.²

A framework for this analysis is the functional theory of political discourse (Benoit, et al, 2000). Its proposition is that voting is a comparative act, so candidates use political campaign messages because they must distinguish themselves from opponents in order to win a majority (or plurality) of votes in an election. The theory states that acclaim, attack and defense – on themes of policy or character – are the three basic functions of discourse. Policy themes can be divided into sub-themes of general goals, a past deed, or a plan for the future. Character themes can be divided into sub-themes of personal ideals, personal qualities, and leadership. Also key to the analysis is the observation of Jamieson (1992) that candidates have 10 techniques to respond to attack ads. Among them is to use the press' credibility as a source of evidence. This paper will look at how two Tenenbaum ads used newspapers to acclaim, attack, and defend, based upon the functional theory of political discourse.

THE REVERENT APPEAL: A basic advertising technique is the appeal to authority, *argumentum ad verecundiam*.³ The technique can be effective because “in general, authorities have special clout when it comes to using persuasive words” (Jacobs, 1995). In television advertising, the approach is taken to extremes, such as the series of ads included an actor selling a medical product by declaring that he is “not a doctor, but I play one on television.” This type of arguments has long been considered a classic example of faulty logic; Vorobej's

² A search for “newspaper” at <http://livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us> shows newspapers in six commercials from 1952 to 2004. Or see “Pollie” winners from the American Association of Political Consultants at <http://www.theaapc.org>.

³ Literally, “appeal to reverence.”

(2002) review of Walton (2002) notes that appeals to authority “raise similar complex issues of epistemic trust” that deserve an “extremely subtle and nuanced view” from receivers. Despite the rational difficulties inherent in appeals to authority in classic rhetoric, Slade (2002) argues that some television advertising that uses this approach is successfully persuasive despite – and because of – its enthymematic⁴ nature:

Spelling out the suppressed premises is often a tedious and unrewarding affair, like spelling out the meaning of a metaphor. Nevertheless, I think it is worth remembering that much of the force of advertisements derives from the ambiguities and possibilities of elaboration they contain.

Slade includes political advertising in her argument that non sequitur appeals to authority can be effective. She calls it a self-fulfilling prophecy that many political ads make an irrational appeal to voters because admakers incorrectly assume that voters are irrational. It can be argued that political ads use a marketing approach similar to other products sold on television (but see Thorson, Christ, and Caywood, 1991, who state that the “assumption of ‘selling candidates like toothpaste’ might represent how people process political commercials.”) Moreover, political admakers limit the creative approaches they use to sell their candidate. Ads that include bikini-wearing twins might work for beer, but they would be universally perceived as inappropriate in a political ad. Political ads generally employ a seeming appeal to reason – amid the choices of music, voice inflection, images, and other semiotic variables employed in hopes of making the desired emotional appeal to voters. Biocca (1991a, italics his) says the goal of political advertising is to “create, restructure and manage the *perception* (meaning) of the candidate, as well as the *issues* of the election.”

⁴ Defined by Webster as a “syllogism in which one of the premises or the conclusion is not stated explicitly.”

One staple of televised political advertising, particularly for candidates seeking state or local office, is the appeal to the authority of newspapers. It can be as simple as a candidate listing the endorsements of newspaper editorial boards,⁵ or displaying a newspaper headline or quoting “the media” to bolster a claim.

WHY CANDIDATES NEED NEWSPAPERS ON TV: At least publicly, many political candidates claim to lament the trends in current political advertising. Former Alabama Gov. Don Siegelman once spent much of a half-hour interview (personal communication, April 13, 1994) decrying the difficulties of raising the money needed to produce ads and to saturate television markets; more importantly, he said, 30-second ads cheapen political discourse because of their simplicity and negativity. This, of course, did not stop Siegelman’s campaign from spending \$11.5 million in the 2002 campaign, in which he lost a gubernatorial re-election campaign despite advertising that Beiler (2003) compared to “a ‘did not, did too’ playground spat” that appeared “childish to many voters and editorialists.”

