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# Willie Horton and the 1988 Presidential Campaign: A Tale of Two Narratives

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**Willie Horton and the 1988 Presidential Campaign**

**A Tale of Two Narratives**

**Jose Soba**

**Pro-Seminar: U.S. History**

**Doron Ben-Atar**

**May 17, 2011**

On the morning of April 4, 1987, Maryland police apprehended a convict by the name of William R. Horton.<sup>1</sup> Horton was a Massachusetts inmate participating in the state's furlough program. Horton had received ten furloughs. On his tenth furlough, Horton failed to return to prison, instead heading to Maryland.<sup>2</sup> There, Horton assaulted a man by the name of Clifford Barnes, tying up Barnes in the basement of his home.<sup>3</sup> When Barnes' fiancée Angela Miller arrived, Horton proceeded to assault the woman, raping her twice.<sup>4</sup> Horton then fled the home in Barnes' Z28 Camaro, as was captured shortly after.<sup>5</sup> Horton was sentenced to two consecutive life sentences for his actions, and sent to a maximum security penitentiary in Maryland, where he resides to this day.<sup>6</sup> William R. Horton probably would have faded into obscurity following his conviction. Instead, Horton became an unwitting player in the 1988 Presidential Election. The story of Horton's grisly actions while on furlough was seized upon by conservatives. The story was used by the Right to undermine the political aspirations of Michael S. Dukakis. Dukakis was the Democratic candidate for president during the election, and governor of Massachusetts at the time Horton committed his crime. William R. Horton came to be known as "Willie" Horton, his face becoming just as recognizable to the American public as those of George Bush and Michael Dukakis.

This paper seeks to demonstrate how Willie Horton was at the center of two narratives projected by conservatives. One narrative espoused the message that Michael Dukakis was soft on crime, supporting prison furloughs which allowed individuals convicted of violent crimes back into society. This narrative was explicit, it's message of

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<sup>1</sup> David C. Anderson, *Crime and the Politics of Hysteria: How the Willie Horton story changed American Justice* (New York: Random House, 1995) 45-48.

<sup>2</sup> Anderson 116-117.

<sup>3</sup> Anderson 37-38.

<sup>4</sup> Anderson 36, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Anderson 45-48.

<sup>6</sup> Anderson, 129.

Dukakis' soft stance on crime expressed through ads officially endorsed by the Bush-Quayle Campaign. But another narrative also existed, this narrative seeking to emphasize the racial aspects of the Horton story. This narrative was subtle, expressed through imagery and coded language which echoed white Americans' assumptions that most criminal activity is committed by blacks and other non-white minorities. This narrative constructed the image of Michael Dukakis as the stereotypical liberal, concerned more for the well-being of African-Americans and other minority groups than that of his fellow white Americans. Framed within the context of the Horton story, where a black criminal assaulted a white man and repeatedly raped a white woman, the image of Dukakis as a liberal became especially egregious. It presented Dukakis as a traitor to his own race, a man whose loyalty to liberal ideas resulted in a senseless act of violence. Additionally, the subtle narrative was transmitted across unofficial channels, such as conservative political action committees or PACs, which operated independently of the Bush-Quayle Campaign. As a whole, the Bush-Quayle Campaign did not engage in the spreading of this subtle narrative. However, individuals within the campaign demonstrated that they were well aware of the story's potential in stirring up racial fears, but showed no concern over this possibility.

Willie Horton's injection into the 1988 presidential campaign did not begin with the Republican Party. Rather it began with the Democratic primaries that were occurring throughout the nation, as several Democratic politicians vied for their party's nomination for president. One contender was Michael Stanley Dukakis, the then current governor of Massachusetts. Dukakis had first served as governor of Massachusetts from 1975-1979, only to lose his bid for re-election during the 1978 Democratic primaries. Dukakis would rebound

from this defeat four years later, winning a second term in 1982, and third term in 1986.<sup>7</sup> At the start of Dukakis' run for the presidency, the field of potential Democratic nominees included Gary Hart, Joe Biden, Jesse Jackson, and Al Gore.<sup>8</sup> Both Biden and Hart had dropped out of the race early on, both men involved in scandals which tarnished their public image. Jesse Jackson was running a strong campaign, having won Democratic primaries in seven states.<sup>9</sup> Meanwhile, Al Gore struggled in last place.<sup>10</sup> At a Democratic primary debate held in New York City, Gore confronted Dukakis about prison furloughs. He accused Dukakis of giving "weekend passes" to first degree murders, two of whom committed murders while on furlough. Gore then asked Dukakis if he would implement a similar policy as president, to which Dukakis countered, "The difference between you and me is that I have to run a criminal justice system, and you never have. I'm very proud of my record in fighting crime."<sup>11</sup>

By mentioning furloughs in the primary, Gore unwittingly provided the Republicans an avenue by which they could attack Dukakis' on the issue of crime. Crime was an issue which had gained increasing prominence in presidential election since the 1960s. Crime was one of the key issues Richard Nixon campaigned on during his 1968 presidential election. Nixon assured voters that he would restore law and order at a time when America appeared to be gripped by extreme lawlessness and political dissidence.<sup>12</sup> More importantly, the issue of a crime provided a convenient cover for white voters to express their racial prejudices. As

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<sup>7</sup> "Michael Dukakis Biography," *UCLA School of Public Affairs*, accessed May 8, 2011, <http://www.spa.ucla.edu/dept.cfm?d=up&s=faculty&f=faculty1.cfm&id=59>.

<sup>8</sup> Donald R. Kinder and Lynn M. Sanders, *Divided by Color: Racial Politics and Democratic Ideals* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 229.

<sup>9</sup> Kinder and Sander 230.

<sup>10</sup> John Brady, *Bad Boy: The Life and Politics of Lee Atwater* (Reading: Addison Wesley Publishing Company, 1997), 176.

<sup>11</sup> Brady 176

<sup>12</sup> Dan T. Carter, *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich: Race in the Conservative Counterrevolution, 1963-1964* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 29.

Dan T. Carter asserts in his book *From George Wallace to Newt Gingrich*, there existed strong connotations between crime and minorities in the minds of Nixon's supporters.<sup>13</sup> Nixon himself expressed the view that much of the civil disorder in the country was attributed to minorities. The president was quoted as saying, "It's all about law and order and the damn Negro-Puerto Rican groups out there."<sup>14</sup> Since then, crime became a staple of the Republican's political platform. If Gore's claim were true, they could prove detrimental to Dukakis insistence that he was tough on crime. Sitting in the audience that evening was James Pinkerton, an agent for the Bush campaign who decided to investigate Gore's claims.<sup>15</sup>

James Pinkerton was hired by the Bush-Quayle Campaign as one of thirty-five researchers tasked with finding information on Michael Dukakis.<sup>16</sup> Since Dukakis was seen as the frontrunner in the Democrats' race for presidential nominee, it was imperative that the Bush-Quayle campaign familiarize itself with the governor. Pinkerton primarily worked for Bush campaign manager Lee Atwater. Atwater, a very headstrong and ambitious personality, had developed a reputation throughout his career as a shrewd political agent. Atwater became known for his ruthless political tactics, demonstrated in the political campaigns he managed. During the 1980 congressional elections held in South Carolina's 2<sup>nd</sup> District, Atwater was accused of having organized a fake telephone survey aimed at informing white voters that Tom Turnipseed was a member of the NAACP.<sup>17</sup> Turnipseed was the Democratic nominee for congress, and a former sufferer of depression. He confronted Atwater about the calls. In full view of the press, Atwater countered, "I'm not

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<sup>13</sup> Carter 29.

<sup>14</sup> Carter 30.

<sup>15</sup> Brady 176.

<sup>16</sup> Brady 171.

<sup>17</sup> Marjorie Williams, *Reputation: Portraits in Power* (New York: Public Affairs, 2008), 216.

going to respond to that guy. In college, I understand they hooked him up to jumper cables."<sup>18</sup>

Atwater believed that it was more fruitful to appeal to voters' emotions than it was to appeal to their intellect. He asserted that it was wrong to inundate voters with facts and statistics, since they would end up forgetting most of the information.<sup>19</sup> Rather, Atwater believed that the key to success lay in what are known as "wedge" issues, issues which often centered on controversial subjects like race.<sup>20</sup> Wedge issues usually elicited strong emotional responses from voters, oftentimes negative response.<sup>21</sup> To that end, Atwater relied on the work of Pinkerton and other researchers to find aspects of Dukakis' political career that could be utilized as a wedge issue against him. Atwater and his researchers compiled a 312 page book entitled *The Hazards of Duke*, listing Dukakis' stances on a variety of political issues.<sup>22</sup> Issues featured in the book ranged from Dukakis' opposition to the death penalty, to his vetoing of a bill which would have mandated the Pledge of Allegiance in all Massachusetts' public schools.<sup>23</sup>

At first, prison furloughs were not seen by the Bush campaign as a strong enough issue to attack Dukakis on. Atwater and other campaign staffers felt that some sort of story or vignette would be required to fully get the message that Dukakis was not the right choice for the presidency.<sup>24</sup> Following up on Gore's accusations, James Pinkerton gained access to articles published by the *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune*. The *Tribune* was a Massachusetts newspaper which had run several stories on the state's furlough program, instigated by

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<sup>18</sup> Williams 216.

