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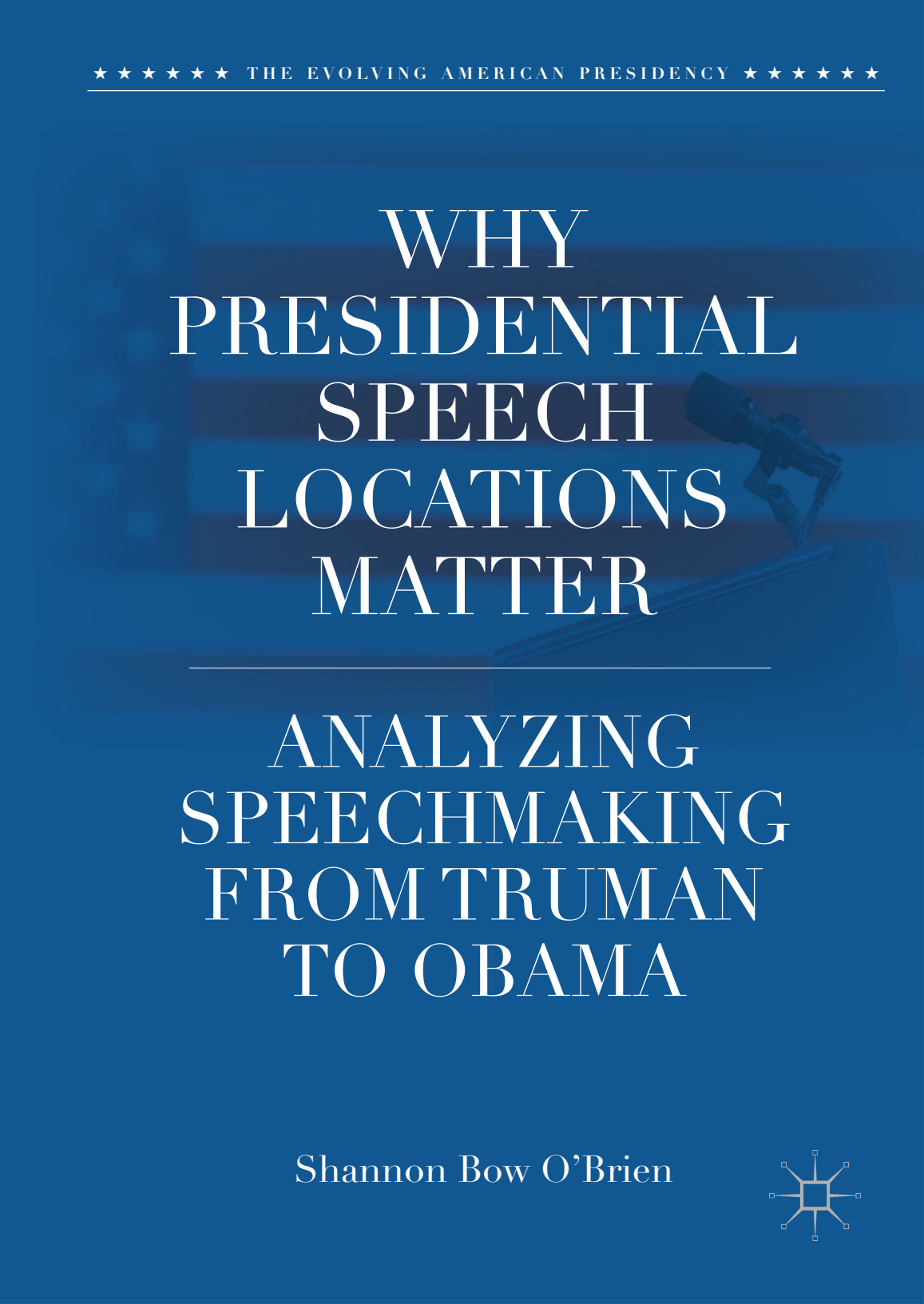

WHY PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH LOCATIONS MATTER

ANALYZING SPEECHMAKING FROM TRUMAN TO OBAMA

Shannon Bow O'Brien

The Evolving American Presidency

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Why Presidential Speech Locations Matter

Analyzing Speechmaking from Truman to Obama

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Acknowledgements

The idea for this project began in a bathtub around 2001. As I was drifting with my thoughts, I had a moment where I began to think about where presidents give speeches. At the time, there had not been much written on speechmaking below the national level and I believed there was a story to tell about these locations. That project became my dissertation which I completed at the University of Florida in 2007. My dissertation committee was supportive and believed in me and my ideas. In many ways, that belief has been one of the most important things in my academic career. I also made extremely good friends at Florida who have always been some of my best critics and champions. I also met and married my husband at Florida. He has been my best friend and academic counterpart for almost 20 years. While we research and work in completely unrelated fields, it has always been helpful to have a partner who understands the schedules, pressures, and demands of academia. I followed him to the University of Texas where we have worked since 2004. The project has grown and changed somewhat in that time, but the heart of it has always been the same. When I started this project, the George W. Bush administration made me question if I was observing a fundamental shift in speechmaking patterns. After Barack Obama, it was more apparent that Bush was simply unusual and more of an interesting blip than a change. With the conclusion of the Obama presidency, this book is better than it would have been even a couple of years ago. His administration, from my point of view, resembles many previous ones which gave me comfort that much presidential behavior was enduring across time.

I am appreciative and thankful for every person who has read ideas and pieces of this work at conferences over the years on panels, generally at the Midwest Political Science Conferences and the American Political Science Associations national conferences. I have been lucky enough to get great feedback and comments which have helped me work on these ideas more fully.

There have been several web sites that helped make this work possible. When I first started cataloging speeches, I did it all by hand out of the physical copies of the *Public Papers of the President* from the library. From 1992 onward, I was able to use the Weekly Complication of Presidential Documents published online by the Government Publishing Office. It sped up my work and has been invaluable. The State Department also publishes online all the foreign travel of the president as well as official visits by foreign leaders. Both lists were extremely useful in the chapters about foreign speeches and vacation residences of the presidents. As I began to research the vacation locations, I discovered most of the presidential travel diaries were available online at their different archives. Each archive uses a different method to publish the material, but its existence and accessibility were vital. In particular, I would like to thank the libraries of Presidents Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and Clinton for publishing this material online. I would like to especially acknowledge the archivists at the George H. W. Bush library who provided me with the lists I needed when I contacted them about this material. They currently do not have the daily diaries online, but were extremely kind in sharing the necessary information. I could not have completed that section without their assistance. I also thank Freedom House for publishing their archival rankings on their Web site. I could not have completed the chapter without that information. Another Web site that has been critical for compiling this information is Dave Leip's Atlas of US Presidential Elections. His web site is a wonderful resource to double check elections and make sure I had all my swing states correct. I am truly grateful for all the trips to the library and hours he saved me over the years. His site is accurate, thorough, and contains a huge amount of information about each election going back to the founding.

There have been many people over there years that have been instrumental with advice, thoughts, and support. I know I will miss people if I even attempt a list, but in particular, I'd like to single out a few:

Larry Dodd, Peggy Conway, Beth Rosenson, Lynda Lee Kaid, Renee Johnson, Ken Wald, Phillip Williams, David Hedge, and the rest of the faculty at Florida who made me a better academic and person. The faculty at Texas have been wonderful and insightful colleagues who I have been honored to work with and share ideas.

As I was preparing this section, I learned the principal at my elementary school, Audubon Traditional in Louisville, Kentucky, passed away. It may seem silly, but when I think of many of the important lessons of life, I often think about the friends and teachers from my elementary, middle, and high schools. Shirley Shelton made all of us at Audubon feel special, wanted, and valuable as a person. Children value themselves when others make them understand they are important. I know those early interactions left their mark on my soul and her fundamental kindness surely impacted the way I view others. So, for that, I thank her and all my teachers at Audubon, JCTMS, and Male High for encouraging me to dream of bigger worlds and ideas.

I would also like to thank my parents, David and Jean Bow for their support and encouragement. Finally, I'd like to thank my husband, Bill O'Brien who I love and am grateful for every day. He encouraged me to thank Elly, our ever present and spoiled terrier who considers both of us her servants, food handlers, and comfort coordinators.

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CHAPTER 1

Overview

The presidency occupies a special status within American society. The office has clearly defined powers and limitations. However, the constitutional powers fail to capture the true nature of the evolving power of the executive. It is the only branch of the American government headed by a solitary person. Though not a monarch, this individual is simultaneously a person, position, and branch of government. The presidency exists as a multilayered entity that cannot easily be teased apart into compartmentalized notions. The person functions both as the head of state and the chief executive. Ceremonial and administrative duties fall squarely upon their shoulders. They are ideally supposed to represent our nation in various social functions while managing the entire executive branch bureaucracy. The American presidency balances the pageantry of our nation with the responsibility of bureaucratic management. Both are interlinked and critical to the successful functioning of our government. When one is favored over the other, presidents appear to either be out of touch with either the people or the system. Our presidents attempt to manage the branch while simultaneously attending to the needs of the population.

As conceived in Article I of the USA Constitution, the legislative branch wields a tremendous amount of power. Many scholars consider this branch as the most powerful of the three. Our founding fathers were deeply concerned about the emergence of a monarch. As a result, they vested the majority of authority into the legislative branch with

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the idea of power diffused among the electorate. All systems, however, need leaders to organize and guide ideas into actualizations. Within the Congress, formal and informal leadership structure developed, and over time, institutionalized into a set hierarchy governing member interaction and activity. The legislative branch has long been involved in power struggles with the executive branch. While our founders were apprehensive about a powerful executive, they understood a single president was psychologically important for the country. Voters demand accountability, and an elected president provides a figurehead for the public to galvanize around, and look toward as the ultimate voice for the people. Over the years, the American presidency has grown in power disproportionate to its original constitutional provisions. The development of the bureaucracy allowed for the executive branch to exert a large amount of influence upon the federal government. As presidents have transitioned away from their role as "chief clerk,"[1] they challenged the legislative branch's historical dominance of government. The public looks to the president for guidance and leadership as the country's primary elected official. This fluidity of executive responsibility lends itself toward a flexible model of leadership. Presidents throughout history mold the branch and office to suit their current administration's needs. Because of the diverse responsibilities held by the executive, the sitting president regularly sees to the obligations of the office through personal appearances, speeches, meetings, executive orders, messages, or other means to communicate his opinions and preferences. It is difficult to distill all presidential actions into uniform categories. Each executive has brought their own distinctive style to the office along with personal proclivities toward specific methods of public interaction. Some, like Eisenhower and Nixon, preferred a more formal White House while Carter and Clinton gravitated toward a more collegial one. Within all the uniqueness and idiosyncratic behavior of administrations, are there patterns across time we can observe? Can we compare presidencies to see certain aspects are stable across administrations and if changes have occurred over the years? Is it feasible to treat presidential administrations as units of comparison rather than exceptional events without counterparts?

When presidents choose to speak in public, they do so for a variety of reasons. Many explanations exist, but they often include announcing policy, recognizing individuals, informing the country, and building support. Location of a public speech often indicates the motivation and rationale for the activity. If we assume presidents have the ability to give

as well as refrain from speechmaking, the act itself has implications of intentional activity. Presidents speak because they have grounds for doing it. Sometimes, it can be as innocent as presenting an award, but other times, it may involve building support for national programs or authorizing international military action.

Presidents are only as powerful as their ability to align support for their policies. Though presidents have dramatically increased the total volume of speeches over the past seventy years, do they solely rely upon large cities and media markets to convey the messages or do they utilize smaller, less national media outlets and regional addresses to connect with the citizenry? Presidential speeches give us tools to better explore choices made by administrations in terms of priorities. When presidents speak, people listen. The topics they address, the words they choose can help guide and direct the public in specific ways. Jason Barabas asserts "citizens learn from the presidential rhetoric in SOTU addresses, especially policy proposals highlighted in the mass media."[2] People listen to what a president says, and how he says it. Tone[3] can affect perceptions and when "public opinion moves in favor of the president's advocated policy, an effect that is strongest among the attentive audience."[4] Competing ideologies over the role of the president has seesawed the balance of power back and forth between the congressional and executive branches. In the twentieth century, presidential dominance emerged and has never been subjugated. American president acts as the lead policy maker within the hearts and minds of most citizens. This research explores several basic questions about modern presidential speechmaking. First, has the basic nature of presidential speechmaking changed over time? Through examining the volume of speeches on a yearly basis, it is possible to see that new patterns of yearly speechmaking that emerged especially after the Nixon administration continuing through today. In particular, this research suggests almost much modern presidential speechmaking is cyclical in nature, both during governing and election periods. Can we determine if any consistent patterns within speech location exist across presidencies? In particular, the usage of media markets helps us better understand where presidents choose to speak throughout the USA. If presidents do prefer certain media market sizes to others, what types of speeches occur there? Do they use certain sized markets primarily for campaigning, policy announcements, or consensus building publicity stops? Through media markets and use of speech types (i.e., election speech), clear profiles emerge

with how and when presidents choose to talk in different parts of the USA. Some presidents prefer to reinforce base support while others engage in more outreach activities. By comparing and contrasting speeches organized by more conventional Census areas and the less traditional media markets, this project unearths some striking and surprising results. Unquestionably, the volume of presidential speeches over the past fifty years has exploded. Chief executives give public speeches almost constantly, talking on a variety of topics ranging from mundane to vital issues impacting life in America. However, do presidents give preferential treatment to specific areas of the USA? Furthermore, over the past thirty years, a body of literature has emerged around the continuous or permanent campaign of presidential administrations. In the world of the continuous campaign, presidents theoretically never cease the campaigning process. Richard Nixon in March 1971 said to Haldeman "[t]he staff doesn't understand that we are in a continuous campaign."[5] Polling public opinion becomes paramount, and every speech has some sort of audience. In short, administrations never disengage from campaigning. This situation implies presidents must maintain the same level of speechmaking during nonelection years as they do within periods of reelection or risk erosion. My belief is this premise may be flawed. These findings suggest Nixon indeed engaged in permanent campaigning during his entire time in office. Much of the early research on continuous campaigning emerged during or soon after his presidency. However, his administration appears to be the exception rather than the norm for most subsequent chief executives. Nixon was, in retrospect, less of a model and more of an outlier for generalized behavior in office. Because the volume of speeches exploded following the Nixon presidency, an assumption was made that others were behaving in a similar matter, but the rapid growth in quantity clouded their true behavior. In reality, every presidency post-Nixon until Obama has engaged primarily in cyclical speechmaking, seriously altering pattern during election seasons, particularly during their own reelection periods. The sheer number of speeches often swamps these dramatic changes, but when filtered by Census areas or media markets, distinctive and persuasive patterns of cyclical speechmaking are more apparent. By using an additional lens of Electoral College success, we can also see presidents choose and prefer relying on their bases of support both during and not during periods of election-oriented speechmaking.

Presidents have different patterns throughout the country when engaging in election-focused speeches compared to generalized ones. This project also integrates swing states into the Electoral College assessment. It will show that George W. Bush focused on swing states at a far higher level than any other president. Barack Obama, on the other hand, eschewed them and reinforced his base with veracity. Recent presidents have also seriously altered the ways in which they "go public." The underlying theory within much of the rhetorical presidency literature relies upon the notion the president primarily addresses national audiences. Several scholars[6] pay careful attention to presidents' interaction with media and the public, but their focus clearly centers on national level appeals. Samuel Kernell's book, *Going Public: New Strategies for Presidential Leadership*, first published in 1986 engages this material during a period of heightened presidential speechmaking in Washington, DC. While the concept of "going public" has been an institution within American research for about 30 years, my research suggests George W. Bush broke with the tenets of this idea and interacts with the public in a localized speechmaking model. Both Richard Nixon and George W. Bush appear as outliers in a rather regular pattern of behavior. While Barack Obama was often publicly criticized for his speechmaking, his regional patterns more closely resemble administrations such as George H. W. Bush than his immediate predecessors. He goes more national, helping support a nationalized "going public" model.

Much of the rhetorical presidency literature relies upon the idea the president primarily addresses national audiences. Recent attention to local audiences has grown,[7] but there is still often a focus at the national level speeches. Some presidents have utilized local media outlets and regional addresses to connect with the citizenry while others gravitated toward broader, national audience approaches. These noticeable styles and differences highlight marked patterns which have more to be with how they approach the presidency rather than simple partisan distinctions. The research borrows some methods utilized in marketing research to identify and explain regional patterns of speechmaking and underscores the importance of regional appeals to the "rhetorical presidency."

As the twentieth century saw the rise of the institutional presidency, the public engaged in perhaps its most intimate relationship between the president and population. Radio and later television transitioned

the president from an abstract office to friend and ally. Verbal and video communication promoted the presidency in new ways to the American public. Presidential activities were no longer solely chronicled in third person newspaper articles or theatrical newsreels. Chief executives explained justified or appealed directly to individual voters inside their homes. Successful presidents transcended the divide between the conceptual and tangible in the psyches of their constituents. Thus, presidential authority arises from the chief executive choosing specific points in time to act. Presidents are fully aware the press corps closely scrutinizes their public movements, words, and activities. People want to know intimate details about the president, and astute leaders use this desire at opportune moments for their advantage. "The presidency is a battering ram, and the presidents who have succeeded most magnificently in political leadership are those who have been best situated to use it forthrightly as such."[8] Chief executives use their sway over the media and other outlets to get their message out without expending too many resources. "Rhetorical power is a very special case of executive power because simultaneously it is the means by which an executive can defend the use of force and other executive powers and it is a power itself."[9] The language of the president sends clear indications of his justifications for action as well as their power over the decision itself. "A successful rhetorical president has become so by developing three resources: public trust, an image of managerial competence, and a coherent rhetoric that unites trustworthiness and competence into a vision that coordinates public choices."[10]

American presidents have understood the appeal of direct communication with the public. President Calvin Coolidge was the first president to address the nation from the White House in 1924. In fact, during his run for the presidency that same year, Coolidge gave his final campaign speech on the radio garnering the largest listening audience of any broadcast to date. Franklin Roosevelt most notably employed radio broadcasts with his "Fireside Chats." Thirty speeches spanning between 1933 and 1944, the Fireside Chats humanized an American president in ways no previous administration had achieved. The term was coined because Roosevelt sought to cultivate an image of him actually sitting in the living room of individual citizens informally conversing about his policies and actions. These talks were enormously successful in forging a new relationship between the public and presidency.

People viewed Roosevelt as a friend and partner who took the time to carefully explain his strategies in clear, but straightforward terms. Television further served to amplify the president's relationship with the American public. Though Franklin Roosevelt was the first president to appear regionally on television in 1939 at the opening of the World's Fair on Long Island, Harry Truman was the first president to have an address nationally broadcast in 1951. Neither president, however, used television as a mechanism to directly connect with the public.

It was Dwight Eisenhower who pioneered the application of television to bring his message to Americans. Between 1952 and 1956, television ownership grew from 37 to 76%.[11] Starting in 1953, Eisenhower gave regular televised news conferences interacting with reporters and answering their questions. Like Roosevelt with radio, he saw this new medium as a way to manage his image and foster a bond between him and the public. By the time he sought reelection in 1956, Dwight Eisenhower was not in the best physical shape. Between his heart attack in 1955 and intestinal surgery in June 1956, Eisenhower needed a way to conserve his energy and health[12] during the election campaign. The Republican Party turned to television as a novel approach to interject Eisenhower into American homes with minimal commitment from the ailing chief executive. Television campaign commercials cultivating an image of vitality put Eisenhower into practically every American household. The television approach succeeded with Eisenhower winning in a landslide.

In the early years of both radio and television, presidents drew large audiences and used the tools as a way to avoid exhaustive travel. Franklin Roosevelt's paralysis and Dwight Eisenhower's declining health inhibited them from vigorously engaging in speaking tours throughout the country. Both saw their respective communication mediums as their best means for "going public" to the American people. In fact, during the 1956 campaign, Eisenhower was only away from Washington for 13 days, 6 of which were devoted to stops explicitly for television appearances.[13]

With the exception of the Gerald Ford and the first terms of Harry Truman and George W. Bush, every president after Franklin D. Roosevelt gave over 50% of all speeches in each four-year term in Washington, DC. Harry Truman gave 38.3% of his speeches in Washington, DC, during this first term though he increased to 56.1% in the second. Gerald Ford gave 43.6% while George W. Bush was at 48.3%. Three presidents (Reagan 54.4%, George H. W. Bush 52.3%, Barack Obama 53.3%)

gave slightly over half of their speeches in the nation's capital during this first term. The remainder (Eisenhower 66.9%, Kennedy 66.9%, Johnson (1963–1968) 71.9%, Carter 60.8%, Reagan 62.9%, Clinton 60.6%) all gave at least 60% of their total first-term speeches in Washington, DC. Second terms are slightly different. Every second-term administration gave at least 50% or more of their speech totals in Washington, DC. Most administrations (Truman 56.1%, Nixon 65.6%, Reagan 65.7%, Bush 43 59.3%, Obama 58.2%) gave a higher percentage in Washington, DC, in their second term when compared to their first. Eisenhower (59.4%) and Clinton (53.3%) were distinctive because they gave a smaller percentage in Washington during in their second term in office.

These numbers suggest presidents conduct a large portion of the public discourse in the nation's capital. The focus should be self-evident considering presidents in modern times use the White House as not only a residence, but also their seat of power. The White House functions not only as a home, but also their base of operation. The West Wing and nearby Executive Office Buildings house employees within the Executive Office of the President (EOP) and the Executive Branch bureaucracy. These staffers exist to better inform the chief executive and perform the duties of the branch. It is natural, therefore, to assume presidents tend to give the bulk of their speeches within the Washington, DC, vicinity.

Percentages, however, are different than volume. Broadly speaking, each American president speaks more frequently than his predecessor. Exceptions exist, but usually these outliers involve extraordinary circumstances like the premature resignation of Nixon during his second term. The first terms of Truman and Eisenhower both have under 300 public speeches in Washington, DC, with 228 and 275, respectively. While Truman almost doubles in his second term to 447, Eisenhower barely increases to 307. John Kennedy, even with a truncated first term, has a far higher speech number (523) in Washington, DC, than his two predecessors. Lyndon Johnson presents a conundrum because of the unusual nature of this presidential term. During the time he served out Kennedy's first term, Johnson gave 321 public speeches in Washington, DC. It is a remarkable number for the remaining 425 days of Kennedy intended term. Johnson's full term clocked in with 909 public speeches in Washington, DC, more than the combined two full terms of either Truman or Eisenhower. Johnson is followed by an equally unusual administration with Richard Nixon. His first term was lower than his two immediate predecessors, but more than Truman or Eisenhower with a

total 457. The abbreviated second term was shockingly low with only 162 public speeches in Washington, DC. The second term of Richard Nixon lasted 567 days. If we were to compare Nixon's shortened term to Johnson in 1963–1964, Nixon averaged fewer than 3 Washington, DC, speeches every 10 days with Johnson at around 7 and a half. The final atypical term is the presidency of Gerald Ford who served out the remainder of Nixon's second term in office. He gave 557 public speeches in Washington, DC, during his 896 days in office with an average of 6.2 speeches every 10 days. With the Carter administration, we see an increase in public speeches in Washington, DC. Carter and Reagan both were under a thousand public speeches in Washington during all their terms. Carter was at 886, and Reagan, 983 and 940, respectively. The first terms for both Bushes were very similar to the elder at 1060 public speeches in Washington and the younger at 1056. George W. Bush increased in his second term up to 1092. Barack Obama was also in the range of the Bush presidents with 1079 Washington speeches in his first term though he declined to 915 in his second. While there has clearly been a collective increase since the Nixon administration, Bill Clinton's public speaking numbers are unique and stand apart. His first term is almost 500 speeches higher than any other president. At 1560 speeches, Bill Clinton spoke in Washington, DC, on a very regular basis. Though it declined to 1412 speeches in his second term, it is still well and above any other American president. When averaged out, Clinton spoke enough in Washington, DC, almost once a day. As a comparison, Clinton's aggregate overall totals of every speech average toward 17 speeches for every 10 days in office.

Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter, Reagan, and Clinton all gave over 60% of their public speeches in that city. In fact, Reagan perhaps epitomized the image of a presidency that spent a majority of its time either in DC or presidential residences such as Camp David or his personal home at Rancho del Cielo in California. Presidents seem to prefer to use tools at their disposal they consider the most comfortable. Public speeches in Washington, DC, give the chief executive a level of control over his public image. Speeches in these locations allow for both stronger security and more power over access. In this "bubble" within DC, chief executives can more easily convey information they want while risking little to their public image. Reagan, a product of the motion picture studio system, gave the most speeches in DC since Lyndon Johnson's second term. A later chapter will explore the increasing usage

of presidential retreat locations as places to work as well as escape from the pressures of the position.

Ultimately, what do numbers imply? Presidents speak more, but have mostly concentrated fewer of their speeches in the Washington, DC, area since the Reagan presidency. Prior notable exceptions of decreased DC speeches include Nixon and Ford, but these administrations also have palpable rationales for avoiding the press corps (i.e., Watergate). What does this mean for "going public"? If we agree on presidents indeed "go public" during their presidencies, can we look at the process in differing ways? During their terms in office, presidents have the ability to speak anywhere and generally on any topic. Almost any occasion where the president speaks publicly will draw attention from a local, if not national or international audience. When a president makes the choice to speak, it becomes a matter of public record, permanently archived in his public papers. Therefore, it can be somewhat safe to assume every president carefully chooses his words on most occasions, scripted or unscripted. When a president decides to speak in a particular location, it can be inferred the administration or the man has made a conscious choice to interact with the public or media. Sometimes, it is not as important what he says, than where he says it. "When a president chooses to travel around the country he leads in order to meet the people he represents, his decision to go to a specific place and not others can reveal a great deal about his strategic priorities."[14] Has the president decided to draw attention to a locale for a specific policy purpose, or is he attempting to connect with people?

Richard Neustadt states in *Presidential Power*, "presidential power is the power to persuade."[15] Neustadt offers what can best be described as suggestions for presidents on the nature of power and the challenges of governing. If presidential power truly is the "power to persuade," how does that influence manifest itself? Many point to the power behind rhetoric as a focal point for his authority. However, is presidential rhetoric the same as the rhetorical presidency?[16] The former examines the actuality while the latter refers to a broader theoretical approach to conceptualizing the public actions of chief executives.

Carefully chosen words wield tremendous power if implemented effectively. However, does language lose its sway when comes to resemble a cacophony of information? "One of the great ironies of the modern presidency is that as the president relies more on rhetoric to govern, he finds it more difficult to deliver a truly important speech, one that will

stand by itself and continue to shape events."[17] Ceaser et al. prescribe a change in the character of rhetoric. They suggest presidents, referring specifically to Carter, should speak less, and thereby cause their words to carry more weight.[18] Over the next twenty years, if anything, presidents spoke more than ever. "The greatest loss from the evolution of the rhetorical presidency has been a decrease in the integrity of the word."[19] American presidents' appearances are higher,[20] but researchers question how much the public actually listens to their message.

At one time, television appeared to offer the president the ideal way to send his message out to the national American public. In March 1969, Nixon's prime-time press conferences were watched by 59% of American television households. By 1995, only 6.5% of households viewed prime-time news conferences.[21] In March 2009, Barack Obama had 25.9% of television households watch his press conference on economic recovery.[22] What caused this shifts to occur? While current viewership is generally higher than the mid-1990s, it is still significantly lower than during the 1960s. More importantly, how has this change affected presidential rhetoric? Theodore Windt suggests the "technological media era of politics has created a new 'checks and balances'… Congress now serves principally has a legislative check on the presidency, and media news – primarily television – functions as a rhetorical check on presidential pronouncements."[23]

With the decline of national viewers, presidents rely more upon image than content. "Publicity has become essential to governing."[24] Image appeal overrides content thus making national speeches less content driven.[25] In short, television has become "our emotional tutor"[26] offering intimacy without any personal involvement. Social media platforms with messages sent out directly to our personal devices has only amplified this effect. Richard Nixon once wrote, "the media are far more powerful than the president in creating public awareness and shaping public opinion, for the simple reason that the media always have the last word."[27] National speeches allow for instantaneous criticism over the president's address. Analysis often exists as thinly veiled denigration without the capacity for rebuttal. "Flippant and insinuating comments by television personalities have, on such occasions have a way of undermining presidential authority."[28] Some scholarship[29] suggests that the televised "bully pulpit" may not be as powerful as many people think while others[30] refute their assertions. Many Americans rely upon sound bites or recaps to learn about the content of presidential speeches. Studies indicate content retention is much lower for these people than ones who watch the

speech in its entirety. "For a president to be successful using a televised address to communicate his message to the American people, it is essential they watch the address rather than rely on the stories on television, radio, and newspapers that edit, interpret and include counterarguments to the president's remarks."[31] George Edwards asserts such speeches do not have their desired impact because presidents are primarily "preaching to the converted"[32] and do not expand their public support. Amnon Cavari asserts "Americans who watch a president's speech are more supportive of the president's policy than those who do not watch the speech"[33] and "the tool of public address does not fall on deaf ears."[34] Elvin Lim finds that over time, presidents have changed the way they speech in an attempt to appeal to listeners. "Contemporary presidential rhetoric may have become more conversational and anecdotal, but it has brought the orator down from the pulpit to a closer intellectual and emotional rapport with his audience."[35] Presidents use speeches both to "manipulate their popularity ratings"[36] and "lead public opinion on specific policies."[37] While a wealth of scholarship exists on agenda setting,[38] little has been done exploring the aggregate commonalities regarding locations of speeches. Granted, presidents wield a wealth of resources associated with the office. Jeffrey Cohen[39] accurately points out the interpersonal skills of the office holder makes the utilization of these resources highly variable from occupant to occupant. Presidents are neither passive nor incompetent media managers. In light of the difficulties of national addresses, a shift has inevitably occurred toward regional media. Local media sources offer both an escape from national commentary and an attempt to reforge connections to alienated voters. Why would presidents go into local areas to address the public? Some suggest local news provides more positive coverage than national outlets.[40] "The negativity and process orientation of national news coverage encourage (presidential) candidates to take their campaign on the road where they can general intense local media coverage in strategically chosen locations and wrest control of the political agenda from the national media."[41] Local audiences became of paramount importance particularly to the George W. Bush administration. "President Bush made targeting local news central to his media relations strategy and a top priority throughout his tenure."[42] Local speeches, in many cases, have supplanted long-standing patterns of both concentrated DC speeches, as well as speeches in the largest media areas of the USA. "Getting local media coverage is important because it is a more trusted source of news than national newspapers and television."[43]

Power derives from the importance others place upon your thoughts, ideas, and agendas. People often seek power as a means to influence society in their own vision. "Absent the power to command, the president's power to compel may be the most significant tool in the White House's arsenal of persuasive techniques."[44] One of the more focal ways to achieve this status is through winning public office. Elections in the USA often serve as validation for ideology. Victorious candidates consider their electoral successes as a mandate for the implementation of their ideas. The more powerful the office, the more powerful we consider the person occupying it. Political elections are essentially collective action issues. "Collective action results from changing combinations of interests, organization, mobilization, and opportunity."[45] The goal of the political contest usually involves winning more votes than your opponent. However, turnout is more complex than simply trying to get the most supporters to turn out and cast ballots. "Turnout, defection, and abstention"[46] are all objectives for successful political appeals. It is not enough to simply positively influence turnout in one candidate's favor. In close elections, every person who identifies with another party that can be influenced to stay away effectively is a vote for your party. Leege et al. assert presidential candidates attempt to minimize turnout by encouraging the opposition's supporters to stay home.[47] Through honing in on ideas and values, savvy candidates can sway their core to turn out while simultaneously dissuading others away from the polls. Cohen and Powell found "presidents can achieve a modest boost in state-level approval through strategically crafted public appearances."[48]

The implications of this dynamic idea are enormous. Presidential speechmaking seeks to situate the populace in a retrospective voting mind-set.[49] Retrospective voting encourages the constituent to evaluate the performance of the incumbent without seeking out information about the challenger. Presidential speeches effectively demand the same thought process out of the populace. If Fiorina and Leege et al. are correct, the president aims at developing just enough cross-partisan collegiality to discourage some voters inclined to disagree with him from either seeking out additional information or voting (depending on the timing of the speech). "One source of presidential power, and one that can provide the leadership for modern presidents not present in other forms of influence, is the president's power to signal."[50] Presidents have the ability to guide their audiences toward information they feel relevant. "Leaders must actively engage in that process of investigation that will

allow them to sift among available options for their audience, determine what might be best among those options, and construct a message of some kind that would help the audience to align itself with that alternative."[51] Bernard Cohen puts forth the concept of agenda setting within the media. While the media do not explicitly tell people what to think, they do give them the material to think about.[52] With episodic coverage[53] and evidence about attitude instability[54] or non-attitudes,[55] concerns emerge about media manipulation. "Manipulation may be by the media, by experts, by bureaucrats, and it may even be self-imposed by people's prejudices."[56] Page and Shapiro raise concerns about choices when government controls either information or misinformation occurs.[57] Framing[58] therefore becomes paramount for information control. The ability to present information in specific ways allows those who control the source of the material to mold coverage to their advantage. "Americans who watch a president's speech are more supportive of the president's policy than those who do not watch the speech."[59] Presidents can utilize regionalism in presidential speechmaking to better influence their press coverage. A "local media strategy is a fruitful one if the White House desires positive news coverage."[60] Local media sources offer both an escape from national commentary and an attempt to reforge connections to alienated voters. "The White House communications team focuses on local coverage because the president generally receives positive coverage when he travels to localities around the country and people have a high degree of trust for their local newspapers and television news programs."[61] Local media gives the chief executive an outlet for potentially better favorable coverage.