Siegelman – like other candidates – spend the time and the money because they know they must, and because they know that television ads work. The ads reduce the traditional need for candidates to engage in the exhausting and time-consuming “retail” politicking of handshakes and baby-kissing. The ads also serve an agenda-setting function by determining the topics and framing of political discourse. Roberts and McCombs (1994), in a content analysis of Texas media and political advertising, showed how a political ad on a topic often was followed by newspaper coverage of that topic, and how a newspaper story

⁵ Jamieson (1992, p. 365) discussed how Ford’s admakers in the 1976 election against Jimmy Carter used a roll call of Georgia newspapers that endorsed Ford to suggest in a spot shown nationally that “[t]hose who knew Carter best trusted him least.” She noted how the announcer’s voice trailed off at the end of the list of papers, as if there were more papers but no more time to name them in the 30-second ad. In reality, the ad named all the Georgia papers that endorsed Ford; they represented less than one-tenth of the circulation of all Georgia newspapers.

on a topic often was followed by a television news story on that topic. Rosen (1999) discusses how political news reports have become to look “adlike,” noting that many journalists spend more time talking about the advertising and reaction to the advertising than they spend on reporting issues not directly connected to the ads.⁶

Most candidates for state offices spend little of their resources on newspaper advertising, but newspapers remain important to candidates for other reasons. In *Editor & Publisher*, a trade publication for the newspaper industry, Saba (2004) cites a PQ Media study predicting newspapers would receive about \$57.5 million in political advertising during the 2004 campaign. That was more than double spending in 2000 but minuscule compared to the \$2.7 billion expected to be spent, mostly on television ads, during the 2004 election cycle. The importance of newspapers to political campaigns derives from the reportorial and opinion functions of the print media, which force campaigns to devote resources to print reporters in hopes of garnering (free) coverage and endorsements. As Wayne Johnson, vice president of the American Association of Political Consultants, told Saba: “The best thing you can hope for is a positive news story. That’s worth more than anything.” In some instances, candidates adopt those positive news stories in their advertising or elsewhere in their campaign, providing an appeal to authority to make their case. Newspapers can be used as sources in “neutral reporter ads” (Trent and Friedenber, 2000, p. 147) that make “negative” charges at opponents but can be perceived to be less negative because third parties, not the candidate directly, are the tool used to make the charge.

⁶ This may be particularly true of small news organizations and local television stations, which use the images from the ads to fill the visual requirements for the television news report. Moreover, instead of reporting on salient issues or a candidate’s backgrounds, history, or fitness for office, reporters spend time “truth-squadding” the ads, tracking media buys and locations, looking for new commercials, and getting reaction about the ads. This type of reporting allows the candidates to set the reporting agenda, even if it is not a primary purpose of political advertising. See Kaid, McKinney, Tedesco, and Gaddie (1999), for example, for a discussion about journalistic coverage of political advertising.

Politicians also court the print media because voters see newspapers as the best source of political information. In a factor analysis by O’Cass (2002) of various media and how they are perceived by voters as an information source, the critical ratio of newspapers ranked slightly higher than television; no other media source ranked anywhere close. Political advertising ranked well below news media reports in source credibility, further suggesting that viewers do not necessarily trust what they see in candidates’ ads. Even newspaper advertising managers ranked political ads lowest on a believability scale of ads for products that included retailers, movies, tobacco/alcohol, and automobiles (Fletcher, Ross, and Schweitzer, 2002).

One way to advance the credibility of a political ad, then, can be to build upon the perceived value of newspapers. In this case study, the candidate used newspapers that circulate almost exclusively in the state, so the papers’ names would be recognized by most viewers. This approach would be in keeping with a theory posited by Iyengar and Vealentino (2000), who say a campaign ad is “most persuasive when it plays upon – or interacts with – voters’ prevailing expectations or predispositions.” Using a newspaper as a third-party source for ad credibility gives viewers an opportunity to receive the ad using multiple “expectations or predispositions,” since viewers can decide whether to believe the ad based upon how they perceive the candidate and/or their own perceptions of the newspaper’s credibility. This approach could backfire – if a viewer does not think a specific newspaper is credible, the viewer might be more likely to reject the candidate’s message in the ad. Or using a newspaper to make claims could work effectively for candidates who have not achieved substantial name recognition and therefore have not been “defined” by their own advertising, or by opposition ads. On the other hand, using newspapers as an authority could ultimately mean little to the audience. This could be the case for Tenenbaum’s ads because

of the sleeper effect, in which states that “over time, the source cue is forgotten more quickly than the message” (Lariscy and Tinkham, 1999). These ads were replaced in the final three weeks of the campaign by ads carrying different messages; perhaps viewers remembered the latent message that all DeMint’s ads were “lies” and “insidiously dishonest” without remembering that newspapers were the source.