<sup>19</sup> Brady 148.

<sup>20</sup> Brady 148.

<sup>21</sup> Brady 148.

<sup>22</sup> Brady 172-173.

<sup>23</sup> Brady 172-173.

<sup>24</sup> Brady 188-189.

Horton's arrest following his attack on Clifford Barnes and Angela Miller.<sup>25</sup> The paper proved crucial in providing the Bush-Quayle campaign with a story that would make Dukakis' support of prison furloughs a stronger issue for Republicans to attack him on.

The *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune's* coverage of Horton dated as far back as 1976, when Horton and two other accomplices (Roosevelt Pickett and Alvin Wideman) were charged in the murder of Joseph Fournier. Fournier was a seventeen year old gas station attendant who was stabbed 19 times during a robbery committed by Horton, Pickett, and Wideman.<sup>26</sup> Following Horton's arrest in Maryland, the *Tribune* ran another story detailing the events of Horton's grisly actions. The paper also began publishing editorials questioning how a first degree murderer like Horton was granted a furlough from prison in the first place.<sup>27</sup> In time, the *Tribune* began a campaign calling for the release of Horton's records. Releasing the records would reveal the names of the officials who granted Horton ten furloughs, and demonstrate the flaws inherent to the prison furlough program.<sup>28</sup> The paper interviewed both Clifford Barnes and Angela Mills, who recounted their traumatic event to the paper. The *Tribune* followed up with additional stories concerning violent convicts who had been granted furloughs.<sup>29</sup>

The *Tribune's* coverage of Horton and prison furloughs generated much public outrage within Massachusetts. The newspaper succeeded in having Horton's records released. This led to a second campaign (sponsored by members of Joseph Fournier's family) to pass a bill, proposed by state representatives Larry Giordano and Joseph

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<sup>25</sup> Brady 176.

<sup>26</sup> Anderson 140 -141.

<sup>27</sup> Anderson 141-144.

<sup>28</sup> Anderson 148.

<sup>29</sup> Anderson 152-153, 157.

Hermann, to abolish furloughs for first degree murders.<sup>30</sup> However, the *Tribune's* true importance stemmed from the way it covered the Horton story. The *Tribune's* coverage was a precursor to the Right's presentation of Horton during the 1988 presidential election. As David C. Anderson notes in his book, *Crime and the Politics of Hysteria*, the *Tribune's* coverage of the furlough issue played on the emotions of its readers. The paper sought to drive up feelings of indignation at the fact that a person like Horton could ever been granted a release from prison, even temporarily.<sup>31</sup> The *Tribune* published articles with headlines like "There Is No Guarantee Killers Will Stay Jailed", which emphasized the supposed incompetence of people working in the Massachusetts criminal justice system, interviewing prosecutors who were unsure whether first degree murders were eligible for furloughs in the first place.<sup>32</sup> Ultimately, the *Tribune's* coverage of prison furloughs, in tandem with the Fournier's family grassroots campaign, provoked enough outrage that the state legislature had no choice but to pass the Giordano and Hermann Bill. Dukakis, mindful of both his presidential campaign and of the public's outrage, quickly signed the bill into law.<sup>33</sup> He hoped this would put the furlough issue to rest, but it did not.

In the spring of 1988, members of the Bush campaign held a number of focus groups intended at gauging the American public's knowledge of Dukakis, as well as determining which of Dukakis' political stances would be most effective at turning voters against him.<sup>34</sup> Two focus groups were held in Paramus, New Jersey during the month of May.<sup>35</sup> People attending the focus groups were told that they were participating in a study examining the

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<sup>30</sup> Anderson 143, 157-158, 162.

<sup>31</sup> Anderson 144.

<sup>32</sup> Anderson 144.

<sup>33</sup> Anderson 178-180.

<sup>34</sup> Brady 177-178.

<sup>35</sup> Carter 70.

career of Michael Dukakis. They were not told that the study was being sponsored by the Republican National Committee, or that their reactions were being observed by members of the Bush campaign.<sup>36</sup> The moderator discussed the wedge issues that Atwater and his team of researchers had hoped to use against Dukakis, mentioning the governor's veto of the mandatory Pledge of Allegiance bill, his membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, his support for gun control, and his stance against the death penalty.<sup>37</sup> Then the moderator brought up prison furloughs and Willie Horton, recounting how a tied up Clifford Barnes was forced to her his fiancée being raped by Horton, unable to do anything about it.<sup>38</sup> Bush staffers noticed how Dukakis' support of prison furloughs troubled participants, especially upon learning that Dukakis still defended the furlough program even after Horton's actions.<sup>39</sup> Atwater and his researchers had wanted a vignette which would encapsulate the message that Dukakis was weak on crime-they found it in Willie Horton.

Fascinating  
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The focus groups in Paramus were important in the creation of the explicit and subtle narratives regarding Willie Horton. They demonstrated the advantage the Republican Party held when it came to political strategists and surveys. The Republican Party was generally more successful at hiring skilled and resourceful consults like Lee Atwater, due in part to the GOP's ability to raise more funds than their Democratic counterparts. Between 1977 and 1984, the Republican Party raised \$ 767 million dollars compared to the Democrats' \$150 million.<sup>40</sup> Moreover, the Republicans appeared more adept at tapping into the "pulse" of the America people; largely because they had the money to fund many more focus groups and

Fascinating

<sup>36</sup> Carter 70.

<sup>37</sup> Kerwin C. Swint, *Mudslingers: The Top 25 Negative Political Campaigns of All Time* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 156-157.

<sup>38</sup> Carter 72.

<sup>39</sup> Carter 72.

<sup>40</sup> Carter 72.

polls than Democrats. Again between the years 1977 and 1984, the Republican Party was able to match the Democrats \$186,000 investment in four national political polls with an investment of nearly \$100,000, a month in various poles and studies.<sup>41</sup> As a result, the GOP was more adroit at presenting itself as the party most in line with attitudes and beliefs of the majority of Americans.

The purpose of the Paramus focus groups was to determine the mindset of the Reagan Democrats; loyal white voters who had supported the Democratic Party for years, but in recent times had become disenchanted with the party and cast their votes for Reagan in 1980 and 1984. The participants of the Paramus focus group were all Reagan Democrats.<sup>42</sup>

Atwater understood that these Democrats' support for a Republican candidate during the previous two elections was no guarantee they would vote for the Vice President. A Memorial Day Gallup poll showed George Bush trailing Michael Dukakis by sixteen points, 54 to 38 percent.<sup>43</sup> Another poll found that forty percent of voters held a negative opinion of the vice president.<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, Atwater knew that these Reagan Democrats were looking for a reason to return to their party. Michael Dukakis seemed like that reason.<sup>45</sup> However, Atwater knew these Democrats comprised a special group: they were liberal on economic issues and supported entitlement programs like Social Security, Medicare, and unemployment benefits, but often took conservative stances on social issues. They had no qualms about the Pledge of Allegiance being said in schools. They supported the death penalty for violent criminals.<sup>46</sup> The wedge issues Atwater selected for the focus group were

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<sup>41</sup> Carter 73.

<sup>42</sup> Carter 70.

<sup>43</sup> Brady 178.

<sup>44</sup> Brady 178-179.

<sup>45</sup> Carter 70.

<sup>46</sup> Michael Duffy and Dan Goodgame, *Marching in Place: The Status Quo Presidency of George Bush* (New York: Simon & Schuster), 24-25.

meant to reflect this fact. Yet none of the issues mentioned in the focus group resonated like furloughs and Willie Horton.

On the surface, it appeared that the mention of Willie Horton and his crime in the focus group was an appeal to any racist attitudes that these Reagan Democrats might have. After all, it can't be denied that racial resentment was a major factor that contributed to these Democrats decision to vote for Reagan. Many of these Democrats felt the Democratic Party was overreaching in its support of minorities, neglecting the needs of working and middle class whites.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, the telling of Horton's story did have an impact on the Reagan Democrats who participated in the study; fifteen of thirty attendees stating that they were no longer interested in voting for Dukakis.<sup>48</sup> The Bush team, including Lee Atwater and political consultant Roger Ailes, recognized the potential of the Horton story. The question now was what gave the story its potency: was it the presentation of Dukakis as an incompetent governor who allowed a violent convict to enjoy time out of prison, or was it the fact that a black man had beaten a white man and later raped his fiancée twice?

The Bush-Quayle campaign was certainly aware of Horton's race; in the many *Tribune* articles Pinkerton collected, it was likely a few of them did feature photos of Horton.<sup>49</sup> While Horton's race was not mentioned in the focus groups, growing national coverage of Horton rendered any direct mentions of his race unnecessary. As the focus groups were being held, journalist Robert James Bindinotto was writing a story on the Massachusetts furlough program for *Reader's Digest*. Bindinotto's article, entitled "Getting Away with Murder," discussed much of the same material covered by the *Lawrence-Eagle Tribune*, including the Horton story. "Getting Away with Murder", premiered in the July

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<sup>47</sup> Duffy and Goodgame 24-25.

<sup>48</sup> Carter 72-73.

<sup>49</sup> Brady 176.