This approach encourages a sectionalist view of the country. Particularized areas want redress on specific issues. Regional appeals offer many advantages to the president. Local speeches involve captive audiences listening to the full content of the president's address. Roderick Hart contends "voters are alienated … because politics is now grey and lifeless, drained of the human connectedness once found in the New England village."[62] When a president arrives in a community, constituents become excited because the national leader has singled them out to hear him speak. Presidents, in return, receive supportive audiences to rally around him. Through regional appeals, presidents may help restore political trust among constituencies through public appearances. The president trumps Congress through the ultimate "going public"[63] ploy. He reconnects alienated voters to the public sphere but forges

the primary connection between the president and the people, not the people and their other elected representatives. "Preaching to the choir, may, however, reinforce and energize the president's base."[64] Moreover, the president achieves this goal while skirting the glare of national scrutiny. Barrett and Peake find "presidential trips generate more extensive coverage in local newspapers than national press" and "local newspaper coverage of presidential trips was more positive."[65] Sanguine local news coverage helps seal this new relationship and reinforce the image of "president as local advocate." Presidents receive very positive descriptive local news coverage[66] that helps reinforce their image as a leader and promoter of the people. "Rather than have the short edited footage of the presidential visit and remarks that cable news might or might not run, local television will air the full speech and interview others connected to the speech."[67]

"The idea of 'voter' or 'citizen' is socially constructed in symbolic ways."[68] During the past thirty years, Americans have "constructed a selection process that discourages appeals to unity, rewards empty appeals to candidate identification, and shuns the politics of civic action."[69] Is it possible the president offers himself as a surrogate for societal "connectedness"? Presidents can place a topic on the public agenda simply by mentioning a problem.[70] Presidents now compete with cable television for attention.[71] "As the broader media environment has evolved, mass and digital media technologies have transformed the president into a visual, personal entity for individuals to encounter on a regular basis."[72] How can presidents compete when it is easy for people to check their phone or viewers to turn the channel and watch the synoptic highlights continuously running on 24-hour news channel? Administrations increasingly rely upon a social media strategy to bypass traditional journalism in favor of an "unfiltered" lens directly from the White House. While the usage of social media by the executive branch has exponentially grown over the past 20 years, it does carry a weight of aggregate impersonality toward itself. It does filter directly to individuals via their personal devices, yet messages are still broad for their widest appeal. Kernell and Rice look at the impact of cable news upon market polarization. They found audiences unreceptive to the president's message are more likely to tune out or avoid the message which can be problematic if "the president needs to convert to his point of view."[73] The same point can be extrapolated toward social media though perhaps even more amplified than television. Social media, television, and other similar

forms of communication offer connectivity at the leisure of the recipient. Throughout much of the modern presidency era through today, presidents have used speechmaking as a way to bridge the impersonality of a leader in Washington to people throughout the entirety of the country. Whether it is radio, television, or twitter, presidents try to connect to the people as a way to impress their views upon the country. These methods, while often effective toward receptive audiences to ignite discourse, are not a replacement for the attention a community will give to presidential visit for a local or regional speech. "Presidential travel is linked to campaigning and governing"[74] with the lines often blurring between them. The attention given to a location by a president helps better inform us about choices and priorities. Words convey message, but so does place. Milieu matters as does when the speech occurs. Presidents not facing an election season often travel around the country in different ways than those either campaigning or stumping for themselves or others.

Many scholars[75] point to the decline of American parties, while many others[76] have shown its resurgence. Fiorina,[77] in particular, draws forth the cyclic nature of parties and puts forth the idea we are in a zenith phase of partisan identification. Partisanship has become less of a social club and more of a social and cultural identification. Many scholars have noted how closely people relate their party affiliation with income, religion, or other similar social values.[78] "Presidents, for example, speak in public more frequently during election years and as more households subscribe to cable television."[79] Reed Welch documents the power of presidential speeches, but points out how competition on television undermines their effect.[80] Party emerges as a cultural identification more than just a cognitive shortcut on the political spectrum. It helps situate ourselves and others onto the partisan landscape and signal to the world your generalized views.

Have presidents over the past thirty years have increasingly regionalized their speeches? In other words, do they focus primarily upon Washington, DC, as their primary speech loci or do they travel around the country giving speeches? If they do travel, do patterns shift at times across presidencies, parties, or eras? Do different presidents focus upon different areas or do they all generally cluster in similar ways? The possible regionalization of rhetoric has serious implications upon the content and context upon presidential discourse. This research explores presidential speeches in the modern presidency era to better understand patterns and highlights their similarities and divergences.

During previous eras, the president (or surrogates) traveled from locale to inform the public about his policy with a personal touch. In doing so, the aim was to promote party platform, candidates, and agendas. With the advent of airplanes and the Internet, recent presidents do not risk being "out of the loop" when they leave Washington to campaign. Modern technology allows them to visit several states within one day while remaining in close contact with their staff. Increasingly, some presidents seem to forgo national media appeals in favor of smaller, regional audiences when advocating domestic issues. However, others entrench themselves in larger national areas with minimal regional engagement. Though presidents have increased their total speeches over the past seventy years, they no longer solely rely upon the national media to convey the message to the American people. Presidents display savvy knowledge about trends among the population. They target specific constituencies to help mobilize support within Congress, particularly among marginal seats. Presidents attempt to rally support for legislation they consider important for their vision of America. How much of their pressure occurs outside the Washington area? It is well-established presidents will call legislators, cajole, and make deals in order to win support. During close votes (i.e., budget), does the president step up speechmaking in congressional districts where the congressperson's vote is undecided or uncommitted?

Going Public presents "a strategy whereby a president promotes himself and his policies in Washington by appealing to the American public for support."[81] An integral part of "going public" involves presidential posturing. In essence, the president wields the public as a tool to force the Congress into a delegate role. The interaction between the president and the public reflects a dynamic procedure. Samuel Kernell develops his thesis via a general appeal to the public at large. Lyn Ragsdale[82] posits these techniques with presidential addresses may cause short-term surges in the public's support that may help push policy through Congress. Edwards[83] refers to the tool as a core governing strategy of presidents. The "going public" thesis is the idea the president goes over the heads of Congress to the public to then pressure Congress (via the public) to support his policies. "Going public," as conceived by Samuel Kernell assumes the president will use this tool in a national fashion. By introducing a regional or local element to the "going public" idea, it goes beyond the original concept. A regionalized "going public" functions with far more precision and finesse than the blunt force of national pressure.

Going local strategies[84] work to enhance positive coverage while encouraging support for administrations throughout the country. Campaigns for election or reelection of congressional seats can become platforms for presidential policy reinforcement. Speeches in support of these candidates allow the president to customize his message to better connect with the regional public. National speeches force a unified agenda. Regional speeches allow for diversification to better emphasize key points that resonate with the audience. Though Eshbaugh-Soha and Peake[85] question the ability of the translating the positive coverage into legislative support, they do acknowledge its capacity for better news coverage for the administration.

Simon Blumenthal says a major feature of American democracy is permanent campaigning. Blumenthal asserts party has been usurped by consultants for the cultivation of image branding. Consultants "stimulate the public's wish fulfillment … enticing voters to believe that the candidate can satisfy their needs."[86] Politicians no longer exist to simply govern, but to reflect back onto the public its own needs and desires from authority. Blumenthal and other permanent campaign researchers believe presidents engage in an ongoing promotional campaign plan from the day they take office (actually from the moment they declare candidacy) until they step down from power. The basic premise is the president constantly uses the publicity tools of the presidency to further his policies. In essence, the election campaign never ends, but shifts from an electoral to a governing strategy. In fact, the idea has become so important that the "permanent campaign has become a permanent feature of the contemporary presidency."[87] Bruce Miroff asserts many modern presidencies exist as a "spectacle." The presidency exists as a mechanism to provide a distraction as well as entertainment. "The audience watching a presidential spectacle is, the White House hopes, as impressed by gestures as results. Indeed, the gestures are sometimes preferable to the results."[88] Government in some ways becomes a play with the president as the lead actor. Theodore Lowi furthers this claim when he wrote "the president has become the embodiment of government, it seems perfectly normal for millions upon millions of Americans to concentrate their hopes and feats directly and personally upon him."[89] The president can direct his message directly into our lives with more and more precision. Between social media, email, newspapers, and magazines, the White House can simultaneously control a variety of messages aimed at very different audiences. As eloquently put by Brendan Doherty "[A] president's time is

perhaps his scarcest resource."[90] With limited time but often unlimited resources, a president needs to maximize their effectiveness with a minimal commitment. They have to make people aware of their intentions quickly and efficiently. To that end, presidents often use symbolism to conjure illusions. The symbolic president is "a particular set of expectations about the office that are held by the public, described by journalists and teachers, and encouraged by the presidents themselves."[91] They will often utilize spectacles as symbolic events where "particular details stand for broader and deeper meanings."[92] In addition, "a spectacle does not permit the audience to interrupt the action and redirect its meaning."[93] Miroff implies "the contemporary presidency is presented by the White House (with the collaboration of the media) as a series of spectacles in which a larger-than-life main character and a supporting team engage in emblematic bouts with immoral or dangerous adversaries."[94] In *Bowling Alone*,[95] Robert Putnam grapples with the decline of social capital within America. He argues we have become increasingly disconnected from each other as our civic and social engagement within society has frayed. As our populace has grown more disconnected, we as citizens have also grown more tribal in our social and cultural preferences. These atomized preferences manifest themselves in viewing ourselves in new ways.

Marketing research has been on the cutting edge of developing techniques to better understand American behavioral attitudes and patterns. We all like to think of ourselves as individuals, but a wealth of marketing data suggests otherwise. Americans are fragmented, but we are consistent in our diversity. In *The Clustered World*, Michael J. Weiss shows through applying market databases to demographics, Americans can be largely divided into distinct geopolitical clusters, or lifestyle types. "These clusters are based on composites of age, ethnicity, wealth, urbanization, housing style, and family structure."[96]

> These lifestyles represent America's modern tribes, sixty-two distinct population groups each with its own set of values, culture, and means of coping with today's population. A generation ago, Americans thought of themselves as city dwellers, suburbanites, or country folk. But we are no longer that simple, and our neighborhoods reflect our growing complexity. Clusters, which were created to identify demographically similar zip codes around the U.S., are now used to demarcate a variety of small geographic areas, including census tracts (500-1,000 households) and zip plus 4 postal codes (about ten households). Once used to interchangeably with

> neighborhood type, however, the term cluster now refers to population segments where, thanks to technological advancements, no physical contact is required for cluster membership.[97]

Understanding clusters involves more than simply deciphering magazine, food, and music preferences. Clusters give us the means to make the fragmented society more coherent. Traditional voting blocs like the New Deal coalition no longer exist as a comprehensive group. Clusters give us the ability to organize and understand society around personal and cultural similarities. Certain groups consistently vote in specific ways though they may live in disparate regions of the country. Clusters allow us to transcend crude delineations based solely on physical location, ethnicity, age, or job type by allowing us to understand multiple preferences within geographical areas. "Collective labels for segmenting markets are a windfall for small businesses: they motivate efforts to attain quality and distribute information on products that were previously anonymous and unable to speak for themselves. A collective label creates a message that partially compensates for the absence of a brand message."[98] In many ways, voters are customers. Parties have a product they peddle to the public in hopes of winning the largest customer share. The product can, at times, be considered the candidate, but more often, it is the party themselves. The parties aim to have the voter loyal to their brand. They do not want them to even consider seeking other voting alternatives. "Trying to increase your market share means selling as much of your product as you can to as many customers as you can. Driving for share of customer, on the other hand, means ensuring that each individual customer who buys your product, buys only your brand of product, and is happy using your product instead of some other type of product as a solution to his problem."[99]

The "share of customers" approach to marketing has direct relevance to targeting voters. "In fact, focusing on the share of customer, instead of overall market share, is probably the least expensive and most cost-efficient means of increasing overall sales – and incidentally, market share- today."[100] Customer loyalty roots itself within this tactic. The goal involves making you a sole consumer of that product, be it laundry detergent or political party. Brand loyalty is a key to success. They would rather have consistently 100% of your business than give out coupons to attract temporary consumers. Pepper and Rogers refer to this technique as "one to one" (1:1) marketing. By attracting more of

any one customer's business, companies become more efficient and less wasteful. "A mass marketer tries to differentiate his products while a 1:1 marketer seeks to differentiate his customers."[101] One-to-one marketing attempts to cultivate relationships between the business and individual customers. By focusing in on specific needs, concerns, or desires, companies foster product allegiance. This marketing style signals a marked change from traditional methods. Marketers are not targeting the traditional economies of scale, but rather economies of scope. Economies of scope are not competing for market share, but instead, customer loyalty. By learning as much as they can about you, companies that go for your scope over scale attempt to find out as much as they can about you and your personal preferences. In short, companies steer themselves toward direct, not mass marketing, approaches. Political parties, at times, have employed both market share and customer share tactics. While at the risk of overgeneralizing, the Democratic Party has often focused on market share while Republicans on customer share. In September 2016, Pew found 48% of all registered voters identify as Democrats, while 44%, Republicans.[102] In colloquial marketing terms, the Democrats have attempted to get people to buy more cars, while the Republicans have endeavored to encourage people to only buy Elephant brand cars. Republicans work on loyalty over sheer volume.

People like to have things defined for them. When they can situate an idea or person into categories, it provides a sense of security. "If the brand is trustworthy, it reduces anxiety and doubt. It makes our decision making easier and safer."[103] This idea is important because branding is not always a material object. Marketing literature also addresses the importance of emotional branding, or "the desire to transcend material satisfaction, and experience emotional fulfillment."[104] Brands can give meaning which can "describe their content and sense of direction."[105] More important, "[b]rands do not simply identify projects. The brand legitimates the product."[106] while also serving as "both the memory and future of its products."[107] In a political sense, parties seek to simultaneously control both their brand and the brand of their opposition. Their goals involve developing such strong loyalty that voters will not seek out alternatives no matter the candidate presented for elected office. It often manifests in highlighting the accolades of their nominees while vilifying their competition as the worst possible alternate. In *Propaganda*, Bernays states "[T]he conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses in an important element in democratic society.

Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country. We are governed, our minds are molded, our tastes formed, our ideas suggested, largely by men we have never heard of."[108]

Is one man's marketing, another man's propaganda? Why does society place such negative connotations upon propaganda, yet happily accept the same tactics as clever marketing? As society has grown more sophisticated throughout the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries, so has product marketing. Companies have become incredibly clever at reading consumer patterns to better serve and retain customers. Some companies, like Target, collect purchase information to make very accurate assumptions about changes in your personal life to send coupons and advertisements customized for your specific patterns.[109] "Over the past few years, thanks to technological advances and an escalating arms race between the parties, Republicans and Democrats have gone to great lengths to make campaigning more like commercial marketing."[110] Political parties do the similar things, scraping massive amounts of public information, ranging from magazine subscriptions and car registrations to self-reported personal habits. The parties, through organizations like Voter Vault, Demzilla, and other similar data mining companies or services cull information from state voter databases, the Census, and direct marketers to create profiles of you and your neighbors. "In the wake of the 2000 election, each political party, convinced that its opponent was getting ahead, stepped up its investments in technology and information-gathering."[111] It can all be distilled down into both aggregates and individual level information to craft appeals which resonate best with either the voter or consumer.

What are the political implications of these techniques? Evidence suggests selling a political party in this way may not be all that different from other types of more conventional products. It is commonly held that personal contact affects turnout. Voters are more likely to show up to the polls if they have met the candidate or been personally contacted by their supporters. This increase in turnout explains why candidates go door-to-door, hold rallies, and have their supporters call potential voters encouraging them to show up on Election Day. They also repetitively email identified potential allies soliciting donations and support. Voting as a marketing strategy embraces this concept and molds it to suit their needs. Voters are no longer the masses. Instead, parties have the ability to sell themselves on a personal level with messages that appeal the

most to each individual. By mining resources to find topics people hold most dear, groups can use this information as a tool to influence market choice, or in this case, voting decisions.

So, why does it matter? Why should we be interested in whether a company wants to have all of your soap business or all of your voting? It matters in part because humans are fairly lazy information gatherers. "A strong brand is one that projects its values and manages to segment the market according to its own standards."[112] In *The Power of Habit*, Charles Duhigg looks at the importance of habit loops and their effects upon human behavior. They are important because of their impact upon our daily lives. We learn habits, and when we do, they become quite fixed and are often performed "nonconsciously" to allow our brains to focus upon higher priority matters.[113] "An efficient brain also allows us to stop thinking constantly about basic behaviors, such as walking and choosing what to eat, so we can devote mental energy" elsewhere.[114] Political actors have become either consciously or subconsciously adept at managing both branding and habit loops for their own ends. Habit loops[115] provide a sense of satisfaction and a need for completion once they have been engrained and established. The loop generally functions in this way: cue or trigger, routine or behavior, reward or payout. People gravitate toward a party or candidate because, if branded in an appealing way, creates a sense of safety within the label. The party or candidate then works to either develop or reinforce habit loops for their constituencies. Voters who have inculcated both partisan habit loops and customer share branding have the potential to be very loyal regardless of situation or political climate. Parties, and especially the Republican Party, have excelled at these techniques and developed a base which often rejects Democratic challengers simply at face value. Supporters have been primed through media to view other options as problematic simply because of strong brand loyalty. Certain bases among the Democratic Party also behave in similar fashions with generational support for the label more than the candidate. In close elections, parties rely heavily upon these habit loops to drive out their bases. They fight over the independent voters, or in these terms, people who do not have clearly established loops or branding for one party over the other. In many ways, neuroscience sets up a depressing case for electoral politics. Habit formation is so strong within humans that we live large parts of our daily lives within these loops. It is also why changing behaviors can be next to impossible in many instances. "When a habit emerges, the brain

stops fully participating in decision making. It stops working so hard, or diverts focus to other tasks. So until you deliberately fight a habit – unless you find new routines – the pattern will unfold automatically."[116] In a political context, once you make a decision about a party or even a candidate, your brain potentially turns off to any new information. They fortify these decisions with like-minded media or social circles which prevent serious challenges to their positions. Therefore, unless they actively decide to question themselves with other material or points of view, their brains are not primed to take in additional material to usurp established patterns. People vote party X because they always vote party X and receive a cognitive reward within their loop for supporting that activity. Brands can also "enhance our higher needs for esteem, socialization, and self-actualization."[117] People stop listening when they have developed a pattern. They have a sense of security within a well-branded group composed of people with similar views. The only way to shift habits involves self-awareness of the activity followed by habit reversal therapy which often substitutes the routine in the habit loop for something else.[118] Thus, if constituents do not see unwavering support as part of a larger cognitive pattern, change will not occur. Throughout most of October 2008, several major polls gave George W. Bush a disapproval rating in the 70% range with approval in the low 20% range.[119] These numbers were higher and lower than anything comparable in the Obama administration though Clinton had comparable numbers on several occasions in 1999. One of the takeaways from these presidential approval polls is approximately 20% of the population will support a president in all circumstances. Are they willfully obstinately supportive, or simply so embedded in a habit loop they will not challenge themselves to break it? People want validation for their choices and change is often uncomfortable. It forces people out of their loops into areas they have not previously considered. From a cognitive and social point of view, these decisions demand active and not passive activity. Bluntly, it goes against deeply embedding hard wiring with the risk of little emotional reward. Parties want to make their core more brand loyal. Through developing personal connections between party and person, voters are no longer taken for granted. They are instead courted as individuals to make their vote seem important and pertinent to their party's success. Even independents may find themselves targeted in these approaches. "The new databases and statistical tools allow candidates to seek out individuals by predicting what personal characteristic, or what combination of

characteristics, makes a voter worthy of a tailor-made outreach approach. In other words, someone who appears nonpartisan, someone who thinks of themselves as nonpartisan, may nevertheless have a political DNA that the parties will be able to decode."[120] For example, the state of Texas is officially less aligned with Republican Party than many people realize. In Texas, a voter declares party affiliation at a primary. In 2016, though 78% of the voting population of Texas eventually registered to vote in the general election[121] only 21.5% of the eligible population voted in the March primaries.[122] While Texas is often considered a dominant Republican state, almost 80% of the total voting population may lack a party identifier. The political parties within Texas must make appeals in ways that entice the nonaligned voters into their camp. Granted, the vast majority likely believe they are one party or another because they are unaware of the criteria of primaries as the point of declaration. It does not change the reality that the political parties in Texas have to extrapolate information based upon trends and gather necessary insights from materials they know can help better identify their potential voters.

This project's goal is not to upend or challenge voting behavior with market research and cognitive science. It is interested in presidential speechmaking, especially where presidents give speeches throughout the USA. As several chapters will develop further, many presidents engage in base reinforcing activities rather than base outreach. In other words, when presidents' travel, most go to places they are already popular. The few exceptions are the ones that travel places where their party is not dominant. There are many reasons, but a key idea involves reinforcing constituents as well as message. Many successful presidents and administrations have pulled from ideas (though perhaps not overtly) to encourage enthusiastic support. Therefore, in campaign seasons or periods of contested elections, do presidents change the locations of speeches compared to other years? Do all or some presidents seem aware of the need to court voters and seek to incorporate regions, markets, or locales into their respective camps?

When presidents give foreign speeches, does there exist commonalities or threads that tend to run through the locations chosen? Every president also needs time away from the White House. Many administrations have had official residences while others have not. The research for this project led to very interesting conclusions about presidential vacation time away from the White House. Some administrations (i.e., Nixon) spent almost half the entire presidency traveling to, from, or at a vacation residence.

Others (i.e., Obama) barely spent any time away from the White House on vacation.

Clear patterns and preferences exist within and across administrations. They hopefully help us raise questions about the modern political landscape. While the presidency indeed changes from person to person, many things remain constant. All presidents have to communicate with the people. This book looks at the speeches given outside of Washington, DC, from a variety of perspectives to help explain how certain aspects remain predictable though also dynamic at the same time.

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CHAPTER 2

Growth in Speechmaking

We do not have a long history of publicly collected presidential papers. Herbert Hoover is the first president whose speeches and addresses were assembled by National Archives. Franklin Roosevelt privately donated of his papers to his library, but every president starting with Harry Truman has seen all their public communication documented and preserved by National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) in volumes entitled the *Public Papers of the President*.[1] Every time the president opens his mouth and communicates with the public, these record both verbal and publicly available non-verbal communication (i.e., vetoes, executive orders, letters to Congress, nominations, statements). Every formal (i.e., news conference, radio address, State of the Union) and informal (i.e., exchange with reporters, comments before meetings) event are included within the papers. This project includes every verbal communication of each administration. In other words, if it was in the public papers, it was cataloged. If certain types of verbal interaction are eliminated, bias may occur. This decision is an attempt to not place any favoritism on types of speech. Granted, formal addresses are different from informal exchanges. Many scholars prefer to study formal speeches because they often were vetted through speechwriters and may contain more useful content. However, different presidents had radically differing styles. Many scholars study the content of speeches or select specific ones deemed important for deeper analysis. Their work is extremely valuable and helps us better understand priorities articulated by the administrations.

S. B. O'Brien, *Why Presidential Speech Locations Matter*,
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Accurately conducting a content analysis of all presidential speeches throughout the entirety of administrations is not only unwieldy, but also impractical. For example, Bill Clinton was very much a public chatterbox as president with over 2500 incidents of verbal communication. Any comprehensive content analysis of almost 5000 speeches would be an overwhelming task. Fortunately, NARA maintains a regular pattern for categorizing the names of speeches. Each speech receives a conventional title that indicates the general type of the verbal event. The uniformity of this naming system across time allows for standardized groupings between administrations. Is it possible to tease out patterns from the sorts of speeches given instead of relying on the content contained within them? More important, when a president speaks, where are speeches given? Do presidents concentrate certain types of speeches in different places?

Modern presidents speak so frequently that their discourse can seem to more closely resemble a cacophony of noise than coherent agenda setting interactions. The volume of presidential speeches has notably changed over time. Generally speaking, the administrations from 1945–1964 spoke far less per term than the ones from 1965 onwards. The obvious exception stands out as Richard Nixon. For the accidental presidents, the counts begin with their assumption to office. Harry Truman gave 595 public speeches in his first term, averaging 0.43 per day. His numbers went slightly up in his second term with 798 speeches or 0.55 per day. Dwight Eisenhower was lower than Truman with 411 first-term speeches (0.28 speeches per day) and 517 in his second term (0.35 per day). These two administrations stand out because they give more speeches in the second term than the first. Bill Clinton also increases during his second term, but those numbers are impacted by his campaigning for the Senate seat for his wife in New York. Presidents who also had two full terms (Reagan, George W. Bush, Obama) all gave fewer speeches in their seconds. Though Kennedy is only a partial term, we can begin to see some changes for growth in volume beginning with the presidency. He has 782 public speeches, averaging 0.75 a day. Given that Kennedy was president just shy of three years, this number is noteworthy. Kennedy was just short Truman's second term at this point and preparing to head into a reelection year that was certain to be full of speeches and public appearances. If he had been allowed to finish his first term, his daily averages would have likely been far higher. Starting with Johnson, the number of times presidents speak publicly begins to rise. Even though remainder of Kennedy's first term is only 425 days,

Johnson spoke 512 times, averaging 1.20 speeches a day. The full elected term of Johnson (1965–1968) has higher volume numbers (1198 speeches) than all previous administrations though a slightly lower per day average (0.82) than his accidental term. The Nixon administration presents an unusual speech rate. In his first term, Richard Nixon had a total of 840 public speeches, averaging 0.57 a day. While higher than Eisenhower, it is lower than the daily average of either Kennedy or Johnson. His truncated second term had only 247 public speeches, which seems low though the daily average of 0.44 a day putting both terms more in line with the Truman than any other comparable presidency.

The Nixon administration acts as a clear break point between the earlier administrations in terms of speech volume and daily averages. While Kennedy and Johnson both were harbingers for future presidencies, the real shift occurs with the Ford administration which continues through today. Beginning with Ford, no administration, first or second term, had fewer than 1200 public speeches. With the exception of Ronald Reagan's second term with 0.98 speeches a day, no president from Ford onwards averaged less than a speech per day. Presidents are speaking more often on a regular basis in public. Gerald Ford was president for a total of 896 days during which time he gave 1278 public speeches, averaging 1.43 a day. This number reflects Ford's aggressive election campaigning in 1976 in an unsuccessful attempt to avoid being the only president never elected to an office in the executive branch. Almost half of these total speeches as president (49%) were given outside of Washington, DC during this election year. While more than half of these outside of DC are not campaigning speeches, they do reflect an administration attempting to move past the shadow of the Nixon resignation and subsequent pardon. Ford wanted the public to vote for him prospectively, rather than retrospectively. President Ford gave Nixon a full pardon in part because he was under the belief that Nixon was likely going to not survive his current bout with phlebitis.[2] A full pardon would allow the Ford administration to move forward and the former president to pass away with a modicum of peace. Nixon rebounds, makes a full recovery, and lives until 1994. Instead of their hopeful prospective campaign, the Ford administration became burdened by rumors of secretive deal making and gamesmanship in exchange for the presidency. Ford extensive public speeches throughout that election year of 1976 reflect an administration attempting to encourage support for his presidency and not dwell in the recent past.

Following Ford, the Carter presidency continues the upwards trend of public speechmaking. He has 1457 public speeches throughout his four years, or just a hair shy of averaging approximately one speech a day. The Reagan administration keeps pace with Carter with 1562 (1.07/day) public speeches in the first term and 1429 (0.98/day) in the second. George H. W. Bush (Bush 41) ushers in yet another higher benchmark for public speechmaking for the American presidents. It is his term where the presidents begin to give over two thousand public speeches in any given term. President Bush had 2016 public speeches, averaging approximately 1.39 speeches a day. Since his term, every first-term administration (including Obama) has continued the trend though both George W. Bush (Bush 43) and Barack Obama dipped lower for their second ones. Bill Clinton has the distinction of having the most verbose administration of the entire modern presidency era. He had 2575 public speaking events recorded in the public papers for his first term and 2651 for his second. These averaged to 1.76 and 1.81 speeches a day, respectively. Since Clinton, the subsequent administrations have given fewer speeches in their first and second terms though the numbers are still quite high when compared to presidencies prior to Gerald Ford. George W. Bush had 2185 public speeches his first term averaging 1.81 a day. His second term fell slightly to 1845 with an average of 1.26 each day. Barack Obama gave 2023 public speeches his first term (1.38/day) and 1572 (1.08/day) during his second one.

How much of this speech is really important? While difficult to discern, most would agree the State of the Union (SOTU) is vastly more relevant than a short speech honoring Olympiads or reigning champions of professional sports leagues. "Rose Garden rubbish"[3] style speeches often refer to events of inconsequential events where the current president presents an award or honors a specific individual. The difficulty in sifting through the content of thousands of speeches inevitably leads to cherry picking specific ones for analysis. While necessary to help filter content and conduct in-depth research, is it also possible to look at all presidential speeches together as a set in a comprehensive and concise manner?

President Clinton has many informal exchanges with reporters while President George W. Bush has fewer on record. This research is more complete by including every time a president speaks than arbitrarily eliminating communication by type. It is fair to make the assumption if the president decides to speak publicly at a location, however informally, he

intentionally did so of his own accord, and it will be included and documented. They are all aware of the impact and weight of their words. They know anything they say can draw attention, so the choice to speak has to always be considered a conscious decision. For each time a president spoke publicly, the name assigned to it in the *Public Papers of the President* was recorded, the date, along with the location of the speech. If the speech occurred outside the White House, the city and state of each speech were logged according to what was reported by NARA. For almost every occurrence, locations are available or easily obtained. Unfortunately, there are a few instances within administrations that have to be excluded because of the inability to determine an exact physical location. For example, Bush 41 had an unusually high number of 29 publicly recorded exchanges aboard Air Force One with reporters. These speeches, while included in the overall aggregate totals, are later excluded when looking at physical locations for presidential speeches. Presidents would often pre-record their weekly radio address for later distribution. These addresses are logged according to the physical location given by NARA at the end of the transcription. While many presidents would record them in the White House, occasionally they would do so at other locations as well.

We must explore what all these speeches have in common. Some are written by speechwriters, others are administration talking points, while others may just be off the cuff remarks. Therefore, content not just across, but also within, administrations may vary in authorship. In the past fifty years (particularly after Johnson), almost all presidential speech is documented by the press corps in some fashion. However, how much the press reports to the public is highly subjective. The amount of time television news programs devote to presidential sound bites has regularly declined for years. According to Hallin, the average length of time a presidential candidate spoke uninterrupted on evening network news in 1968 was 43.1 seconds.[4] By 1988, this number declined to 8.9 seconds,[5] and by 2000 according to the Center for Media and Public Affairs, the length declined to 7.3 seconds.[6] The George W. Bush administration became particularly adept in compensating for these declines in coverage. Speech reported by a media source may vary greatly from the intent of an actual given speech or verbal remarks. This Bush administration took control of the discourse by forcing visual media sources to convey their key points without commentary. In many speeches, typically on a specific topic or policy, they utilized backdrops with the key idea or theme

repeated over and over so any passive viewer of a media source featuring reporting on this speech will immediately glean the general topic regardless of how much of the speech was actually shown on television. More important, no matter what portion a news channel selects for their program, the intent of the speech is conveyed to the viewer.

In the face of so much variance, is it possible to detect patterns? After we taken into consideration all the distinctiveness of speeches, what do we have left? It is difficult to simply analyze all presidencies across time uniformly. Ideally, the American presidency functions on a rather consistent cycle. During year one, the American president settles into the role of chief executive. In the second year, the presidency deals with midterm congressional elections. The third year may have an occasional off-cycle gubernatorial election (i.e., Kentucky), but overall there are no major electoral campaigns nationwide. Year four is usually the most active year for campaigning if the president is seeking reelection. He will typically campaign at some point for himself. Earlier modern presidency administrations like Eisenhower started around August of the election year, while George W. Bush gave one of his first campaign oriented speeches in December of 2003, a full year and a month before the election. Barack Obama spoke at 60 fundraisers for the national Democratic Party from March to October 2011. Beginning on November 7, 2011, he started giving explicit fund-raising speeches for the Obama Victory Fund 2012. With the exception of only 1 Victory Fund speech in December 2011, Obama gave at least 5 and as many as 23 of these specifically marked speeches per month until the November 2012 elections. These recent administration shifts make the permanent campaign look very much salient and real. Presidents elected to a second term follow a similar pattern. Year 5 is somewhat more subdued in terms of speechmaking as the president settles into their next term in office. Midterm elections follow in year 6 and speechmaking often spikes up as speeches supporting congressional candidates occur. The seventh year often sees a slight decrease in speechmaking. The final term-limited year in office often shows presidents seem to not campaign as fervently for their successors, but still increase their speechmaking in election periods. However, these patterns can be highly variable and often dependent upon the president's general popularity and his interests assisting his party's candidate achieve office. It may also be impacted by his desire to make sure he articulates what he sees as his legacy to the public. For example, while George W. Bush's overall speech numbers crept up slightly in year 8, he gave

zero campaign-based or election-oriented speeches that year. His party and their candidates were not interested in his public support through speechmaking at the end of this presidency.

Problems occur when attempting to compare presidencies across time. Harry Truman, Lyndon Johnson, and Gerald Ford all assumed the presidency upon the death or resignation of another. Their presidential years are not as easily comparable to other administrations. Lyndon Johnson's full year one really would have been John Kennedy's fourth year in office. So, while other presidents may have had the luxury of settling into an office without anticipating an election for three years, Johnson became president with a reelection campaign eminently looming upon the horizon. So, how should his year one be counted? Clearly, it will skew the results of year one presidential speeches. However, where else would it truly fit?

For initial comparisons, perhaps it is best to manage the problematic presidencies at first. By doing so, it also helps contend with Kennedy, Johnson, and Ford. In the cases of Kennedy and Ford, it is easier just to consider Kennedy as an administration with 3 years, and Ford as an administration that really begins during year 6 of Nixon. Ford becomes president almost atop of a midterm election for a second-term president. However, his clock is reset with that year as his first. Johnson presents a more complicated situation because Johnson's true year 1 has 487 verbal events, more than any other year in the Johnson administration. It has more speaking engagements than any other president until 1976 with Ford followed by 1984 with Reagan. It is not really the beginnings of his first term, but instead the completion of Kennedy. The spike in speaking follows more closely with a 4th year in office rather than a first.

Table 2.1 shows the percentage of total speeches for each presidential administration from Truman through Obama. Each president is indicated by their initials as a way to conserve space on the table. For example, HST stands for Harry S. Truman, while DDE means Dwight David Eisenhower. In addition, the accidental presidents (Johnson, Ford) are aligned where their presidencies would have been situated if they had not unexpectedly assumed office. Johnson technically begins in year 3 for Kennedy and Ford in year 6 for Nixon. According to this logic, Truman should begin on year 13 of Roosevelt, but that would create unnecessary confusion and space on the table. Truman became president 82 days into Roosevelt's fourth term and served the majority of that year in office.