GENERAL DEFENSE, ATTACK, AND ACCLAIM: Candidate Tenenbaum – a Democrat in a Republican-controlled state⁷ – found herself early in the summer of 2004 facing attack ads from opponent DeMint as well as third-party, partisan groups such as the Republican National Senatorial Committee and Americans for Job Security⁸. Many of the ads charged her with failure as the state’s superintendent of education, for alleged wasteful spending at the S.C. Department of Education, and for high-school SAT scores that rank among the lowest in the nation. Other ads claim she would force a \$2 billion tax hike on South Carolina residents. Tenenbaum spent a considerable amount of advertising effort to combat those charges while simultaneously leveling her own charges against DeMint in the same ads.

Sabato (as cited in Biocca, 1990a) says the words and images used in political advertisements are not selected by happenstance: “Nothing is left to chance: every aspect has been included for some purpose.” This is true in the “Truth” and “Progress” ads that aired

⁷ Republicans include the governor, lieutenant governor, four of six U.S. House members, one of two U.S. senators, and majorities of the S.C. House and Senate. Moreover, the state’s eight electoral votes have gone to Republicans in every presidential election since 1976.

⁸ DeMint’s advertising did not use newspapers as sources but used third parties to attack his opponent. The Republican National Senatorial Committee, like its Democratic counterpart, is officially recognized by its national party. The Center for Responsive Politics (2004) calls Americans for Job Security a “pro-business, pro-Republican” organization headed by the former political director for Pres. George H.W. Bush. Americans for Job Security is known as a “527,” named for the section of federal law that regulates groups not officially affiliated with parties. None of these outside groups are allowed to coordinate their advertising or message in concert with candidates.

in September 2004. Under Benoit's functional theory of political discourse, the two 30-second spots managed to touch on all three ways in which candidates establish their preferability. The ads:

Defend. The fundamental message in both spots is Tenenbaum's defense against charges that the ads suggest were leveled by DeMint. (As will be discussed later, third parties were responsible for some of the negative charges leveled at Tenenbaum, yet her response makes no distinction and therefore implicates DeMint as the one making the charges.) The underlying message is that DeMint is a bomb-thrower who both levels absurd charges at his political opponents and cannot defend a risky tax hike.

Attack. In both spots, the claim is made that opponent DeMint's proposal for a national sales tax would be a fiscal risk that would hurt the average taxpayer. Moreover, in the "Progress" ad Tenenbaum says DeMint should "be ashamed" for suggesting that educators, parents, and students are not working hard to improve education. The latent message is that DeMint cannot be trusted to look out for "us" common people and is willing to insult "us" for a faulty educational situation that is both not our fault and does not exist because of the improvements "we" have made.

Acclaim. The text of the "Lies" ad claims that DeMint's tax plan would lead to a recession; the latent text tells voters that Tenenbaum is the lone candidate who can be trusted to cut taxes for the average South Carolina resident. In the "Progress" ad, Tenenbaum includes herself in the list of people who "have worked hard together to improve our schools." A latent message of racial and gender inclusiveness is tucked into the first two seconds of the "Truth" ad, when Tenenbaum says in a voiceover that she approved

the message⁹. The two seconds shows her speaking to a black woman, and the candidate is surrounded by a black man (wearing an “Inez” T-shirt), another man (who appears to be white) and two more white women. The McCain-Feingold campaign reform act requires candidates to personally speak an “I approved this message” statement; including this latent message of gender and racial inclusion is an example of what political consultant Bill Carrick (quoted by The Associated Press, 2004) calls “creative ways” candidates deliver the required statement while simultaneously delivering an additional message to the audience.