1988 issue of *Reader's Digest*. Although the article did not explicitly mention Horton's race or feature a picture of the man, it described Horton as being from the Roxbury section of Boston, a predominantly African-American area. Dan T. Carter asserts that copies of "Getting Away with Murder" were eventually used in the Republicans' focus groups.<sup>50</sup> Members of the Bush campaign did discuss how best to broach the furlough system and Willie Horton without bringing up the fact that Horton was an African-American, operating under the mantra that the issue was crime, not color.<sup>51</sup> How closely they followed their mantra is a matter of debate.

Members of the Bush team, specifically Atwater and Ailes, made very off color remarks about Horton. Ailes was heard joking, "The only question is whether we depict Willie Horton with a knife in his hand or without it."<sup>52</sup> Ailes would later back away from his comment stating, "It was meant as a joke... It got a big laugh at the time, but when you read it in the press it isn't quite as funny."<sup>53</sup> While it may have been a joke, the comment did reveal Ailes' awareness of the kind of response Horton's image would illicit. Why depict Horton with a knife in his hand when the image of a black criminal was enough to frighten white voters. When responding to comments made by Dukakis that he would never be seen interviewing a candidate for vice-president in his driveway, Atwater stated, "On Monday I saw in the driveway of his house: Jesse Jackson. So anyway, maybe he'll put this Willie Horton guy on the ticket after all is said and done."<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of his life, Atwater would apologize for this statement, noting that it made him seem racist, which he asserted he

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<sup>50</sup> Carter 76.

<sup>51</sup> Brady 181.

<sup>52</sup> Anderson 235-236

<sup>53</sup> Anderson 235-236.

<sup>54</sup> Brady 182, 316

was not.<sup>55</sup> Atwater was not racist, but was certainly aware of the effectiveness of race-baiting in politics. Atwater was an admirer of Nixon campaign strategist Harry Dent, architect of the “Southern Strategy”, and of segregationists like Strom Thurmond and Carroll Campbell.<sup>56</sup> Atwater even worked for Thurmond during the Senator’s 1978 re-election campaign, although Thurmond had begun to turn away from his segregationist beliefs by this point.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, Atwater affirmed how effective coded language was at disguising racial resentment within the boundaries of more abstract issues. In a 1981 interview, Atwater was quoted as saying:

You start out in 1954 by saying, 'Nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968 you can't say 'nigger' - - that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights and all that stuff. You're getting so abstract now [that] you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is [that] blacks get hurt worse than whites.<sup>58</sup>

Lee Atwater and Roger Ailes may have sought to keep race out of the Bush-Quayle Campaign, but they were no strangers to the potency of race as a political issue.

In September of 1988, the National Security Political Action Committee released the infamous “Willie Horton” ad, also known as the “Weekend Passes” ad. The ad depicts images of both George Bush and Michael Dukakis; Bush looking confident, Dukakis looking anxious.<sup>59</sup> A narrator begins talking while Bush’s image moves towards the center of the screen, “Bush and Dukakis on crime. Bush supports the death penalty for first degree

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<sup>55</sup> Brady 182, 316.

<sup>56</sup> Williams 218-219.

<sup>57</sup> Williams 220-221.

<sup>58</sup> Bob Herbert, “Impossible, Ridiculous, Repugnant,” *New York Times*, October 6, 2005, accessed May 9, 2011, <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9C04E6DF1E30F935A35753C1A9639C8B63>

<sup>59</sup> Larry McCarthy, “Willie Horton” *The Living Room Candidate: Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2008*, accessed May 9, 2011, [www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/willie-horton](http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/willie-horton).

murderers.”<sup>60</sup> A new image of Dukakis, this one of the governor looking dumb-founded, comes into view as the narrator continues, “Dukakis not only opposes the death penalty, he allowed first degree murderers to have weekend passes from prison.”<sup>61</sup> The now famous image of Willie Horton appears on screen, showing Horton with a large afro, and big bushy beard.<sup>62</sup> The narrator goes on, “One was Willie Horton, who murdered a boy in a robbery, stabbing him 19 times.”<sup>63</sup> A new image of Horton appears, this one demonstrating how tall Horton is, as he towers over the police officer escorting him. Horton also sports an afro in this picture, and is wearing a jacket that makes him look not unlike a black militant.<sup>64</sup> The narrator persists, “Despite a life sentence, Horton received 10 weekend passes from prison. Horton fled, kidnapped a young couple, stabbing the man and repeatedly raping his girlfriend.”<sup>65</sup> As the narrator talks, the words “kidnapping”, “stabbing”, and “raping” appear under Horton’s picture.<sup>66</sup> Dukakis image reappears on screen as the narrator closes out the ad, “Weekend prison passes. Dukakis on crime.”<sup>67</sup>

The “Willie Horton” ad was the brainchild of Larry McCarthy, working for the National Security Political Action Committee, a conservative PAC operating independently of the Republican National Committee.<sup>68</sup> In an interview with *The New Republic*, McCarthy defended his use of the photos in the ad on the grounds that Horton’s menacing face sent a powerful message about Dukakis’ weak stance on crime. He maintained that Horton’s race

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<sup>60</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>61</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>62</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>63</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>64</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>65</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>66</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>67</sup> McCarthy, “Willie Horton.”

<sup>68</sup> Martin Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” *The New Republic*, May 28, 1990, p.17.

never factored in his decision.<sup>69</sup> However, McCarthy was also quoted as saying, “If he looked like Ted Bundy, I probably wouldn’t have used his picture, because he looks perfectly normal-like a YR [Young Republican].”<sup>70</sup> Ted Bundy was a white man, and McCarthy’s statement that he looked “perfectly normal” would seem to support the idea on an individual level, whites are usually perceived as representative of the “average” or “normal” American.<sup>71</sup> McCarthy’s statement also implied that Horton’s appearance fit people’s perception of what the archetypal criminal look like, a perception which often influence by racial biases. In fact, the notion that Ted Bundy looked like a normal American is ironic considering Bundy was a serial killer.

If Horton’s race did not factor into McCarthy’s decision to use the photos, he nevertheless seemed very concerned that their inclusion in the ad would drum up cries of racism. McCarthy seemed particularly concerned about the response of the cable networks to the ad, understanding these networks had strict censors who would be quick to reject any commercial deemed politically incorrect. To that end, McCarthy did something questionable when trying to get his advertisement past the censors. He submitted an alternate version of the Weekend Passes ad which did not feature any photos of Horton, or mentions his name.<sup>72</sup> This alternate version is similar to the standard version up until the point where the narrator mentions that Dukakis gave weekend passes to first degree murders. Instead of showing the two photos of Horton, it continues to show that image of Dukakis with the dumbfounded look on his face.<sup>73</sup> The text that is usually seen in the standard ad had been changed as well,

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<sup>69</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 17

<sup>70</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 17, 19.

<sup>71</sup> Robert M. Entman and Andrew Rojecki, *The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 52-54.

<sup>72</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 19.

<sup>73</sup> Kathleen Hall Jamieson, *Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction, and Democracy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 20-21.

the words “kidnapping”, “stabbing”, and “raping” replaced with three statements.<sup>74</sup> The first two statements make false claims about the prison furlough system. One claims that the Dukakis administration released a first degree murderer on furlough everyday for the past seven years.<sup>75</sup> The other claims that ten murderers on “weekend passes” have escaped.<sup>76</sup> The third statement mentions that one escapee kidnapped a man and raped his fiancée, but does not mention Horton by name.<sup>77</sup> The alternate version of the ad ends with an image of Bush, with the text “Americans for Bush” printed underneath.<sup>78</sup> This version of the Horton ad was accepted without any problem by cable network censors.<sup>79</sup> Once McCarthy had the approval of the networks, he called them up asking if the ad he submitted (the alternate version) could be replaced with a different one, the standard one featuring Horton’s image.<sup>80</sup> McCarthy’s ploy had worked; he circumvented the censors and got his ad on several cable networks including CNN, CBN, Lifeline, and A&E.<sup>81</sup>

McCarthy’s actions seemed excessive, especially considering the fact that he defended the ad as being about crime, not about generating racist feelings. If McCarthy felt that his ad was not racist in any way, why did he seem so sure that the censors were going to deny its broadcast? Why did he go through the trouble of making the alternate version? Why didn’t he submit his ad as-is and be willing to confront any charges of racism the ad might draw? It could be argued that McCarthy felt he would never be able to get through these censors no matter what. It can also be argued that McCarthy was strapped for time and money, and probably wouldn’t be willing to waste them defending his ad against censors.

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<sup>74</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>75</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>76</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>77</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>78</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>79</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 19.

<sup>80</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 19.

<sup>81</sup> Schram, “The Making of Willie Horton” 19.

On the first point, McCarthy contradicts himself. In his interview with *The New Republic*, McCarthy states, "I know [network censors] always look at the first spot hard."<sup>82</sup> But then later in the article McCarthy expresses the belief that he was smart in sending the ad to cable networks, asserting that these networks had far more lenient censors than the ones found in broadcast networks.<sup>83</sup> On the second point, McCarthy and the NSPAC understood that the ad would not attract much attention on cable television, <sup>since wa</sup> cable TV not as prevalent then as it is today. Putting an ad on cable TV in those days was relatively cheap compared to putting it on a broadcast network, and the NSPAC only planned on broadcasting the ad for a short amount of time. The real intention of the NSPAC was to have the ad featured on Sunday morning talk shows which would garner the ad free publicity.<sup>84</sup> This is what exactly happened when a copy of the ad was given to *The McLaughlin Group*. The ad was featured for discussion on the show, and was soon picked up by other networks in their coverage of the 1988 campaign.<sup>85</sup> In featuring the Horton ad, these networks sent the message that Dukakis didn't just allow any ordinary criminal to go free on furlough, he allowed a black rapists to go free.