Table 2.1 Total percentage of overall speeches each year

Year	*HST*	*DDE*	*JFK*	*LBJ*	*RMN*	*GRF*	*JEC*	*RWR*	*GHWB*	*WJC*	*GWB*	*BHO*
Year 1	4.2	9.9	25.2		25.1		22.9	8.9	21.9	13.1	13.9	15.1
Year 2	5.7	14.5	38.4		21.3		24.8	13.0	23.8	13.1	14.7	14.0
Year 3	5.0	9.8	36.4	2.1	16.1		20.1	14.1	25.7	10.6	11.0	12.8
Year 4	27.8	10.0		27.8	14.8		32.2	16.2	28.6	12.4	14.7	14.4
Year 5	9.5	9.6		15.1	13.0			10.9		10.1	10.8	10.2
Year 6	11.6	9.5		19.1	9.8	12.3		11.0		12.6	12.8	12.1
Year 7	11.1	16.8		16.2		32.8		12.3		13.0	10.5	11.0
Year 8	25.1	19.8		19.6		54.9		13.5		15.0	11.7	10.4
Total	1393	928	782	1710	1087	1278	1457	2991	2026	5226	4026	3595

Table 2.1 shows the percentages for all speeches presented by year. Many initial results immediately stand out. Presidents give a higher percentage of speeches in their fourth year in office than any other year. Exceptions exist, and it is often important to filter out Washington, DC speeches to see that presidential speechmaking does go out throughout the broader USA at these times. Truman's fourth year in his first term is exceptionally unusual when compared to his previous three. These numbers are even more striking when Washington, DC is eliminated. On Table 2.1, Truman gives 27.8% of his speeches in year 4. This number changes to 46.8% of all speeches throughout the USA when the Washington, DC speeches are excluded. This dramatic shift is almost completely attributed to his 1948 whistle-stop campaign tour of the USA. Truman spent a considerable amount of time and energy during that year in a bid to win the presidential election. He also saw increases during this second term during his midterm and final year in office. In that last year in office, he gives a quarter of all his speeches, second only to his fourth year. Table 2.1 also reveals Eisenhower's years 1, 3, and 4 were practically identical in terms of speeches. There were increases for the 1954 midterm year 2 in terms of speechmaking. Dwight Eisenhower does not really change his patterns for this election year. In terms of raw numbers, Eisenhower gave 92 public speeches, his first year, 135 his second, 91 during the third, and 93 in his fourth year. For a president engaged in a reelection campaign, these numbers are unusual. The lack of any real changes particularly in year 4 suggests Eisenhower was not in ideal health for a reelection campaign in 1956. Based on these numbers, it appears he was sufficiently improved by the last two years of his second term to become more active in speechmaking. His last two years saw the highest percentage levels of speeches for his entire administration at 16.8% and 19.8%, respectively. When excluding Washington, the last year increases up to 30.8% of his total speeches.

The Kennedy administration in Table 2.1 suggests a president gearing up for a vigorous speaking schedule in his last year. His speech percentages increased every year in office, and these patterns held true for the speeches outside of Washington DC as well. Each year, he was speaking more and also speaking more outside of DC Kennedy's midterm year was around 300 speeches which was only approximately 80 fewer than Truman's 1948 whistle-stop tour which was the highest raw total of any administration to date in the modern era. Lyndon Johnson, when

controlled for the situation, gave the majority of his overall speeches during his 1964 election year. Johnson had more speeches in slightly more than 5 years than any other president until Ronald Reagan. Johnson also saw speech increases during his midterm election year as well as his final year in office. Johnson is the only president bound by the 22nd Amendment who announced he would not seek another term in office though eligible to run for a second term. He announces his intention not to seek reelection on March 31, 1968, well before campaign season really begins in earnest throughout the USA for a presidential campaign. When compared to other administrations that preceded him, Lyndon Johnson appears to not commit the same level of campaigning for his vice president, Hubert Humphrey, Democratic candidate in 1968 as Truman or Eisenhower did for their party successors when they were at the ends of their second terms. Of all the presidencies in Table 2.1, Richard Nixon's speechmaking pattern is the most unique. Nixon is the only president whose speech volume actually shrinks every year he was in office. Every year of the Nixon administration is marked by a smaller number of speeches than the preceding year. In essence, this administration's speechmaking appears to visibly diminish within the public's eye. With Nixon, it is not simply enough to dismiss this retreat from the public as a reaction to Watergate. Nixon assumed office in 1969, the year of his largest number of public speeches. With almost every other regularly elected president in Table 2.1, their speech volume increases during their second year in office while Nixon's declines. There are exceptions with Clinton and Obama. Bill Clinton was actually 3 speeches lower in his second compared to his first term (largely attributed to informal remarks). By volume, Obama's first year was his largest, but afterwards, his numbers wax and wane while Nixon's just steadily decrease. Regarding Nixon, it is not enough to simply attribute these declines to the Watergate Scandal. The earliest public inklings of Watergate do not emerge until June 1971 (or year 3) with the publication of the Pentagon Papers. The "plumbers" of Watergate do not break into Ellsberg's psychiatrist office until September 1971. By this point, Nixon's speechmaking is already in a clear pattern of decline in volume compared to the previous first-term administrations of Kennedy and Johnson. That is, in Nixon's second year, his raw annual total was approximately 230 speeches. When compared to Kennedy's 300 and Johnson's 327 (1966), he was not speaking as frequently as his more recent counterparts.

It is likely Watergate was fundamental in affecting the number of public speeches given by Nixon in 1972. The arrests at the Watergate Hotel occur in June 1972, and these unfolding events consumed much of the administration's attention during the heart of campaign season.

Gerald Ford's presidency heralds in a new era of increased speechmaking. His election year of 1976 saw one of the highest levels of presidential speechmaking on the table. In terms of raw numbers, he spoke slightly over 700 different times that year, or 54.9% of his overall totals. With the exception of the last year of Bill Clinton's second term, it is a number never attained by any other administration in any term or year. Ford wanted to win the presidency and traveled extensively in an attempt to do so. Of those 702 speeches, 60.6% of them were given outside of Washington, DC. Even when controlled for just his second term outside of Washington, Bill Clinton's 782 year 8 speeches were just 31% of the total speeches given in that four year period.

The Carter presidency is somewhat regular and unremarkable in terms of annual speechmaking. His highest percentages are during his midterm and reelection years with the other two slightly lower. These patterns hold true when just looking at speeches outside Washington, DC as well. Carter is the last first-term president with fewer than 1500 overall speeches in that four year period. Reagan will have fewer (around 1400) in his second term, but every other administration will be higher. Presidents are speaking more and more often at this point in terms of both volume and frequency. The Reagan presidency has similar and unique patterns. If one looks at the terms separately, Reagan gave more speeches every year in office within each term. In other words, year two had more speeches than year one while year four had more than year three. The same pattern repeats for the second term. Reagan gave his absolute highest number of speeches during his fourth 1984 reelection year. When controlling for speeches given outside of Washington, DC, Reagan's first term still has incremental percentage increase for every year. However, his second term shifts slightly. Reagan's highest percentage of speeches when removing Washington, DC was on his sixth and eight years in office. Reagan may have had an overall generalized increase in his seventh year, but the bulk of those speeches were in the nation's capital.

The George H. W. Bush administration is the last single term presidency in the table, but also the first term to give over two thousand

speeches in a single four-year span. Every successive presidency has followed suit, though both George W. Bush and Barack Obama had smaller second terms. George H. W. Bush (Bush 41) gave more speeches every year he was in office based on Table 2.1. However, much like many other administrations, the Washington, DC speeches slightly mask other patterns. When looking only at speeches given outside of Washington, Bush 41 has higher percentages in years 2 and 4. In fact, 38% of all his speeches given outside of Washington were done in his reelection year.

The Bill Clinton presidency is also unique for some of its more quirky characteristics. For example, Clinton spoke more regularly than any other administration in the modern presidency era. Every other recent two-term administration (Reagan, Bush 43, Obama) gave fewer speeches in the second term than they did in their first. When looking at overall numbers, Clinton's first term looks very different than his second. In his first term, Clinton highest volume year was his first and every year afterwards declined. However, his second-term numbers were exactly opposite. The first year of his second term was his lowest, and every year he was in office increased through to the end. When looking at Clinton's speeches given outside of Washington, DC, both of his terms look different as well. He does give more speeches in his first term's first and fourth years when compared to the other two. In the second term, he has the smaller percentage in his first year, almost identical percentages in his second and third years followed by the most speeches of either term in his final eighth year in office.

The George W. Bush (Bush 43) administration looks like a textbook administration with more speeches in midterm and election years. Bush 43's first term is notable because his second- and fourth-year numbers are within 3 speeches of each other. He gave essentially the same number of speeches each year. These two years also marked the highest yearly totals of his entire presidency. He also had more speeches in his sixth and eighth years when compared to the other years of his second term. His last year in office is interesting as well because unlike any other president who completed a second term, he did not give any fund-raising, campaigning, or election-based speeches his final year in office. Though other chapters will look at these speeches in more detail, Bush 43 gave only 4 speeches focused toward these activities after the 2006 midterm elections. While other administrations have endorsed the next candidate from their party, or in the case of Bill Clinton, specifically campaigned

for others before leaving office, Bush simply did not engage in this particular activity.

As previously mentioned, Barack Obama gave the most speeches his first year in office. In fact, Obama gave almost 450 more speeches in his first term when compared to his second one. However, when removing speeches given in Washington, DC, he actually gives more speeches every successive year in his first term. In other words, while Obama did give more speeches in his first year, many of them were DC-based. He began to give more speeches outside of the city as his first term progressed. His second term is marked by giving the most number of speeches in his midterm election year. Unlike Bush 43, he does give campaign speeches his last year in office though not at the same level as he did in his own reelection year. In terms of percentages, the fifth and eighth year of the Obama administration had the fewer number of public speeches for his entire presidency. They were almost identical though he did give about 8 more speeches in his last year of that term when compared to the first.

The regularity in the patterns following the Nixon administration strongly suggests that there has developed some sort of basic shift in presidential speechmaking. Volume has increased, and a clear cycle of speech patterns emerges after Ford. Presidents no longer simply use Washington, DC as their base of operations. During their own election years, they travel the country at a higher level than in other periods. These findings hint at a cyclical nature to speechmaking during at least a president's first terms. Most administrations show either year 1 or 3 representing their nadir in total speechmaking for the entire first term. For the last 3 administrations in Table 2.1 (Clinton, Bush 43, Obama), their third year signifies their speechmaking low point. Clinton and George W. Bush both had contested elections with no clear frontrunner during the campaigning season. It makes sense they would spend a greater amount of time in their first year essentially introducing themselves to the country. In the case of Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush, they each had fairly dominating elections for their first terms and easily won victory. They did not face the same pressures as Clinton and George W. Bush to essentially "sell" them to the American public.

Speech volume has steadily increased. From Richard Nixon to Bill Clinton, each first-term administration gave more speeches than their predecessor. Though George W. Bush and Barack Obama spoke less than Bill Clinton, this decline could simply be attributed to the fact Bill Clinton was a very talkative president. Considering Clinton gave more

publicly recorded speeches than any prior president, his administration may simply loquacious anomaly. Nevertheless, the general trend in public presidential speeches has been growth. The volume of speeches exploded beginning with the Gerald Ford presidency. This escalation beginning with Ford seems natural given the conditions under which he assumed the presidency. As the only completely unelected chief executive in American history, Ford faced a tremendous challenge in winning over the public. Ford was appointed and confirmed to the vice presidency following the resignation Spiro Agnew. Agnew resigned and pled no contest to tax evasion on the same day in October 1973. With the backdrop of the growing Watergate scandal, Ford became a vice president within an increasingly unpopular administration. The resignation of Richard Nixon in August 1974 propelled Ford into role of president of the USA.

The 1976 elections were far more complicated than most. The American people were simultaneously voting on a referendum of Nixon's appointed replacement and the direction of government in the wake the huge Watergate scandal. Consequently, Gerald Ford needed to sell himself to the public. During 1976, Ford gave 702 individual public addresses. The number of speeches given in this individual year is higher than any other solitary year in this study before or afterwards. While speech volumes were steadily increasing over time, this dramatic expansion in speeches can be compared to Truman in 1948. While every other year during Truman's first term had less than 100 speeches, he gave 386 during his presidential election year. Both Truman and Ford were attempting to sway a public into accepting they were a suitable replacement and affirming it through an election. The difference between the two involves the administrations following them. After Truman, the Eisenhower administration did not give noticeably more speeches per year in comparison with Truman. As previously suggested, Eisenhower's health likely played a role in the number of speeches he gave throughout his presidency. For example, in September 1955, Eisenhower suffered a heart attack. From August 24 to the end of 1955, Dwight Eisenhower gave 8 public verbal events in total. On October 14, 2004, George W. Bush gave 8 different interviews on the same day. Simply put, we now expect presidents to speak more, and we would not accept the same long swaths of silence during the Eisenhower era.

If the number of presidential speeches is on the rise, are there patterns that can be distinguished? Presidential speeches often follow regular

cycles of waxing and waning. While the overall volume of speeches has dramatically increased, many of those speeches occur in Washington, DC. It is important not to discount these particular speeches. Presidents give the majority of their administration's speeches there largely because it is the seat of government as well as the location of the president's primary residence and is saturated with national news media. It is undisputed that recent presidents give more speeches than previous ones. However, the nature of public discourse has also changed. The national media exists as a multitude of mediums, all competing for a new or fresh angle to draw an audience. Newspapers, television, radio, and the Internet all have stations, companies, and outlets seeking something unique. As a result, the managing the presidency as well as access to the chief executive has become its own business with rules and regulations. Presidents no longer simply give weekly press conferences (like Eisenhower and Kennedy) or large named speeches (like Lyndon Johnson) as their primary way to interact with the American public. The vast bulk of these increased public interactions are in their own way sound bites. Through meting out short but more frequent verbal communication, the president speaks more, but often says less pertinent things than in administrations before the vast growth of media outlets. Social media has also transformed the ability for presidents to interact with the public. Platforms such as Twitter allow presidents to directly communicate to the people with little to no media filter. They can tout ideas, programs, or even make appeals with precision toward their allies as well as antagonists. It is a neoteric form of going public whose implications we are still attempting to fully understand. In inimical hands, going public morphs into a weaponized tool of mass dissemination. Presidential public appeals in social media make an administration appear accessible because of the direct nature of the communication. However, it simultaneously permits the president to air opinions in a targeted fashion toward a wide variety of recipients.

The presidency has evolved into the most remarkable public office in the USA. As an institution, it wields a huge amount of power through the bureaucracy. The president is also simultaneously a celebrity creation striving for a resonating connection with the country to maintain popularity and support. This bond between the people and chief executive is welded together by the illusion of frequent communication about issues and topics important to the public. This goal is accomplished through the use of short, often ceremonial, concise speeches covering a variety of topics.

Most of these speeches often originate either at the White House or in the Washington, DC area during most years, though presidents more frequently tend to "take the act on the road," to borrow a theater phrase, during election years. Later chapters will develop the differences within these election and campaigning patterns. As the presidents use brief minor speeches more often, they do give more speeches. On average, every president since Ford has minimally given about one speech every day they were in office. Speech frequency matters to administration sand they respond to the public demands of a personal presidency.

Notes

1. "Public Papers of the President," National Register, https://www.archives.gov/federal-register/publications/presidential-papers.html.
2. "Nixon Enters the Hospital for Treatment of Phlebitis," *The New York Times*, September 24, 1974, 1, http://www.nytimes.com/1974/09/24/archives/nixon-enters-the-hospital-for-treatment-of-phlebitis-nixon-enters.html.
3. Peter Benchley, "Rose Garden Rubbish and Other Glorious Compositions," *Life*, May 23, 1969.
4. Daniel C. Hallin, "Sound Bite News: Television Coverage of Elections," *Journal of Communications*, 42, no. 2 (1992): 6.
5. Hallin, "Sound Bite," 6.
6. "The Incredible Shrinking Sound Bite," *Center for Media and Public Affairs*, September 28, 2000, accessed December 23, 2017, https://cmpa.gmu.edu/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/prev_pres_elections/2000/2000.09.28.The-Incredible-Shrinking-Sound-Bite.pdf.

CHAPTER 3

Census Regions

Exactly where do presidents give speeches during their time in office? Has there been a significant shift over time that demonstrates a clear trend in speechmaking? Regions in political science tend to have geographical connotations. Over the past several decades, scholars have attempted to define regionalism with location being the source of commonality. The South has radically changed in social, ethnic, and racial composition since the Lincoln administration. The emergence of the Sunbelt following World War II brought rapid industrialization, suburbanization, and migrants from the North into Southern states. Racially, the South has radically diversified in the twentieth century. Other regions in the USA have also undergone massive internal migrations and immigration from all over the world. Given the level of variety that can exist even within geographical regions inside the USA, searching for an explanation for uniformity may be at times more useful. The following chapter on media markets will present another way to look at speeches based upon population concentration, but here, the focus will be upon the geographical boundaries. Presidents still travel to specific states, and there is value in exploring generalized preferences and trends.

In the USA, most Americans live in metropolitan areas. The US Census divides states into regions. There are four basic Census regions: Northeast, South, Midwest, and West. These regions were initially established with the 1910 Census, though at that time there were only three (North, South, West).[1] The fourth region, named North Central, was

S. B. O'Brien, *Why Presidential Speech Locations Matter*,
The Evolving American Presidency,
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added after the 1940s. North Central was later renamed to Midwest in 1984.[2] Census regions allow for the collation of information in a geographically concise manner. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) uses Metropolitan Areas (MA) and Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSA) as a way to provide a nationally consistent gauge to compare cities. First used in 1949, OMB and the Census Bureau have adapted this system to grapple with increasingly larger concentrations of people in specific urban areas.[3] Broadly speaking, a MA simply refers to a large population living in or near a central city. MSA refers to a more specific standard with an urbanized area of at least 50,000 in population.[4] There are also Micropolitan Statistical Areas with at least 10,000 but less than 50,000.[5] Since 2003, there exist Metropolitan Divisions where the population of a region exceeds 2.5 million and Core-Based Statistical Areas (CBSA) where at least one micropolitan area has nearby areas integrated into the core via commuting.[6] In essence, OMB and Census recognize diversity that occurs among different sizes of population concentrations. While most Americans may live together in areas, the volume of people residing in places drastically affects social and political structure. OMB and Census have attempted to better explore their findings by devising more nuanced scales to separate out cities like Billings, Montana from Chicago, Illinois. Both cities are radically different in terms of the scale of urbanization. These designations exist to better understand and compare extremely communities.

The political science discipline has seen several regional models throughout the twentieth century. V. O. Key's seminal works[7] rely upon collapsing states into broad regions to study them. This technique, similar to the Census, has been widely used through the discipline as a way to divide the USA. While his divisions are still excellent for broad comparison, they cannot easily be dissected for nuance. Atlanta, Georgia and Chattanooga, Tennessee both exist within the same region. Both cities are relatively large and geographically Southern, but have radically different levels of urbanization, histories, and cultural traditions. Residents of Chicago belong to the same region as the rest of Illinois. Chicago is dramatically different from rest of a state that bases much of its economy around agriculture. When using large regions (i.e., West, Midwest, Southern, Northeastern) as the gauge for studies, we risk inevitably losing character and clear distinctiveness. Key's regional models are still useful for large questions, but perhaps cannot capture intra-regional difference and variation.

Others have attempted to grapple with the same issue as well over the years. Daniel Elazar's research organizes the country around three distinct political cultures, individualist, moralistic, and traditionalistic. The strength within his model revolves around the dissemination of the cultures throughout the country. States can have multiple traditions, and more important, specific areas can have a synthesis of multiple cultures. Elazar focuses upon the impact and influence of immigration patterns upon areas.[8] Detractors criticize the non-empirical methodology of his classification scheme. Elazar's mapping relies upon personal, not statistical, evidence within his categorization. Perhaps the most important critique of Elazar's research involves its static nature. Though many regions of the USA have seen massive social, political, and ethnic changes over the past 40 years, his regions remain largely unchanged. This critique cannot remain exclusively Elazar's. Other scholars[9] have attempted to classify the USA in regions. However, most suffer similar shortcomings of both Key and Elazar. When faced with immigration or social and political change, these models have adaptability challenges. They may accurately capture the picture within their own time, but the schema may not be adequate in ten or twenty years. Luttbeg[10] employs an empirical model, but his technique seems dated thirty years later. Garreau carves North America into nine regions,[11] ignoring Canadian, American, Caribbean, and Mexican borders. While intriguing, it lacks methodological grounding and fails to capture the nuance that exists between urban and rural areas. Lieske perhaps best attempts to capture fine distinctions among regional subcultures. He breaks apart the USA into counties and assigns it one of ten cultural designations.[12] The cultural designations then are used as the basis for empirical measurement. Asians are among the fasting growing immigrant groups, yet remain not represented within his model. Though Lieske is more methodologically rigorous than Elazar and less broad than Key, he faces the same challenges of adaptability over time. Whether we are a melting pot, salad bowl, or chowder, America's immigrants groups shift around over time. Studies that aim to anchor them within specific areas inevitably age and become out of date.

This research does not suggest Census models are not valuable. On the contrary, they provide tremendous insight into general locations and preferences. At the same time, geographical boundaries may inhibit a full understanding of choices in speechmaking as well as limit nuanced understanding. Census areas when used in conjunction with other scales

may lend themselves to better comprehending trends over time. They help provide part of a picture, but not the entirety of one. This chapter when taken in conjunction with the later ones on media markets and Electoral College areas presents a manifold space where the truth lay somewhere within the intersections. We do generally think of the USA in regions. We routinely discuss places as "down South," "out West," or "up in the Northeast." Likewise, presidential administrations do have general foci in these broad categories as well. This chapter involves presenting Census regions as a gauge for research. While informative, are they powerful enough to coherently explain speechmaking patterns during the modern presidency era? The intent of these regions in this chapter helps show there have been clear preferences over generalized areas for many administrations. The media markets chapter will help show aspects of these regions are not uniform. Presidents do not go to the "South." More often than not, they travel to cities to speak. However, the size of the city matters. The later chapter on Electoral College areas looks at support levels in these places as well. Do presidents travel to areas that have previously been supportive or are they attempting to cozy up to new places?

Modern Census regions were first developed as a way to present data. The regions are four different categories which divide the USA. The four regions consist of the following states: Northeast (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont); South (Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia); Midwest (Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin); West (Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington State, Wyoming).

Table 3.1 shows the distribution of all domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC by Census region. When presidents give speeches out in the USA, the Southern Census region is the favorite over the entire course of their presidency. Almost every administration gives more speeches in the South. In fact, with the exception of the first term of Richard Nixon, every administration Kennedy onward gave the highest percentage of their speeches in the Southern states. The only administrations to spend less 30% of their domestic speechmaking outside of the Southern region were Truman and Eisenhower. Some presidents, such as

Table 3.1 Presidential speeches by Census region and term

President	*Northeast*	*South*	*Midwest*	*West*	*Total*
Truman 1	19.8	20.9	38.9	23.4	354
Truman 2	27.3	12.2	34.0	26.5	344
Eisenhower 1	37.5	18.8	20.3	23.4	128
Eisenhower 2	35.6	28.7	21.8	13.8	87
Kennedy	34.7	35.8	13.6	15.9	176
Johnson 63–64	26.9	38.6	19.6	14.8	189
Johnson 2	16.8	57.5	15.0	10.6	226
Nixon 1	15.5	30.7	20.6	33.2	277
Nixon 2	16.4	55.7	14.8	27.9	61
Ford	13.8	35.8	31.5	18.8	653
Carter	23.5	39.4	24.2	13.0	447
Reagan 1	10.8	31.4	27.7	30.1	379
Reagan 2	15.4	31.4	25.3	27.9	312
Bush 41	22.8	44.4	15.9	16.8	702
Clinton 1	21.7	31.9	21.5	24.9	838
Clinton 2	31.1	31.6	13.8	23.5	874
Bush 43 1	15.7	43.7	27.1	13.5	966
Bush 43 2	11.7	59.1	16.8	12.4	555
Obama 1	23.9	30.7	25.6	19.8	759
Obama 2	26.5	35.5	14.7	23.2	422

George W. Bush, spent considerably more time in these states. Bush 43, during his second term of office, gave just under 60% of all his non-Washington, DC-based domestic speeches in this region. Harry Truman's two terms saw the highest percentage in the Midwest, while for Dwight Eisenhower, it was the Northeast. When looking at the next most popular region, it becomes clear Democratic presidents spent more time in the Northeast during their own presidencies than their Republican counterparts. The only Republican presidents to spend a significant amount of speech time in the Northeastern region on this table were Eisenhower and George H. W. Bush. In contrast, the other regions are variable depending upon the president. Kennedy, Johnson, Carter, and George H. W. Bush did not focus speechmaking in Midwestern or Western states. George W. Bush did not spend much time in the Western region at all during either of his two terms in office.

While these patterns are interesting, do they change much from year to year? In other words, do presidents modify their speechmaking patterns within the Census regions of the USA during election years? Speechmaking volume almost always doubles in the Census regions on

first-term presidential election years. For second term, the numbers often do not change as much. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson gave 180 speeches around the USA, while in other non-election years he averaged around 55 speeches. During the 1968 presidential election year when he was not seeking office, he gave only 62 speeches in the Census regions. Jimmy Carter during his first three years averaged about 82 speeches a year and in his presidential election year gave 202 in the Census regions. From 1981 to 1983, Ronald Reagan averaged 75 speeches a year, and in 1984 the number doubled to 155. His 1985–1987 average remained consistent at 73 speeches a year, but his second-term 1988 presidential election year declined to only 93 speeches. Bill Clinton stands out as an anomaly in terms of annual speechmaking. His first three years averaged to about 178 speeches a year while his 1996 election year had 305 speeches. While most every other president declines in their second term, his second-term 2000 presidential election year speech total actually increased 1 to 306. George W. Bush and Barack Obama follow similar trends of Reagan with higher speech totals the last year of their first term with significantly lower ones the last year of their second. Bush averages 205 speeches a year during his first three years with 351 in his 2004 election year. His second term was quite different with the first three having 152 speeches a year on average and the last 2008 year declining to just 99. Obama averaged 155 speeches a year for the first three with 2012 increasing to 293 speeches throughout the Census regions. During his final term of office, he averaged 106 a year with this final 2016 year at 103 speeches.

Looking at speeches through the lens of the US Census regions produces interesting results. Presidents do prefer, when giving speeches, to concentrate in certain parts over others. Many presidents concentrate more speechmaking in first terms in the South and Midwest Census regions. In a way, this makes logical sense given the population shifts throughout the latter twentieth century. The Southern region has grown in political importance as the Sunbelt has experienced a population boom. Reapportionment following the 1990 and 2000 Censuses resulted in Florida gaining 7 seats, Texas 5, and Georgia 3 in the House of Representatives and a total of 76 votes in the Electoral College. The Midwestern states of Illinois, Michigan, and Ohio lost 3 seats each in the same reapportionments though all still cumulatively wield 56 votes within the Electoral College. These similar patterns continued with the 2010 Census. In terms of regions, the Northeast lost 5 seats, the South

gained 7, the Midwest lost 6, and the West gained 4. According to the Census Bureau, when Harry Truman was president, the Northeastern states had 120 seats, the South had 135, the Midwest was at 131 and the West had 49 seats. By 2010, the Northeast declined to 78 states with a total loss of 42 seats from 1940 to 2010. The Midwest declined 37 seats to a new total of 94. At the same time, the South increased 26 seats to a total of 161 while the West increased 53–102 seats.[13] These regional changes impact the importance some administrations place on areas like the South while increasingly ignoring others. While not a universal rule, the Midwestern states were often only the focus of intense speechmaking in election seasons. Kennedy more than doubled his Midwestern speeches in the 1962 midterm year when compared to his other two years. Johnson, Ford, Carter, and Bush 41 all peaked in their Midwest speeches in their election years. Reagan, Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama actually gave the most speeches in the Midwestern states during their first-term reelection year and did not give as many speeches in these states during their second-term presidential election year. However, across all these administrations, the general truth remains the same. Presidents primarily venture into the Midwestern states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, and Wisconsin when it is an election year, either for themselves or Congress. Some of these states simply do not make sense for presidents to visit if they have limited time to press for support. For example, there have been 25 presidential elections from 1920 to 2016. Nebraska, Kansas, North Dakota, and South Dakota supported the Republican candidate in every cycle except in 1932, 1936, and 1964. Conversely, Minnesota has been a stronghold for Democrats in presidential elections. The only time the state supported a Republican candidate is during 1952, 1956, and 1972. Democratic and Republican presidents have little to gain from appeals in these states, albeit for different reasons.

The growing and remaining congressional and Electoral College importance of the South helps explain why presidents concentrate more speeches in this region. There are many states in the South that have been solid Republican strongholds, but some have weakened at times and others have been prized swing states. The Republican Party has won Alabama, Mississippi, Oklahoma, South Carolina, and Texas in every presidential contest since 1980. They also carried Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, and Tennessee in every one since that time with

the exception of Clinton in 1992 and 1996. North Carolina has often been counted on for the Republicans, but Barack Obama carried it in 2008. Republicans won Virginia every year from 1968 to 2008 with the Democratic presidential candidate winning the last three cycles. The rapid growth of the Western Census region rationalizes why presidents have given more speeches there over the past thirty years. In the 1940 Census, the Western region held only 11% of the total seats of the House of Representatives. By 2000, that number had risen to 23% and held steady with the 2010 Census. Approximately a quarter of the entire House of Representatives from that region and the corresponding growth in votes for the Electoral College exploded. The West has areas of longstanding strong Republican and growing Democratic Party support. Utah and Wyoming have voted for the Republican candidate in every presidential election since 1964 and Idaho and Alaska since 1968. Arizona has been reliably Republican since 1952 though it supported Bill Clinton in 1996. Similarly, Montana has been Republican since 1968 with the exception of supporting Clinton in 1992. Washington, Hawaii, and Oregon have been carried by the Democrats in every election since 1988. California has been carried by them since 1992 as well as New Mexico and Nevada though the former supported the Republican candidate in 2004 and the latter in 2000 and 2004. The highest percentage in Table 3.1 for the Western states is first-term Richard Nixon with 33.2% or 92 speeches. First-term Truman gave a comparably high number of speeches in the Western states. He gave 23.4%, or 83 total speeches. First-term George W. Bush had a relatively low Western state percentage at 13.5%. However, raw volume tells a better story than sheer percentages. Bush 43 may have had a lower percentage, but in terms of total speeches, he gave 130 speeches in the Western region his first term in office, higher than Truman or Nixon. The generalized increase in presidential speeches over time camouflages Bush's attention if looking at just percentages. Presidents seem to concentrate their speeches in Census regions with the greatest number of voters. George H. W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Barack Obama had strong bases of support in the Northeast and their percentages in Table 3.1 reflect those areas of support. These presidents gave more speeches in the Southern region and their Northeast percentages were well above many other administrations from Nixon onward. First-term Ronald Reagan gave only 10.8% of his speeches, or 41 total in the Northeast. Every other region during this term for Reagan had over 100 speeches. While not as pronounced

in the second term, Reagan gave 48 speeches in the Northeast region with the second lowest region, Midwest, at 79. It was simply not an area prioritized by that administration. Reagan's speech numbers were always highest in the South followed by the West. Likewise, George W. Bush, Jimmy Carter, and Lyndon Johnson all held strong areas of support in the Southern region. From 1965 until 1968, Johnson gave 130 speeches in the Southern region. His next closest region was the Northeast with 38 speeches. Carter was better with 176 speeches in the South with the Midwest at 108. George W. Bush gave 422 speeches in the South with the Midwest in second at 262. Both are large numbers, but in context, Bush gave 160 more Southern speeches. The differential there is not just random chance and a concentrated effort. The discrepancy in the second term is even more pronounced. George W. Bush gave 328 speeches in the Southern region with only 93 in the Midwest, the next closest region. Barack Obama in Table 3.1 also has preferences, but they are not as obviously focused. Obama gave 233 speeches in the Southern region during his first term. Similar to Bush 43, the Midwest region was second, but he gave 194 speeches, with only a 39 speech difference between the two. Obama's second term has similar characteristics. In that term, he gave the most speeches in the Southern region, with a total of 150 speeches. However, this term's second highest region was the Northeast 112 speeches. His difference between the regions barely changed with only 38 speeches separating them. Bill Clinton has even more narrow margins in his second term in office between the regions. In his first term, Clinton gives a high total of 267 speeches in the Southern region. His next closest is the West with 209 speeches with a 58 speech difference. His second term is very surprising for the number of speeches separating regions. Second-term Clinton gave a high number of 276 speeches in the Southern Census region. However, the Northeast region had 272 speeches that term with only a difference of 4 speeches between them. It is by far the narrowest margin of complete terms for any president in Table 3.1. Technically, Kennedy is closer, but with the incomplete term, it is difficult to make strong statements about his preferences throughout his presidency. Kennedy gave 63 speeches in the South while president and 61 in the Northeast. The two speech difference is surprising, and one can only speculate what the final numbers would have been if he had been able to serve his presidential reelection year of 1964.

Total speeches inform us about whole administrations, but what about behaviors surrounding campaigning? Do presidents change patterns

when they give election speeches? Do presidents make radically different location choices for elections or campaigning? In order to explore this idea further, the public speeches needed to be sorted based on the type of speech they given at each event. Every speech from 1945 to 2016 was read and the "election" or "election-oriented" speeches were culled to create a new group that solely contained these speeches. Every time the president gave speech for fund-raising or to help solicit the vote for his political party, a member of his party or himself, it was included into this set. In the speeches, the president had to either express the idea people needed to support and vote for a specific person, or discuss the importance of helping their political party in the next election cycle. These speeches had to include more than just general support for an officeholder. The support had to be tied to voting and upcoming elections though it could be general or specific. Election-type speeches mean all speeches that involve campaign, election, or party-related activities aimed at electoral activity. While many speeches included in this category, focus upon reelection activity, congressional election stumping, fund-raising, and speeches involving cities where presidents are campaigning for themselves along with local, state, or national candidates are part of this category. If presidents were giving election speeches, did it change where they were giving them? This question drives at heart of what it means for a president to "go public" and whether he engages in permanent campaigning. By examining the volume and location of these speeches and then comparing to Table 3.1, it becomes possible to develop a picture of the places a president focuses upon when they are governing versus campaigning. Furthermore, it is key to reiterate Census regions do not fully tell a picture, but when taken in conjunction with the media markets and Electoral College results in later chapters, presidential priorities become more apparent at different times for presidents and across presidencies.