NEWSPAPERS FOR DEFENSE, ATTACK, AND ACCLAIM: The ads both use an “us” versus “him and them” approach that includes several defensive tactics noted by Jamieson (1992): reframing the attack by taking umbrage at the attacker. The “us” are seen in the ads as rational people who are working hard in life and in our children’s public schools; “him and them” are DeMint and the outside groups who would have “us” believe that we need a new tax system with higher taxes and have terrible schools that are Tenenbaum’s fault. To provide thread for this “us” versus “him and them” cloth of latent discourse, Tenenbaum’s ads use newspaper credibility in all three ways described by the functional theory of political discourse to establish Tenenbaum’s preferability as a candidate:

Newspapers to defend. Both ads quote specifically from the Aug. 8, 2004, edition of *The State*, a 150,000-circulation daily newspaper owned by Knight Ridder Corp. in the South Carolina capital of Columbia. Both ads use the phrase “insidiously dishonest” from the penultimate paragraph of a column written by *State* editorial page editor Brad Warthen (2004) as an appeal to authority against claims made in anti-Tenenbaum ads. In the “Truth” ad, the phrase appears in uppercase letters; in the “Progress” ad, it rolls across the screen as

⁹ In fact, various races and both genders are visible in every live video shot in “Progress” ad. This is not the case in the “Truth” ad, in which the live video is Tenenbaum’s “I approved this message” statement.

if opening a sheet of newsprint. Both ads use the voice of an unseen male announcer with an authoritative voice. Both ads put the phrase in quotation marks to lend further notice that the words come from a credible third party; it is as if Tenenbaum is pointing away from herself and saying: “It’s not me saying this; it’s the newspaper.”

The “Progress” ad refers to *The State* as news “media,” a plural word suggesting that multiple news outlets have used the same phrase “insidiously dishonest.” Referring to a singular news outlet as a plural “medium” is a common mistake, but this “mistake” also works as a rhetorical device to make it appear that multiple sources are in agreement. The “Truth” ad uses the phrase “the verdict is in” as it displays the newspaper quotation, a judicial reference that further appeals to authority as if the newspapers are a jury that carefully weighed evidence in a trial.

The “Truth” ad also refers to *The State* newspaper on Aug. 20, when a newspaper editorial used the word “misleading” to describe anti-Tenenbaum advertisements. (“Public has a right,” 2004). The context for the word “misleading” is missing from the television ad. The editorial and ad both use those words to criticize a single ad by the “Americans for Job Security” ad, which Warthen notes was created and aired without consent of DeMint. Warthen says DeMint could do more to separate himself from the third-party ad but quotes the candidate as saying: “It makes me look bad, when I had nothing to do with it.” But Warthen’s phrase “insidiously dishonest,” as used by Tenenbaum’s ads, is changed from its original context against a specific ad by a third party to a generic attack against all anti-Tenenbaum ads, whether created by DeMint or by third parties. The voice in the “Truth” ad states: “The verdict is in: The ads against Inez Tenenbaum are misleading – lies – and insidiously dishonest.” By not stating which ads and naming their sponsors, Tenenbaum uses the newspaper’s credibility as a defensive weapon against all who would oppose her. Her

latent message: “You can’t trust anything ‘he and they’ say about me; all of it is a lie; the newspapers who should know these things say so.”

Tenenbaum further twists the original context of the “insidiously dishonest” phrase in the “Progress” ad. The ad includes a small screen shot of a DeMint ad inside of a television set with the words “DeMint Attack Ad” labeled across the tiny screen, as if DeMint’s ad used that value-laden label to describe itself. Under a bed of ominous music, the unseen announcer says DeMint “attacks our schools” with charges “news media call ‘insidiously dishonest.’ ” In reality, the Aug. 8 column by Warthen never refers to the specific DeMint ad that Tenenbaum seeks to rebut in the “Progress” ad. With her ad, Tenenbaum uses the paper’s credibility to defend herself against a DeMint ad created after the column was written. “Insidiously dishonest” indeed, especially since the original column also criticizes Tenenbaum for an unrelated attack on DeMint.