The image of the black rapist is a longstanding one in American history, dating back to the days of slavery. Early white Americans often asserted that black men were oversexed beings, eager to attack white women at the first opportunity.<sup>86</sup> Following the Civil War, the American South saw the widespread lynching of black men under the justification that these men had raped or were attempting to rape white women.<sup>87</sup> Susan Estrich, manager for the

<sup>82</sup> Schram, "The Making of Willie Horton" 19

<sup>83</sup> Schram, "The Making of Willie Horton" 19.

<sup>84</sup> Schram, "The Making of Willie Horton" 19.

<sup>85</sup> Schram, "The Making of Willie Horton" 19.

<sup>86</sup> Joe R. Feagin, Hernán Vera, and Pinar Batur, *White Racism: The Basics* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 172-173.

<sup>87</sup> Feagin, Vera, and Batur 22-23.

Dukakis campaign, maintained that the Horton story confirmed the black rapist stereotype in the minds of many whites, "...you can't find a stronger metaphor, intended or not, for racial hatred in this country than a black man raping a white woman."<sup>88</sup> Estrich, herself a victim of rape at the hands of a black man, understood that the image of the black rapist still persisted in modern times. Recounting the experience of her rape, Estrich noted how the first thing police officers asked her was whether perpetrator was black, and how liberal they were with their use of the epithet "nigger".<sup>89</sup> Moreover, statistical data supported Estrich's claim that the Horton story confirmed the stereotype of the black rapist in the minds of white voters. During the election, Kathleen Hall Jamieson, American Professor of Communication and author of *Dirty Politics*, organized a series of focus groups. The study featured 93 participants who were questioned about the "Willie Horton" and "Revolving Door" ads. When asked to recount the Horton story, 88 participants mentioned that Horton was black, 81 mentioned that his rape victim was white.<sup>90</sup> White voters were very much aware of the racial undertones of the Horton story. Nevertheless, the Bush-Quayle campaign still believed it could use the story to attack Dukakis while avoiding any discussions about race.

As the "Willie Horton" ad was circulating in the media, the Bush-Quayle Campaign was implementing its own ads concerning prison furloughs. The first ad the campaign pushed out was the "Crime Quiz ad." This ad featured a narrator asking viewers which presidential candidate granted weekend passes to first degree murderers, vetoed mandatory sentences for drug dealers, and vetoed the death penalty for cop killers. A picture of Dukakis then appears: the answer to all three of the narrator's questions.<sup>91</sup> The narrator then asks

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<sup>88</sup> Brady 201.

<sup>89</sup> Anderson 218.

<sup>90</sup> Jamieson 34.

<sup>91</sup> Brady 190.

which candidate can be counted on to be tough on crime: a picture of candidate Bush being the answer.<sup>92</sup> The campaign then decided to create a second ad, the “Revolving Door” ad. This ad was produced by media consultant Dennis Frankenberry and directed by Sigmund Rogich, at the behest of Lee Atwater and Roger Ailes.<sup>93</sup> This ad was filmed in black and white, with ominous sounding music playing in the background. It begins with a prison guard walking up the winding steps of a prison watchtower, the phrase “The Dukakis Furlough Program” located at the bottom of the screen.<sup>94</sup> A grim sounding narrator begins talking, “As Governor Michael Dukakis vetoed mandatory sentences for drug dealers he vetoed the death penalty. His revolving door prison policy gave weekend furloughs to first degree murderers not eligible for parole.”<sup>95</sup> As the narrator talks, the scene shifts from the watchtower to an armed prison guard walking along a wall, and then to the revolving door scene which gives the ad its name. In this scene, inmates are seen walking in and out of a revolving door, the door revealed to be the entrance of a prison.<sup>96</sup> While this scene plays on, the narrator states, “While out, many committed other crimes like kidnapping and rape, and many are still at large.”<sup>97</sup> As the narrator says this, text stating “268 Escaped” appears, and is then replaced with another text stating “Many Are Still At Large.”<sup>98</sup> The ad ends with a scene showing another watchtower, an armed guard standing to the right of the tower as

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<sup>92</sup> Brady 190.

<sup>93</sup> Brady 190-191.

<sup>94</sup> Denis Frankenberry and Roger Ailes, “Revolving Door,” *The Living Room Candidate: Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2008*, accessed May 10, 2011, [www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/revolving-door](http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/revolving-door).

<sup>95</sup> Frankenberry and Ailes, “Revolving Door.”

<sup>96</sup> Frankenberry and Ailes, “Revolving Door.”

<sup>97</sup> Frankenberry and Ailes, “Revolving Door.”

<sup>98</sup> Frankenberry and Ailes, “Revolving Door.”

narrator tells viewers, "Now Michael Dukakis says he wants to do for America what he's done for Massachusetts. America can't afford that risk."<sup>99</sup>

The "Revolving Door" ad was originally filmed in color, and featured actors of different racial backgrounds portraying the inmates seen walking in and out of the prison with the revolving door entrance.<sup>100</sup> Later, Lee Atwater admitted that he and Roger Ailes felt that the ad did not go far enough in separating crime from race, featuring too many black actors.<sup>101</sup> The ad was reshot with more white actors playing the role of inmates, the number of black actors limited to two. In addition, the ad was reshot in black and white, which had the effect of making it more difficult to identify the race of the actors on-screen.<sup>102</sup> However, despite the efforts of Atwater and Ailes, some white voters still perceived the ad as carrying a racist message. In Jamieson's focus groups, 46 participants believed most of the actors in the revolving door scene were black.<sup>103</sup> However, the ad's true salience emanated from the claims it made about Dukakis and prison furloughs. The ad made false inferences that formed the core of the Bush campaign's explicit narrative, making this narrative as detrimental to the Dukakis campaign as the more racially charged subtle narrative.

The "Revolving Door" ad is worded in such a way that it leaves the viewer thinking that all 268 escapees went on to commit violent acts of assault and rape.<sup>104</sup> This is in contrast to the Horton ad, which leaves viewers believing that of all the first degree murders that Dukakis let out on "weekend passes", only Horton actually committed a crime. Ironically then, the NSPAC's ad turns out to be more factually accurate than ad officially

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<sup>99</sup> Frankenberry and Ailes, "Revolving Door ad."

<sup>100</sup> Kinder and Sanders 236.

<sup>101</sup> Kinder and Sanders 236.

<sup>102</sup> Kinder and Sanders 236.

<sup>103</sup> Jamieson 34.

<sup>104</sup> Jamieson 21.

endorsed by the Bush-Quayle campaign. The inference from the “Revolving Door” implying that the 268 escapees were all violent or even first degree murders is completely inaccurate. Among the 268 escapees, only four were first degree murderers. Of those four, only Horton was the one who actually committed a crime on furlough.<sup>105</sup> Furthermore, the number of escapees is infinitesimal compared to the total number of prisoners who were granted multiple furloughs. During Dukakis first two terms as governor, 11,497 individuals were given multiple furloughs totaling 67,378.<sup>106</sup> Likewise, these 268 escapes were spread across the Michael Dukakis’ first two terms as governor, which were non-consecutive.<sup>107</sup> During the first two years of Dukakis’ third term, an additional 9,077 furloughs were granted, of which only seven resulted in escape.<sup>108</sup>

In addition to overemphasizing the number of escape convicts, the “Revolving Door” ad was wrong in inferring that the Massachusetts Furlough Program was a creation of Michael Dukakis. Dukakis did not institute the program; it was instituted by Dukakis’ Republican predecessor, Francis W. Sargent.<sup>109</sup> The furlough program was part of a larger initiative, the Correctional Reform Act of 1972, authorized under Section 30A of the act.<sup>110</sup> The furlough program had practical applications, outlined by Michael W. Forcier and Linda K. Holt in a position paper defending prison furloughs. Furloughs allowed inmates time out of prison to visit sick and dying family members, or to attend the funeral of a deceased relative. They also allowed inmates to receive treatment for medical and psychiatric conditions if prison facilities were inadequate in treating said conditions. They provided

<sup>105</sup> Jamieson 19.

<sup>106</sup> Jamieson 20.

<sup>107</sup> Jamieson 20.

<sup>108</sup> Jamieson 20.

<sup>109</sup> Jamieson 20.