Table 3.2 examines the percentage of defined campaigning or election speeches as a total of all speech for a presidential term. There are many potent findings on this table. As a general rule, first-term presidents give more campaigning speeches than second-term ones. Truman had 253 in his first term and 215 in the second. Eisenhower had 42 in the first and 29 in the second term. Ronald Reagan gave 113 in the first and 86 in the second. George W. Bush gave 339 in the first and only 59 in the second. Obama had approximately 240 speeches in his first term that could be considered campaign oriented. This number plummets to only 125 during the second term. Bill Clinton stands out as the most notable outlier

Table 3.2 Campaign-oriented speeches by Census region and term

President	*Northeast*	*South*	*Midwest*	*West*	*Total*
Truman 1	21.7	25.7	37.2	15.4	253
Truman 2	36.7	4.7	34.9	23.7	215
Eisenhower 1	23.8	19.4	30.9	26.2	42
Eisenhower 2	37.9	13.8	34.5	13.8	29
Kennedy	40.5	16.2	35.1	8.1	37
Johnson 63–64	26.1	29.5	26.1	18.2	88
Johnson 2	12.5	35.7	57.1	7.1	16
Nixon 1	17.6	36.8	27.9	17.6	68
Nixon 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Ford	14.7	33.5	35.3	16.5	218
Carter	23.5	37.8	29.4	9.2	119
Reagan 1	14.2	28.3	32.7	24.8	113
Reagan 2	5.8	33.7	32.6	27.9	86
Bush 41	16.3	40.2	34.1	9.3	214
Clinton 1	23.8	25.9	28.6	21.6	185
Clinton 2	32.5	26.5	11.3	29.7	283
Bush 43 1	15.6	28.9	39.2	16.2	339
Bush 43 2	5.1	40.7	30.5	23.7	59
Obama 1	25.3	22.9	26.5	25.3	340
Obama 2	27.2	29.6	13.6	29.6	125

with almost 100 more campaign speeches in the second term when compared to the first. He went from 185 in the first term to 283 in the second one. These findings are interesting because in 1994 Clinton lost a huge number of congressional seats at the midterm. When looking at a year-to-year comparison of Clinton election speeches, he gave only 20% of this first-term campaign speeches at midterm (37 total) and 70.3% (130 total) in his 1996 reelection year. The numbers suggest Clinton changed strategy in his second term because the midterm number grew to 24.7%, but in actual speeches, it doubled to 70 separate events. During his last year in office, Clinton extensively campaigned for his wife's bid for the US Senate seat in 2000 with almost 30 explicit rallies or fund-raisers attached to regional trips where the other speeches on the same days. In total, there were at least 50 speeches given by Bill Clinton campaigning for Hillary Clinton during her US Senate campaign. These speeches heavily affect the numbers and help explain the unusual nature of the Clinton second-term figures. In a year-to-year assessment, Bill Clinton became the only president to give more election-oriented speeches in the last year of his second term than in the last year of his

first term. Second-term presidents are term limited under the Twenty-second amendment. Every president after Truman has been ineligible to run for a third term in office. Consequently, second-term presidents lack personal incentive in their last year in office to campaign in the upcoming election. Popularity, such as in the case of George W. Bush, can be a factor, but most of them are likely happy to be free of the demands of a grueling campaign schedule their last year in office. In 1996, Bill Clinton gave 130 speeches throughout the entire year. His year 2000 campaign speech numbers go up to 132 for that year. While it is a minor increase, other presidencies declined on a year 4 to year 8 comparison. Truman went from 253 to 215, Eisenhower from 26 to 17, Reagan from 69 to 33, Bush 43 from 192 to 0, and Obama from 199 to 44.

No administration in Table 3.2 gave the highest percentage of their election speeches in the Western states. Likewise, the Northeastern states also are not the states with the most attention from presidents. The Northeast region is a bit more complex to dissect. Roughly 14 of the 20 presidential terms (Truman, Eisenhower 2, Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, Reagan 1, Clinton, Bush 43, Obama) gave a higher percentage of election only speeches there than the percentage of their overall speeches. The others (Eisenhower 1, Johnson, Carter, Reagan 2, Bush 41) gave a smaller percent of election speeches in the Northeast than their overall speech percentages. In short, some presidents preferred giving speeches in the Northeast, and others preferred going to the other areas when they were campaigning. From this perspective, it is difficult to simply generalize the Northeast as the stronghold for one political party or the other.

Early administrations (Truman 2, Eisenhower 2, and Kennedy) do give their highest percentage in the Northeastern states, but the only president after Kennedy to do so is Clinton in his second term. The remainder all gave the highest percentages in either the South or the Midwestern states. The first terms of Truman, Eisenhower, Reagan, Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama all gave the highest percentage of their election speeches in the Midwest. The only first-term presidents on the table to successfully win a second term and give the bulk of their speeches in another region are Johnson and Nixon. The Midwest is important for presidents to try to focus on when seeking reelection and they ignore it at their own risk.

As a generalized rule, the number of campaign speeches has increased over time. Some outliers exist, but following the Nixon administration,

there have often been more and not fewer speeches. Not only did Nixon give fewer speeches every year he was in office, but also his percentage of election speeches declined from 1970. These numbers also help affirm previous suggestions that Nixon withdrew from public speaking as his presidency disintegrated and the Watergate investigations intensified. Richard Nixon gave no campaign speeches in his partial second term. Nixon stopped giving speeches in general, but also pointedly did not campaign either. The only other president to withdraw so completely from campaign speechmaking is George W. Bush. George W. Bush's second-term campaign speeches were only until midterms in 2006. In 2007, he gives two speeches at events for Mitch McConnell and Jefferson Sessions and two speeches at Republican Party events in Washington, DC. While all four fall into the election or fund-raising category, they are not speeches stumping for the party on the campaign trail. After that, there is nothing from June 2007 until the end of his presidency. Bluntly speaking, Bush 43 could not give away a campaign speech in the last two years of his administration. He simply did not give any election-oriented speeches in 2008. Bush 43 had low popularity numbers throughout most of 2008. In general, they hovered in the low 30s and high 20s that year with the lowest numbers of his entire presidency toward the end of October 2008 when he received a 25%.[14] Congressional candidates as well as Republican presidential candidate John McCain would have likely preferred to not utilize a president at the point of his lowest national popularity. Numbers as low as 25% are rare, and only Truman and Nixon have received lower ones in the modern presidency era. Harry Truman was polled at a 22% in February 1952 and Richard Nixon at a 25% in July and August 1974.[15]

By and large, most American presidents give the majority of their campaign or election-oriented speeches during midterms or election years (years 2 and 4, respectively). These years are the ones where presidents routinely give the most election speeches because they are during campaign seasons when voting is often at the forefront of many people's minds. If presidents only periodically campaign, they should constitute the overwhelming majority of the election speeches for any given presidential term. For each presidential term, these midterm and election year speeches were added together to arrive at a total percentage for each president. For example, Harry Truman gave 100% of his election speeches in these years during his first term and 99.5% of them in his second. Truman almost exclusively gave these sorts of speeches during

election years. For the remainder of the presidents, it will be easier to simply list them with a divider between them for the terms. For example, Eisenhower (83.3/96.6) means in his first term, 83.3% of his campaign speeches occurred in years 2 and 4 while 96.6% happened in his second on years 6 and 8. The remainders of administrations are: Kennedy (83.8), Johnson (100/87.5), Nixon (91.2/0.0), Ford (86.7), Carter (90.8), Reagan (82.3/87.2), Bush 41 (86.0), Clinton (90.3/71.4), Bush 43 (84.7/86.4), Obama (77.1/64.8). There are many intriguing things in these numbers which are worth thoroughly parsing out. The Truman numbers are solely in the last years of each term. Between the two terms and over 460 speeches, only 3 speeches broadly considered campaign oriented occurred on years other than 4 or 8. Though Eisenhower, Nixon, and Carter did have a few speeches on different years, the overwhelming majority of all their election speeches occurred on either midterm or presidential election years. Gerald Ford gave only 11.5% election-type speeches during congressional election year in 1974 which was a bit lower than many other administrations. However, these results should be tempered with some skepticism since he assumed the presidency in the middle of a reelection period (August 1974) and was forced to immediately campaign to help salvage Republican seats in Congress (though unsuccessfully). The most surprising fact is Ford gave zero election speeches in the Northeast during the congressional midterm year of 1974. Granted, he assumed the presidency in August, but every other president gave a few speeches in the Northeast during this midterm election year. The Ford administration's 1976 election year was also anomalous. Thirty-three percent of all his speeches in his short presidency were election-based speeches. Of those election-based speeches, 75.2% of them occurred in his election year. These high percentages are understandable since Ford was appointed to the vice presidency and later presidency instead of elected by the people. Ford needed to sell himself to the American people and devoted considerable energy to this endeavor. The Ford administration gives more speeches (or in this case, election-type speeches) every year he is in office. These results simply confirm the unusual nature of the Ford presidency assuming office during a congressional election season and then essentially needing to increase his exposure to the American people. By volume, he gave more election speeches in his reelection year than any other president since first-term Harry Truman. In 1948, Truman gave 253 speeches and in 1976, Ford gave 164. Ford's number would not be surpassed until George W. Bush

in 2004 when he had 192. As an aside, Bush was also surpassed by Obama when he gave 199 in 2012 when he was running for reelection.

Jimmy Carter's highest percentage of election speeches occurred in the Southern Census region where he gave 37.8% during his time in office. He also gave a considerable number in the Midwest region with 29.4% of his campaign speeches there. However, it is important to look at Carter on a yearly basis. He did not give many election speeches in the Census regions during 1977 or 1979. In fact, he gave a total of just 6 of these types of speeches in 1977 and only 5 in 1979. The highest percentage of his election speeches happen in his presidential election year of 1979 when he gives 73 speeches, which is over double the number he did in 1978 (35 speeches). Carter looks like a president who did give campaign speeches during congressional midterms, but was far more interested in giving election speeches during his presidential election year.

Ronald Reagan concentrates most of his speeches in his midterm and election years. First-term Reagan deviates a bit from this model with some speeches on year 3 (almost 10%), but the second term reverts back into a strong midterm year and a weaker election year (though with a considerable number of speeches). During Reagan's first term in office, he gave only 24 speeches during midterm election year. Reagan focused most of the speeches in the West with very few in other regions. Reagan gave only two election speeches in the Northeast for that entire year. One was a fund-raising speech for a prospective governor of Pennsylvania and another was a function for delegates from the state of New York. Four speeches were given in the Southern region in 1982 and 5 in the Midwest. The bulk of these speeches, 13, were given in the West. Reagan's 1984 reelection year was considerably different from his first-term midterm year. Reagan gave over 70% of his 1984 election speeches in the South and Midwest. The actual numbers were 18 in the South and 27 in the Midwest. Reagan gave approximately the same number of speeches in the West in both 1982 and 1984 (13 and 12 respectively), but the South was unusual because of the number of speeches Reagan gave in his 1983 off-election year. Reagan gave more Southern campaign speeches in 1983 than in 1982. While these actual numbers are pretty close together (4 in 1982 and 6 in 1983), it suggests Reagan considered the off-year events for senators, governors, and the Republican Party in the South as important as the congressional midterms.

George H. W. Bush also concentrates the majority of his election speeches in his first term during his second and fourth years in office.

He gives the majority of speeches in the South and Midwest with the majority occurring during his presidential reelection year. During his midterm year of 1990, Bush 41 gave the exact same number of speeches, 22, in the South and Midwest. The presidential election year, these numbers rise to 52 in the South and 47 in the Midwest. The most intriguing results involve the West Census region. While the volume of speeches is considerably lower than in other regions (20 speeches), he gave far more election speeches during the congressional midterm year than his own presidential election year. Bush 41 gave 12 election speeches in the West in 1990 and only 5 in 1992. The only other presidents to post higher midterm and lower election year numbers in the West were first-term Nixon and second-term George W. Bush (though this term is anomalous because he did not give any second-term election year speeches). George W. Bush also gave more first-term congressional year speeches in an area than election year speeches. He gave 37 election speeches in the South in 2002 and 36 in 2004. Both Bushes post the highest number of election speeches in their second year in office when looking at raw volume of speeches. In 1990, Bush 41 gave 66 election-based speeches and during 2002 Bush 43 gave 95. These numbers are higher than any other administration in their first term. Bill Clinton gave 37 in 1994 and Barack Obama had 63 in 2010. In the second terms, Bill Clinton has the highest number of congressional election speeches with a total of 70 in 1998. George W. Bush's high number supports the idea he devoted considerable time and energy toward campaigning for Republican congresspersons. These results are important because George W. Bush was the only first-term president in recent memory to also gain seats in the midterm elections though Bill Clinton did as well in his second midterm year in 1998. When comparing Bill Clinton to George H. W. Bush, it is clear the two considered different Census regions in the USA more important as areas of potential party strength. George H. W. Bush gave many more election speeches in the South and Midwest than first-term Bill Clinton. Clinton, on the other hand, gave more speeches in the Northeast and West Census regions. Clinton contrasts with most other presidents for the sheer volume of speeches in the Census regions. Unlike any other presidents with the exception of perhaps first-term Obama, Clinton did not focus election speeches in the West region until his reelection year of 1996 and again in 2000. Though not definitive, Clinton and first-term Obama focused more on campaigning in the West during

their reelection years than congressional election ones. Obama's attention in the West grew every year he was in office the first term. Obama gave only 4 election speeches in the West during his first year in office. However, that number increased to 18 in 2010 and 21 in 2011. His 2012 reelection campaign speech number more than doubles in the West to 43 for that year. His second term appears to have a smaller volume, but more regular and frequent campaign speeches in the Western region. In the first year of his second term, he had 10 speeches, followed by 8 in 2014 and 2015. The number increased to 11 election-based speeches in the Western region in 2016. Though the numbers decreased in the second term, the Western region was the only one where he gave a fairly regular number of speeches every year he was in office the second term. Every other region declined in 2014 while the West stayed stable.

George W. Bush presents some of the more complex findings though most of them are in his first term. In the Midwest and West Census regions, Bush gave far more election speeches than any other president during their first term in office until Barack Obama who had just one more speech than Bush. Table 3.1 shows Bush gave 27.1% of his total first-term speeches in the Midwest, but that number climbs to 34.1% with election speeches in Table 3.2. The second term is similar with his total Midwest speeches at 16.8% and election at 30.5%. Given the key importance of Ohio in the 2004 elections, it appears the Bush administration narrowed in on that swing state early and devoted considerable time and energy there. The West reports similar findings with the first- and second-term total speeches at 13.5 and 12.4%, respectively, and election speeches at 16.2 and 23.7%. The South is exceptional for first-term George W. Bush because it is the only region where he gave more overall speeches in 2002 than in 2004. Since Carter, every first-term president has given more election year speeches than midterm year speeches within a Census region with the exception of Bush 43. In many ways, this makes sense. Presidents want to help members of their own party, but often prioritize their personal reelection and focus considerable energy during that period. Bush obviously was interested in the congressional midterm elections, as evidenced by his party's gain of 8 seats, and gave quite a few speeches in the South campaigning in 2002. In 2003, he was already in reelection mode with 40 events that year for his own 2004 reelection campaign. The Southern region had 17 of these events, higher than any other Census region. In addition, Bush 43 gave campaign gubernatorial speeches in the South as well.

In 2003, the major gubernatorial races were Mississippi, Louisiana, and Kentucky. Bush 43 gave a speech each at explicit events for the candidates in Kentucky and Mississippi and spoke twice again in Kentucky and once in Mississippi shortly before the elections. While Bush did begin fund-raising for his own 2004 bid during that year, he also campaigned to help the Republican Party win these races and they did in Mississippi and Kentucky. Louisiana was a closely contested race with a narrow Democratic Party victory.

By looking at the Census regions, it is possible to show that presidents prefer certain areas of the country to others when they give election speeches. Presidents do not give election-type speeches on a continual or permanent basis. They primarily give election speeches during election years for Congress or the presidency. Some presidents also give more speeches in their third year in office in the South Census region when specific governors seek election. The fact election speech mushrooms in the same years cannot simply be a coincidence. When it comes to election speeches, presidents do not, as the phrase may suggest "continuously campaign" either for themselves or others, but instead focus election-oriented speeches when they are preparing for upcoming election contests. The combined numbers of the midterm and reelection year election speeches hint at this cyclical nature of campaign-oriented speechmaking, but also suggest changes may be afoot. With the exception of Richard Nixon, every administration before 1997 gave at least 80% of all its campaign speeches either at the second or fourth year of the term. Second-term Bill Clinton was unusual because he gave only 71.4% of this election speeches in these years. He gave a significant number of speeches in his first and fourth year of his second term, most of which were national party functions. Barack Obama was curious because of the low numbers in both of his terms. In his first term, he gave 77.1% of his campaigning speeches during his midterm and election years. The second term fell to the lowest of any administration from Truman onward with a total of 64.8%. In his first term, he gave a raw total of 55 election-oriented speeches in his third year of office (2011). It is the largest number any president gave on year 3 and only 8 speeches lower than his midterm year results. While not definitive, a change seems to appear in the 1990s and presidents are no longer heavily concentrating an overwhelming bulk of election speeches just on election years. There has been creeping erosion with Obama presenting the lowest combined midterm and election year numbers for both the first and second terms.

The idea here is these numbers may help support the notion of the permanent campaign. If Obama is giving high levels of election speeches in off-election years, he is shoring up constituencies for the future. While the Electoral College chapter will flesh out exactly the types of places he is gravitating toward, it is likely Obama is attempting to reinforce bases in these years to help encourage their support in the next cycle of elections.

The goal of this chapter was to look at presidential speeches through the lens of the Census regions to see some sorts of patterns appear. The use of US Census regions is a widespread method of organizing information when we look at the country. The Census serves as a valuable tool to look at presidential speeches. In many ways, it confirms some things we often assume about what presidents do. They prefer areas of the country favorable toward them as well as locations that may give them the greatest electoral advantage. Furthermore, these Census results also point to cycles in speechmaking. For most administrations, Census region speeches peak during congressional and presidential election years. However, these patterns seem to becoming less distinct, especially during the Obama administration. Are the lines between governance and campaigning blurring, or did that administration blur the lines more than other ones?

There are many different ways to look at the American public. We often refer to people using a geographical term as an identifier. However, as pointed out earlier, these gauges can be complicated and increasingly unreliable over time. In particular, the mobility of the American population affects exactly who constitutes a person from a specific area after several decades. On average, Americans move 10.5 times during their lifetime.[16] These internal migrations coupled with immigration result in a highly fluctuating population. In 2012, only 61% of all the residents of Texas were born in the state, 58% of the persons in North Carolina were born there, and only 42% of those living in Colorado.[17] Americans are a mobile population, even when it does not always seem that way.

So, given the issues present in other geographical grouping systems, the US Census's regions remain one of the most common techniques looking at the country. This chapter shows, generally speaking, most presidents give the bulk of their speeches outside of Washington, DC in either the South or the Midwest. Some presidents are surprising such as first-term Richard Nixon and Bill Clinton with more speeches in the West than the Midwest. The Democratic presidents (Carter,

Clinton, Obama) gave more speeches in the Northeast than many of their Republican counterparts. In all likelihood, these result from presidents preferring to go to their base of support. Democrats historically have been more successful in the Northeast states in the latter half of the twentieth century. The region all the presidents showered attention to during their time in office was the South. With the population shift to the Sunbelt following World War II, it has made considerable gains politically. Since the 1980s, the Southern Sunbelt states have held more Electoral College votes than the ones in the Northern Frostbelt.[18] "In 1928, the 15 Sunbelt states were able to cast 146 votes in the Electoral College, compared to the 237 cast by electors representing the 14 Midwestern and northeastern states. By the 2000 election, the situation was reversed: The Sunbelt states held 222 votes, but by then the 14 northern states could cast only 180 votes in Electoral College balloting."[19] The growing importance of the South has resulted in presidents spending more time there cultivating support. There exists increasing evidence[20] the Sunbelt is not uniformly Republican. The growth of minority populations coupled with large numbers of educated professionals has resulted in constituents for both parties.[21] The large number of congressional seats and their subsequent Electoral College power makes the Southern USA as prize for any president or presidential candidate. Presidents go into the South more often than any other Census region because of the potential power wielded by the collective numbers. The Midwest receives a lot of attention as well. However, most presidents gave the majority of speeches in the Midwest in their election years.

If we already recognize different states and even cities within geographical regions have drastically diverse population compositions, is it possible to eliminate spatial considerations in favor of another scale? While Houston, Texas and Wheeling, West Virginia are both in the South for the Census are the reasons and rationales for a president visiting each similar or different? Houston has one of the largest metropolitan areas in the USA and Wheeling has under 30,000 people in 2016. Can we reconceive regionalism as similarities between correspondingly sized metropolitan areas regardless of geography? In other words, do cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia have more in common with each other given their size than they do with smaller cities in their same states like Albany, Sacramento, Springfield,

El Paso, and Harrisburg? Do presidents give speeches in specific cities based more on their size or location?

As suggested by Michael J. Weiss,[22] many populations have things in common based upon social circumstance more than physical proximity. For presidents, geography is inevitably always part of the picture. Their electoral futures hinge upon success within a system underpinned by geographical constraints. However, population concentrations often allow for the best penetration with the least amount of effort. The next chapter builds upon the ideas of where presidents give speeches with the introduction of media markets as another gauge to examine speechmaking.

Notes

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CHAPTER 4

Media Markets

When Richard Nixon spoke, he could reach upward to 90% of the American public at the same time through television.[1] These numbers will unlikely ever be replicated on a regular basis again. Americans still watch news, but network audiences have receded. The Pew Center in 2004 reported 34% of Americans regularly watch nightly network news.[2] By 2018, the number fell to 26%. Viewers for local news trended upward from 2000 until 2015 when there began to be noticeable trends with older people continuing to watch local news and younger ones turning more to digital media sources for information.[3] Local news still "garners more viewers on average than cable or network news programs."[4]

Lang and Lang assert the increased access to mass media by the public has resulted in an information paradox. Experience and participation now function separately instead of in conjunction with each other. How presidents approach media relations impacts their administrations.[5] "As the media bring the world closer, the more intimate acquaintance with – the product of direct involvement – is replaced by a more superficial knowledge about the things outside one's purview and beyond the horizon."[6] In addition, this gained information is "mediated knowledge; it depends on what the media systems disseminate yet under no circumstance can the picture replicate the world in its full complexity."[7] The mass media constructs a skewed sense of reality where individuals primarily rely upon a surrogate to provide their electoral knowledge. We, as a body of voters, primarily do not participate in election-based activities to

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derive our opinions. We look to media outlets to help us construct our opinions.

Whatever the comparison, local news scores the highest as the media source where people pay the most attention. Nationally broadcasted speeches cannot be relied upon to pull large enough audiences. In 2004, the State of the Union broadcast was beaten soundly by the television show, *American Idol*. The State of the Union drew a top ratings share for 18- to 49-year-olds on Fox with a 4.5, while *American Idol* pulled an 11.9 for the same demographic group on the same night.[8] In 2015, Barack Obama's State of the Union had the lowest rating share since 2000.[9] In fact, the 9:00 p.m. State of the Union time slot's best station rating was a 3.10 on *Fox News* with an audience share (18–49) of .4. A rerun of *The Big Bang Theory* on Turner Broadcasting System (TBS) at the same time pulled a 3.06 with an audience share of 1.0 for the same demographic.[10] As we become less information seeking, presidents must become more aware of varying ways to get out their messages. Local media allows presidents to fulfill voter needs for information while customizing it for a specific audience for reelection periods. Kaid and Foote show that when the president is in a news story with a member of the House or Senate, the news piece received better placement and was longer.[11] Therefore, it is distinctly beneficial for a member of Congress to have the president present if they are attempting to increase exposure. In midterm campaigning season, the president would undoubtedly provide a sort of "incumbency advantage" if the president was of the same party as the candidate.

How can we study whether presidents prefer large or smaller media markets? The US Census allows us to examine speeches regionally, but lacks the fine distinctions to look into specific locations within regions or even states. When you consider places like Florida, Miami is culturally, socially, and politically different from Tallahassee. If locales within geographical regions have drastically diverse population compositions, is it possible to eliminate spatial considerations in favor of another scale? Can we reconceive regionalism as similarities between correspondingly sized metropolitan areas regardless of geography? In other words, do cities like New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia have more in common with each other given their size than they do with smaller cities in their same states like Albany, Sacramento, Springfield, El Paso, and Harrisburg? Do presidents give speeches in specific cities based more on their size or location?

Designated market areas (DMAs) or more commonly, media markets, offer an alternative measurement for political scientists to capture regionalism within America. Coined by A. C. Nielsen Media Research, a DMA specifically refers to an area covered by a television station.[12] The size and thus ranking of the DMA are calculated by determining the number of television households within that vicinity. In addition, DMAs also gauge the ratio of the area's total population in relation to the total population of the USA. Considering 98% of all American households own one television, and 75% own more than one set,[13] most Americans households are captured by these DMAs.

Arbitron's ABIs and later Nielsen's DMAs are ranked by television household size. They are listed from the number one market (New York City) to the smallest market numbered 210 (Glendive, Montana). Media markets offer greater latitude of flexibility that constrains geographical scales. Markets are ranked and updated every year for the television audience. They track growth, but are not simply confined to city or county borders. They reflect the number of people who receive television broadcasts in that area so marketers can accurately charge or sell advertising time. For presidential speeches, DMAs reasonably reflect to an administration how many people will potentially see their speech on the local news. Media markets offer a solution to these fixed boundaries. This project culled commercially available records by broadcasting journals that provided the assigned market for individual cities. Next to every city's rank and name includes the number of television households. These population numbers can also be ranked or sorted according to household concentrations.

Market areas offer more flexibility than geographical boundaries. DMAs, when collated together into general sizes, should show what sizes of cities presidents prefer to give speeches (if any). Market areas show if presidents seek maximum media penetration in speeches outside DC, prefer to go places with more limited audiences, or seek specific electorate types. To determine the usefulness of media markets, it is paramount to accurately gauge the concentration of presidential speeches in these markets. As cities have grown larger in size during the past forty years, is it possible to skew results if we only look at the number of television households? One solution is to collate results based upon market rank. Since the scale has ranged from 1 to 210 (ABI for 1969 is ranked 1–100, but the all speeches were located within these

Table 4.1 Total speeches in designated media markets by term

Total speeches	*DMA 1–50 (%)*	*DMA 51–210 (%)*	*Total*
Nixon 1	69.3	30.7	267
Nixon 2	56.0	44.0	50
Ford	68.8	31.2	622
Carter	68.8	31.2	429
Reagan 1	69.9	30.1	392
Reagan 2	63.5	34.5	296
Bush 41	70.6	29.4	686
Clinton 1	76.5	23.5	775
Clinton 2	82.3	17.5	808
Bush 43 1	59.3	40.7	895
Bush 43 2	53.4	46.6	485
Obama 1	74.5	25.1	677
Obama 2	81.6	18.4	386

markets) for almost all of its existence, ranking by number eliminates the problem of increasingly larger cities.

Table 4.1 shows the percentage of presidential speeches within each term by ranked media markets. It considers markets from 1969 to 2016 collated from 1–50 to 51–210. The Washington, DC, market (ranked 6–8 depending on year) has been removed. The DC market encompasses the largest number of presidential speeches and skews the ranking. However, the most important aspect of the DC market is that it picks up all speeches in the area regardless of where they are given geographically. Though presidents tend to give many speeches at the White House, they also commonly give others in Virginia and Maryland. Through the use of media markets, all these speeches are captured within that market and not divided between DC and its nearby states. In 1969, markets ranked 75+ contained less than 200,000 television households. In 2016, the 75th media market had approximately 409,000 television households.[14] Rankings are informative because they take into consideration populations have increased in cities over time. In 1969, only 8 markets were a million or more television households; by 1981, 14 had this, many households; and by 2015, 28. While not perfect, most of the major markets remain fairly stable and grow over time yet retain rankings. In the Ford administration, the top 15 were: New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, San Francisco, Detroit, Washington, DC, Cleveland, Dallas, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Houston, Miami, and Atlanta. The 2016 rankings are: New York City, Los Angeles, Chicago,

Philadelphia, Dallas, San Francisco, Washington, DC, Houston, Boston, Atlanta, Tampa, Phoenix, Detroit, Seattle, and Minneapolis. There was movement in the last 40 years, but not very much in the larger markets. St. Louis was ranked 12 in 1976 and 21 in 2016, while Miami was 15 in 1976 and 16 in 2016. Tampa was ranked 17 in 1976 and 11 in 2016. Phoenix was ranked 25 in 1983 and had risen up to 12 by 2016. Seattle was ranked 18 in 1976 and 14 in 2016. There have only been a handful of media markets which have significantly changed their rankings over time. One of the most notable is Las Vegas. It was ranked 140 in 1976, and by 2016, it had raised 100 places to 40. Raleigh–Durham rose from 47 in 1976 to 24 in 2016. Austin was ranked at 99 in 1980 and was at 39 in 2016. Dayton was ranked 40 in 1976 and 64 in 2016. Many markets outside of the top 25 have moved about 10 places in the last 40 years, both up and down, but few have changed more than that and are more the exception than the rule.

All the presidents examined except second-term George W. Bush and Richard Nixon give the majority of their speeches in the largest markets within the USA. Presidents tend to concentrate their overall speechmaking in the largest markets while giving fewer speeches in smaller locations. Nixon is unusual because it reflects a shortened term. George W. Bush signals a dramatic change in presidential speechmaking by market which was not continued by Barack Obama. Ranked markets suggest most presidents prefer to give speeches in the larger markets in the USA and generally spend significantly less time in markets numbered 51 and higher. George W. Bush significantly shifted presidential speechmaking patterns during his administration. He moved away from focusing upon the largest markets toward a more diffused approach. In many ways, this presidency indicates a change with previously established patterns focusing its efforts on smaller television market areas within the USA. He appears to specifically target smaller media markets in order to convey messages. All others gave at least half of their total speeches in the largest media markets within the USA. In his first term, he gives only 59.3% of his public speeches in the largest media markets. His second term is 53.4%, lower than any other presidency. Richard Nixon in his second term gave a small number of speeches in the largest media markets (56.0% between 1973 and 1974) and a larger number in smaller markets (44.0%), but it was an embattled administration with an increasingly adversarial relationship with the press. The Bush 43 second term had only 50 speeches in the media markets outside of Washington, DC.

This sparse number skews the results a bit because barely spoke during his second term. Since Nixon, every other president gave a considerable higher number of speeches. The lowest after Nixon is second term Ronald Reagan with just under 300 speeches. It is the volume of the first term of George W. Bush that thus makes the media markets exceptional. With 895 total speeches, 364 were given in media markets with less than 625,000 television households according to the Nielsen 2004 rankings. In fact, just over a quarter of those speeches (26.5%) were given in television markets with less than 400,000 television households and 66 of the speeches, or 7.4% of his total first-term speeches, were in markets with fewer than 250,000 television households. Bush 43 gave the most speeches (percentage and volume) in these smallest markets over any other president in Table 4.1. The lowest percentages are closely split between George H. W. Bush and first-term Bill Clinton who each gave slightly over 6% of their total speeches in media markets ranked between 76 and 210.

For media markets, first- and second-term administrations appear to be somewhat different. If we discount Nixon as an anomalous situation, we have 4 first- and second-term presidencies in Table 4.1: Reagan, Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama. All the administrations except Reagan gave more speeches in the top 50 markets during their second term when compared to their first. Reagan went down 6.4% though the cumulative total was a decline of 86 speeches in these top markets between the first and second term. Between all the markets, Ronald Reagan decreased a total of 96 speeches in his second term meaning his smaller markets only decreased a total of 10 speeches for that term. While Reagan gave fewer large market speeches in his second term, all the other presidents saw their percentage significantly increase. Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama all gave higher percentage of their term's speeches in the largest markets during the second one though Clinton was the only one to see an increase in terms of raw numbers. Both Bush 43 and Obama almost halved their public speech totals in the second term. They gave more large market speeches, though a smaller number of speeches in general.

Table 4.1 suggests presidents generally give about 70% of their public speeches in the largest markets of the USA. If you expect them to get the largest return for their time, it completely makes sense. Most presidents want to capture the biggest audience possible, and these markets offer the most promising opportunity. Certain locations like New York City are physically within one state, but their market area

extends as far as rural Pike County, Pennsylvania, with a population of less than 50,000. For presidential speeches, DMAs reasonably reflect to an administration how many people will potentially see their speech on the local news where news coverage can often extend across several cities and even states. DMAs help see the sizes of cities presidents prefer to give speeches when collated together into general sizes. Market areas reveal if presidents seek maximum media saturation in speeches outside Washington, DC, or prefer to go places with smaller audiences. Some administrations did stand out in Table 4.1 for differing reasons. George W. Bush gave fewer speeches in the larger markets than any other president. Bill Clinton and Barack Obama gave a higher percentage of speeches in the larger markets than other presidents. Barack Obama shifts away from George W. Bush's smaller market approach and returns to similar behaviors of other presidents making George W. Bush appear more as an outlier than a pattern shift. Barack Obama focused primarily upon the largest markets in the USA. Both Clinton and Obama contrast not only with George W. Bush, but also other administrations in Table 4.1. In their first and second terms, each gave at least three-quarters of their total speeches outside of Washington, DC, in the largest media markets throughout the USA. In fact, they actually gave over 60% of these speeches in the markets ranked from 1 to 25 which contained over one million television households during these time periods. Bush 43, Clinton, and Obama all increased the number of speeches given in the largest markets during their second terms. However, Clinton and Obama shifted to well over 80% of their speeches there suggesting they worked to reinforce favorable areas. In the 1996 Electoral College results, Clinton carried 13 of the 17 states in the top 25 markets, and in 2012, Barack Obama carried 12 of these 17. Clinton and Obama appear to work toward reinforcing their bases in the markets as president, while Bush 43 worked to extend bases of support, particularly in smaller areas.

Many presidents across their entire presidency across their entire term focus on the largest markets. However, does that change from year to year? That is, do presidents consistently speak in markets from year to year or do fluctuations happen? As with the Census results, presidents do tend to give more speeches on midterm and election years, but the market sizes do vacillate depending upon the president and the administration. First-term Richard Nixon preferred large media markets. In his 1970 midterm congressional election year, he gave the most speeches for any term of his entire administration. He gave the largest percentage of

his first-term speeches in the biggest media markets that year. He also gave the highest number of speeches in the smallest media markets in that year as well. Specifically, Nixon had 64 speeches in the largest markets and 31 in the smallest for 1970. In his first-term reelection year, Nixon gave the second highest percentage of speeches in the media markets with a total of 51 speeches. His reelection year was also the year of the lowest percentage and number of speeches in the smallest markets. He gave 10 speeches, or a total of 3.7% of the ones in his first term. It is unusual given that other presidents tend to give increased attention to the smallest markets in the last year of their terms. Nixon functionally ignored the smaller markets except when he needed to be there. Two of the speeches in 1972 involved traveling to Pennsylvania because of Hurricane Agnes damage, three were in Hawaii to meet the Japanese Prime Minister and a ceremony for the retirement of John McCain Jr. from the Navy, and one toured a customs facility in Laredo, Texas. The remaining three were campaign speeches given right before the 1972 election. Given the 1972 landslide election of Nixon, it seems odd he did not spend much time speaking in his fourth year, especially in the smaller markets.