Newspapers to attack. Except for the first two seconds of Tenenbaum’s “I approved this message” comment, the entire “Truth” ad is filled with words and static images of the candidates. The words appear to come to life as they pop, roll, and slide on and off the screen. The nameplate of the newspapers appear with each quote from the paper, providing viewers a secondary way to match the quote with the newspaper in the few seconds each quote appears on the screen. A driving beat plays as the announcer pounds at DeMint; when the ad announces “the truth,” a piano chord plays as if to clear the air. What follows is a picture of Tenenbaum, smiling while words on the screen say she will “cut taxes for the middle class.” Tenenbaum leans against a pillar, a symbol of sturdiness and power. She wears a red dress as she did throughout the campaign, a message that despite being a Democrat she belongs in a “red” Republican state.

DeMint's static image is shown in three instances; in each instance DeMint's image is on the screen, the word "sales tax" also appears in the frame to tie him to the issue. A few seconds of the ad include a copy of House Resolution 25 (2003) and refers to it as the "DeMint Bill," although DeMint is one of 54 co-sponsors of the bill sponsored by U.S. Rep. Jim Lindler, R-Ga. The narrator tells the audience that DeMint's bill to create a 23 percent national sales tax is "hard to believe," an effort to coax the audience into questioning the proposal. In the final seconds of the ad, a static picture of DeMint in the upper right-hand corner of the screen grows by about 25 percent. The screen movement is enough to move the viewers' focus to that corner of the screen, where his eyes are aimed at the uppercase words "DeMINT SALES TAX" in a blue typeface.

To further bolster the claim that DeMint's tax plan is unsound, the ad includes the nameplate of The Myrtle Beach Sun-News with the phrase "could trigger a recession" pulled from an Aug. 19 editorial ("Does DeMint Deserve Savaging, 2004). The unsigned editorial, without citing evidence from an economist or other source, says: "It isn't an exaggeration to say that a national sales tax could trigger a recession from which it would take decades to emerge." Tenenbaum's ad pumps up the rhetoric beyond the editorial, calling the plan a "23 percent mega-tax" instead of using the newspaper's more neutral "national sales tax." Viewers of the ad are left to assume that the newspaper called it a "mega-tax;" the newspaper never used that loaded phrase. Viewers also would never know, unless they found the editorial on their own, that its final two paragraphs chided Tenenbaum for failing to explain how she proposes to cut taxes without increasing the federal deficit.

Also worth noting at this point that all of these direct quotes from newspapers discussed so far – "lies," "misleading," "insidiously dishonest," and "could trigger a recession" – were printed on the editorial pages. Yet this is not mentioned in Tenenbaum's

advertising, which further contributes to ambiguity (as discussed by Slade) by blurring the original context of the newspapers from how Tenenbaum uses them. Conventional newspapers, such as the ones used in the Tenenbaum ads, take great pains to separate news stories from opinion articles. They do this by methods such as having a clearly labeled “editorial” page or by placing a columnist’s photo or an “analysis” label above opinion-laden stories that appear away from the editorial page. Newspapers do this in hopes of maintaining credibility by showing readers that they try to separate “objective” fact from opinion. Tenenbaum’s ads do not make this effort to denote what is “news” and what is “opinion” in the newspapers, which allows the audience to assume that newspapers are stating as verifiable fact that DeMint’s ads are “lies” and that his sales-tax proposal could “trigger a recession.”

Newspapers to acclaim. A key purpose of the “Progress” ad is to refute charges from DeMint that South Carolina’s schools are underachieving, and that Tenenbaum is to blame as the state’s superintendent of education. Among other third-party sources, the ad also uses what purports to be a headline from *The State* newspaper: “S.C. Gets High Marks For Education Efforts” (2002). The ad includes a *State* newspaper logo but does not say when or where in the paper that the story was published. The paper’s archives show the story was published January 8, 2002, all but “buried” inside the paper on page B3, usually the last page that carries locally generated general news. The 322-word story carried a “From Staff Reports” byline, meaning that the newspaper editors or the writer did not think the story warranted a reporter’s name atop the story.