<sup>110</sup> Michael W. Forcier and Linda K. Holt for The Massachusetts Department of Corrections, *Position Paper: The Massachusetts Furlough Program* (May 1987) Prison Policy Initiative, <http://www.prisonpolicy.org/scans/MADOC/Furloughpositionpaper.pdf> (accessed May 13, 201), 2.

inmates scheduled for release opportunities to find employment and housing in anticipation of their release.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, Forcier and Holt argued that the furlough program fostered a sense of peer pressure among inmates to behave themselves both inside and outside prison. To misbehave in prison or while on furlough could jeopardize the program's future, so inmates stressed the importance of exemplary behavior to each other.<sup>112</sup>

Eligibility into the furlough program did extend to first and second degree lifers, but this provision was defended on the grounds that it promoted good behavior among such inmates. It was argued that temporary furloughs from prison were a strong incentive among lifers to behave well while incarcerated.<sup>113</sup> Likewise, Forcier and Holt argued that furloughs were beneficial to lifers who served in walled prisons and were now being transferred to non-walled facilities. Forcier and Holt maintained that furloughs helped these inmates adjust to life in a non-walled facility, where the temptation to escape was greater.<sup>114</sup> Moreover, a 1975 amendment to the Correctional Reform Act eventually barred first and second degree lifers serving in walled facilities from being eligible for furloughs.<sup>115</sup> A second revision in 1981 increased the required number of years a first and second degree lifer had to serve for furlough eligibility from five to ten years.<sup>116</sup> The revision also mandated that first degree lifers maintain constant contact with as sponsor.<sup>117</sup> All inmates were only allowed fourteen days on furlough per year.<sup>118</sup> They were expected to return to prison as a designated time. Inmates who were late had the incident noted on their record; inmates who failed to show up

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<sup>111</sup> Forcier and Holt 2.

<sup>112</sup> Forcier and Holt 11.

<sup>113</sup> Forcier and Holt 11.

<sup>114</sup> Forcier and Holt 11-12.

<sup>115</sup> Forcier and Holt 13-14.

<sup>116</sup> Forcier and Holt 8-9.

<sup>117</sup> Forcier and Holt 8-9.

<sup>118</sup> Forcier and Holt 2.

two hours after the designated time were declared escapees.<sup>119</sup> Any inmate who failed to follow these rules would be denied future furloughs.<sup>120</sup> Any first degree inmate who violated these rules would be placed into higher custody.<sup>121</sup>

The Massachusetts furlough system was not foolproof, and inmates (like Horton) did escape. But when looking at the large number of furloughs that were granted to the many thousands of inmates, it becomes clear that the furlough program's successes vastly outweighed its failures. While the fact that 275 inmates jumped furlough during Dukakis' first two terms as governor is a serious matter, it becomes harder to charge the Dukakis administration with total incompetence considering that 76,180 furloughs ended without prisoners escaping. In fact, the furlough program was more successful under Dukakis than it was under Francis W. Sargent. Under Governor Sargent, 269 inmates escaped within the first three years of the programs implementation!<sup>122</sup> Moreover, other states also implemented their own furlough programs. At the time Forcier and Holt published their position paper, 45 other states and Washington D.C. had implemented their own furlough programs.<sup>123</sup> Even the federal government operated a furlough program in its prisons. In the year 1987, the federal government under Ronald Reagan granted 4,610 furloughs to federal prison inmates.<sup>124</sup> Furloughs were not the brainchild of liberal ideology; they were an experiment aimed at reducing recidivism rates and curtailing inmate misbehavior. The fact that most of the states in America instituted furlough programs is a testament to the programs effectiveness and popularity. However, most viewers watching the "Willie

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<sup>119</sup> Forcier and Holt 8.

<sup>120</sup> Forcier and Holt 9.

<sup>121</sup> Forcier and Holt 9.

<sup>122</sup> Jamieson 20

<sup>123</sup> Forcier and Holt 1.

<sup>124</sup> Jamieson 29.

Horton” and “Revolving Door” ads were probably not aware of these facts. Fewer still would probably investigate the claims made by these ads. Furthermore, the ads instigated a media frenzy which further propelled Willie Horton and the Massachusetts furlough program into the public’s eye.

The Weekend Passes ad emboldened other conservative PACs to produce their own political ads. One ad produced by the PAC Committee for the Presidency featured Donna Cuomo, Joey Fournier’s sister, speaking out against Dukakis.<sup>125</sup> The Cuomo ad reiterated the claims made by the “Revolving Door” ad, including the false statement that the furlough program was implemented by Dukakis, referring to it as “Dukakis’ failed liberal experiment.”<sup>126</sup> The ad ended with Cuomo expressing her worries that Americans were unaware of Dukakis’ record on crime, once again inferring that Dukakis was weak on the issue.<sup>127</sup> Clifford Barnes also starred in an ad produced by the Committee for the Presidency. This ad featured a close up of Barnes face as he recounted his attack by Horton, Barnes relating his feelings of frustration and helplessness at being unable to prevent the rape of his fiancée. Barnes also referred to the furlough program as a “failed liberal experiment”, once again drawing connections between furloughs, Dukakis, and liberalism.<sup>128</sup> The ad ended with Barnes stating, “Regardless of the election, we are worried people don’t know enough about Michael Dukakis”<sup>129</sup> According to David Anderson, Barnes had requested the “regardless of the election” line be inserted into the ad.<sup>130</sup> Apparently, Barnes did not want to be associated with George Bush or his presidential campaign. Barnes maintained that his

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<sup>125</sup> Jamieson 21.

<sup>126</sup> Jamieson 21.

<sup>127</sup> Jamieson 21.

<sup>128</sup> Jamieson 20.

<sup>129</sup> Jamieson 20-21.

<sup>130</sup> Anderson 228

decision to appear in the ad was not motivated by partisan politics, “If they’d use common sense, [Horton would] never have done anything to us. I don’t care if you’re a Democrat or Republican. It’s common sense.”<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, engaging in partisan politics is what Clifford Barnes and Donna Cuomo were precisely doing by appearing in conservative PAC ads and insisting that prison furloughs were a liberal experiment, once again spreading the Bush Campaign’s message that Dukakis was weak on crime.

Additionally, David Anderson affirms that both Barnes and Cuomo were receptive to calls by conservative groups seeking to publicize their traumatic experiences.<sup>132</sup> Barnes and Cuomo, along with Robert James Bindinotto, appeared on an episode of *Geraldo* discussing the prison furloughs in Massachusetts.<sup>133</sup> Barnes also made an appearance on an episode of *The Oprah Winfrey Show* discussing rape, appearing with a rape victim who went by the assumed name of “Angela”, the same name as Barnes’ fiancée.<sup>134</sup> Talk show audiences were both moved and angered by what happened to Barnes; a member of Geraldo Rivera’s audience exclaiming that he would be please if all prison inmates were locked up indefinitely, never to be released back into society.<sup>135</sup> Barnes’ and Cuomo’s media tour demonstrated how these talk shows further promulgated the explicit narrative of Dukakis being weak on crime. During Barnes’ appearance on Oprah Winfrey’s show, Oprah herself stated, “Listen, sometimes shows like this always leave me so frustrated because I still don’t know what we can do. I know it’s an election year, and people should keep that in mind when they’re voting, I think.”<sup>136</sup> The statement conveyed the message that people frustrated

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<sup>131</sup> Anderson 228-229

<sup>132</sup> Anderson 225

<sup>133</sup> Anderson 225-226

<sup>134</sup> Anderson 237-240.

<sup>135</sup> Anderson 226.

<sup>136</sup> Anderson 239.

with crime in America could do something about it by voting in the presidential election. It's unlikely that Oprah was telling her viewers to vote for Bush, but in having Clifford Barnes on as a guest, she certainly did not paint a positive image of Michael Dukakis either.

News outlets, in their coverage of the Horton story, also fell into the trap of spreading conservatives' explicit and subtle narratives about Willie Horton and Michael Dukakis. In particular, they began adopting the language used by conservatives when discussing Horton and prison furloughs. The first term the media appropriated was the nickname "Willie". At first, news outlets referred to Horton by his proper name of William, but over time, the name William gave way to "Willie."<sup>137</sup> The NSPAC's ad was known as the "Willie Horton" ad, the narrator in the ad calling Horton "Willie." Members of the Bush-Quayle Campaign team also mentioned Horton by the name "Willie" when speaking to the press. But Horton never identified himself by that name. In interviews for both *The Nation*<sup>138</sup> and David Anderson's book<sup>139</sup>, Horton vehemently denies ever going by that name, insisting he always referred to himself by his proper name of William. The "Willie" nickname appears to have originated from a comment made by a member of the League of Women Voters who stated, "A Willie Horton should never have happened."<sup>140</sup> The comment was recorded in an article published by a Boston newspaper, a copy of which made its way to researcher James Pinkerton.<sup>141</sup> The nickname carried a certain kind of power. "Willie", a name which sounded so lighthearted, became perverted when connected with Horton; echoing the way Horton perverted the idyllic lives of Clifford Barnes and Angela Miller. The nickname became important to conservatives' construction of Horton as

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<sup>137</sup> Jamieson 128-129.

<sup>138</sup> Jeffrey M. Elliot, "The Willie Horton Nobody Knows" *The Nation*, 204.

<sup>139</sup> Anderson 30.

<sup>140</sup> Brady 210

<sup>141</sup> Brady 209

the embodiment of crime in America; the nickname conjuring images of Horton's brutal actions when mentioned in printed and televised media. In using the nickname, news organizations kept the image of Horton's attack fresh in the minds of the American public.