Speeches for Gerald Ford increased in each media market for every year he was in office. These findings should not be considered overly exceptional since Ford's 1974 presidential year lasted only four months. In fact, given the short time he was in office that year, Ford gives 55 speeches. The number is higher than the totality of Nixon's second term and more than the first year in the first terms of Nixon and Reagan. The first year of Carter gave the exact same number of speeches. For every year of Ford's term, he gave more speeches in the larger markets over the smaller ones. The majority of Ford's speeches occur in 1976, the year he ran for election. In that year, he gave 45.8% of his total term's speeches in the markets ranked 1–50 and 22.8% in the ones from 51 to 10. This abundance of speeches in his presidential election year is not especially exceptional. He is our only president who was never elected to either the presidency or vice presidency, and these results help suggest he traveled extensively during his election year to help bring himself to the American people. Ford stands out because of the large number of speeches he gave at both ends of the media market spectrum. He gave 427 speeches in 1976 in the media markets throughout the USA. Roughly 50% of those speeches were given in the top 25 markets, and another 20% were given in markets ranked 76–210. The remainders were

located in the markets in the middle. Ford gave more speeches in these smallest media markets than any other president with the exception of George W. Bush.

Jimmy Carter appears to be a president who gave the majority of speeches in the various media markets groups during congressional or presidential election years. Almost 70% of all speeches Carter gave during his presidency in the media markets occurred in either 1978 or 1980. He was a president who focused his speechmaking on election years. Also, Jimmy Carter in terms of volume gave far more speeches in the largest media markets. In 1980, Jimmy Carter gave 146 speeches in the largest markets and 82% of those 119 speeches were located in the top 25. In fact, 83 speeches were in the top 10 national media markets. He gave more speeches in the largest national media markets in 1980 than he gave in any other year and any other sized market.

Ronald Reagan displays some similarities, but overall a different sort of pattern when dealing with the American public. Reagan definitely gave more speeches in the larger media markets within the USA. He spoke during 1984 in these markets more than the other three years, but overall, he did give a considerable amount of speeches in these markets from 1982 to 1984. In the top 50 markets, Reagan increased his speeches every year of his first term. The smaller markets ranked after 50 are a completely different matter. Ronald Reagan did not speak in any of these markets at any appreciable volume in his first year in office. He gave only 6 total speeches in these markets in 1981. Unlike the larger markets, Reagan gives most of his speeches in these smaller markets in years 2 and 4, suggesting he focused upon them during election periods. The second term of Ronald Reagan displays unusual yearly patterns as well. In the larger markets, he gave more speeches in the first year of his second term than the second year with congressional midterms. In the smaller markets, his speeches increased on the second year, but he gave the exact same number of speeches (29) in his third and fourth years. The cumulative read on the Reagan administration is one that preferred the larger markets, but also did not speak around the country as much as many other presidents. With the exception of Nixon, Ronald Reagan had the lowest volume of first- and second-term speeches. Ronald Reagan, for example, gave approximately 88% of all speeches in 1981 and 1983 in media markets ranked 1–50, with over 65% of these in the largest markets in the USA. During election years, his speechmaking patterns in the media markets altered dramatically. In both 1982 and 1984,

his speechmaking in the top media markets dropped to slightly less than 50%. At the same time, he went from giving between 3 and 8% of speeches in the smallest media markets in 1981 and 1983 to around 19% of his total speeches in media markets for 1982 and 1984. In terms of actual speeches, in 1981, Ronald Reagan gave exactly 1 speech in the smallest markets. In 1983, he gave 7. In the congressional election year of 1982, he gave 17 speeches in these smallest markets, and in 1984, 29. In essence, Ronald Reagan obviously preferred giving speeches in the largest media markets of the USA, but would change pattern and speak other places during election years.

George H. W. Bush (or Bush 41) is both simultaneously similar and different from Ronald Reagan during these first terms. Bush 41 gives more speeches in every year of office compared to Ronald Reagan. At times, he spoke significantly more than his immediate predecessor. For example, during the first year of Reagan, he spoke 31 times in the larger markets and 6 times in the smaller. Bush 41, in contrast, spoke 67 times in the larger markets and 40 times in the smaller ones. The disparity in these numbers may partially be explained by the assassination attempt of Reagan by John Hinckley Jr. However, it does not fully explain the numbers. Ronald Reagan was shot on March 30, 1981. He had only spoken 3 times in the media markets outside of Washington, DC, at that point. He had spoken the exact same number of times in the media markets by March 30, 1985, the first year of his second term. Reagan preferred speaking in Washington, DC, and did not travel around the country compared to later administrations. First-term Reagan and Bush 41 were functionally identical percentage-wise for their time in the smaller and larger markets, yet the latter spoke far more. In fact, Bush 41 gave 686 speeches in the media markets during his 4 years in office. When adding Reagan's two terms together, he spoke 688 times or only 2 less in 8 years than what Bush 41 did in 4. Bush 41 gave far more speeches in the largest markets than he did in the smaller ones. Bush gave 53% of his speeches in the media markets ranked 25 and higher. Reagan gave a smaller number overall, he also gave lower percentages in the same ranked markets. In his first term, it was only 51% of his speeches, and in the second, 47%. He differs from Reagan with the amount of speeches he gives in the smaller media markets. George H. W. Bush gave 84 speeches in the smaller two media market categories compared to Reagan's 54 in his first term and 29 in his second. After you look past the largest market grouping, more of a cyclic pattern in

media market type speeches surfaces during the George H. W. Bush administration. Bush, like Carter and first-term Reagan have the pattern of more speeches in years 2 and 4. The percentages of speeches from 1989 to 1990 grew considerably. Then for year 3 (1991), there is a drop-off in the percentage of speeches given. Finally, the presidential election year of 1992 sees massive growth in the number of speeches in all media markets categories. At a minimum, speeches doubled experiencing more than 50% of all the speeches during his term given in that year alone.

Bill Clinton's first term has some similarities as well as differences from previous administrations. By volume, Clinton spoke a tremendous amount with more speeches in the largest media markets during his first and second years than any other president. The statement is true for both his first and second terms in office. He gave more speeches in the third year in his second term than any other president in the largest markets as well. His fourth years of each term are a bit more complicated. Gerald Ford has the largest volume of any presidential speeches in their fourth year in the largest media markets. For first terms, George H. W. Bush gave more speeches in those markets as well. However, in terms of raw numbers Bill Clinton gave the second highest after Ford in the large markets during the fourth year of his second term. It is also simultaneously the largest volume of speeches in the largest media markets from any second-term administration. Also, like every other administration, Clinton spoke in the largest media markets more often than the smaller ones. Bill Clinton has some distinctive traits that make his administration stand out from the others. It is evident Clinton did not focus on the smaller media markets during the congressional election year of 1994. He gave a total of 28 speeches in these smaller markets in 1994 or 3.6% of the speeches in his first term. In the wake of the Republican takeover of Congress in the November 1994 election, Bill Clinton changes his speaking pattern in these markets sharply in 1995. In that year, the smaller markets receive over double from the previous year for a total of 65. These results will be explored again in the Electoral College chapter because media market focus does not adequately explain the Clinton's market choices. Clinton gave over 60% of his total 1995 speeches in states carried by the Democrats in 1992. These findings help corroborate that Clinton was attempting to shore up these media markets in preparation for his 1996 reelection campaign. The midterms of his second term occur in 1998. Clinton gives even fewer speeches in the

smaller media markets that year. He gives only 15 total speeches, yet the Democrats pick up 5 seats in the House of Representatives.

George W. Bush's first term in office sets itself apart from the other administrations. There are quite a few reasons why this particular presidency is distinctive. The most important difference involves the volume and location of speeches. George W. Bush gave more speeches in the smaller media markets than any other president. In particular, he gave more speeches in markets ranked 76–210 than any other president since the rankings have been calculated. For reference, during his administration, these markets are approximately the size of Omaha, Nebraska, or Shreveport, Louisiana, and smaller. In 2004, these markets had just fewer than 400,000 television households. As a comparison, the markets are roughly exactly the same size in 2016. George W. Bush appears to have taken a diffused approach to speaking in television markets within the USA. He spoke in smaller places more often than any other recent presidential administration. During his first term, he gave 895 speeches in the media markets. Forty percent of them were located in the largest top 25 markets in the USA with 26.5% in the markets ranked 76–210. The percentage in these top markets is almost 10% lower than any other president; the volume is actually quite high. He gives 361 speeches, which is more than Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, and second-term Obama. His father, George H. W. Bush, gave only 2 more speeches for a total of 363. The only administrations to have more speeches in those larger markets are Bush 41, Clinton, and first-term Obama. George W. Bush's second term has fewer speeches in these larger markets. He gives a total of 485 speeches for the term with 156 or 32% in the largest top 25 markets. By volume, the only presidents to give more speeches in those markets are Nixon and second-term Reagan. George W. Bush's smallest media markets are extremely unusual. In his first term, he gave 364 speeches in the ones from 51 to 210 and 238 were in the ones 76–210. No other president is comparable in terms of volume or percentage. The second term is also unusual though the volume is significantly lower. He gives 485 speeches in the media markets during his second term, a decrease of about 400 speeches. However, he gives almost the exact same number of speeches in the largest and smallest media markets. During the second term, he gave 156 speeches in the top 25 markets and 157 in the ones from 76 to 210. George W. Bush traveled to small media markets with regular frequency more than any other president. He behaves much like other administrations by speaking more

in all markets during years 2 and 4 and not as much in years 1 and 3, but the volume is much more pronounced. Bush spends far more time during congressional and presidential reelection years in the smaller markets. George W. Bush surfaces as a change in the way presidents speak in the media markets throughout the USA. It is simply not enough to suggest George W. Bush was behaving like previous presidents. He gave more speeches in the country's media markets than any other president in this research. Bush also gave tremendous attention to smaller media markets while not focusing on the largest ones in the USA. This change suggests the George W. Bush administration was acutely aware of the importance of local media and utilized it to its advantage especially in election cycles. It also suggests they carefully identified areas where a speech could have significant electoral impact.

Barack Obama shifts away from George W. Bush's patterns back to one with a heavy focus upon the largest media markets and less attention to the smaller ones. In his first term, he gave 74.5% of his speeches in the largest markets within the USA. Actually, 59% of his first-term speeches were in markets ranked 1–25 and only 16% were in the ones ranked 26–50. Obama preferred the larger media markets and focused most of his attention there. His first term is notable because he spoke more every year he was in office. He spoke more every year in larger and smaller media market categories. For example, in his first year in office, he gave speeches only 26 times in media markets ranked 51–210. It was the lowest first year number since 1993 Clinton. However, his second year grew to 33 followed by 37 in his third year, with 74 in his fourth reelection year. The larger media markets grew every year as well, from 67–112 to 132–196. His pattern is unusual because it is the only first-term administration which had more speeches in year 3 than year 2. The only exception is Gerald Ford, and at the timing of his ascension, the presidency makes it an outlier that should be excluded. Many first presidents tend to give speeches throughout the USA in a cyclical manner. They almost always speak more during their reelection years, with most also showing a spike in congressional reelection years as well. This pattern, particularly with the steep decline in speeches during their third year in office, helps support the notion that presidents do not engage in a permanent campaigning model for speeches throughout their first terms in office. Barack Obama upends this notion and seemingly breaks with traditional speechmaking patterns. From a media market perspective, he does seem to engage in permanent campaigning, or at the very least, an awareness

of the importance of regional speechmaking throughout the entirety of his first four years in office. Second-term Obama gives fewer speeches, but focuses even more in the larger markets. When looking at the yearly patterns, his second term somewhat conforms to the pattern of more speeches in the second and fourth years with fewer in the first and third. However, the differences between the years are extremely minor. Obama gives 89 total speeches in the media markets the first year of his second term. His second year hits the high mark of 108 speeches for the second term, followed by 93 in his third and 96 in his fourth and final year of office. He certainly does give more speeches in the congressional election year, but there exists only a 3 speech difference between years 3 and 4 into total. He gives fewer speeches in his second term than every president except Nixon and Reagan. Moreover, these speeches significantly shift into the largest media markets. In 2013, Barack Obama gave 10 total speeches in markets ranked 51–210. In that year, those are markets with less than 650,000 television households and New Orleans, Louisiana, was ranked 51 as a gauge for comparison. On an annual basis, Obama gave the most speeches in 2014, the second year of his second term. Of the 108 speeches, only 14 were given in these 51–210 market areas. The numbers increased in his third year to 27 speeches in these smaller markets followed by a decrease to only 20 in his last year of office.

Barack Obama bears very little resemblance to George W. Bush. On balance, Obama actually looks far more like Bush 41 or Clinton than Bush 43. President Obama gravitates toward the largest markets every year in office. He gives a higher percentage in the largest markets on any given year when compared to George W. Bush. Obama's speech volume in media markets is lower than either Clinton or George W. Bush, but so are his overall speech totals. The George W. Bush and Barack Obama presidencies are exciting ones because of their irregularities compared to their predecessors. With regard to preferences in media markets, they present themselves almost as polar opposites. Bush 43 focuses extensively on smaller markets, while Obama concentrates on the largest markets. They both spent considerable amounts of time reinforcing the areas they felt were their best sources of support. Obama appears to embrace a large market strategy working to reinforce bases loyal to the Democratic Party. In 2011, the top 25 media markets were in 17 different states (Arizona, California, Colorado, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Massachusetts,

Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Texas, Washington). All but four of those states (Arizona, Georgia, Missouri, and Texas) were carried by Barack Obama in the 2008 presidential election. In 2009, only 7.0% of speeches given in the top 25 markets were in states that did not support Obama in 2008. That number slightly decreases to 6.9% in 2010 for those top four markets. Over 50% of the speeches given by Barack Obama in 2009–2010 were in the largest American media markets within states that voted for him in 2008. The domestic speechmaking strategy for Barack Obama relies upon the largest media markets in supportive states and areas. In contrast, the top 25 media markets in 2001 were also in 17 states. In 2001, George W. Bush gave 58.3% of all speeches in the top 25 markets that did not support him in 2000. That number increased to 65.1% in 2002 for speeches in the largest markets in states that did not support him.

Media markets should be considered another tool to add to the conversation about presidential speechmaking. The size of a location matters to the president. Larger locations may garner more attention, but smaller locales may have a more friendly media market. Local television markets have consistently retained their audience though it has recently been trending older, while online readership trends younger.[15] Certain constraints do affect the president because they do have to be able to land Air Force One within the vicinity to visit. When a president such as George W. Bush commits much of his entire speechmaking agenda outside of Washington, DC, to smaller, if not the smallest media markets, it helps tell us about the audiences he is courting. When George W. Bush said "I'm a uniter, not a divider,"[16] these markets suggest he meant the statement and it was not simply a good talking point. George W. Bush presents himself as a president who broke many long-standing traditional presidential speech patterns by focusing a large number of his total speeches in the swing states. Barack Obama looks more like a traditional presidency rather than the maverick administration of George W. Bush. While his speech volume remains in line with the post-Reagan administration, he prefers speaking in larger markets. He does spend time in the smaller places, but they are not emphasized or subject to concentrated appeals. Between 2009 and 2011, Barack Obama gives a total of 3 election or campaign speeches in media markets ranked between 51 and 210.

Media markets are just one facet or lens to use when looking at presidential administrations. These markets give us the ability to better see choices, changes, and consistencies for administrations over time. George H. W. Bush's administration denotes a shift where American presidents begin to give more speeches outside of Washington, DC, on a regular basis. Gerald Ford in 1976 and even Harry Truman in 1948 gave large numbers of speeches outside of Washington, DC, but both were unusual situations with accidental presidents who used regional campaigning as a tool to encourage their elections. They were not sustained volumes and stand out as outliers when looking at the patterns across administrations. Presidents have spent time outside of Washington, DC, giving substantial numbers of speeches. Most trend toward the larger markets, except during elections with the notable exception of George W. Bush.

Midterm elections occur toward the end of the second year of a presidential term. Since 1946, there have been twelve first-term midterm elections. Three of these administrations saw their party gain Senate seats at midterm (Kennedy, Nixon, George W. Bush) and only one (George W. Bush) in the House of Representatives. People have grown to expect the president's party to falter at midterm. This halfway point is critical and affects the composition of Congress for the next two years. Some feel presidents use these midterm campaign speeches as a way to cultivate a Congress favorable to his policies.[17] Midterm elections are important because the president needs to rally party support and a "campaign appearance mobilizes voters, rather than converting them."[18] Congressional seats won or lost alter the ability for a president to develop policy and give incentive to encourage favorable midterm election outcomes. The ability of the president's party to control Congress has long-term impacts upon policy agendas.[19] Hoddie and Routh see predictable patterns with presidential midterm behavior not unlike presidential campaign behavior.[20] Strategies employed when a president is running are mimicked at midterm for their own party. Presidential popularity and competitive races are strong indicators[21] that drive midterm campaign stops. Gimpel et al. found "low income voters are more likely to develop an interest in the campaign when they reside in states that both parties have targeted as battlegrounds."[22] In conjunction with these findings, they also find the "geographic concentration of the poor enables activation and mobilization because television and radio remain constrained by geography of electronic signal propagation."[23] Speeches in media markets matter because voter activation matters. It is imperative to

Table 4.2 Campaign-oriented speeches in designated media markets by term

Total Election Speeches	*DMA 1–50 (%)*	*DMA 51–210 (%)*	*Total*
Nixon 1	65.2	34.8	66
Nixon 2	0.0	0.0	0
Ford	69.1	30.9	217
Carter	65.2	34.8	164
Reagan 1	68.2	31.8	107
Reagan 2	69.4	30.6	85
Bush 41	75.1	24.9	209
Clinton 1	75.8	24.2	182
Clinton 2	88.7	11.3	275
Bush 43 1	66.3	36.7	338
Bush 43 2	60.0	40.0	60
Obama 1	84.4	15.6	327
Obama 2	98.3	1.7	121

reach voters. Television coverage reaches audiences who are not attending rallies and events. It brings the campaign to the average citizen and functions as a key source of information.

Table 4.2 explores the percentages of the election or campaign speeches given by presidents divided by media market categories. Election speeches help us see where presidents prioritize campaigns for themselves and others. They are not going to travel to places without any potential for electoral success because time is a valuable commodity in campaign seasons. This table focuses in on just the election speeches and in many ways is a complement to Table 4.1.

The first noticeable comparison between the two tables is the percentages between them in each category largely remained stable. There are some clear differences in specific administrations, but most of the changes do not have high fluctuations. The biggest differences occur in the changes in volume. First-term presidents generally gave more campaign speeches than second-term ones. Second-term Richard Nixon stands out because he gives zero campaign speeches in that term. Bill Clinton stands out because he gives more campaigning speeches in his second term compared to his first. Most second-term presidents give fewer campaign speeches in that fourth year in office. They are not running for reelection so they do not have to spent as much time traveling around the USA. Surprisingly, Clinton gives only 1 more campaigning speech in his 8th year in office when compared to his 4th. The volume

differences actually occur in the other years. During his first year in office in 1993, Bill Clinton gave 8 speeches that could be considered fund-raising or campaign oriented. In 1997, the first year of his second term dramatically rises to 33. The second years are even more prominent. Clinton gave only 34 speeches in 1994. He doubled that number to 68 in 1998 for his second-term congressional midterms. The third years were also notable because in 1995 Clinton gave only 11 campaign speeches, and that changed to 44 in 1999.

In general, Table 4.2 shows that some presidents prefer giving election speeches in large markets and others in smaller ones. George W. Bush is prominent given the fact his first-term election speech totals are substantially higher than any other administration. Barack Obama comes close in his first term to Bush 43, but still does not surpass him. Table 4.2 suggests most first-term presidents will slightly shift speechmaking when campaigning into smaller markets throughout the USA. George H. W. Bush and Barack Obama did not and instead focus on larger media markets. George W. Bush does shift into larger markets as well, but given his clear preference for smaller media markets in general, his slight shift toward larger markets for campaign speeches suggests he may have been attempting to create a greater impact with his speechmaking during election season. In 2002, George W. Bush was very active in supporting candidates at midterm with great success. Between inauguration and midterm elections, he "spent 241 days in 43 different states"[24] supporting other Republicans. Presidential attention to states has importance beyond the candidate. According to Sellers and Denton, Bush used these speeches to "strengthen his electoral coalition" and "bolster his supporters commitment in others."[25] They believed Bush used Senate midterm campaigning trips as a way to reinforce his own bases for reelection "in states with numerous electoral votes, regardless of their chances of winning."[26] Barack Obama focuses on the largest markets when making campaign appeals at a higher level than any other administration in a term to term comparison. Most important are his second-term campaigning speeches. Barack Obama gave 98.3% of his election speeches in the largest markets within the USA. In terms of actual numbers, during Barack Obama's second term in office, he delivered 119 campaign speeches in media markets with more than 650,000 television households in each (101 of these were in markets greater than a million households). He gave a total of 2 election-oriented speeches in the media markets with fewer than 640,000 television households. They occurred

in the midterm election year in Newport, Rhode Island, and Portland, Maine, areas both considered strong Democratic Party bases. Barack Obama adheres to a pattern of going to large media markets especially when campaigning. Smaller markets were overlooked throughout the USA in favor of larger places during both terms. Bill Clinton also had an overwhelming preference for larger markets, but in a term-by-term comparison, Barack Obama was more pronounced. The campaigning strategy of Obama apparently relied upon reinforcing large markets with little regard to smaller locales. The second-term campaign percentages are surprising and perhaps contributed to these areas feeling ignored by their government and leaders.

Do presidents modify which media markets they concentrate election speeches depending on the year in office? One of the most revealing findings involves the year before the presidential elections or for most administrations, the third year in office. Most presidents gave fewer election speeches in this year compared to the year before and year afterward. Volume is not the only noticeable difference. For every administration, these third year speeches were almost exclusively in the largest media markets in the USA. In other words, when presidents gave campaign speeches in this year, they were primarily just in extremely large markets. Election speeches in the smallest markets tend to drastically increase during either congressional or presidential election years. It is quite perceptible since in the congressional or presidential election years most administration gave a lower percentage of their election speeches at this market level.

Richard Nixon in 1970 presents some of the more unique findings on the entire table. That year, he evenly splits his election speeches between the largest and smallest media markets. He gives 38 campaign-oriented speeches with 19 in markets ranked 1–50 and 19 in markets ranked 51–210. In fact, 15 of those election speeches were in the absolute smallest markets ranked 76–210. When he was seeking reelection to the presidency in 1972, Nixon shifts to giving the majority of these election speeches that year to the largest markets reversing the general pattern present in 1970. In 1972, Nixon gave only 2 speeches in the smallest markets with the remaining 20 he gave that year in the top 50 within the USA. Gerald Ford in 1976 primarily gave the majority of election speeches in the largest media market category. He concentrated most speeches there in his shortened term. When Ford ran for election in 1976, he gave 108 speeches in the largest media markets

and 57 in the smaller ones. Of those 57 speeches, 25 of them were in markets ranked 90–210. As a comparison, in 1974–1975, Ford gave only 10 campaigning speeches in the smaller markets ranked 50–210. These numbers suggest he shifted into smaller markets as a campaign strategy. Jimmy Carter is the only president in Table 4.2 to give more campaigning speeches in the smaller media markets over the larger ones during an election year. In the 1978 congressional midterm year, Carter gave 10 campaign speeches in the larger media markets and 24 in the markets ranked 51–210. He barely gave any campaign speeches in years 1 and 3. There were 11 between those two years and 10 of them were in the largest markets. The bulk of his election speeches occur in his 1980 reelection year. He focused overwhelmingly on the larger media markets giving 87 speeches there and only 32 in the smaller ones.

Ronald Reagan in Table 4.2 presents a president who strongly prefers the larger markets over the smaller ones. However, the annual totals offer a bit more nuanced situation. Compared to other administrations, Reagan did not give many campaign speeches. His first-term totals are lower than any other president with the exception of Nixon. His second-term numbers are quite low as well. The only other administration with comparably low second-term election speeches is George W. Bush. In many ways, the low number of speeches for Bush 43 makes sense because of his general lack of popularity in 2008. On September 8–11, 2008, Gallup has his approval rating at 31%.[27] Reagan from September 9 to 11, 1988, has an approval rating of 53%.[28] Reagan's popularity was not low enough to drive him off the campaign trail in the same way George W. Bush was eschewed from supporting fellow Republicans. Ronald Reagan gave the majority of his campaign-oriented speeches in the second and fourth years of his terms. Campaigning on the other years was simply not a focus of the Reagan administration. Of the 112 campaign speeches in his first term, only 19 were given in years 1 and 3. In the second term, he gives a total of 85 speeches and those years fall to a total of 10 speeches. Reagan concentrated his campaigning speeches for election years. He gave a total of 24 of these types of speeches in the 1982 midterm election year evenly divided between the largest and smallest markets. Eight of the speeches that year were all in the top 15 markets of the country. Nine of the speeches were located in some of the absolute smallest media markets in the USA. Of those nine, the largest market he gave a speech was in Peoria, Illinois, close to where he went to college. In 1982, it had a media market ranking of 95 or less than

300,000 television households. The remaining election speeches in the small markets for 1982 were located in several of the Western states such as Montana, Wyoming, and New Mexico. The congressional election year speeches in the second term are similar, yet a bit different. In 1986, Reagan gave 26 speeches in the larger markets and 16 in the smaller ones. The larger market speeches were fairly evenly spread across various DMAs ranked 1–50. The smaller ones, however, look very similar to the 1982 congressional election speeches. Reagan gave the majority of these speeches (14) in the smallest markets throughout the USA ranked between 75 and 210.

During Reagan's presidential election years of 1984 and 1988, he gives a considerable amount of speeches in the largest markets. While he had almost double in 1984 when compared to 1988, he places a higher emphasis on the bigger markets. Two-thirds of his 1984 election speeches were located in the top 25 markets throughout the USA. Much like this midterm speeches, he also spends a surprising amount of time in truly small media markets. Granted, Reagan did not give many election speeches at all, but 11 of his 1984 election speeches were in markets ranked higher than 100. These were places like Endicott in New York, Medford in Oregon, and Parkersburg, West Virginia. Parkersburg was ranked 193 in 1984 and almost holds the same ranking in 2016. It has fallen one place to 194 and currently has around 60,000 television households. During the 1988 presidential election year, Ronald Reagan did not extensively campaign for George H. W. Bush. He gave a little less than 35 campaign speeches out in the media markets that year. Twenty of those speeches were in the top 25 media markets in the USA, with 11 located in either California or Illinois. As two states with close ties to Ronald Reagan, it would make sense he would spend time in them giving election speeches for the upcoming 1988 contest. Though he did not give many small market speeches, Reagan again travelled to some of the smaller markets to hold rallies in 1988. In particular, he held party events in Bowling Green, Kentucky, as well as Cape Girardeau, Missouri. They stand out because out of the 210 media markets, they were ranked 191 and 195, respectively. They were among two of the smallest markets in the USA to hold Republican Party events.

George H. W. Bush is the first president in the media markets to have a high number of midterm election speeches. In 1990, he gives 63 election speeches, almost doubled over every other first president other than his son who exceeds him by 32 speeches. George H. W. Bush during

every year in office gives over 50% of all his election speeches in the largest media markets inside the USA. However, when it was not a congressional or presidential election year, he did not give many speeches in the smaller markets in the country.

Bill Clinton's use of the largest markets is even more pronounced as a general trend than any other administration. In 1994, 79.4% of all of his election speeches occurred in the top 25 media markets within the USA. Bill Clinton gave a total of 34 campaign speeches in 1994. Twenty-seven of them were in the top 25 markets with the smallest city being St. Louis, Missouri. The smallest market any election speech in 1994 was Portland, Maine, and it was ranked 76. By comparison, he gave a higher percentage of election speeches in the largest media markets and the lowest percentage of speeches in the smaller media markets than any other president until Barack Obama. In 1995, Clinton gave all of his election speeches only in the top 25 markets. When Clinton runs for reelection in 1996, he appears more like the other presidents in the table. He gives fewer election speeches in the top 25 markets and more election speeches in the smallest media markets than he gave any other year. He gives 53% of his first-term election year speeches in the top 25 markets. While still quite high, it is lower than other years. In total, Clinton gives 38 campaign speeches in markets ranked 51–210 in 1996. Interestingly, almost half of those speeches were located in markets ranked over 100 located in places like Lake Charles, Louisiana, and Jackson, Tennessee.

Bill Clinton's second term sees an even more pronounced shift to campaigning in the largest media markets throughout the USA. During the first two years of his second term, Clinton gives a total of 98 campaign speeches in the top 50 markets and only 3 in markets ranked 51–210. During the third year in office, every one of the campaign speeches was in a market ranked 1–75. While it appears Clinton was preparing for supporting the Democratic Party in the 2000 elections, all of these speeches were in large to moderate-sized markets. Of the 44 total speeches in year 3, 14 were dinners, receptions, or fund-raisers explicitly for members of the House of Representatives or Senate. Bill Clinton gave an impressive 130 campaign speeches in the final year of his second term in the media markets. It is by far the largest number of speeches any second-term president has given since the market information has been collected. The bulk of them, 113, were given in the largest markets within the USA. Specifically, 30, or 27%, were given in the New York City media market. An additional 5 campaign speeches were given in

other New York media markets in places like Johnson City or Alexandria, New York. These are located in very small markets ranked in 1996 at 154 and 176, respectively. Clinton also gave 32 campaign speeches in California with the bulk located in the Los Angeles market area. Of the 17 speeches given in the media markets ranked from 51 to 210, 9 were fund-raisers or receptions for specific people running for office. More importantly, of those 9, 5 were for his wife in her bid for a New York Senate seat. Nineteen of the 130 election speeches given by Bill Clinton in 2000 were explicit speeches for Hillary Clinton's campaign. The bulk of the speeches were in New York, but there were two given on Cape Cod and others in Connecticut, Indianapolis, Miami, Philadelphia, and Little Rock.

One of the most intriguing presidencies is the George W. Bush administration. In 2001, Bush did not give many election speeches. However, in 2002, he gave 95, more than any other first-term president in the media markets during their second year in office. Forty-four of those speeches were in the largest 25 media markets and 26 of them were in the markets ranked from 75 to 210. Fifty-one of the 95 speeches were explicit campaign stops for gubernatorial, congressional, and senatorial candidates seeking office. In 2003, George W. Bush gave 46 election speeches in the nation's media markets, far more than any other president with the exception of first-term Barack Obama. However, unlike the general diffuse speeches throughout the markets in 2002, Bush gives all but three of them in markets ranked 1–75. In fact, he only gives one speech a truly small media market with a campaigning speech right before the 2003 election in Gulfport, Mississippi, which was ranked 156 that year. In 2004, Bush 43 gives more campaigning speeches in the media markets than any other administration. He gave 192 speeches, with 114 in the markets ranked 1–50 and 78 in the ones from 51 to 210. The only other administration with a similar number is first-term Obama, but he gives 144 in the top 50 markets and only 46 in the smaller ones ranked 51–210. George W. Bush focuses more on smaller media markets than any other president in their reelection year. The National Republican Convention officially gave George W. Bush the nomination on September 2, 2004. From September 3 until Election Day on November 2, Bush gave a total of 114 campaign-related speeches in 19 states. Most states were visited multiple times with the most visits in Iowa (10), Wisconsin (11), Pennsylvania (13), Florida (16), and Ohio (19). Wisconsin has 8 DMAs, and Bush went to 5 of them

campaigning in 2004. The state of Ohio has 12 and Bush campaigned in 7 of them leading up to his reelection. He also campaigned in 7 of Florida's 10 DMAs and 5 of Iowa's 10. Pennsylvania has 11 DMAs, and Bush gave campaign speeches in 2004 within 6 of them. Bush carried Iowa, Florida, and Ohio and barely lost Wisconsin by .38% and Pennsylvania by 2.5%. Second-term George W. Bush was very different with his approach to the media markets. In 2005, he gives only a handful of campaign speeches and all but one are in the largest media market of the country. For the congressional midterm year, George W. Bush does aggressively campaign for candidates. He gives 51 campaign speeches in the media markets outside Washington, DC, that year, and 30 of them are explicitly for candidates seeking office. The 30 speeches are a bit of a mixed bag for George W. Bush. He campaigned for 9 gubernatorial candidates and only 3 were elected. There were 5 Senate candidates he campaigned for and only 2 of those were elected into office. He did do better with the members of the House of Representatives. He campaigned for 16 candidates of 10 of them won election. However, the 2006 midterm elections were a good night for the Democratic Party and they picked up the majority of governors along with control of both the House of Representatives and the Senate. Afterward, George W. Bush gave only two campaign speeches in 2007 for Senatorial candidates who were likely going to easily win reelection, Mitch McConnell and Jefferson Sessions.

The presidency of Barack Obama reflects an administration primarily focused upon large markets. In 2009, Obama gave 21 campaign speeches, all of which were in the top 50 markets. In reality, 15 of them were in the top 7 media markets in the USA. He gave 5 speeches on 4 different for New Jersey gubernatorial candidate Jon Corzine who lost to Chris Christie. He also gave speeches for 4 different candidates who would not face reelection until 2010. Of those, only Nevada Senator Harry Reid and Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick won reelection. Midterm election years are often when presidents give more campaign speeches in smaller markets. Barack Obama did not follow this pattern. He gave 61 campaign speeches in the media markets outside of Washington, DC, and 50 of them were in the top 25 in 2010. He only gave 1 campaigning speech in a truly small market. He spoke in Charlottesville, Virginia, which is ranked 183. He campaigned for Tom Perriello who lost reelection to his Republican challenger. This House race is worth noting because it was the only House

of Representatives candidate Barack Obama explicitly campaigned for in 2010. He did give speeches on behalf of 5 gubernatorial candidates and 3 of them won their elections. His best success was with the senatorial candidates up for election in 2010. He gave explicit campaigning speeches for 10 of them and 6 won their races. In 2011, almost every single campaigning speech was a fund-raiser geared for the 2012 reelection campaign. Fifty of the 55 election speeches that year were in the top 25 markets. The only speech given not in the top 50 media markets was a November 2011 fund-raiser in Hawaii. Barack Obama ran for reelection in 2012. During that year, he gave 190 overt campaign speeches in the media markets outside of Washington, DC. Every single speech was geared toward his reelection campaign. He did not give one speech explicitly on the behalf of another Democratic candidate running for election. Since Obama has been primarily going to the largest media markets so far, why did he give 46 speeches in the markets ranked 51–210 in 2012? Aside from the obvious desire for reelection, the answer probably lies with the large number of states he repetitively gave election speeches in that year. Barack Obama gave 26 campaign speeches in Ohio, 22 in Florida, 20 in New York, 19 in Iowa, 18 in California, 13 in Colorado, 11 in Illinois, and 9 in Virginia. He also gave campaign speeches in many other states, but not with the same high frequency. Many of the smaller market speeches were located in these states where he gave a large number of speeches. His strategy paid off because he won every state he gave more than 8 campaign speeches in during 2012. In all, Barack Obama gave campaigning speeches in 25 states when he was running for reelection. He focused his energies on the states where he was going to reinforce his chances with election because he carried all but 4 of them in 2012 though it was really only 3. He accepted the Democratic nomination at their convention in North Carolina, and it was the only campaigning speech he gave in the state.