In the ad, the headline is in a type face that appears similar to one used by *The State*. The headline rolls across the screen, as if opening a newspaper page. The white box holding the headline is jagged at the bottom, making it appear as if the headline had been ripped

from an actual copy of the newspaper. In reality, the headline look on the screen was created just for the ad; the first letter of all the headline's words are capitalized, which does not follow *The State's* style of using lower-case letters in headlines for words that are common nouns. Simply put, the visual text of the headline in the ad blows it far beyond the journalistic proportion than *The State* ascribed to the story.

Also important for this discussion is knowing that the newspaper's key source for the story is *Education Week's* 2002 "Quality Counts" survey, an annual ranking by that magazine. The story summarizes South Carolina's No. 3 ranking nationwide for improved teacher training, its No. 11 rank for academic standards, and includes a self-congratulatory quote from Tenenbaum that "our efforts are on target." Instead of using *Education Week* as its source in the ad, Tenenbaum's campaign instead chose to use *The State* to bolster its claim. The campaign likely was counting on viewers to be more familiar with the authority of *The State* as a credible source than *Education Week*, which few viewers likely would recognize. Also significant is that the date of original news story did not appear in the ad; a newspaper story that viewers could see was published more than two years ago likely would be seen as less credible than a more recent story about annual rankings. Again, the campaign changed the original context and meaning of a newspaper story to bolster an advertising claim.

CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH: This paper analyzed as text two campaign commercials from a candidate in the 2004 U.S. Senate race in South Carolina, specifically focusing on how newspapers were used as independent sources to bolster the candidates' efforts to defend, attack, and acclaim. This case study may or may not be generalized to a larger population of television political ads, because there has been little academic research into how newspapers are used in televised political advertising.

Those two ads co-opted the newspapers' perceived credibility for the candidate's own purposes. Specifically, the ads blurred the distinction between opinion and "objective" news stories. Newspapers generally are careful to build a distinction between a news story and an opinion article; the ads allowed viewers to incorrectly assume that words taken from unsigned editorials and individual commentary columns were the same as verified facts from news stories.

Further research could focus on how newspapers' credibility might be negatively impacted by how televised political spots reinterpret (or misinterpret) the original newspaper content, and in how newspapers respond in print or in court after being used in candidates' commercials. While academic literature is plentiful on the topic of journalistic "ad watches" that critique political spots, there has been little academic study of newspaper reaction to misleading spots that cite the newspapers as sources.

SOURCES

- Associated Press. (2003, October 1). Campaign law requires "I approved this message" line in ads. Retrieved Nov. 28, 2004, from *Creston News Advertiser*, p. Iowa.
<http://www.crestonnewsadvertiser.com/statenews/278770189538951.php>
- Does DeMint deserve savaging?: Candidate has tax reform half wrong, half right. (2004, August 19). *The Sun-News*, p. A10.
- Beiler, D. (2003, June). Southern trilogy: How Republicans captured governorships in Georgia, South Carolina and Alabama. *Campaigns & Elections*, 16-30.
http://www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m2519/is_6_24/ai_103194257
- Benoit, W. L. (2000). A functional analysis of political advertising across media, 1998. *Communication Studies*, 51(3), 274.
- Benoit, W. L. (1999). *Seeing spots: A functional analysis of presidential television advertising, 1952-1996*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Benoit, W. L., McHale, J.P., Hansen, G.J., Pier, P.M., & McGuire, J.P. (2003). *Campaign 2000: A functional analysis of presidential campaign discourse*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Biocca, F. (1991a). The role of communication codes in political ads. In F. Biocca (Ed.), *Television and political advertising: Signs, codes and images* (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Biocca, F. (1991b). What is the language of political advertising? In F. Biocca (Ed.), *Television and political advertising: Signs, codes, and images* (Vol. 2). Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Committee For Responsive Politics. (2004). *Americans for Job Security, 2004 election cycle*. Retrieved Dec. 1, 2004, from
<http://www.opensecrets.org/527s/527events.asp?orgid=24>
- Fair Tax Act of 2003. H.R. 25, 108th Cong. (2003).
- Fletcher, A. D. R., Billy I.; Schweitzer, John C. (2002). Newspaper ad directors see political ads as less honest. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 23(1), 50-59.
- Hall, K. (2004). TV stations approved this windfall. *The Charlotte Observer*, p. A1.
- Iyengar, S., & Valentino, N.A. (2000). Who says what? Source credibility as a mediator of campaign advertising. In Lupia, M., Popskin, S.; Kuklinski, J., & Chong, D. (Ed.), *Elements of reason: cognition, choice, and the bounds of rationality*. Wellesley, Mass.: Cambridge.
- Jacobs, D. T. (1995). The red flags of persuasion. *ETC: A review of general semantics*, 52(4), 375-