Another term adopted by the press was "weekend passes," used interchangeably with prison furlough, even though the term was not an accurate description of furloughs.<sup>142</sup>

Weekends are usually seen as a times for recreation, when most people are off from work or school. In referring to prison furloughs as "weekend passes," conservatives and the press made the inference that granting furloughs to convicts was the equivalent of giving workers or students a vacation or day off.<sup>143</sup> Framed in this way, it becomes easy to see why the Massachusetts prison furlough system seemed so outrageous to voters. The term "weekend passes" sent the message that Dukakis was granting convicts recreational time outside of prison, undermining the very purpose of their prison sentences. Moreover, Bush reinforced this image, asserting that while he told criminals to, "Make my day," Dukakis told them, "Have a nice *weekend*."<sup>144</sup> The press also began adopting use of the phrase "revolving door." In an interview with vice-presidential nominee Lloyd Benson, Dan Rather made use of the term, "Can't a person, or can a person, be deeply concerned about *revolving door* justice and laxity toward criminals, even when the criminal happens to be someone who is black and still not be a racist."<sup>145</sup> As with the term "weekend passes", the term "revolving door" denoted an attitude of laxity toward prison furloughs.<sup>146</sup> It sets the image of the Dukakis administration releasing convicts on furlough as quickly as they entered the prison,

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<sup>142</sup> Jamieson 130.

<sup>143</sup> Jamieson 130.

<sup>144</sup> Jamieson 130.

<sup>145</sup> Jamieson 131.

<sup>146</sup> Jamieson 131-132.

like people walking through the revolving door of a shopping store. Framed this way, it once again becomes easy to see why prison furloughs generated so much outrage.

In addition to the use of the terms “weekend passes” and “revolving door”, the press also began to discuss Horton’s crime using the same language as the attack ads. Jamieson states that the press made use of the words like “slashed,” “terrorized,” and “tortured,” words the author asserts were not typically used by reporters to characterize crime.<sup>147</sup> The author notes that the word “terror” featured in articles published by *The Washington Post*, while the words “torture” and “slashed” appeared in articles published by *The New York Times* and *Newsweek*, respectively.<sup>148</sup> The language of the “Willie Horton” and “Revolving Door” ads had a pervasive influence on the media. However, the media’s role in shaping voter’s perceptions about Willie Horton extended beyond its use of conservative buzzwords. The American media was also adept at presenting crime in a way that drummed up the racial fears of its white audience.

In their book, *The Black Image in the White Mind*, authors Robert M. Entman and Andrew Rojecki found that the media often over represented black on white crimes. Furthermore, this over representation had the effect of shaping public perceptions towards viewing most criminals as black. They cite a survey in which a majority of participants estimated that 60 percent of all individuals arrested for violent crimes were black. In reality, blacks account for only 43 percent of arrests concerning violent crimes.<sup>149</sup> Entman and Rojecki conducted their own survey focusing on local news’ coverage of crime in Chicago. Observing local news coverage, the pair found that black and white criminals were featured

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<sup>147</sup> Jamieson 132.

<sup>148</sup> Jamieson 132.

<sup>149</sup> Entman and Rojecki 78-79.

in roughly equal proportions.<sup>150</sup> However, when it came to reporting on victims of crimes, white victims received more attention than non-whites. The authors note that white victims outnumbered their black counterparts in local news coverage by a ratio of 1.5:1 (241 to 160).<sup>151</sup> Whites received more attention even though blacks in Chicago were more at risk at being victimized.<sup>152</sup> Not only were white victims covered more frequently, they received more airtime than black victims. The study showed that on average, white victims received 185 seconds of coverage, compared to the 106 seconds black victims received, at a ratio of 3:1.<sup>153</sup> The authors argue that media outlets operate on the assumption that instances of violence committed on minorities, especially within urban settings, should be viewed as typical. At the same, acts of violence committed on whites should be viewed as atypical.<sup>154</sup> This creates the message that the life of a white person is more valuable than that of a non-white, and that the public should be more outraged at attacks committed on whites.<sup>155</sup> The American media's echoed this sentiment in its coverage of Horton during the election; constantly recalling Clifford Barnes' assault and Angela Miller's rape when mentioning Horton, and using vivid language to emphasize the violence committed on the couple.

Stephen J. Ducat, author of *The Wimp Factor*, argued that there was a gendered aspect to the Horton story as well. Just as Horton had come to embody the image of the black rapist, Ducat argued that Clifford Barnes came to symbolize the image of the emasculated white male. As Ducat explains, Clifford Barnes was emasculated twice by Willie Horton: first by being tied up, then by having to hear his fiancée raped by Horton

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<sup>150</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

<sup>151</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

<sup>152</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

<sup>153</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

<sup>154</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

<sup>155</sup> Entman and Rojecki 81.

racism!

while he could do nothing.<sup>156</sup> Joey Fournier, Horton's alleged stabbing victim, was likewise emasculated. Throughout the election, Lee Atwater falsely claimed that Horton had cut off Joey Fournier's penis and shoved the phallus into the young man's mouth.<sup>157</sup> Ducat asserts that while the Horton story resonated with both white men and white women, among white men the story had particular importance. It demonstrated that black men not only threatened white men's physical safety, but their sexual dominance as well.<sup>158</sup> Moreover, this threat was now a political issue, white male voters now tasked with choosing the presidential candidate who would safeguard their sexual dominance over white women. Would they vote for Michael Dukakis, who appeared to be partly responsible for allowing this threat to manifest in the first place, or would they vote for his opponent? Ducat affirms that the "Willie Horton" ad, the "Revolving Door" ad, and the PAC ad featuring Barnes sent a strong message to white men about Dukakis, "Elect him" the ads seemed to be saying to the male electorate, "and expect to be visited by armies of furloughed rapists, who will ravage your wife-while you remain a helpless emasculated witness, whose terror is exceeded only by humiliation."<sup>159</sup> This left George Bush as the only viable option, "George Bush, on the other hand, would never let this happen, and, as we had been told in his convention speech, he will protect us."<sup>160</sup>

The "tough on crime" message of the Bush-Quayle campaign also contrasted sharply with Dukakis' response (or lack of response) to the issue of rape, and how best to make rapists pay for their crimes. Ducat states how Dukakis emasculated himself during his first

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<sup>156</sup> Stephen J. Ducat, *The Wimp Factor: Gender Gaps, Holy Wars, and the Politics of Anxious Masculinity* (Boston: Beacon, 2004), 92.

<sup>157</sup> Ducat 93.

<sup>158</sup> Ducat 92.

<sup>159</sup> Ducat 92-93.

<sup>160</sup> Ducat 93.

debate with George Bush, in which he gave an emotionless response to Bernard Shaw's question regarding the hypothetical rape of his wife Katherine Dukakis.<sup>161</sup> Dukakis poor response to this question added to the subtle narrative used against him: not only did Dukakis demonstrate an inability to keep violent minorities in line; he demonstrated an inability to protect white men's sexual dominance.

The Bush-Quayle Campaign's reliance on the Horton story did begin to demonstrate flaws in the way the campaign handle the issue of Dukakis and crime. As invested as the campaign was in Dukakis' record on crime, it failed to notice other instances where the Dukakis administration had failed to keep dangerous criminals from escaping. In one instance, a convict by the name of Armand Therrien jumped work detail. Therrien was a former cop convicted in the murder of his partner and a Massachusetts businessman.<sup>162</sup> Therrien evaded capture for a month until he was apprehended in Chicago.<sup>163</sup> The *Lawrence Eagle-Tribune* even ran story about this incident, but the Bush Campaign never made any mention of this in their attacks on Dukakis.<sup>164</sup> Atwater was interviewed by E. J. Dionne of *The New York Times*, who noted that the campaign never seized on an incident involving a convict who committed a murder after receiving a pardon. The pardon came from Michael Dukakis.<sup>165</sup> Atwater countered he was not aware of the case until after election. He affirmed that had he know about it sooner, he would have opted for this story's use during the campaign instead of Horton's.<sup>166</sup> That the Bush-Quayle Campaign failed to pick up on these two stories is troubling, considering that the campaign seemed meticulous in its

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<sup>161</sup> Ducat 95.

<sup>162</sup> Alexander Reid, "Ex-Trooper Who Killed 2 Escapes from Work Detail" *Boston Globe* December 12, 1987, 26.

<sup>163</sup> Sally Jacobs, "Massachusetts Fugitive is Captured in Chicago" *Boston Globe* January 12, 1987, 1.

<sup>164</sup> Jamieson 24.

<sup>165</sup> Brady 202.

<sup>166</sup> Brady 202.

investigation of Dukakis' failures as governor. After all, it had hired thirty-five researchers (including James Pinkerton) to discover mistakes like these.

Additionally, there appeared to be some doubts as to whether Horton was actually responsible for the death of Joey Fournier. It may not have been Horton who stabbed the teen to death, but Horton's two accomplices Alvin Wideman and Roosevelt Pickett, as they robbed at the gas station where Fournier worked. Horton testified to the police that he was in the getaway car waiting for Whitman and Pickett to return from the robbery. He stated that when Wideman and Pickett returned from the station, they claimed that Fournier was killed to remove all evidence of the crime.<sup>167</sup> Furthermore, Alvin Pickett had allegedly confessed to a friend that he was the one who stabbed Fournier.<sup>168</sup> Unfortunately for Horton, Pickett recanted on his confession during the trial, and all three were convicted for the murder of Fournier under a "joint venture" prosecution.<sup>169</sup> As such, the use of the Horton story demonstrated poor judgment on the part of the Bush Campaign. Armand Therrien was white<sup>170</sup>, so was the individual pardoned by Dukakis.<sup>171</sup> The campaign missed out on two opportunities to attack Dukakis on crime without incurring allegations of racial fear-mongering. Both men would have confirmed the Bush-Quayle Campaign's claims that Dukakis was weak on crime, while allowing the campaign to avoid any discussions about race. Further still, some members of the Bush Campaign staff demonstrated poor judgment in maintaining contact with individuals working for independent conservative groups.