The second term of Barack Obama focuses more upon the largest media markets in the USA than any other administration. In 2013, he only gave fund-raising and campaign speeches in the top 14 media markets throughout the USA. The smallest one he spoke in was Miami with 1.6 million television households. Of the 28 election-oriented speeches he gave in 2013, only two of them were on behalf of specific candidates seeking election and both won office. During the 2014 term midterms, Barack Obama gave 35 total campaign speeches, with all but 2 of them in the top 40 markets. The smallest market he spoke in was ranked 80,

and it was on behalf of the Democratic candidate unsuccessfully running for the governorship of Maine. In all, Obama only spoke on behalf of 6 candidates in 2014 and the rest were general fund-raising speeches. Of the 5 governors he campaigned for, two won their offices. He also campaigned for the Gary Peters who won the Michigan Senate seat. All the campaign speeches in 2015 were focused on party fund-raising. Barack Obama gave 14 in the media markets outside of Washington, DC, that year and all but 3 were in the top 6 markets in the USA which all have around 2.5 million television households. For the 2016 presidential election year, Obama gave only 44 speeches geared toward campaigning activities. All of them were in the top 50 media markets in the country. The smallest market was Jacksonville Florida which was ranked 47 with 688,500 television households. More importantly, of the 44 speeches, 35 were given in markets with over a million television households. Barack Obama was focusing all his fund-raising and election efforts in the larger media markets. Twenty-four of these speeches or roughly 55% were all speeches given specifically on behalf of the election of Democratic Presidential candidate Hillary Clinton. He only gave 3 other speeches on behalf of people running for other offices, a governorship and 2 Senate seats. Two of the candidates did win their elections with Tammy Duckworth picking up the Illinois Senate seat and Jay Inslee reelected the governor of Washington State.

The George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations offer some interesting numbers with implications toward an evolving presidency. Presidents who received a second term gave an average of 20.8% total speeches outside of Washington, DC, focused on campaigning. George W. Bush was the higher than average with 21.3% (as a comparison, Eisenhower 20.5%, Nixon 14.7%, Reagan 18.8%, Clinton 20.3%). Obama gave the highest percentage in over 60 years with 28.9% of these speeches. He began fund-raisers for the Democratic Party in March of 2009 after only two months in office. As a comparison, George W. Bush gave his first campaign-oriented speech in April 2001 and Clinton in September of 1993. The length of time between their initial presidential election and fund-raising/campaigning speeches is shrinking, and the number they are expected to participate is increasing. The line between governing and campaigning may be thinning even further as the more and more domestic speechmaking activity involves campaigning.

Media markets free speeches from the geographical boundaries. Modern presidents have ease of transportation with dedicated planes and

cars at their ready disposal. Geographical space does not constrain them in the same way it did for presidents a century ago. In this sense, regionalism largely falls away in favor of accessibility and penetration. As a general rule, speeches in the largest media markets have increased during every first-term administration since Richard Nixon. Also, the smallest media markets have seen a decrease in the number of speeches in them during the same period. These results are quite logical. The population in the last 35 years is increased, and the majority of those people live in the proximity to larger cities. The smaller DMAs have shrunk in size as the larger metropolitan areas have grown. These trends were somewhat regular until the presidency of George W. Bush. George W. Bush gave a smaller percentage of speeches in the largest media markets of the USA than any other president in this study. He also gave the largest percentage of speeches in the smaller media markets. These findings for George W. Bush administration are striking. By skirting around the largest media markets, these stump speeches can appear fresh to the people who listen to them regionally. The dramatic differences between George W. Bush and every other president since Nixon in this regard cannot simply be written off as a mere anomaly. This Bush administration appears acutely aware of the nature of media markets and utilizes them to their maximum advantage. Also, it is not enough to simply dismiss these findings by arguing Republicans prefer rural areas. Reagan, George H. W. Bush, Clinton, and Obama all gave more speeches in the largest markets and fewer speeches in the smaller ones. These results suggest a very strategic approach to speechmaking beyond a simple dislike for larger media markets. They hint at a very deliberate and focused appeal toward markets when elections are on the horizon.

"Going public" in its most basic meaning suggests presidents go over the heads of Congress and make direct appeals to the public for support. Presidents would make national-level appeals (often via television or radio) to put forth their policies to the public. If the public found them appealing, they would, in essence, force Congress to back the president or risk losing their own public approval and perhaps a future election. The sizable number of speeches many presidents have given in the largest media markets shows they have often sought the biggest audiences when attempting to pressure the public. Nevertheless, the nature of "going public" shifted in the George W. Bush presidency though Barack Obama reverted to more traditional patterns. Speechmaking from size of market to location has been markedly distinctive for Bush when compared with

other administrations, both Democratic and Republican. For "going public," it means George W. Bush focuses far more on smaller media markets and Democratic states. Barack Obama places a high priority on national speeches and large media markets which mimics several previous administrations, yet at the same time pursues the strategy with an unusually high vigor. Media market size matters, but in different ways to different administrations at different times. Media markets help us better understand priorities and perceived bases of support.

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CHAPTER 5

Electoral College Results

Chief executives give public speeches almost constantly, talking on a variety of topics ranging from mundane to vital issues impacting life in America. However, do presidents give preferential treatment to specific areas? The lens of Electoral College success helps show how presidents rely on their bases of support during and not during periods of election-oriented speechmaking. Some presidents actively reinforce bases while others engage in patterns of outreach. While no one gauge presented offers a definite answer, when taken cumulatively, there exists strong inference that certain presidents behave in very regular patterns toward the population. In addition, by segregating out the election, or campaign-based speeches, it is possible to see how many presidents only engage in outreach when elections are imminent.

Every four years, the president courts the popular vote in the USA. He is fighting for votes from the Electoral College. Since the votes from the Electoral College are weighted based on population, some states have a far higher number than others. Do presidents go to states that support them in the Electoral College more than others? In addition, what about the swing states? If the president narrowly won or lost a swing state in the previous election, will he give more speeches to that friendly populace? Furthermore, what about election cycles? Do presidents change their speechmaking patterns when they are campaigning? Frequently, the Electoral College is divided into Republican and Democratic Party states. Its label designation depends on whether or not

S. B. O'Brien, *Why Presidential Speech Locations Matter*,
The Evolving American Presidency,
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that party carried the state in the presidential election. When looking at public speeches in highly contested elections, these two categories may be too simple. Swing states are those where the presidential election was highly contested. They are states where the popular vote was decided with less than 5% of the total vote. It is relatively safe to assume that state was not an easy win for either candidate. In contrast, the base states constitute ones carried by a candidate with more than a 5% margin in the popular vote. By separating swing, or "purple" states into their own category, it is possible to see if presidents concentrated speeches in these areas. This distinction creates two different groups for the swing states: one that eventually went Republican and another that eventually went Democrat. Thus, it becomes possible to see where presidents gave most of their public speeches outside of Washington, DC, via the Electoral College. These Electoral College results give us insight into presidential priorities. When presidents give speeches, do they prefer states that are supportive of them during elections, or do they go elsewhere attempting to build support? Do presidents seek to fortify their bases or do they attempt to expand them through speechmaking? Electoral College speeches allow us to attempt to answer these questions by organizing speeches by states they carried in the previous election. Presidents are not constrained to speak in places only carried by their political party in the previous election cycle. If presidents prefer speaking in states their party easily carried in the previous election, they focus on base reinforcing activities. If they give more speeches primarily in carried by the opposing party, then presidents may seek to expand bases of support. Electoral College results inform us about the general support of a state. Did the state's popular vote favor a president, or did they prefer a different candidate? Indeed, if presidents prefer to go places where they are likely to find receptive audiences, they should frequent states they carried in the Electoral College.

Media markets allow for looking at targeted locations by population size, but the Electoral College results show partisan distributions. During reelections, presidents only have a finite amount of time and tend to focus on battleground states during election seasons.[1] This situation encourages presidents to use battleground states where their party has an edge.[2] Brendan Doherty looks at fund-raising speeches and finds presidents "seek financial support most frequently in places where they found substantial electoral support in the last campaign, regardless of electoral size."[3] The organization of the Electoral College means they need to worry less about population sizes and more about state allotments.

Presidents need to appeal to the enough voters in the right locations in order to win elections.

Each administration's speeches from the *Public Papers* are organized based on which political party carried the Electoral College in the previous election cycle. For example, Richard Nixon's speeches are divided into categories based on which party won the states in the Electoral College in the 1968 presidential election and again for the 1972 results. Jimmy Carter's speeches are collated by the results of the 1976 presidential election. The other administrations follow the same logical structure. The "election-oriented" speeches were culled from the dataset in order to create a new group that solely contained campaign speeches. Every speech contained within the *Public Papers of the President* is assigned a title, and the contents of each spoken event are transcribed. For each presidency in this study, the speeches were sorted to create an assemblage of election only speeches. Here, we define election-type speeches as all speeches that involve campaign, election, or party-related activities aimed at electoral activity. While many speeches included in this category focus upon reelection activity, congressional election stumping, specific fund-raising, and speeches involving cities where presidents are campaigning for themselves along with local, state, or national candidates are part of this category. More specifically, these speeches are comprised of ones with titles such as "Meeting with <party>," "Event for <party>," "Event for <party member seeking reelection>," "Remarks <reelection> event or fundraiser," and "Remarks <in city, with specific language encouraging voting>." Every time the president gave speech for fund-raising or to help solicit the vote for a member of his party or himself, it was included into this set. If presidents were giving election speeches, did it change where they were giving them?

Franklin Roosevelt won the 1944 presidential election by a wide margin. He carried 36 states and received 432 Electoral College votes. Many of these states were very close calls across the nation. Fourteen states were within a 5% margin of victory, and New York was only slightly over that with a 5.01% difference in favor of Roosevelt. The closest states were Michigan, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, and Wyoming which were all settled by less than 3% of the state's overall vote. However, in terms of raw numbers, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Wyoming were all determined by less than 10,000 votes though the state populations made some of the percentage differences wider. Harry Truman became president on April 12, 1945,

with the death of Franklin Roosevelt. Truman's accidental presidency was not an overly popular one with the American people, and Thomas Dewey was planning on running again. He lost to Roosevelt in 1944, but Governor Dewey would likely carry New York the next time with its 47 Electoral College votes. With the rest of the close swing states, Dewey was a serious contender for the American presidency. Roosevelt lost the Midwest and Western states of Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming in the 1944 election. He also barely won Idaho and Illinois while Dewey carried Ohio with only 0.37% of the overall vote. Harry Truman faced an uphill battle to secure a presidential term in his own right. In 1948, Harry Truman engaged in a whistle-stop rail tour of many of these states as a way to shore up their constituencies for the upcoming election. "Truman had received an invitation from the University of California, Berkeley, to deliver a commencement address in June of 1948."[4] Truman used this June transcontinental tour to make 69 speeches from June 4 to 18 in Arizona, California, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington State, and Wyoming. These 17 states included 8 swing states which decided the presidency within 5% of their total votes. Five of the remaining states were solidly Democrat and only 3 Republican strongholds. In September and October of the same year, Truman decided to employ a similar tactic by traveling around the country by train again, making speeches in large and small towns throughout the USA. From September 6 to October 30, 1948, Truman spoke in 28 different states throughout the country. The number of speeches Truman gave in states varied quite a bit. Some states like Delaware, Florida, Kansas, and Rhode Island only received one speech. Other states such as California, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New York, Ohio, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, and Texas all received between 14 and 22 speeches each. Most were either swing states in 1944 or in the case of California, a projected close state for 1948. Roosevelt won California with over 13% of the votes in 1944, but Truman only carried it with a 0.44% in 1948. Roosevelt carried Illinois with a 3.47% margin in 1944, and Truman held on to carry it by 0.84% in 1948. Dewey won Indiana with 5.65% of the vote in 1944, and Truman almost took it away in 1948. Dewey carried Indiana with 0.80% of the statewide vote. Roosevelt carried New York with 5.01% of the vote in 1944 as an embarrassing upset for Dewey who was the sitting governor.

Truman campaigned extensively there, but lost the state by 0.99% of the vote. Another state Truman gave a large number of train speeches was Ohio. Though Roosevelt lost the state, Truman reversed it with a close win carrying it by 0.24% of the final statewide tally. Truman also spoke extensively in Pennsylvania. Roosevelt won the state by 2.78%, and Truman lost it by 4.80%. The three states with a high number of speeches that were not contested or swing states were Kentucky, Oklahoma, and Texas. Truman had Kentucky roots which he referenced in many of his speeches. The public papers have 14 speeches he gave in the state during his fall train tour. Roosevelt had carried the state by 9.23% of the vote, and Truman extended it to over 15%. Likewise, Oklahoma and Texas were strong Democratic states in 1944, and Truman extended their support even more in 1948 with larger margins of victory.

The Electoral College tables on Truman reflect his speechmaking patterns during the campaigns. For many of the administrations, speeches outside of Washington throughout the terms are not as tightly tied with their election speeches. Presidents give speeches at many points of their presidencies. Many emphasize them in midterm and presidential election years, but they do give speeches on years 1 and 3. For the first-term Truman presidency, the speeches are overwhelmingly concentrated on the fourth year. In 1945, Truman gives a total of 9 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, and they are all in states carried by the Democratic Party in 1944. In 1946 and 1947, he gives a total of 7 speeches each per year. All of them except one speech in 1946 were in Democratic Party states. The exception was a 1946 speech given to the Federal Council of Churches in Ohio, a Republican swing state barely lost by Roosevelt. The remaining 93.5% of Truman's first-term speeches were given in his fourth year in office when he was seeking election in his own right. He preferred Democratic Party areas with 74.8% of his total speeches for the year in either Democratic Party stronghold or swing states. However, that still means 83 speeches were given that year in Republican states. As indicated in Table 5.1, Truman gave over half (53%) of his first-term domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, in states won by the Democratic Party in 1944 with more than 5% of the vote. He gave an additional 23.5% of his speeches in the swing states won by the Democrats by less than 5% of the vote. The Republican states received all their speeches, except one in 1948. Truman split the stronghold and swing states fairly evenly giving 11.9 and 11.6% of his speeches there, respectively.

Table 5.1 Total Electoral College speeches by term

President	*GOP*	*Swing GOP*	*Swing Dem*	*Dem*	*Total*
Truman 1	11.9	11.6	23.5	53.0	353
Truman 2	8.1	30.5	20.9	40.4	344
Eisenhower 1	89.8	2.3	4.7	3.1	128
Eisenhower 2	92.2	0.0	0.0	7.8	90
Kennedy	14.6	20.1	29.3	36.0	164
Johnson 63-64	21.9	15.5	38.5	24.1	187
Johnson 2	1.4	0.0	3.2	95.4	218
Nixon 1*	24.9	41.0	14.3	13.6	273
Nixon 2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	59
Ford	98.9	0.0	1.1	0.0	654
Carter	10.5	24.7	29.8	35.0	446
Reagan 1	74.7	18.4	1.7	5.2	403
Reagan 2	99.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	325
Bush 41	62.9	24.9	4.5	7.7	754
Clinton 1	4.1	15.3	20.9	59.8	838
Clinton 2	2.4	15.0	3.6	79.1	873
Bush 43 1	36.2	21.4	19.3	23.1	966
Bush 43 2	65.3	6.8	6.0	21.9	649
Obama 1	7.8	1.7	18.1	72.4	758
Obama 2	19.7	2.8	15.4	62.1	422

*6.2% were in states that supported George Wallace in 1968

Table 5.2 shows the campaigning and election speeches given that year. While they were overwhelming campaigning-oriented speeches, 28.3% of the domestic speeches outside DC that year were not campaigning speeches where he advocated for election support. However, the numbers remain roughly equivalent. He went up slightly in the Democratic states to 55.3% and slightly down in the swing Democratic states to 20.2%. He increased in the swing Republican states to 14.2% of his speeches and down in the Republican stronghold states slightly to 10.3%. Truman appears in 1948 to focus on reinforcing Democratic Party strongholds and work on Republican swing states as his focus when campaigning.

Second-term Truman is somewhat different for speechmaking. He gave more speeches in his first, second, and third years for this term when compared to the first one. During every year, he always gave his lowest number of speeches in Republican stronghold states. In fact, in years 1 and 3, he did not give any speeches in them at all. The 1950 midterms saw a considerable number of speeches. He gave 77 domestic

Table 5.2 Campaign-oriented Electoral College speeches by term

President	*GOP*	*Swing GOP*	*Swing Dem*	*Dem*	*Total*
Truman 1	10.3	14.2	20.2	55.3	253
Truman 2	9.3	40.2	21.6	28.9	194
Eisenhower 1	88.1	2.4	7.1	2.4	42
Eisenhower 2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	28
Kennedy	13.5	10.8	54.1	21.6	37
Johnson 63-64	28.4	14.8	39.8	17.0	88
Johnson 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	16
Nixon 1*	37.3	35.8	9.0	16.4	67
Nixon 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Ford	99.0	0.0	0.0	0.9	218
Carter	9.2	25.2	31.1	34.5	119
Reagan 1	77.9	14.2	4.4	3.5	113
Reagan 2	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	86
Bush 41	68.2	17.3	6.1	8.4	214
Clinton 1	1.6	14.4	25.1	58.8	187
Clinton 2	2.2	20.3	4.9	72.5	281
Bush 43 1	25.6	28.8	28.5	17.1	341
Bush 43 2	59.3	16.9	11.9	11.9	59
Obama 1	5.0	1.8	19.4	73.8	340
Obama 2	8.8	4.8	15.2	71.2	125

*1.5% were in states that supported George Wallace in 1968

speeches that year outside of Washington, DC. At the time, Truman was somewhat unpopular and congressional elections are often unfavorable for presidents during midterms. During the 1950 midterm elections, the Democrats lost 28 seats in the House of Representatives. They lost seats in 13 states that year. Of those states, only two were not swing states in the 1948 elections. Nebraska was easily carried by the Republicans, and Colorado just missed being a swing state for the Democrats. Truman won the state with 5.31% of the vote. Of the rest, the Democratic Party had 6 swing states and the Republicans had 4 in the election. Truman gave a considerable number of speeches that year in his midterms, but it was not enough. The 1952 election year again saw increased levels of speechmaking for the year. While his second term is numerically lower than his first term, he did give a tremendous number of speeches for a president not running for election again. The numbers in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 support the fact he did focus upon the swing states in his domestic speechmaking. His speeches dramatically increased in the Republican

swing states both in his general and campaign speechmaking. While his Democratic swing speeches were down somewhat for overall speeches, there was an increase in the campaigning speeches. While his speeches stayed somewhat steady in his Republican states, though lower than in the first term, his general and election speeches clearly decreased in the second term. Truman moved more of his speechmaking away from the easy Democratic Party wins into the states that were up for grabs. In addition, he did not exert much energy in Republican states that were likely not going to be supportive in elections. When comparing 1948 to 1952, Harry Truman more than doubled the number of speeches in Republican swing states in those years. In 1948, he gave 41 speeches and in 1952, 86. At the same time, the swing Democratic Party areas decreased from 83 speeches in 1948 to 42 in 1952. Stronghold Democrat and Republican states fell as well. The Republicans moved from 42 to 19 while the Democrats went from 187 to 82. Truman targeted the Republican swing states for speeches to help propel his party toward another four years in office. Truman again did a long series of "Rear Platform" speeches in September and October 1952 and gave speeches in 27 states. Of those, 15 were swing states in the 1948 election, 6 for the Democrats and 9 for the Republicans. Truman's attempt to help Adlai Stevenson in 1952 was resoundingly unsuccessful. West Virginia was the only state Truman campaigned in 1952 that voted for the Democratic Party. It was a close swing state that went Democrat within 3.85% of the statewide vote. In fact, there were only two states that Truman campaigned, Delaware and Rhode Island, which were even swing states for the Republican Party. The Republicans won all the others by comfortably large margins. For example, in 1948, Ohio aligned with the Democratic Party in the presidential election. It was decided by 0.24%, or approximately 7000 votes. In 1952, the Republicans easily carried Ohio by a 13.51% margin with slightly over 500,000 votes.

Dwight Eisenhower pursued a very different Electoral College speechmaking strategy as president. Truman, though largely unsuccessful, attempted to outreach into areas to garner support and votes. Eisenhower, on the other hand, was a base reinforcing president. He carried 39 states in the 1952 presidential election and of those, only 4 were Republican swing states. The remainder strongly supported him in the election with some like Nebraska voting for him with over a 38% difference between the two candidates. Eisenhower preferred giving

speeches in states that supported the Republican Party. Eisenhower gave a total of 10 speeches during his first term in states won by the Democratic Party. Five of those speeches were given in Kentucky in the congressional midterm year of 1954 and reelection year of 1956. While Kentucky was won by Stevenson in 1952, it was only by 0.07%, or 700 votes. Eisenhower did not give speeches in stronghold Democratic Party states. Across his first and second terms, Eisenhower gave a total of 11 speeches in these states. However, 7 of those 11 were directly related to his travel to Augusta, Georgia, where he had a residence on the grounds of the Augusta National Golf Club. The others were official functions which were difficult for the president to avoid such as the opening of the space flight center in Huntsville, Alabama, and a ceremony in New Orleans commemorating the anniversary of the Louisiana Purchase. For the swing Democratic Party states from 1952, the only place Eisenhower spoke other than Kentucky was in April 1955 at the Citadel's commencement in Charleston, South Carolina, where he received an honorary doctorate. The balance of all the other domestic speeches in the Eisenhower administration outside of Washington, DC, was given in states that supported the president in the elections. Table 5.1 shows in his first term 89.8% of all his speeches were in stronghold Republican states and another 2.3% were in the swing Republican ones. Table 5.2 shows he still focuses overwhelmingly on the same Republican states while campaigning, but there was a shift to the Democratic swing states, or in other words, Kentucky. Eisenhower's strategy on Kentucky was successful, and he carried the state in 1956 with more than 9% more than Stevenson. Eisenhower won 41 states in the 1956 election compared to the Adlai Stevenson's 7 states. Table 5.1 indicates 92.2% of his second-term speeches were in Republican states. The majority of the 7.8% of the speeches in strong Democratic Party states were given in Augusta, Georgia, while the president was there as a respite from the White House. Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude the only speeches Eisenhower gave in his second term were in either Republican places that supported him, obligatory speeches like in Huntsville, or remarks while he was on vacation. As indicated in Table 5.2, Eisenhower did not give many campaigning speeches in his second term. There were 11 in 1958 and 24 in 1956, all in states he easily won in the 1956 election. Eisenhower presents himself as a president who primarily reinforced his bases. He did give several speeches to pull Kentucky which was almost a coin toss into the Republican camp, but otherwise, areas like the South

with strong Democratic Party support were not focused upon while Eisenhower was president.

John F. Kennedy was president for just shy of three years. He did not receive a fourth reelection year, but there still is quite a bit of useful information from the years available. Kennedy had an active midterm year and spoke throughout the USA quite a bit more than Eisenhower. In the 1960 election, Kennedy carried 26 states to Nixon's 23. The election that year was a close one, and many states were narrowly won or lost. There were 19 swing states in the 1960 election, 13 Democratic and 6 Republican. As shown in Table 5.1, Kennedy throughout his term spoke primarily in states won by the Democratic Party. He gave about 20% of his total speeches in Republican swing states as well, but did not spend much time at all in the Republican that voted heavily for Nixon. The numbers in Table 5.2 primarily reflect Kennedy's behavior in the 1962 midterm elections. Table 5.2 indicates Kennedy gave 37 election- or campaign-based speeches as president. Thirty-one of those speeches were given in the 1962 midterm election season in September and October 1962. He spoke in 19 different states and of those states, 7 were Democratic swing states in 1960 and 1 was a Republican swing state. The balance was composed of 5 Democratic states and 6 Republican ones. Comparing Tables 5.1 and 5.2, it is possible to see the priorities that shifted in speechmaking for Kennedy in the 1962 midterms. For campaigning speeches, he spoke less in Republican areas. He also scaled back his speechmaking in the stronghold Democratic Party areas. Kennedy concentrated the bulk of his speechmaking in the Democratic swing states. The swing states Kennedy focused his speeches on in this period were Connecticut, Illinois, Michigan, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. His strategy had some success as well as failure. The Democrats lost 5 seats nationwide, and it was also an election with redistricting so there were some states that lost seats and others than gained them. Illinois gained Republican seats, and the House of Representative seats for Pennsylvania were largely neutral for either party though 3 were lost in the reapportionment process. However, Connecticut, Michigan, and Minnesota all gained Democratic Party seats in 1962. The midterms for the US Senate also saw some important wins. Prescott Bush, father of George H. W. Bush, retired from his Connecticut Senate seat, and it was narrowly picked up by the Democratic Party in 1962. Democratic Pennsylvania Senator Joseph S. Clark was also reelected in a close race that year as well.

Lyndon Johnson was Kennedy's vice president and assumed the office in November 1963. Johnson served out the remainder of Kennedy's term and then was elected in his own right in 1964. Table 5.1 reflects the speeches given in the remainder of Kennedy, and then, the field named Johnson 2 refers to his own term that lasted from January 1965 to January 1969. The 1964 year of Johnson was a busy one as he was beginning his own administration alongside much of Kennedy's staff and preparing for a presidential election. In terms of raw numbers, Johnson gave more domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, in one year than Kennedy did in three years. Table 5.1 shows that for Johnson, speeches in the Republican stronghold states and Democratic swing states of 1960 increased compared to the Kennedy administration. Johnson campaigned extensively in 1964 giving election speeches in 35 different states. Johnson targeted the swing states in the 1960 elections for his 1964 run. The Democratic Party had 13 swing states in 1960 spread throughout the country. The only one Johnson did not give an election speech in for the 1964 campaign was Hawaii. The Republican Party had 6 swing states that year as well. Johnson spoke in 4, and the only ones he did not travel to campaign in were Alaska and Washington State. Table 5.2 shows that Johnson did give more campaign speeches in Republican areas as compared to Kennedy. Altogether, Johnson spoke in 17 Republican states when campaigning in 1964. Many of them were only 1 or 2 speeches with the highest number being nine in the Republican swing state of California. The 1964 elections were a landslide for the Democratic Party. They picked up 36 seats in the House of Representatives, and there were gains in the Senate as well. There were only 3 swing states in this election. Two of the states, Florida and Idaho, were won by the Democratic Party. The other, Arizona, narrowly supported Barry Goldwater, a native from that state. Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina all supported the Republican Party in 1964, but the remainder of the states elected Johnson for his first full term.

The Democratic Party carried 44 states in the 1964 election. Table 5.1 shows that Johnson spoke almost exclusively in the Democratic Party states. For this term, 95.4% of all his speeches were in these states. These numbers are not surprising given his overwhelming Electoral College success. The interesting figures occur in the annual totals and election speeches. Johnson spent from the middle to end of October 1966 on an international trip to Asia instead

of campaigning for midterms. He gave campaigning speeches in only 5 states in 1966, and the Democratic Party lost House of Representatives seats in every one of them. In Illinois, the Republicans picked up the Senate seat with the incumbent Democratic senator losing the election. Johnson also campaigned in Delaware, Iowa, and New Jersey which all also were holding US Senate elections. The Republican incumbents all easily won reelection in them in 1966. Johnson gave 180 speeches in 1964 with 88 focused on campaigning. During 1966, Johnson gave 85 speeches for the entire year with 7 geared toward elections. Johnson spoke in 24 different states throughout 1966. Even though these were primarily not election speeches, the only state he spoke in that actually gained a Democratic House of Representatives seat was Maine. Two other states, Oklahoma and West Virginia, did not gain or lose seats for either party. Every other state he visited in 1966 lost Democratic Party seats in favor of Republican ones in the House of Representatives. After these losses, it almost seems like Johnson metaphorically threw up his hands in terms of elections. He gave a total of 59 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, in 1968, and only 9 of them were for campaigning purposes. The campaigning speeches were in 5 states: Illinois, Kentucky, New York, Texas, and West Virginia. Hubert Humphrey carried New York, Texas, and West Virginia, though Texas was a narrow win by only 1.37% of the statewide vote. Kentucky and Illinois supported Nixon in 1968.

Richard Nixon won the 1968 election in a somewhat close election. The popular vote difference was narrow, though Nixon accrued 110 more Electoral College votes than Humphrey. Nixon won 32 states, Humphrey carried 13, and George Wallace was supported by 5 states in the Deep South. Table 5.1 suggests that while Nixon preferred the Republican states in his first term, he engaged in substantial base outreach activity. Nixon had 8 Republican swing states and gave 41% of his total domestic first-term speeches outside of DC in them. He spoke in every Republican swing state during his first term with the exception of Delaware. The swing states received quite a bit of attention. He spoke in Illinois 17 times, Ohio 10 times, and New Jersey, 8. The state that received the most attention was Nixon's home state of California. He narrowly won the state with 3.08% of the vote over Humphrey, and he spent a considerable amount of time there his first term. In total, Nixon gave 67 public speeches in California from 1969 to 1972. Those speeches constitute a full quarter of all his first-term speeches outside of

Washington, DC. It is important to point out that Nixon maintained a "Western White House" in San Clemente, California, and 30 of those speeches were given there. When those speeches are controlled, the category is still higher than any of the other categories in Table 5.1. Nixon also spent time in the swing Democratic Party states, but in 1968, Maryland was in this category. Nixon regularly visited Camp David. Nixon gave 15 speeches in Maryland during his first term, and 12 were either at Andrews Air Force base or Camp David. If you control for both San Clemente and Camp David/Andrews Air Force Base in Table 5.1, the speeches move to a total of 231. Nixon gives 29.4% of his speeches in Republican stronghold states, 35.5% in Republican swing states, 11.7% in Democratic swing states, 16% in Democratic stronghold states, and 7.4% in states won by George Wallace in 1968. The only major shift in pattern is Nixon gave more speeches in the states easily won by the Democratic Party and fewer in the Democratic swing states. Nixon presents a picture of a president who was a strong party base reinforcer who actively went into his own party's swing states to help buffer up votes. When looking at yearly totals, Nixon gave the most speeches of any year he was in office during his 1970 congressional midterm year. He gave 95 domestic speeches that year with the bulk of them in the Republican states. Of those 95, 37 were explicit campaign speeches. He gave 15 in the Republican stronghold states, 15 in the Republican swing states, 5 in Democratic swing states, and only 3 in states easily won by the Democratic Party in 1968. Nixon gave campaigning speeches in 22 states in October and November 1970. He only spoke in four of them more than once or twice: California, Florida, Illinois, and Texas. All but Texas were won by the Republican Party in 1968. The only state that was not a swing state that year was Florida. In general, the 1970 elections were not great for the Republican Party in the House of Representatives where they lost 12 seats. The Republican Party gained seats in California, the place where Nixon gave the most midterm election speeches. Interestingly, in the other states he gave several speeches, Illinois, Florida, and Texas, neither political party gained or lost any from their delegations. The midterm Senate elections in 1970 are a bit more of a mixed bag for the Republicans. While the House gained seats in California, the Senate lost an incumbent seat to a Democratic challenger. Republicans also lost a Senate seat in Illinois, another state Nixon campaigned more heavily in for the 1970 elections. On the other hand, Republicans did gain

Senate seats in Ohio, Connecticut, Maryland, and Tennessee. Nixon did give two election speeches in Ohio and one each in the other states leading up to the midterms. Table 5.2 reflects the number of election speeches Nixon gave throughout his entire term. In general, the pattern shows a president who focused primarily on Republican states to campaign. While true, the Nixon presidency is an unusual one as it moves forward. Most presidents give more speeches in their fourth reelection year. Richard Nixon's domestic speeches went up from year 1 to year 2, but then began to decline. He gave 73 total speeches in 1971 and that number declined to 64 in 1972. Nixon's first term visibly shrunk in speechmaking. His election speechmaking numbers are similar. In 1972, Nixon gave a total of 24 campaign speeches outside of Washington, DC. He gave election speeches from August to November 1972 in 14 states. Nixon had a massive win in the 1972 elections. He won every state except Massachusetts. In addition, every state was won with over a 5% difference so there were no swing states. In the House of Representatives, the Republicans gained 12 seats. However, of the 14 states Nixon spoke in, only 2 (Illinois and Maryland) gained House seats for the Republican Party. Two other states (Oklahoma and Georgia) gained House seats for the Democratic Party, and the remainder of the places he spoke in remained neutral with no gain or loss for either party. The Senate was a bit more of a mixed situation for Nixon. In general, the Democratic Party gained two seats. The states Nixon gave campaigning speeches performed well for the Republican Party. Within the 14 states he gave election speeches, North Carolina, New Mexico, and Oklahoma gained a Republican senator while Illinois and Michigan retained their senator from the party. Of the states Nixon campaigned in, the Democrats only gained the Senate seat from Kentucky though they did hold on to the seats in Georgia, Rhode Island, and West Virginia.

The second term of Richard Nixon has a large amount of unusual activity in it for a wide variety of reasons. Table 5.1 is not especially informative for his patterns because he won at such high margins. He gave speeches in 18 states in the second term. The states that received the most speech activity were California and Florida, specifically San Clemente and Key Biscayne which were presidential vacation locations for Nixon. Throughout the entire second term he served, Nixon focused overwhelmingly on states that strongly supported him. Many of the states he gave speeches were places he had over a 20% margin of victory

over George McGovern. The yearly domestic speech totals also were lower than in the first term. Nixon spoke a total of 17 times outside of Washington, DC, and throughout the USA in 1973. In the shortened 1974 year, he spoke a total of 42 times. More important, as noted in Table 5.2, he gave zero campaign speeches the second term. While many presidents give a smaller number in their first two years leading up to campaign season, they often do give a handful of speeches with campaigning or fund-raising. Nixon is the only president in Table 5.2 who gave zero election speeches for the entirety of a term, regardless of its length. The declining overall speechmaking numbers from 1971 onward suggest a presidency that was increasingly embattled and unwilling to speak around the USA more than it absolutely had to do so. Given the massive 1972 win for Nixon, he would easily find favorable audiences in every state in the union. The low numbers of speeches and the complete lack of campaign speeches suggest the Nixon presidency became increasingly reluctant to engage in traditional speechmaking activity for presidents outside of Washington, DC.