- Jamieson, K. H. (1992). *Packaging the presidency: A history and criticism of presidential campaign advertising* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaid, L. L. M., Mitchell S.; Tedesco, John C.; Gaddie, Kim. (1999). Journalistic responsibility and political advertising: A content analysis of coverage by state and local media. *Communication Studies*, 50(4), 279-292.
- Lariscy, R. A. W., & Tinkham, S.F. (1999). The sleeper effect and negative political advertising. *Journal of Advertising*, 28(4), 13-26.
- O'Casey, A. (2002). Political advertising believability and information source value during elections. *Journal of Advertising*, 31(1), 63-75.
- Public has a right to know who's funding attack ads. (2004, August 20). *The State*.
- Roberts, M., & McCombs, M. (1994). Agenda-setting and political communication: Origins of the news agenda. *Political Communication*, 11(3), 249-262.
- Rosen, J. (1999). *What Are Journalists For?* New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Saba, J. (2004, September 7). Will newspapers (finally) get fair share of campaign advertising? *Editor & Publisher*. Retrieved Dec. 1, 2004, from http://www.editorandpublisher.com/eandp/search/article_display.jsp?vnu_content_id=1000625546
- S.C. gets high marks for education efforts. (2002, January 8). *The State*, p. B3.
- Slade, C. (2002). Reasons to Buy: The Logic of Advertisements. *Argumentation*, 16(2), 157-178.
- Thorson, E. C., Christ, W.G., & Caywood, C. (1991). Selling candidates like tubes of toothpaste: Is the comparison apt? In F. Biocca (Ed.), *Television and political advertising: Psychological processes* (Vol. 1, pp. 145-172). Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Trent, J.S., & Friedenberg, R.V. (2000). *Political campaign communication: Principles and practices* (4th ed.). Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Vorobej, M. (2002). Appeal to Expert Opinion: Arguments from Authority, *Argumentation*, 16(2), 251-255.
- Walton, D. N. (1997). *Appeal to Expert Opinion: Arguments from Authority*. University Park: Penn State Press.
- Warthen, B. (2004, Aug. 20). Senate race needs to shift into a more constructive gear. *The State*, p. 14.

“The Truth” ad



Tenenbaum (while speaking to voters): “I’m Inez Tenenbaum and I approve this message.”



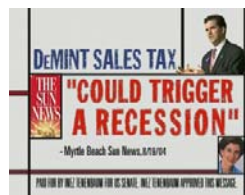
Narrator: “The verdict is in: The ads against Inez Tenenbaum are misleading: lies and insidiously dishonest.



The truth: Inez wants to cut taxes for the middle class. It’s Jim DeMint who has a plan for a new 23% sales tax.



An extra 23 cents for every dollar you spend, on almost everything you buy.



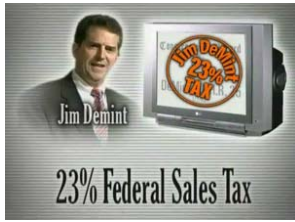
Hard to believe, but it’s true. which it would take decades to emerge.”

DeMint’s 23% mega tax could trigger a recession from

“Progress” ad



Tenenbaum: I’m Inez Tenenbaum, and I approved this message.”



Announcer: “He can’t defend his 23 percent sales tax, so Jim DeMint attacks our schools instead.



Charges news media call insidiously dishonest. PACT scores are up. We’re making progress.”



Tenenbaum: “When you hear Jim DeMint attack my record improving education, don’t be fooled.



You and I know students, teachers, parents and I have worked hard together to improve our schools.



And he should be ashamed of attacking the progress we’ve made here in South Carolina.”