Under campaign finance laws, the Bush-Quayle campaign and NSPAC could not work together in any official capacity. However, the NSPAC could still produce ads in

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<sup>167</sup> Anderson 78-79.

<sup>168</sup> Anderson 74

<sup>169</sup> Anderson 80-81.

<sup>170</sup> Jamieson 24.

<sup>171</sup> Brady 202.

support of Bush's candidacy as long as the Bush-Quayle Campaign did not endorse these ads. While the Bush Campaign asserted that held it no connection to the NSPAC during the election, some people employed by the NSPAC did have past histories with members of the campaign's staff. Larry McCarthy had previously worked for Ailes Communications Inc., a company owned by Roger Ailes.<sup>172</sup> Ailes and McCarthy's relationship became the focus of a brief inquiry issued by the Federal Election Committee in 1990. The inquiry was started after the Ohio Democratic Party filed a complaint accusing the Bush campaign and the NSPAC of working together in defiance of campaign finance laws.<sup>173</sup> McCarthy and Ailes had met several times during the election. Prior to McCarthy's hiring by the NSPAC, both men discussed the possibility of McCarthy producing ads for the Bush campaign. By the time both men met again, McCarthy was already in the employ of the NSPAC, and Ailes expressed regret that McCarthy had invalidated his chances for working with the Bush campaign.<sup>174</sup> However, both maintained that once McCarthy was hired by the NSPAC, they did not discuss anything pertaining to the Bush-Quayle campaign. The FEC's inquiry did find that Jesse Railford, another former employee of Ailes Communications, had received checks from both the Bush campaign and NSPAC.<sup>175</sup> Unfortunately, the FEC's involvement in the matter never went any further into its inquiry of the Bush campaign and the NSPAC. The Committee was divided between three Democrats and three Republicans over whether it would issue a full scale investigation.<sup>176</sup> What the FEC did conclude from its brief inquiry was that there was not sufficient evidence to claim that the NSPAC and Bush campaign

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<sup>172</sup> Kerwin C. Swint, *Dark Genius: The Influential Career of Legendary Political Operative and Fox New Founder Roger Ailes* (New York: Union Square Press, 2008), 94.

<sup>173</sup> Swint 94.

<sup>174</sup> Swint 94-95

<sup>175</sup> Swint 95.

<sup>176</sup> Swint 95-96.

were working together. Although the commission claimed that Ailes and McCarthy demonstrated poor judgment in talking to one another during the election, their meetings did not demonstrate collusion between the Bush campaign and NSPAC.<sup>177</sup> Furthermore, the FEC found that although Jesse Railford had worked for both organizations, the nature of his work was mostly technical. As such, the Committee dismissed claims that Railford's employment by both organizations demonstrated co-operation between the two groups.<sup>178</sup> Ultimately, the Bush campaign likely did not seek the help of the NSPAC in attacking Dukakis on crime, but it certainly benefitted from the subtle narrative pushed by groups like the NSPAC. Furthermore, the campaign was in no hurry to silence groups like the NSPAC. In fact, the Bush campaign did not issue a cease-and-desist order to the NSPAC over the Horton ad until day 25 of the ad's 28 day run.<sup>179</sup>

What was Dukakis Campaign's response to the allegation made by the Right's primary and secondary narratives? The first response was total silence. During the primaries, Dukakis was adamant in avoiding the use of negative campaigning to secure the Democratic presidential nomination. He had campaign manager John Sasso fired for distributing an attack ad featuring Joe Biden giving his infamous plagiarized speech.<sup>180</sup> Once Dukakis had the nomination, he reiterated the same desire to maintain a positive campaign in his race against Bush. The centerpiece of Dukakis campaign would be the economy, the governor emphasizing the need to help the American middle class deal with increases in the cost of living.<sup>181</sup> The governor sincerely believed that any negative campaigning by Republicans

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<sup>177</sup> Swint 95-96.

<sup>178</sup> Swint 95-96

<sup>179</sup> Herbert S. Parmet, *George Bush: The Life of a Lone Star Yankee* (New York: Simon & Schuster Inc., 1997), 352-353.

<sup>180</sup> Walter Shapiro, Robert Ajemian, and Joelle Attinger, "The Rebirth of John Sasso," *Time* September 12, 1988, accessed May 14, 2011 <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,968412,00.html>

<sup>181</sup> Brady 187-188.

would ultimately backfire on the GOP. However, Dukakis seriously miscalculated on this belief, as the American people were very receptive to the negative ads of the Bush Campaign. In a 1988 exit poll in which participants were allowed to speak freely about both candidates, the issue of crime featured in a majority of white voters' comments. Moreover, these voters comments were directed more often at Dukakis than they were at Bush, by a margin of four to one.<sup>182</sup> 95% of all comments directed at Bush expressed a positive opinion of the vice-president in regards to the issue of crime. 98% of all comments directed at Dukakis expressed a negative opinion of the governor.<sup>183</sup> In addition, the survey asked which candidate best represented the phrase "tough on crime and criminals". 66% of white voters gave the answer that the phrase fit Bush either "extremely well" or "quite well", compared to 30% for Dukakis.<sup>184</sup>

Eventually, Dukakis and his supporters did decide to respond to the attacks of the Bush campaign and the conservative PACs. Dukakis's running mate Lloyd Bentsen, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, and other Democrats went public with their critiques of Bush for using a story which had the potential for stirring up racial fears.<sup>185</sup> However, Dukakis campaign staffers had reservations about presenting Bush as a racist, believing it might alienate white voters. Susan Estrich admitted to these reservations following the campaign, "'We can't afford to alienate white voters,' I was told by many in my party and my campaign; whites might be put off if we 'whine' about racism."<sup>186</sup> Additionally, the Dukakis campaign was left in a precarious position when it came to the issue of race. Some black periodicals

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<sup>182</sup> Kinder and Sanders 240.

<sup>183</sup> Kinder and Sanders 240-241.

<sup>184</sup> Kinder and Sander 241.

<sup>185</sup> Robin Toner, "Dukakis Aides Say Racial Issue Reflects G.O.P.'s Tactics" *The New York Times* October 25, 1988, 28.

<sup>186</sup> Brady 213.

asserted that despite his successes in the Democratic primaries, Jesse Jackson was not given the respect and attention he deserved from the Democratic leadership. They claimed that there was a conspiracy to get the party behind Dukakis, instead of Jackson.<sup>187</sup> Even though Jackson spoke out against the Horton story on Dukakis' behalf, there appeared to be tension between the two. Dukakis never consulted with Jackson about his choice for running mate, or inform the Reverend once he had made his decision.<sup>188</sup> Dukakis also avoided major cities, and appeared uncomfortable speaking to black audiences. In one instance, the governor spoke to a predominantly white audience in Mississippi on the anniversary of the murder of three civil right activists, but never made mention of the incident in his speech.<sup>189</sup> The Dukakis campaign was not without its own problems when it came to the issue of race.

As some members of the Dukakis camp had predicted, the Left's attack on Bush backfired. Not only did the Bush campaign successfully counter the Democrats' attack, they were able to deflect the labels of racism right back at the Democrats. Bush's running mate Dan Quayle dismissed the Democrats' attack as an attempt to drum up racial hatred, "It's totally absurd and ridiculous. I think it shows just how desperate they really are, to start fanning the flames of racism in this country."<sup>190</sup> Bush campaign spokesman Mark Goodin also claimed it was hypocritical of Jesse Jackson to accuse the Republicans of racism, noting how Jackson had referred to New York City as a "hymietown."<sup>191</sup> Pinning the label of racist on the vice-president was a near impossible task. Bush had voted against the 1964 Civil

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<sup>187</sup> Kinder and Sanders 230.

<sup>188</sup> Kinder and Sanders 237.

<sup>189</sup> Kinder and Sanders 237.

<sup>190</sup> Maureen Dowd, "Bush Says Dukakis's Desperation Prompted Accusations of Racism" *The New York Times*, October 25, 1988, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/1988/10/25/us/bush-says-dukakis-s-desperation-prompted-accusations-of-racism.html>.

<sup>191</sup> Andrew Rosenthal, "Foes Accuse Bush Campaign Of Inflaming Racial Tension," *The New York Times* October 25, 1988, 1.