When Gerald Ford assumed the mantle of the presidency in August 1974, the country was in crisis. Richard Nixon resigned the presidency, and trust in the government was nebulous at best. Ford found himself president immediately before the 1974 midterm elections. His subsequent pardon of Nixon on September 8, 1974, less than a month before the midterms did not endear the Republicans to the general American public. The Electoral College totals in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 are not especially helpful for understanding the Ford administration's speech focus given the huge Republican win in 1972. There are some ways to pull from the numbers to see perhaps how Ford approached the midterms and 1976 presidential election. He did regularly speak throughout the USA every year he was president. From August to December 1974, Ford gave 62 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC. Within that number, 25 were campaigning speeches. The next year in 1975, he more than doubled his domestic speech totals to 159 and gave 29 election-oriented speeches in that year. During his presidential election year, he gave a substantial number of speeches throughout the county with a total at 433. When looking just at 1976 campaign speeches, that number was 164. He presents himself as a president who was serious about domestic speechmaking. Nixon retreated from these speeches, and Ford embraced them as a way to help restore the presidential image in front of the public.

Presidents often have to work the political landscape in front of them. They cannot dwell in the past because voting blocs shift and it would be ill-advised to plan an electoral strategy based on results from 30 years ago. However, given the 1972 results, it may be a bit more useful to look at Ford through the lens of the 1968 Electoral College results. They were a far more competitive map and while not definitive, they were likely some of the best information Ford had to target potential swing states and supportive areas. If we look at the speeches given throughout the entire Ford presidency using the 1968 Electoral College results, he appears to be a president who worked to enforce his base, especially his swing states. The overall totals show Ford gave 65% of his speeches in states won by the Republican Party in 1968. The speeches were almost exactly evenly divided between the Republican stronghold and swing states. Ford gave 29.2% of his total speeches in places won by the Democratic Party, though he had a slight preference for the swing Democratic states (16.5%) over the 1968 stalwart strongholds. Turning to just his election speeches, Ford preferred the states the Republicans won in 1968, campaigning in them 67% of the time compared to 28.4% within the Democratic Party won states. When it came to campaigning speeches, Ford focused more on the Republican swing states and gave slightly more speeches in the Democratic Party strongholds over their swing states. However, the Democratic Party speeches only had a 8 speech difference between the two categories. With these numbers as a gauge, Ford emerges as a base reinforcer who is very aware of places the Republican Party had weaker support. He understood the 1972 election win was unusual, and he needed to give speeches in places the Republicans would have the best chance at retaining in future elections. The 1968 Electoral College results become paramount to help guide location choices. He focused much of his speechmaking in the 1968 Republican strongholds and the swing states both parties carried that year. In particular, these swing states were Alaska, California, Delaware, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Washington State, and Wisconsin. The Republicans carried all of them in 1972, and it makes sense to reinforce them as much as possible.

Gerald Ford spoke in 16 states campaigning for the 1974 midterm elections. Most states he spoke in once, though he did speak in Michigan and South Carolina 4 times each. Republicans in the House of Representatives lost 48 seats in 1974, and the Democrats gained 49. Eleven of these states Ford spoke in won additional Democratic Party

seats in the House this year. The only positive news for his campaign speaking was that five states (Kansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Nebraska, and Utah) remained neutral with their delegations not gaining or losing any seats to different political parties. The Republicans did gain seats in Florida, Louisiana, Maine, and South Dakota, but Ford did not campaign in any of them. He did begin to speak in Florida and Louisiana after the election with 42 speech events in Florida between 1975 and 1976 and 12 in Louisiana. The Senate side saw Republican losses in 1974 as well. The Democratic Party picked up seats in Colorado, Florida, Kentucky, New Hampshire, and Vermont. He did speak in Colorado and Kentucky for their incumbent senators, but his support did not help and they were defeated at the polls. The only Republican Senate pickup in 1974 was Nevada. The sitting Democratic senator retired, and it was won by the Republicans in a close election.

The 1976 election between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter was a hard fought contest. Ford aggressively spoke around the country campaigning for his first election. He gave election speeches in 27 states throughout much of that year. In the end, the states he spoke in broke almost evenly in the Electoral College. The Ford won 13 states while Carter won 14. Eight of the states won by Ford were close swing states as were 7 of the ones carried by Carter. Ford spoke the most in 6 states: California, Florida, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and Texas, giving at least 10 campaign speeches in each one. They evenly split among the two candidates though Florida and Michigan were the only two that were not swing states. While Ford's campaign speechmaking may have not given him electoral success, he may have helped the Republican Party retain their seats in the House of Representatives and Senate. In the House of Representatives, the Democratic Party only gained a net of one seat and the Senate balance remained unchanged. Within the House of Representatives, Republicans picked up seats in 9 states, 5 of which were states Ford campaigned in 1976. The Democratic Party gained seats in 9 states as well, and 7 were states that Ford campaigned in for election. Unfortunately for Ford, all but one of the successful Democratic states were places he gave at least 5 different speeches and as many as 17. He concentrated efforts in these areas without success for himself or the House delegations. In the Senate, though there was a net neutral, Republicans and Democrats picked up 7 states each, some through retirement and others through incumbents losing. The Democratic Party picked up the seats in Maryland, New York, Ohio, and Tennessee when

the sitting senators lost their elections. Ford campaigned in every one of these states on behalf of the Republican incumbent. The Republican Party won races against sitting senators in California, Indiana, Missouri, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. The only two of these states that Ford campaigned in during 1976 were California and Indiana. He also campaigned in Missouri, and the Republican Party won that state when the incumbent Democratic senator retired from office.

Jimmy Carter was elected president in 1976 in a close election. His election has often been partially attributed to the lingering anger over the Nixon administration and politics in general. Carter ran as an outsider, using his lack of knowledge of Washington politics as a positive and made populist style appeals to the general public. He carried 23 states, less than Ford's 27, but with the Electoral College, the size of the state's delegation matters. Carter spoke throughout the USA every year of his administration though the bulk of his speeches was concentrated in years 2 and 4. As Table 5.1 indicates, Carter gave the majority of his domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, in states easily won by the Democratic Party in 1976. He spent the least amount of time in the states convincingly carried by the Republican Party. Jimmy Carter appears to be a strong Democratic Party base reinforcing president, but he also did outreach into the Republican swing states giving almost a quarter of all his total speeches in them. When looking just the election speeches in Table 5.2, these patterns become even more apparent. Carter gave 65% of his campaigning speeches in states he won in the Electoral College. He also gave 25.2% of his election speeches in the Republican swing states. Carter was targeting these swing states, as his own bases, but not really focusing on places of strong Republican support. In terms of total speeches, Carter gave only 47 in the stronghold states for the Republican Party. The next lowest aggregate number belongs to the Republican swing states with 110 speeches. Turning to campaigning speeches, Carter gave only 11 campaigning speeches in the strong Republican states as president. In contrast, the Democratic base states received 41 campaign speeches and the swing states for both parties received over 30 campaign speeches each. The 1978 congressional midterm elections can help see how successful Jimmy Carter was at helping reinforce the Democratic Party in the USA. Carter gave campaigning speeches throughout the country. Nine of the states were strongly held by the Democratic Party, and he gave speeches in 4 of the Democratic swing states and 4 in the Republican states as well as an

additional 4 in the Republican swing states. From the states Carter visited, the Republicans won seats in 8 of the states while Democrats won seats in only 4. It had to be troubling for Carter because Republicans picked up seats in 4 states he carried in the Electoral College in 1976 while Democrats won seats in only 2 states the Republicans won. The elections in the US Senate were very different. While there was a net loss of 2 seats from the Democrats to the Republicans, the actual movement was interesting. The Democratic Party picked up Senate seats in 5 states. Two were retirements, and the Republican incumbents lost in three. The three losses, Michigan, Massachusetts, and New Jersey, were all states Carter campaigned in during 1978. The Republicans picked up 7 Senate seats this election year. Similar to the Democrats, two were retirements, though incumbents lost to Republican challengers in 5 states. The only two that Carter campaigned in, Colorado and Minnesota, were among the ones lost the elections.

Jimmy Carter gave more speeches throughout the USA in his fourth year than any other year in office. He also more than doubled the number of election speeches from his midterm election year. He was not successful and suffered huge losses in the election. He carried only 6 states to Ronald Reagan's 44 states in the 1980 election. Carter campaigned in 24 states in 1980 and only carried 2 of them. He easily won Georgia and carried West Virginia as a swing state. Reagan carried the remaining states Carter campaigned in for the 1980 cycle. He won 12 of them as stronghold Republican states and an additional 10 as swing states. For the House of Representatives, the 1980 election was a great one for the Republican Party. The Democrats lost a net of 34 seats in the House, only gaining seats in Louisiana, North Dakota, and Maryland. Of these states, Carter only campaigned in Louisiana. Republicans won House seats in 23 states, and Carter gave election speeches in 15 of those states in the 1980 campaign. Republicans likewise did very well in the US Senate winning a net total of 12 seats. All 12 (Alabama, Alaska, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Iowa, New Hampshire, North Carolina, South Dakota, Washington State, and Wisconsin) were races where incumbents lost to Republican challengers. None were retirements and the seat flipped parties. Six of the states which changed hands in the US Senate were states that Carter campaigned in during the 1980 election season. Carter attempted base outreach in the swings with reinforcement in the Democratic states, but it was not well received.

Ronald Reagan won the 1980 election with a large number of states supporting him. He carried 44 states, though 12 of those were swing states that were won with less than 5% of the state's vote total. Reagan was one of the biggest base supporters in Table 5.1 across both terms. In his first term, Reagan gave 74.7% of all of his total speeches in states which strongly supported him in the 1980 election. In terms of raw numbers, Reagan gave 301 speeches in these Republican states in his first term of office. He gave only 74 speeches in the 12 Republican swing states, 7 in the Democratic swing states, and 21 in the Democratic stronghold states. Ronald Reagan focused on places which gave him the most support in the presidential election. These numbers hold true for the election speeches in Table 5.2. Reagan gave 88 speeches, or 77.9% of all his first-term campaign speeches, in states that clearly supported him in 1980. The Republican swing states received only 16 election speeches, or 14.2%. The areas that supported the Democratic Party received a total of 9 campaign speeches, with only 5 of those in the swing states. Reagan was a president who intensely focused upon areas that were the most supportive of him during the election. He did not really attempt to outreach to Democratic states in his first term. While there were only 6 Democratic states, three were swings in the 1980 election (Maryland, Minnesota, and West Virginia). Given the proximity of Maryland to Washington DC, it would have been easy to increase speechmaking in the state as a way to help court it for the 1984 contest. During the 1982 midterms, Reagan gave one campaign speech in Minnesota for the Senate candidate, but did not speak in any others won by the Democratic Party in 1980. The Republican Party did not do extremely well in the 1982 congressional midterm elections. They lost a net 27 seats in the House of Representatives. The Republican Party gained seats in Connecticut, Colorado, Mississippi, Nevada, and Pennsylvania. Of these, Ronald Reagan only gave a campaigning speech in Pennsylvania in 1982 and did not travel to any of the other states. Midterms in the US Senate were a bit more favorable for the Republican Party. They gained seats in Virginia and Nevada and lost them in New Mexico and New Jersey. Nevada and New Mexico were both states where the incumbent lost to a challenger. Reagan campaigned in both states they picked up and only in New Mexico which the Republicans lost.

Ronald Reagan was easily reelected in 1984 to a second term. In the Electoral College, he won 49 of the 50 states. The only state he did not win was Minnesota, the home state of his challenger, Walter Mondale.

Similar to the challenge with 1972 Nixon, the Electoral College numbers for second-term Ronald Reagan present a president who is an overwhelming base reinforcer. Reagan only had two Republican swing states in 1984: Massachusetts and Rhode Island. In order to better understand if Reagan attempted to outreach to any other areas, the 1980 Electoral College results were used to measure the states Reagan traveled to in his second term. They confirm Reagan still behaved as an overwhelming base supporter. During his second term in office, 77.8% of all his domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, were given in states that were Republican strongholds in 1980. In addition, he gave 17% of his total speeches in the states which were the Republican swing states in 1980. The states which supported the Democratic Party received a scant number of speeches. Reagan gave 1.5% of his speeches to Democratic Party stronghold states. In other words, he gave 5 speeches in Georgia and ignored Rhode Island entirely. The Democratic swing states are a bit more complicated. Reagan spoke extensively at Camp David in the second term, but those speeches were culled because he was using it as a residence and not for domestic speechmaking throughout the country. With those speeches removed, he still gave 8 speeches in Maryland and 1 in Hawaii for a total of 2.8% in the Democratic swing states from 1980. Ronald Reagan was loyal to the bases and states which strongly supported him. He primarily focused speechmaking in those areas and snubbed other places. The 1986 congressional midterm year, Reagan gave 42 campaign speeches, and in 1988 that number fell to 34 speeches. As with many congressional midterms, the president's party lost seats in the House of Representatives. They lost a net 5 seats in 1986, though states that Reagan spoke in were a bit of a mixed situation. He gave campaign speeches in 22 states, and most of them did not gain or lose seats for either party. Three states he spoke in, Louisiana, Missouri, and Oklahoma, did gain Republican seats in the House of Representatives. At the same time, 4 others he gave campaign speeches (Colorado, Indiana, New York, North Carolina) all saw the Democratic Party win seats. In the US Senate, the Republicans did not fare as well. The Republicans lost a total of 8 seats which included 7 of the seats won in the 1980 election cycle. The only state Reagan spoke where they picked up a seat in the US Senate was Missouri. The Republicans did maintain much of their delegation in the Senate, but Reagan did give campaign speeches in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Maryland, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Washington and

every one of those states saw the seats flip to the Democratic Party. Maryland and Nevada involved retiring senators, but the remainders were incumbent losses.

The 1988 campaign saw George H. W. Bush win 40 states to Michael Dukakis's 10 states. Ronald Reagan did campaign in 1988 for his vice president. Reagan gave speeches in 14 states, and the only one Bush did not carry was Wisconsin. The House of Representatives lost a net of 2 Republican seats that year. In the states that did not retain a neutral delegation with no gains or losses, Reagan campaigned in 4 of their states this year. He campaigned in Florida and Louisiana where the House Republicans gained seats, but he also campaigned in Illinois and Texas where they lost seats. The 1988 US Senate election was favorable for the Democrats who gained a net of one seat that year. Reagan only campaigned in two states where Senate seats shifted party in 1988: Florida and Nevada. The Florida seat became a Republican one and Nevada changed to the Democratic Party.

George H. W. Bush (Bush 41) won the presidential election in 1988. He decisively defeated Michael Dukakis. Thirty-three states were won by the Bush 41 with more than 5% of the overall state vote. Seven states were Republican swing states. Five states were Democratic stronghold states, and 5 more were Democratic swing states. During his term in office, Bush 41 prefers the Republican won states, but is not as strong of a base reinforcer as Ronald Reagan. George H. W. Bush is notable because of the high volume of speeches he gave during his four years in office. He gave over 750 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, during his term. It was the most speeches given by any modern president to that point in a four-year term. He is also different because of the large yearly volume of speeches. He gave over a hundred speeches his first year, followed by slightly over and slightly under 150 speeches in years 2 and 3. Year 4 doubled these numbers to just over 330 domestic speeches for the year. Table 5.1 shows Bush 42 gave 62.9% of his speeches in the Republican non-swing states and 24.9% of his total speeches in his 7 swing states. He did not focus much attention, only 4.5%, in his 5 Democratic swing states. He gave slightly more speeches, 7.7% in his 5 strong Democratic states, but they did not receive the same amount of attention as their Republican supporting counterparts. Table 5.2 shows the campaign-focused speeches Bush 41 gave during his term. He gave a substantial number of speeches, slightly more than 200 and more than other presidents to date with the exception of Truman and Ford.

The table shows Bush 41 moved somewhat more into his strong Republican states away from his party's swing states. He also increased his speeches in the Democratic states, but in all reality, these numbers are nominal. During his midterm congressional year, Bush 41 gave 91 total speeches in his strong Republican states, 39 in his swings, and 25 speeches almost evenly split among the two Democratic categories. In his reelection year, he gave 225 speeches in the Republican stronghold states, 85 in their swings, 21 in the solid Democratic states, and only 1 speech in the Democratic swings. Bush 41 reinforces his bases to a high degree and does not try to outreach across the aisle.

During his congressional election year, Bush 41 gave campaign speeches in 30 different states. He spoke in all but two of his Republican swing states, 4 of the 5 strong Democratic states, and 3 of the 5 Democratic swing states. With the exception of the states that stayed neutral and did not gain or lose any seats for their party's election, the Republicans gained seats in 5 states and the Democrats 14 states. Bush 41 gave campaign speeches in every state where the Republicans gained seats except Maryland. He also spoke in all but 3 of the states where the Democratic Party gained seats. Turning to the US Senate, it was largely an unremarkable election for both parties in 1990. The parties retained all their seats except one in Minnesota. Though Bush 41 did give an election speech in the state during 1990, Republican incumbent lost to a Democratic challenger that year. There were 9 other Republican Senate seats up that year, and Bush 41 gave a campaign speech in every state. All of these seats were retained by the Republican Party, including the three with incumbent retirements.

The 1992 presidential elections were a hard fought race. Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton unseated incumbent George H. W. Bush in a contentious race where Bush 41 carried 18 states and Clinton won 32. Bush 41 gave election speeches in every Republican swing state he carried in 1988 except Vermont. Out of the 10 Democratic states carried by Dukakis in 1988, George H. W. Bush only gave campaign speeches in New York and Wisconsin. Of the 33 stronghold Republican states Bush 41 carried in 1988, he only spoke in 21 of them when campaigning in 1992. What happened to the states that supported him in 1988, but he chose not to give campaign speeches in 1992? In the presidential election, 7 of the states he previously carried stayed Republican, but 5 of the Republican stronghold states shifted to the Democratic Party. Every single one of the 7 Republican swing states moved into the stronghold

Democratic Party category in the 1992 election. The only state the Dukakis won in 1992 that did not also move into the strong Democratic states after the 1992 election was Wisconsin which stayed a Democratic Party swing state. The 1992 elections in the House of Representatives were good for the Republicans. They gained a net of 9 seats in this election cycle. The Democratic Party gained seats in 6 states, and George H. W. Bush gave campaign speeches in every one except Washington State. The Republican Party gained seats in 12 different states in 1992, and Bush 41 spoke in all of them except Colorado, Indiana, Idaho, and Massachusetts. For the US Senate, the parties retained all their seats up for election except in 4 states: California, Georgia, North Carolina, and Wisconsin. They were all seats where incumbents lost to challengers of the opposing party. George H. W. Bush gave campaigning speeches in all 4 states with only partial success. Democratic incumbents lost Georgia and North Carolina to the Republican challengers, but the Republicans incumbents lost California and Wisconsin to Democratic Party challengers.

Bill Clinton was elected president in 1992 unseating George H. W. Bush. Ross Perot likely played a factor in the race pulling votes from the Republican Party. The first term of Bill Clinton had a wide Electoral College distribution from the 1992 results. The Democratic Party had 21 stronghold states and 11 swing ones. The Republican Party had won 12 stronghold states and 6 swing states. As president, Bill Clinton is the most verbose president we have had in the modern era. His public speech totals were high every year he was in office. He gave over 800 public domestic speeches his first term in areas outside of Washington, DC. He is the only president to have given over 150 total speeches annually in office. As suggested in Table 5.1, Bill Clinton was a vigorous base reinforcer. In his first term, he gave almost 60% of all his public speeches in Democratic stronghold states with an additional 20.9% in their swings. At the same time, he gave only 4.1% of his domestic speeches in the Republican stronghold states. The differentials here are more pronounced when you discuss actual numbers over the percentages. For his first term in office, Clinton gave approximately 500 speeches in the solid Democratic states. He gave an additional 175 in the Democratic swing states. In contrast, he gave 34 total speeches in the Republican stronghold states and 128 in the Republican swings. Bill Clinton did obviously target the Republican swing states, but virtually ignored the other states Republicans supported. Table 5.2 shows

this pattern continues with the election speeches. In his first term, Bill Clinton gave just under 190 campaign-focused speeches. A total of three speeches or 1.6% was given in the states strongly supported by the Republican Party. All three were given in 1996 meaning Clinton gave zero campaign speeches in these states in 1993, 1994, or 1995. Two of the speeches, in Idaho and Indiana, were given in late August, and the only one given right before the 1996 election occurred in Birmingham, Alabama. For the other Electoral College areas, 27 speeches or 14.4% were given in the Republican swing states, while 110 speeches or 58.8% occurred in the Democratic stronghold with an additional 47 speeches (25.1%) in the Democratic swings. Bill Clinton concentrated his efforts in places he already expected support. The stronger the support, the more attention they received. As a result, Republican states that were not in the president's camp were passed over in favor of other locations.

First-term Bill Clinton did give more domestic speeches in his midterm and reelection years than the other two years. The 1994 congressional midterm elections were extremely good for the Republican Party. They gained a net of 54 seats in the House of Representatives which resulted in the first time they controlled the majority of seats since 1952. Every incumbent Republican that ran for office was reelected in 1994. The Democratic Party did gain seats in 4 states, Maine, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island, when their Republican incumbents did not run for reelection. Bill Clinton did give an election speech in every one of those states in the 1994 midterm season. Republicans gained House seats in 31 states in the 1994 elections, and over 30 seats came from defeats of incumbents. When campaigning in 1994, Bill Clinton spoke in 17 states. Eleven of the states he spoke in were places the Democratic Party lost seats in the House of Representatives. The Republican Party also did well in the US Senate during the 1994 elections. They gained a total of 9 net seats to gain control of that chamber. Pennsylvania was the only seat an incumbent Democrat lost in the Senate. All the others were retirements with party shifting. The Democratic Party in the Senate was able to hold 14 seats from Republican challengers. Bill Clinton only gave campaigning speeches in 5 of these states in 1994. The Republican Party retained control of 13 seats up for election from Democratic challengers. Bill Clinton did give 6 campaign speeches in these states during the 1994 election season though they were not successful in helping the Democrats shift these Senate seats.

Bill Clinton ran for reelection in 1996 against Bob Dole. Bill Clinton spent quite a bit of time giving campaign speeches for this election. In fact, about 69% of all his first-term campaign speeches were during this fourth year in office. Similar to other years, he focused primarily on his strongest states with waning attention to the swings and then the Republican states. He won 31 states while Dole carried 19. All the states which were stronghold Republican states remained so in the 1996 election. Bill Clinton did not court these states, and none of them moved to support him electorally. Changes did occur in the other categories. The Republican swing states lost two states but gained three. Arizona moved from a Republican to a Democratic swing state. Florida moved from a Republican swing state to the Republican stronghold one. The Democratic swing states are the ones which saw the most movement. Colorado, Georgia, and Montana all moved to become swing states for the Republicans. Louisiana, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Ohio, and Wisconsin all became strong Democratic Party-supporting states. For the second term of Bill Clinton, the only states left in the Democratic swings were Arizona, Kentucky, Nevada, and Tennessee. The net loss of 7 states in that category may help explain the Electoral College numbers in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 for second term Clinton. During Bill Clinton's second term, he gave 78.9% of his speeches in the Democratic stronghold states and a meager 3.6% in the Democratic swings. He had fewer states there than in 1992, but it was still a substantial decline. He spoke the same amount in the Republican swing states, even though a few of the Democratic swing states shifted into that category. In terms of volume, Clinton gave about 175 speeches his swing states during his first term and 31 in his second. When comparing Tables 5.1 and 5.2, campaign speechmaking significantly increased in the Republican swings so Clinton may have been attempting to pull them back into his party's camp. The volume numbers do suggest that Clinton did not give many speeches in them. In the first term, Clinton gave 47 campaigning speeches in his swing states and only 9 in his second. The Republican swings between the two terms increased from 27 to 37. Though the stronghold Republican states did not change, Clinton spoke even less in them during the second term. First-term Bill Clinton gave a total of 34 speeches in the stronghold Republican states and 21 in his second. In term of campaigning, Clinton gained a speech in the second term raising his speeches in that category from 3 to 4. When running for reelection in 1996, Bill Clinton gave election-based speeches in

every one of his Democratic swing states and every Republican swing state except Montana and North Carolina. He supported his steadfast Democratic Party states giving campaign speeches in 22 of the 27 states. Contrastingly, he only gave campaign speeches in 3 of the 12 Republican stronghold states.

The 1996 elections in the House of Representatives saw the Democrats slightly eroding the gains made by the Republicans in 1994. They gained a net of 2 seats in the chamber that year. Clinton gave campaigning speeches in every one of the 13 states that gained Democratic Party House seats except Wisconsin. He also gave election speeches in every one of the 13 states that maintained their Democratic delegation except North Carolina and Virginia. On the Senate side, the Republican Party gained a net of two seats. Clinton gave campaign speeches in both states, Oregon and South Dakota, that picked up senators from the Democratic Party. Three states moved from Democratic to Republican Party in the Senate, and Clinton gave election speeches in Alabama and Arkansas, but not Nebraska. He also gave campaign speeches in every state the Democratic incumbent defeated a Republican challenger except Delaware and Montana. Of the 17 states the Republican Party incumbent defeated a Democratic Party challenger, Clinton gave campaign speeches in only 10.

For the 1998 congressional midterm elections, Clinton gave campaign speeches in 19 states that year. Fourteen of the states were strong Democratic states he carried in 1996, 1 was a Democratic swing state, and 4 were Republican swing states. The Republican Party lost 5 seats in the House of Representatives that year, and there was a net neutral in the Senate though both parties saw movement. On the House side, the Democratic Party saw gains in 6 states in their representation, but Clinton only gave campaign speeches in two of them during 1998. He did give an election speech in Pennsylvania which picked up a Democratic seat though the state itself wound up a net neutral. In the Senate, Republicans and Democrats each picked up 3 states from the other. The Republicans picked up Illinois, Kentucky, and Ohio while the Democrats picked up Indiana, New York, and North Carolina. Bill Clinton gave campaign speeches in all of them with the exception of Indiana. Additionally, there were 16 seats retained by the Democratic Party in the Senate and of those, Bill Clinton gave election speeches in 8 of the states. On the other hand, the Republicans had 8 seats from states up in the 1998 election and Bill Clinton gave campaign speeches

in only 2 of those states (Colorado and Georgia). Similar to the previous election cycles, Bill Clinton heavily reinforces his party bases and does not pursue much outreach into Republican areas. He would, to borrow a phrase, dip a toe in the areas on occasion if there appears to be some receptive places as indicated by swing states, but overall, they were not parts of the USA he gave a tremendous amount of attention. This idea fits with Jacobson et al. who assert Clinton used campaign stops as payback for support over supporting marginal candidates for office.[5]

Election 2000 between George W. Bush (Bush 43) and Al Gore was one of the most contentious in recent American history. The final Electoral College margins were close, and the final decision lingered on for a few weeks while ballots were continued to be counted (or deciphered) in Florida. Bill Clinton gave campaign speeches in 25 states in his final year in office. His speechmaking patterns this year (total and campaign) strongly resemble his entire presidency. He was ardently focused upon states which have previously given the Democratic Party strong support. For total speeches, he gave slightly over 300 in 2000. Within that number, 257 were in Democratic Party strongholds, 8 in the Democratic swings, 31 in the Republican swings, and 10 were in strong Republican states. His campaign- or election-based speech totals were the highest by volume of any year in his second term. He gave 110 speeches in the strong Democratic states, 12 in the Republican swing states, and 5 in the Democratic swings and 4 in Republican strongholds. He gave election speeches in 17 of the 27 strong Democratic states, 3 of his 4 swing states, 3 of the 7 Republican swings, and 1 of the 12 strong Republican states. Al Gore won 20 states in the 2000 election. However, all 20 were strong Democratic Party category in the 1996 election. Gore lost every state in the other categories from 1996 including the 4 Democratic swings, 7 Republican swings, and 12 Republican stronghold states. The House of Representatives in 2000 saw some movement, but it was largely neutral with only minor shifts. Of the 6 states that gained a larger Democratic Party delegation, Bill Clinton gave campaign speeches in 3 of them. Likewise, for the 7 states that saw their Republican House delegation grow, Clinton campaigned in 4. The US Senate saw more positive gains for the Democratic Party than the Republican Party. Both parties retained almost the same number of seats with the Democrats holding control of the seats in 12 elections and the Republicans in 13. The Republicans won 2 seats from the Democratic Party in statewide Senate elections, with one challenger beating a Democratic incumbent.

However, the Democrats won 6 Senate seats away from Republicans, and 5 of them were with incumbents losing to challengers.

George W. Bush emerged as the new president when the dust settled on Election 2000. He won 271 Electoral College votes, and Al Gore received 266. Following this election, Bush received 24 strong Republican states, 6 Republican and 6 Democratic swing states, and 14 Democratic stronghold states to govern over in his first term. His first term has more domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, than any other president in Table 5.1. When looking at Tables 5.1 and 5.2, Bush 43 appears to be a very different president than his immediate predecessor. While Clinton appeared to shore up Democrat areas almost exclusively, Bush 43 does not present the same way. George W. Bush presents himself as a base outreacher who gives speeches throughout the different areas of Electoral College support. In his first term, he gave 36.1% of his speeches in strong Republican areas, 21.4% in the Republican swings, 19.3% in the Democratic swings, and 23.1% in the Democratic strongholds. In comparison with first-term Clinton with the 1992 Electoral College results, the differences are striking. First-term Bill Clinton had 21 Democratic and 12 Republican stronghold states following the 1992 Electoral College results. George W. Bush had 24 strong Republican and 14 Democrat states from the 2000 Electoral College results. Using the first-term numbers, Clinton gave 838 total domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC. He gave 501 in the Democratic stronghold areas and 34 in the Republican ones. In George W. Bush's first term, he gave 966 total speeches with 350 in the strong Republican states and 223 in the strong Democratic ones. His numbers bear out he was serious about going into areas throughout the USA and not just the ones most supportive of his political party. The numbers in Table 5.2 for the campaigning speeches lend even greater credence to this idea. Using first-term Clinton as a comparison again, he gave 187 campaign speeches throughout the USA in his first term. Clinton gave 110 speeches in the strong Democratic Party areas and 3 in the comparable Republican ones. During his first term, George W. Bush had 340 campaign or election-oriented domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC. Within that number, 87 were in Republican stronghold and 58 were in Democratic stronghold states. First-term George W. Bush engaged in repetitive and serious base outreach behavior from an Electoral College point of view. In the 2004 election year, he paid especially close attention to the swing states from both parties. He gave

a total of 193 campaign speeches that year. The stronghold states from both parties received under 30 campaign speeches each. Specifically, the Republican states received 24 and the Democratic ones a higher 27. However, the 2000 Republican swing states received a total of 72 campaign speeches and the Democratic ones got 70. Bush 43 targeted his more vulnerable areas and worked to shore them up. He may have been using a strategy to concentrate resources in strategic geographic areas.[6] Furthermore, Bush may have been more inclined to "enter races where they feel that their campaign appearance may help their candidate win the election, in close races."[7] It is a distinct difference from many other administrations in this chapter that work to reinforce the areas already supportive at the expense of other places.

In 2002, George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in 35 states. His state patterns of outreach continue in the midterm elections. He gave speeches in 16 of the 24 Republican stronghold and 5 of the 6 Republican swing states in 2000. Turning to the states won by the Democratic Party, Bush 43 gave campaign speeches in 8 of the 14 Democratic stronghold states and all 6 of their swing states from that election. Congressional midterms were good for the Republican Party in the House of Representatives, and they increased their net seats by 8. The Republican Party gained seats in 9 states and the Democrats gained in 5. The remaining states may have gained or lost seats, but the overall effect on the delegation was neutral toward either political party. With the exception of Virginia, George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in 2002 in every affected state from both parties. The Senate also gained a net of 2 seats for the Republican Party that year as well. In the Senate, the Republican Party held 19 seats and gained 3 more. The Democratic Party held 11 seats and gained only 1 when a challenger defeated an incumbent. George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in every state the Republicans held or gained except 5 of them. The 5 (Idaho, Kansas, Nebraska, Virginia, and Wyoming) were all stronghold Republican states in 2000. The Republican Party did gain a Senate seat from Minnesota which had been a Democratic swing state in 2000. Bush 43 also spoke in almost all the states held by the Democratic Party in the Senate. The only states he did not give a campaign speech in were Delaware, Montana, and Rhode Island.

The results from the 2004 elections were more straightforward than the ones in 2000. Incumbent George W. Bush defeated challenger John Kerry with 286 Electoral College votes to 251. The Republican Party

solidly carried 26 states and 5 swings while the Democratic Party had 13 stronghold states and 6 swings. There was some movement across the categories between 2000 and 2004. Florida, Missouri, and Tennessee all moved from Republican swings to strongholds. Iowa and New Mexico moved from Democratic swing to Republican swing states while New Hampshire shifted the other direction. The only other change was Michigan shifted out of the stronghold Democratic Party states into their swings. George W. Bush engaged in speech outreach throughout the 2004 campaign as well. When looking at his 2004 campaign speeches with the 2000 Electoral College results, he spoke in every swing state for both parties. Additionally, he spoke in 8 of the 14 solid Democratic Party states. In 2000, there were 24 strong Republican states and Bush 43 gave speeches in only 9 of them. The House of Representatives election was slightly better for the Republicans in 2004 in terms of seat numbers, but the Democrats gained seats in Colorado, Georgia, Illinois, and New York. The Republicans gained seats in Indiana, Kentucky, and Texas. The remainders of the state delegations were a net neutral for both parties. George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in all of these states except Illinois and Indiana. The Republican Party also did well in the Senate with a total net gain of 4 seats. The Republican and Democratic Parties both held onto 13 seats each in the 2004 elections. The Democratic Party in the Senate gained seats in two states, Colorado and Illinois. The Republicans in the Senate gained 6 seats which included one lost by an incumbent to a Republican challenger. George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in 4 of the 6 states the Republican Party gained in the Senate. He also spoke in about half of the states for both parties that held their delegations in the Senate.