Rights Act, but later publicly apologized for having done so.<sup>192</sup> He vehemently defended the Open Housing Act, voting for the measure against the wishes of his party and white voters in Texas.<sup>193</sup> Although members of the Bush campaign had made off-color comments about Willie Horton, George Bush never made any such statements himself. The worse that could be said about Bush was that he never made any direct appeals to black voters, but he never demonstrated any overtly racist behavior. Michael Dukakis did not seem to make any direct appeals to black voters during the election, either. Furthermore, Bush himself argued that a recent ad made by the Dukakis campaign generated racist feelings toward Hispanics.<sup>194</sup>

The ad Bush was referring to was the “Furlough from the Truth” ad released by the Dukakis campaign in mid October. The ad opened up with the revolving door scene from the “Revolving Door” ad being broadcasted on a television, with an announcer stating, “George Bush talks a lot about prison furloughs. But he won’t tell you that the Massachusetts program was started by a Republican and stopped by Mike Dukakis.”<sup>195</sup> As the announcer talks, the scene shifts to a prison hallway, and then to a close-up shot of someone being released from handcuffs. All the while, text claiming that Bush furloughed 7,015 drug dealers is superimposed on the screen.<sup>196</sup> The narrator continues talking, “And Bush won’t talk about the thousands of drug kingpins furloughed from Federal prisons while he led the war on drugs.”<sup>197</sup> The scene shifts again to a headshot of a Latino man, with long hair and a faint moustache. The image is of Angel Medrano, Pedrin’s killer.<sup>198</sup> The narrator

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<sup>192</sup> Carter 73.

<sup>193</sup> Carter 74.

<sup>194</sup> Dowd, “Bush Says Dukakis’s Desperation Prompted Accusations of Racism.”

<sup>195</sup> Anthony Podesta, “Furlough from the Truth” *The Living Room Candidate, Presidential Campaign Commercials 1952-2008*, accessed May 15, 2011, [www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/furlough-from-the-truth](http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/furlough-from-the-truth).

<sup>196</sup> Podesta, “Furlough from the Truth”

<sup>197</sup> Podesta, “Furlough from the Truth”

<sup>198</sup> Dowd, “Bush Says Dukakis’s Desperation Prompted Accusations of Racism.”

explains who this man is, but fails to name him, "Bush won't talk about this drug pusher, one of his furloughed heroin dealers, who raped and murdered Patsy Pedrin, pregnant mother of two."<sup>199</sup> As the narrator speaks, the scene shifts to stock footage of a body bag being carried out of a crime scene on a stretcher. The ad then shows an image of Patsy Pedrin, the young woman smiling in her photo.<sup>200</sup> The ad closes with the "Revolving Door" commercial playing on the television set yet again as the narrator states, "The real story about furloughs is that George Bush has taken a furlough from the truth."<sup>201</sup> The television clicks off, and the ad ends.<sup>202</sup>

The implications of the ad were clear: the Dukakis campaign had found their own Willie Horton to use against Bush. "Two sides can play this ugly game," Susan Estrich exclaimed to Lee Atwater, when the later was speaking at the Kennedy School.<sup>203</sup> Estrich claimed that the Dukakis campaign did not want to use the ad, but the constant attacks by the Right against Dukakis forced them to air it.<sup>204</sup> But the Pedrin story failed as a counter-narrative to the Horton story. Atwater, responding to Estrich, actually gave three reasons why. First, the Bush campaign avoided using Horton image or referencing his name in the "Revolving Door" ad.<sup>205</sup> While the Pedrin ad did not mention Pedrin's killer by name, it featured his image. This use of the killer's image might have been a response to "Weekend Passes" ad featuring Horton's image, but this ad was not officially endorsed by the Bush campaign. Second, the campaign knew that ad had racist implications, as Estrich confessed, yet they still ran the ad anyway. This is especially troubling since the ad ran in California, a

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<sup>199</sup> Podesta, "Furlough from the Truth"

<sup>200</sup> Podesta, "Furlough from the Truth"

<sup>201</sup> Podesta, "Furlough from the Truth"

<sup>202</sup> Podesta, "Furlough from the Truth"

<sup>203</sup> Brady 202.

<sup>204</sup> Brady 202.

<sup>205</sup> Brady 202.

state known for the racial tensions that existed between whites and Latinos.<sup>206</sup> Third, the campaign justified the ad's airing on the grounds that conservatives had essentially done the same thing with the Horton ad.<sup>207</sup> Instead of combating white Americans' assumptions about race and crime, the Dukakis campaign affirmed them with the ad. In the battle of narratives concerning race and crime, the Democrats not only lost, they ended up presenting themselves as both desperate and hypocritical.

It can't be said that the Horton story was the sole reason why George Bush won the election. The Massachusetts furlough program was just one of several issues the Bush-Quayle Campaign attack Dukakis on. The election that brought us the "Willie Horton" and "Revolving Door" ads also brought us the infamous "Tank Ride" and "Boston Harbor" ads, these ads attacking Dukakis on national defense and environmentalism. However, the salience of the Horton story went beyond its use in the election. The Horton story represented the next step in the Right's use of coded language. With the Southern Strategy, the Nixon campaign was responsible for maintaining both an explicit narrative and a subtle one; asserting that most (white) Americans were concerned about the crime rampant in America, while at the same time hinting at connections between crime, minorities, and political activism. Now in 1988, conservatives now utilized a two pronged strategy when it came to the Horton story. The Bush-Quayle campaign affirmed that its use of the Horton story was aimed at emphasizing Dukakis' poor handling of crime, not about drumming up racial fears or hatred because Horton happened to be an African-American. Meanwhile, independently owned and operated conservative groups pushed a secondary narrative that emphasized the racial aspects of the Horton story, albeit in subtle ways. Political scientist

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<sup>206</sup> Brady 202.

<sup>207</sup> Brady 202

Kerwin C. Swint argued this point when discussing the relationship between the Bush-Quayle campaign and the NSPAC in his book *Dark Genius*.<sup>208</sup> But while Swint's discussion of the Bush-Quayle Campaign and the NSPAC would suggest collusion between the two on some level, it is the opinion of this author that the relationship of the Bush campaign and NSPAC was not based on co-operation, but on the concept of Schadenfreude. As much as campaign staffers made bawdy comments about Willie Horton or spoke with members of NSPAC during their free time, there is no real indication that the Bush campaign was anything but sincere in its claim that the issue was crime, not race. However, the campaign seemed well aware of the fact that other conservative groups might take the initiative in emphasizing the racial aspects of the Horton story. To that end, the campaign did the bare minimum in distancing itself from conservative PACs which pushed a more racially charged narrative about Willie Horton. The Bush-Quayle Campaign avoided engaging in racial fear-mongering, but had no qualms if other conservatives groups engaged in the practice. As such, the campaign itself could not be blamed if these PACs' actions caused more white voters to gravitate towards voting for Bush.

Decades after the election, the legacy of the "Willie Horton" and "Revolving Door" ads lives on. During the 2010 race for Senate in Arizona, several ads appeared on Arizona television claiming that Democratic Senator Harry Reid was illegal aliens' best friend. The ads claimed that Reid supported giving illegal aliens benefits like tax breaks and social security.<sup>209</sup> More importantly, one of the ads featured an image of three Hispanic men staring into the camera. All three men carry a serious, but menacing look on their faces.

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<sup>208</sup> Swint 88-89.

<sup>209</sup> Andrea Nill Sanchez, "Sharron Angle Spokesperson Slams Her Candidate's Own Ads on Spanish Language Radio" *Think Progress: The Wonk Room*, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://wonkroom.thinkprogress.org/2010/09/29/sharron-angle-immigration-ads/>.

One of the men, standing in the middle of the shot, sports a backwards baseball cap and hoodie. One of his companions is also wearing a hoodie; the other is wearing a black jacket.<sup>210</sup> Wearing these clothes, the men look like hoodlums, inferring a connection between illegal aliens and crime. The attack ads were criticized by the Left for their race-baiting rhetoric and racially charged imagery, but the ad featuring those three Hispanic men became particularly famous.<sup>211</sup> The three men would reappear in another attack ad, this one airing on Louisiana television. Like the Arizona ads attacking Harry Reid, this ad claimed Democratic Senate hopeful Charles Melancon supported giving benefits to illegal aliens.<sup>212</sup> In this ad, the picture of the three men is now in color, where it was previously in black and white in the Arizona ad.<sup>213</sup> Now there was no doubt as to the three men's ethnicity. Where the ads the work of independent conservative groups? No. The ads were produced and endorsed by the campaigns of both Sharron Angle and David Vitter, the Republican candidates for Senator in Arizona and Louisiana, respectively.<sup>214</sup> Twenty-two years ago, such ads would have been a cause for concern among Republican Party strategists like Lee Atwater. Among strategists working for the Republican Party today, there doesn't appear to be as big a concern.

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<sup>210</sup> Andrea Nill Sanchez, "Angle and Vitter Use the Same Photo of 'Illegal Aliens' In Racially-Tinged Attack Ads" *Think Progress*, accessed May 15, 2011, <http://thinkprogress.org/2010/10/06/vitter-angle-immigration/>.

<sup>211</sup> Sanchez, "Angle and Vitter Use the Same Photo of 'Illegal Aliens' In Racially-Tinged Attack Ads."

<sup>212</sup> Sanchez, "Angle and Vitter Use the Same Photo of 'Illegal Aliens' In Racially-Tinged Attack Ads."

<sup>213</sup> Sanchez, "Angle and Vitter Use the Same Photo of 'Illegal Aliens' In Racially-Tinged Attack Ads."

<sup>214</sup> Sanchez, "Angle and Vitter Use the Same Photo of 'Illegal Aliens' In Racially-Tinged Attack Ads."