The second term of George W. Bush is very different in terms of speechmaking. He gives fewer speeches, and his speechmaking declines considerably his last year in office. He was plagued by low poll numbers and declining popularity which clearly impacted his speechmaking. One of the biggest changes appears in the places he gives speeches. His first term was marked by high levels of speeches away from his stalwart states. His second term almost completely reverses that pattern. He gives a total of 649 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, his second term in office. The Republican stronghold states dominate this term with 65.3% of his total speeches. He also gives a considerable number of speeches in the Democratic strongholds this term as well, but functionally ignores the swing states. It almost appears that Bush 43 no longer

wanted to fight for constituencies to support him. The volumes of the second term tell a better story than the percentages. Of the speeches he gave, 424 were in his Republican strongholds and 142 were located in the Democratic Party equivalents. He gave only 44 speeches in the Republican swing states and 39 in the Democratic Party ones. The campaigning speech numbers are actually quite dismal. He gives a total of 59 election-based speeches in his second term. Of those speeches, 51 are given in the 2006 congressional midterm elections. He gives 6 in the first year of his second term and 1 domestic speech outside of Washington, DC, in the third. During the last year of his second term, he gives zero campaign speeches. He did not campaign for Republican presidential candidate John McCain or anyone else in any branch or level of government. From the campaign speeches he did give, 59.3% or 35 are given in the Republican stronghold states. He gives the exact same number of speech in the Democratic and Democratic swing states, 7 or 11.9%. He gave slightly more speeches in the Republican swings with 10 speeches, or 16.9%. In terms of states in the 2006 election, Bush retreated into many of his supportive states. He gave speeches in 14 of the 26 strongholds and 4 of the 5 Republican swings. He gave speeches in 3 of the 6 Democratic swing states and 3 of the 13 strongholds for the opposing party. He gave campaign speeches only in the Democratic strongholds of California, Illinois, and Maryland. The 2006 midterms were a difficult one for the Republicans in Congress. The Democratic Party gained a total of 31 seats in the House of Representatives and 5 in the Senate. The Democratic Party saw seat pickups in 18 states, and the Republican Party did not gain seats beyond a net neutral in any one. George W. Bush gave campaign speeches in 12 of these states in the 2006 congressional elections. For the US Senate, the Republicans held 8 seats and did not gain any in the cycle. The Democrats held 18 seats and gained an additional 6 which were all lost by Republican incumbents defeated by a challenger. The states Bush 43 spoke in were a bit of a mixed bag in regard to the Senate elections. He gave election speeches in 5 of the 8 states the Republicans held onto that year. However, he also gave election speeches in 4 of the 6 states where the Republican incumbents lost to Democratic challengers. For the states the Democratic Party held onto in 2006, he gave campaign speeches in 7 of the 18 states.

Barack Obama was elected president in 2008. It was the first presidential race since 1952 where neither candidate was an incumbent president or had been a vice president at some point. He won 365 Electoral

College votes while John McCain captured 173. Within the Electoral College, Obama had 20 strong Republican states, 2 Republican swing states, 4 Democratic swing states, and 24 Democratic Party stronghold states. Obama had an active first term in regard to public speeches. He spoke slightly over 750 times in domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC. Tables 5.1 and 5.2 provide insight into a president pursuing a very different speechmaking pattern than George W. Bush. While Bush 43 did outreach into other Electoral College areas, Obama was very much a base reinforcer. He gave 72.4% of his first-term speeches in his stronghold Democratic Party states and an additional 18.1% in the 4 swing states for that party. In contrast, he gave only 7.8% of his first-term speeches in Republican strongholds and only 1.7% in their 2 swings. These percentages are more pronounced when they are converted into actual numbers. Barack Obama gave 549 speeches in the strong Democratic states and 137 in their swing states. In the same term, he gave 59 total speeches in the strong Republican states and 13 speeches in their swings. While the Republican swings are understandable given they only constituted 2 states, the differential between the two parties overall is striking. In the 24 Democratic Party states, Obama gave 686 speeches while only giving a total of 72 speeches in their 22 Republican counterparts. He is supporting his strongest base of support with fewer speeches in places not supportive of the Democratic Party. These numbers are even more apparent in the Table 5.2 Electoral College election speeches. In his first term, Barack Obama gave 340 campaign-oriented speeches. 73.8% or 251 were in the dominant Democratic Party areas, and another 66 or 19.4% were in their swing states. At the same time, he gave 23 total speeches in the Republican states. Five percent or 17 total were in the strongholds, and 1.8% or 6 speeches occurred in the Republican swing states. Barack Obama concentrated his energies in places with the highest levels of Democratic Party support.

During the 2010 congressional midterm elections, Barack Obama gave campaign speeches in 22 states. Two of the states were solid Republican states, and one was a Republican swing state. Two were Democratic Party swing states, and 17 were the Democratic Party strongholds. The House of Representatives elections in 2010 were extremely good for the Republican Party, but not so much for the Democrats. In total, the Republican Party gained 64 seats in the House of Representatives. The House Democrats lost 54 incumbency elections.

Obama did speak in the one state, Delaware, where a House seat shifted from Republican to Democrat. He also spoke in 14 states where the Democrats' incumbents lost to Republicans. The US Senate elections were also good for the Republican Party in 2010 because they gained 6 seats. In these midterm elections, the Democratic Party did not gain any seats. The Republican Party held 19 and the Democratic Party held 12 seats in these elections. Barack Obama gave campaign speeches in 8 of the 12 states where the Democrats held onto seats in the election. He only spoke in 4 of the 19 states which retained their Republican seats though he did give campaign speeches in 3 of the 6 states that the Republicans picked up from the Democrats. In all, these numbers portray Obama as an aggressive base defender and supporter, but not an outreacher.

When he ran for reelection in 2012, he gave campaign speeches in 25 states throughout the country. He gave the vast bulk in the states that supported him within the Electoral College in 2008. Specifically, Obama spoke in 19 of his 24 Democratic stronghold states, 3 of his 4 swing states, none of the Republican swings, and 2 of the 20 strong Republican states. Barack Obama won 26 states and 332 Electoral College votes while Mitt Romney won 24 states and 206 votes. How did the states shift between the 2008 and 2012 Electoral College results? The solid Democratic states stayed largely the same. The only shift was Virginia which changed into a Democratic swing state. The Democratic swing states did see a bit more change other than just the shift of Virginia. Florida and Ohio both remained in the category, but North Carolina moved into the Republican swings and Indiana moved into the solid Republican states. Missouri and Montana, the 2008 Republican swings, both shifted into strong Republican states in the 2012 elections. When looking at the 2012 Electoral College results to where he gave speeches, the numbers reflect the previous trends. He gave speeches in 18 Democratic strongholds, 3 Democratic swing states, 1 Republican swing state, and 3 strong Republican states. In the House of Representatives in 2012, the Democratic Party gained 8 seats. In the states with newly created seats, Barack Obama spoke in 6 of the 7 that picked up a Democratic member. In the 7 states where the Republican Party gained in the newly created seats, Barack Obama spoke in 5. The US Senate also saw Democratic Party gain a net of 2 seats, but the overall numbers were good for that party. For the 2012 election, the Democrats defended 18 Senate seats from challengers and gained 3 through incumbent losses

and a retirement. The Republican Party held onto 8 seats and gained one in an election with a Democratic retirement picked up by a Republican candidate. When looking at the states Barack Obama gave campaign speeches in 2012, he spoke in 2 of the total 8 states the Republicans received Senate seats. For the Democratic Party, Obama spoke in 13 of the 21 states which won Senate elections in 2012.

The speechmaking patterns in Obama's second term are less ardently Democratic Party than the ones in his first term. He still heavily prefers Democratic states, but it is slightly less pronounced. Akin to many other administrations, his second-term speech volume is lower. As noted in Table 5.1, he gave approximately 422 domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC, in this term. The stronghold Democratic Party areas received 62.1% while their swing states had 15.4%. The solid Republican states increased to 19.7% and their swings to 2.8%. As with the first-term results, the actual volumes are more telling than the percentages. In the second term, the Republican stronghold states increased to 83 public speeches while their swings only dropped 1 speech to 12. The Democratic strongholds and swings each fell by over half to a total of 262 and 65 speeches, respectively. However, because of the large drop in speech volume, they still remained the states with the largest percentage of speeches. The campaign speeches in the second term fell by over 60% to a total of 125 for the domestic speeches outside of Washington, DC. Barack Obama still gave over 70% of these campaign speeches in his robust Democratic states, but fell to 15.2% in their swings. Percentage-wise, his speeches appear to increase in the Republican areas to 8.8% and 4.8% in the strongholds and swings. However, much like the total speeches, the election speeches are more salient when discussing actual volume. The numbers of campaign speeches in Republican states fell in the second term. While he gave 17 speeches in their strongholds in the first term, that number fell to 11 in the second one. The swing states remained unchanged with 6 speeches in each term. The election speeches in the Democratic swing states fell from 66 in the first term to 19 in the second, and the solid states went from 251 to 89 speeches. In the 2014 congressional elections, Barack Obama gave campaign speeches in 17 states. Sixteen of the 23 were located in the Democratic states (total and swing) won by the president in 2012. Texas was the only state that was an exception in 2014. Obama spoke in Texas (though in Democratic areas in Austin and Dallas) which was carried by the Republican Party in the previous presidential election. The Republican

Party did well in the 2014 elections, gaining 13 net seats in the US House of Representatives. In the general election, 11 Democrats and 2 Republicans lost their reelections. Additionally, 5 seats Democrats retired from were won by Republicans while only one retired Republican Party seat was won by Democrats. These seat shifts occurred in 15 states, and Obama gave election speeches in 6 of them in 2014. The US Senate went up a net 9 for the Republican Party, but in reality, it was a much better election for them than the Democrats. The Republican Senate delegation held onto 17 seats, and their Democratic counterparts retained 12. The Republicans also gained an additional 8 seats formerly held by Democrats while the Democrats failed to gain any seats this cycle.

Barack Obama was not eligible to run for reelection again in 2016. However, he did give 44 domestic campaign speeches that year outside of Washington, DC. During that year, he spoke in 13 states across the country. All but two were in states he won in the Electoral College in 2012. The outlier states which he did not carry were Texas and North Carolina. He gave campaign speeches in 2 of his 3 swing states and 9 of his 23 stronghold states. He did not give campaign speeches in other parts of the country. On the one hand, it makes sense for the leaving president to give room for their party's candidate to campaign throughout the country without the coattails of the sitting administration. However, 2016 was a contentious election between Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. Barack Obama continued his pattern of reinforcing states where he received the strongest support and did not speak in others on a regular basis. It does raise questions about the hardening of partisan attitudes when certain places never receive even a modicum of time from a sitting administration.

Many presidents seem to all have extenuating circumstances around their election cycles that create some unusual situations. For Truman, the whistle-stop campaigns allowed for speeches in a very diverse way. Eisenhower's health throughout his entire presidency was questionable, and his election campaigning reflects it. Nixon's second term was plagued by Watergate culminating in a resignation which impacted his speechmaking (or lack thereof). Ronald Reagan's second term was won by a landslide victory with little competition in the Electoral College. Therefore, his speechmaking numbers are extremely lopsided, not for a personal preference, but lack of Democratic-leaning states in 1984. Clinton and Bush show second-term election speech decreases in states that supported the opposing party in the Electoral College. The change

is dramatic and obvious, particularly for Bush. Clinton gave few speeches in Republican stronghold states his entire presidency. While he halved the number of election speeches between the two terms, the low percentage number speaks for itself. Clinton and Bush 43 increased the number of election speeches given in areas strongly supported by their party in the Electoral College in their second terms while decreasing speeches in the swing states. It perhaps suggests when second-term presidents give speeches, they are engaged in party maintenance over outreach. They are shoring up areas of party support and not attempting to court states that their party won with 5% of the popular vote in the previous presidential election. Bill Clinton preferred Democratic stronghold and leaning states for election speeches throughout his entire presidency. However, in his second term, he moved away from swing states to more Democratic areas as well as Washington, DC, for campaign speechmaking. The changes between the two terms suggest Clinton moved more into a role that shored up Democratic support over attracting new states. George W. Bush gave more election speeches to diverse electoral audiences in his first term than any other president. He sought support in the swing states at the same level or higher than his own stronghold Republican states. His second term in office through 2006 suggests a change in strategy. Like Clinton and other presidents, Bush moves significantly to giving campaign speeches to his strongest bases during his second term in office. Democratic swing states show the most vivid decline, but it remains to be seen if this pattern holds through the 2008 elections.

Do presidents give more election speeches in the states they carried in the Electoral College than overall speeches? As a general trend, the answer is yes for Republicans (though again George W. Bush is the exception). When looking at Republican won states, the presidents from that party gave a higher percentage of election speeches in their base states than did either Carter or Clinton. Surprisingly, the same cannot be said of the Democratic states. Every Republican president (with the exception of George W. Bush) gave a higher percentage of election speeches than overall speeches in these locations. In addition, the Democratic Party presidents gave a smaller percentage of election speeches than overall speeches.

The fascinating findings occur when closely looking at the swing states. Every first-term Republican administration except George W. Bush gave a smaller percentage of election speeches in the Republican

swing states than their overall speeches. Again, this project found George W. Bush to be the exception to the general trends. Unlike other Republican presidents, he gave a smaller percentage of election speeches than the percentage for his overall totals in both Republican and Democratic Party stronghold states. He also gave higher percentages of election speeches in both swing state categories. In fact, George W. Bush gave a higher combined percentage of election speeches in the swing states than in the stronghold ones. These findings sharply contrast with other administrations. Every other administration gave a higher percentage in their combined stronghold and swing states for their party. These results compellingly suggest this Bush administration targeted the swing states during election periods.

The most notable contrasting patterns belong to George W. Bush and Barack Obama. Neither administration swept the Electoral College in their elections. In George W. Bush's first term, he gave 42.3% of his total speeches in the 20 Democratic Party won states and 45.6% of his campaigning speeches. These are the highest numbers on the entire table when looking at outreach behavior. Carter had more opposing party states, but a smaller percentage of speeches. No other administration is a close comparison to the first term of Bush 43. Barack Obama, on the other hand, gave less than 10% of his first-term speeches (of any sort) in the 22 Republican won states. Every other president with 10 or more states carried by the opposing party spent more time in them. Obama's first term from the lens of the Electoral College appears to be a stellar example of reinforcing your bases. The Republican speeches in Obama's term were also largely in Democratic areas of Republican states. Almost half of their total speeches were all located in cities that regularly lean Democratic Party as well as over 3/4th of the campaign speeches. The second term shows that Obama did spend a higher percentage of time giving speeches in Republican states, but it was still markedly low given the large number of states.

What does this mean? This chapter alternatively raises questions and also supports elements of the permanent campaign. Evidence throughout this chapter shows presidents do not engage in campaign-oriented speeches continuously. Even when looking at cumulative speech yearly totals for the entire administration, we see quantity of speeches vary by year. In this respect, the permanent campaign falters because this evidence suggests presidents do have some periods where governance supersedes campaign activity. However, the Electoral College speeches

offer some support for the permanent campaign concept. Even though presidents do not focus exclusively on permanent campaigning, presidents are aware of their bases of support. Overwhelmingly, most give speeches in states favorable or at least sympathetic to them in the previous national election. George W. Bush stands unique as a presidency that gave more election speeches in Democratic Party strongholds in the last 2 years of his first term than in Republican Party ones. His base expansive approach supports the notion his administration sought to capture voters rather than reinforcing the areas already sympathetic.

Electoral College results give us a way to look at presidential preferences which often trend heavily partisan. Most presidents gravitate toward friendly locales though some like Carter and George W. Bush do appear to try to go into less hospitable territory. The line between campaign speechmaking and general audiences appears to be diminishing, especially in the last two administrations. Presidents devote larger amounts of their speechmaking time around the country toward election activity throughout their entire term. It should not, thus, be overly surprising to see an increasingly divided public over chief executives when they spend considerable amounts of time campaigning around the USA and almost all concentrate attention in their strongest areas of support. Some also simultaneously conspicuously ignore states carried by the opposing party in the previous election. When taken cumulatively, it is almost expected that certain areas would feel snubbed or neglected and those attitudes could easily carry over to general popularity ratings.

Clear patterns appear with the George W. Bush and Barack Obama administrations when we look at them collectively and against other administrations. George W. Bush's first term (and to a lesser extent, his second) presents a presidential administration that seeks to expand its electoral appeal both in terms of party and location. He actively gave speeches in places that voted against him in the previous election cycle. He gave those areas more attention than any other president in 50 years. In addition, he coupled it with going into the smallest media markets in the USA. He gave speeches in media markets with only 50,000 television households in his first term. These areas rarely receive attention from any president in any administration. George W. Bush presented an administration aware of various locations throughout the USA and consciously made appeals and gave them attention. While his second term shifted into more Republican locations, he maintained his commitment to speaking on smaller media markets.

Barack Obama exhibits an administration simultaneously recognizable and yet unique. His patterns look familiar to ones seen in Eisenhower, Reagan, Bush 41, and Clinton. He is the most overt base reinforcer in the last 60 years barring administrations with overwhelming electoral majorities. Given his substantial number of Republican states, he engaged in a surprising high amount of intense base encouragement activity. In terms of media markets, Barack Obama primarily focused upon the biggest ones in the country. Campaign speeches were overwhelmingly in the largest locations. Furthermore, he did not give many overall or campaign speeches in Republican states in either term (though his second did have more). As an overall pattern, he focused on large media markets in almost fully in places with strong Democratic Party electoral support. Places outside of these criteria were not a focus of the administration and were not given much attention by Obama during his term in regard to personal appearances.

Presidential speech locations matter. They give us insight into priorities and perceptions of American presidents. Presidential appearances are a tool that can be used to bolster or cultivate support. These choices help us better see what an administration is attempting to do across the country, whether it is outreach or reinforcement. Barack Obama did not even attempt to cultivate smaller media markets or Republican states during his two terms as president. It was a successful strategy for support among his base with a 92% approval rating among Democrats in the January 2017 CBS News poll.[8] The places presidents choose to spend time tell us about the goals and priorities of their administrations in deeds, not just words. People like to have personal connections to leaders and feel their concerns have a voice. The last two administrations are distinct in their patterns, both to each other and previous presidents. George W. Bush presents a maverick first term which shrugged off conventional patterns and forged a different path. His turbulent second term moderated these behaviors somewhat, but he still focused on smaller markets and at times, Democratic-leaning areas. Barack Obama, on the one hand, looks very much like many previous administrations. He focused upon his party's states and large media markets. Obama stands out, however, because of the high concentration levels of these speeches. He dedicated almost all his speechmaking activities to the largest media markets in Democratic states won in the Electoral College. Obama paid less attention to areas favorable to the opposing party than other administrations.

While neither media markets nor Electoral College results alone are a definitive answer, in combination, they make a strong statement about choices and priorities.

Notes

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CHAPTER 6

Presidents Abroad: Foreign Speeches

Our nation has had an identity crisis even before our founding. Are we the united States or the United States? If we are the former, then we are effectively a confederacy composed of strong individual actors unified around joint ambitions and goals. If we are the latter, we are a cohesive country with a strong national identity. While it may seem to be a pedantic grammatical point, the implications of its meaning are enormous. The first identity suggests that state-level governance provides the leadership making governors the stewards over their populations. The latter identity requires a national figurehead like a president to guide the entire nation and oversee its welfare. If we are a whole country, then the American president acts as our representative to the rest of the world. Constitutionally, presidents are given power to make treaties with the advice and consent of Congress. The limitations of this power have been the subject of intense disagreements from early in the nation's history. George Washington sought the advice of the Senate over a treaty with the Creek Nation. His anger and disgust over their assumption of his lack of authority resulted in Washington storming out of the chamber vowing to never seek the Senate's advice again. Subsequent presidents have followed this lead utilizing the Senate only for consent of treaties. The distinction over how we see ourselves drove conflicts and skirmishes cumulating in the Civil War. According to historian Shelby Foote, "Before the war, it was said 'the United States are'—grammatically it was spoken that way and thought of as a collection of

S. B. O'Brien, *Why Presidential Speech Locations Matter*,
The Evolving American Presidency,
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independent states. And after the war it was always 'the United States is', as we say today without being self-conscious at all. And that sums up what the war accomplished. It made us an 'is'."[1] It is also after this war our national identity becomes more of a unified whole instead of simply distinctive but conjoined parts of a jigsaw puzzle. The switch was not immediate or universal. Even in 1901, John W. Foster, Benjamin Harrison's Secretary of State, wrote an article in *The New York Times* defending and encouraging the use of the USA as a singular term.[2] In modern America, few give much thought to the grammatical importance of our nation's name.

The legislative branch has often sought to expand their powers over international affairs. On March 7, 1800, John Marshall in the House of Representatives gave a speech defending the American president as the "sole organ of that nation in its external relations and its sole representative with foreign nations."[3] His statements at the time were over Adams's right to implement an extradition treaty. International relations involve both the Senate and the executive, but it is the president's duty to carry out the decisions. The scope of this presidential power has been at the heart of many conflicts between the two branches. It was only in 1936 with the *United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation*[4] case the presidency gained the upper hand. The ruling gave the president superior power over the Senate in the international arena. Today, the American president is the face of the country abroad. He is the most recognizable public American official and charged with representing our interests to other countries. When presidents speak, people listen. As one of the most powerful leaders of the planet, he draws audiences both domestically and internationally. Presidents are not bound by any compulsion to visit specific countries. While some places may be more favorable than others, these travel decisions can highlight concerns or affirm alliances and commitments to other countries. For example, every president from Truman onwards has visited Germany (or West Germany) though not every one has spoken in the country during their visit. The UK has also long been a favored destination for American presidents. Every president since 1945 (with the exceptions of Johnson and Ford) visited the country, and since Eisenhower, has spoken there. Likewise, every president since 1957 with Eisenhower (again with the exception of Johnson) visited France and most on multiple occasions.[5]

Domestic speeches receive tremendous attention. The content as well as location often informs the public about priorities, ideas, and directions

of administrations. National and local press covers most domestic presidential appearances throughout the entire country. In general, the volume and likelihood presidential domestic speeches tend to increase during election years. Most modern presidential administrations give more domestic speeches in the midterm and reelection years of their term. These patterns reflect the goals and ambitions of presidents seeking to extend both their party's influence as well as their own presidency. International speeches not aimed at the American voting public. These speeches may improve or enhance America's international profile, but they do not directly woo voters. Do international speeches have different patterns from domestic speeches? When an American president travels abroad, are there similar trends across administrations? Foreign speeches have little to offer in terms of "going public" to a domestic audience.

Presidents give a considerable number of speeches outside the USA during their administrations. Do presidents prefer some continents over others? The continent designation was assigned based upon geographical designations in common usage. Therefore, Asia extends roughly from Israel to Japan, encompassing most of what is considered the Middle to Far East. Egypt, however, is geographically located in Africa. North America extends from Canada to Panama, with South America then continuing to Diego Ramirez Islands of Chile. Oceania refers primarily to Australia and New Zealand (Table 6.1).

Presidential foreign travel has a relative modest history compared to domestic presidential speechmaking. In many ways, it emerged as a phenomenon of the twentieth century and came into its own as the century moved toward its conclusion. Theodore Roosevelt, while not the first president to travel abroad, was the first to do so as a sitting president. In 1906, he traveled to Panama to inspect the construction of the Panama Canal. Every sitting president since then has traveled out of the country at least to one other country though most travel to considerably more. In fact, Calvin Coolidge is the only other sitting president to travel to one country (Cuba). Most visits were diplomatic or informal events where the president would not give an address to the people or the press corps. The first president to truly begin using foreign locations as a platform for speechmaking was Dwight Eisenhower in his second term. During his first term, he gave a total of 9 international speeches while in his second, 114. The bulk of the speeches (97) were given between December 1959 and June 1960. President Eisenhower kicks off the president's foreign "going public" power. In a traditional "going public"

Table 6.1 Presidential speeches by continent

	Africa	*Asia*	*Oceania*	*North America*	*South America*	*Europe*	*Total Foreign N*
Truman 1	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	33.3	16.7	6
Truman 2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Ike 1	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	66.7	9
Ike 2	3.5	36.8	0.0	3.5	28.1	28.1	114
Kennedy	0.0	0.0	0.0	26.9	10.3	64.1	78
Johnson 1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0
Johnson 2	0.0	34.5	20.0	36.4	7.3	1.8	55
Nixon 1	0.0	28.3	0.0	13.2	0.0	58.5	106
Nixon 2	20.0	32.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	48.0	25
Ford	0.0	27.9	0.0	6.6	0.0	65.6	61
Carter	12.1	22.4	0.0	11.2	6.9	47.4	116
Reagan 1	0.0	29.4	0.0	27.1	8.2	35.3	85
Reagan 2	0.0	7.4	0.0	29.4	0.0	63.2	68
Bush 41	0.6	14.4	4.4	10.0	11.1	59.4	180
Clinton 1	1.4	27.5	3.3	9.5	0.0	58.3	211
Clinton 2	14.4	23.2	2.6	8.5	7.9	43.2	340
Bush 43 1	8.6	21.9	1.3	13.9	6.0	48.3	151
Bush 43 2	2.6	43.7	2.6	7.9	6.3	36.8	190
Obama 1	4.3	39.4	2.7	8.5	8.5	36.7	188
Obama 2	13.2	38.8	0.8	12.8	4.0	30.4	227

scenario, the American president makes direct appeals to the public to persuade the people to pressure Congress or other leaders to support his ideas or policies. Between 1953 and 1958, Eisenhower gave a total of 15 speeches in foreign countries. From January 1959 to the end of his presidency in January 1961, he gave 108 speeches (95% of his total) primarily in Asia, South America, and Europe. President Eisenhower began to use the power of speechmaking as president to make appeals to allies and the American public about our goals and commitments while signaling to others our concerns in these places. The Cuban Revolution removed Batista's government in January 1959. The Korean War concluded by mid-1953, and the USA affirmed its commitment to the region as a Southeast Asian Treaty Organization (SEATO) partner in 1954.[6] In addition, the Cold War was smoldering in Europe with increasing concerns over communist expansion. By looking at Eisenhower's speechmaking patterns in terms of location, timing, and volume, he presents an administration shoring up its commitment to contain communism.

He had already articulated a commitment to the Middle East to assist against communism in 1957 with the Eisenhower Doctrine. His foreign speeches suggest a radical and permanent shift for the American presidency. He used his speechmaking ability to target areas of concern to affirm our policies and dedication toward them.

Following Eisenhower, most presidents seem to follow his lead with higher speech volume and countries in the double digits. George H. W. Bush signaled a significant change in the volume of presidential foreign travel. President Bush's resume in foreign affairs is well documented. He served as the Ambassador to the United Nations, Envoy to China, and a director on the Council of Foreign Relations. He gave 180 foreign speeches during one term in office, while his immediate predecessor, Ronald Reagan had only 153 over his 8 years as president. Bush 41 also traveled to almost 40 countries, far more than any previous president on the table. From Truman to Reagan, the average was 90 speeches per president, though in many cases, the administration average was far less. The presidents from George H. W. Bush to Obama are very different with speeches averaging slightly over 370 speeches per administration in foreign countries. If you look only at Clinton, George W. Bush, and Obama, the number jumps to over 435 foreign speeches per president. The impetus for change is the George H. W. Bush administration. Speeches aboard became a regularly utilized tool in the presidential repertoire which only grew over time.

Evident preferences and patterns exist within foreign speechmaking for American presidents. As a general rule, they love to give speeches in Europe. While not absolute, most administrations (Eisenhower, Kennedy, Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan, Bush 41, Clinton, Bush 43, Obama) give at least a third of their total foreign speeches in Europe, with several doubling that number. Asia also receives a large number of speeches, but this should not be surprising given the importance of the Middle East as well as the Pacific region over the last 70 years in foreign affairs. Every administration except Truman, Kennedy, and Johnson has given at least 15% of their foreign speeches in this region. Ford, Nixon, Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama gave at least a quarter of their total foreign speeches in Asia. Africa, Oceania, and South America present patterns of waxing and waning importance throughout the years, though each of these continents has been frequented by every American president from George H. W. Bush onwards. It fits well with presidents increasingly using foreign countries as a way to go public with their

platforms and positions. Technology has largely made location moot for all but the live audience of a speech. Localities do respond well to the attention of a presidential visit, and foreign speeches allow them the opportunity to often speak more broadly about American priorities. They can essentially act as the nation's cheerleader by shoring up alliances and courting leaders for support and mutual goals. Presidents use foreign speeches as a way to communicate with their public and the world. Where these speeches are generally located also better informs us about the choices these presidents make during their administrations. They can also provide a respite from a struggling domestic situation where a president can give public speeches with less fear of it tied to their approval rating. In general, the number of countries a president speaks has been creeping up over the decades. Harry Truman spoke in only 4 places: Brazil, Canada, Germany, and Mexico. Over the course of his two terms, Barack Obama spoke in 58 countries, and that pales in comparison with Clinton and George W. Bush who totaled over 70 places.

The term of the president also seems to affect the number of foreign speeches given by a president. As a general rule, second-term presidents give more speeches in foreign counties compared to their first terms. Exceptions exist (Truman, Nixon, Reagan), but the only prominent outlier for the rule seems to be Ronald Reagan. Harry Truman did not give any foreign speeches during his second term, with only 6 in his first. Richard Nixon's resignation in August 1974 certainly impacted the foreign travel schedule leading to an unfair comparison given the situation. Ronald Reagan stands out as an interesting administration. He gave a fewer total speeches in his second term than his first with a high priority toward focusing on Washington, DC. With the exception of Johnson, Reagan is the only president since 1945 to average more than 60% of his overall speeches in Washington, DC. In fact during his second term, over 66% of all of his speeches were given in that city. Thus, it should not be surprising to see his international speech numbers decreased in his second term as well.

Eisenhower, Johnson, Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama all gave more foreign speeches in this second term than in their first. The first two are somewhat problematic given their points in history. Dwight Eisenhower was the first president to use an airliner for travel as president. His plane was the first to carry the Air Force One designation which was assigned after some confusion when the president's plane and an Eastern Air Lines flight both were assigned the same call sign. Airline travel for presidents

was in its infancy at the time, and this was the administration that made it an accepted form of their travel. Lyndon Johnson is also complicated because his first term is an accidental presidency. He serves out the remainder of Kennedy's term before being elected in November 1964. While he does technically have a first term, the circumstances and length of it are complicated and difficult to use as a gauge. The remaining three administrations (Clinton, Bush 43, Obama) all had full first and second terms with air travel at its most technically advanced and malleable. So, why would second terms for these three presidents be different than first terms? First, they are not worried about reelection. First-term presidents have to be mindful of their own upcoming election and public perception. Second, domestic concerns ranging from midterm election to congressional agendas all need to be given due attention by presidents. They need to work on their domestic goals whether it be winning (or shoring up) congressional chambers or helping guide (or influence) important legislation. Third, second-term presidents often begin to think about their legacies. As they look toward the point when they are no longer the president, many begin to focus on a broader message to the world as they think about the future. Bill Clinton, in many ways, is the poster child of this idea. During his second term, he gave 340 separate speeches in 56 unique countries. The speech and location volume is higher than any other president. The only vague comparable presidents are the second terms of Eisenhower and Obama simply because they gave a higher percentage of foreign speeches when compared to the overall volume. Finally, foreign speeches in the case of Clinton and Bush 43 were a way to escape in their second terms. Both were plagued with issues throughout their administrations that had no easy or quick solutions. Foreign travel offered a way to break from the domestic quagmires for a time and focus on other topics beyond the grinding domestic news cycle.

Are all countries equivalent to each other? Up to now, most presidential foreign travel has been discussed in largely broad terms. There are large differences between counties around the world. They vary widely with different forms of government, leadership, and civil liberties guarantees towards their populations. Are American presidents more likely to go to democracies or autocracies? While presidents give speeches throughout the globe, do the choices of locations change at different points during their presidency? Do differences exist between their first and second terms? One way to look at this is through Freedom House scores. Freedom House is a non-governmental organization (NGO)

created in 1941 to help assess democracy and civil freedom around the world. They compile scores for countries based on availability of democratic freedom as well as civil and political rights within the country. Beginning in 1972, Freedom House publishes an annual *Freedom of the World*[7] report where it assigns a rank to each country based on the current state of free rights. Though their scale ranks from 1 (totally free) to 7 (not free), it is possible to generally aggregate their categories into free, partially free, and not free. Freedom House looks at very specific criteria when determining these scores. It includes universal adult suffrage, competitive multiparty elections, free elections with an absence of fraud, and access by the public to parties through the media. These scores help show if presidents gravitate toward or away from democratic leaning nations. Because the *Freedom of the World* report began during the middle of Nixon's administration, the following table has Ford onwards to cover entire administrations (Table 6.2).

American presidents prefer speaking in free nations. These results should not be surprising since democratic countries are most often the closest allies of the USA. Every administration on the table gave over half of their speeches in countries considered free by the Freedom House. Since George H. W. Bush, every first-term administration has also given over 70% of their international speeches in "free" places. Ronald Reagan stands out as an outlier on the table for several reasons.

Table 6.2 Freedom House scores by term and percentage of foreign speeches by term

Foreign	*Free*	*Partially free*	*Not free*	*% of total in term*	*Total*
Ford	52.5	19.7	27.9	100.0	61
Carter	61.4	12.3	26.3	100.0	114
Reagan 1	65.1	19.3	15.7	55.3	83
Reagan 2	74.6	10.4	14.9	44.7	67
Bush 41	70.6	24.4	5.0	100.0	180
Clinton 1	74.3	21.4	4.3	38.3	210
Clinton 2	64.5	23.1	12.4	61.7	338
Bush 43 1	73.2	14.8	12.1	44.5	149
Bush 43 2	64.0	17.2	18.8	55.5	186
Obama 1	75.5	8.0	16.5	45.3	188
Obama 2	58.1	18.5	23.3	54.7	227

Note Freedom House does not score the Vatican so it was excluded

As previously noted, his international speech volume declined between his first and second term. In addition, his free % went up and his not free % went down in his second-term. These results run counter to every other second term president in the table. Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama all gave more international speeches in their second term, and the number in free countries declined when compared to the other two categories. During the fourth year of their first term in office, neither Bush spoke in countries considered "not free." Bill Clinton gave 2 speeches, both in Egypt, as a small part of a larger trip to Israel in 1996. Barack Obama gave 3 "not free" speeches in May 2012, but all were in Afghanistan, either at our airbase or in locations aimed at shoring up support for American military efforts there. He later gave 5 speeches in Burma and Cambodia, but these were all in late November 2012 after the presidential election. These findings indicate presidents edge away from "not free" places during their first terms and especially in their own reelection seasons. Ironically, Ronald Reagan went to Beijing in April 1984 in a diplomatic tour to improve relations with the country. It was the only "not free" country he visited in his entire first term in office. In his second term, the only "not free" place he visited was the Soviet Union in May 1988. In comparison, Obama visited 10 "not free" countries during his second term in office (Laos, China, Vietnam, Saudi Arabia, Cuba, Ethiopia, Burma, Afghanistan, Russia, Jordan), George W. Bush, 8 (China, Pakistan, Iraq, Russia, Vietnam, United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Egypt), and Clinton 5 (Vietnam, Brunei, Egypt, China, Rwanda).

What do we know about the timing of visits to these countries? Do they shy away from foreign travel during midterm and reelection seasons? In general, it depends on the president. Jimmy Carter, for example, traveled to free and "not free" countries all four years he was in office. His two election years are 1978 and 1980. In both years, he wrapped up all his international travel by July presumably to focus on domestic politics. He also concluded his travel for each of these years with visits to free countries (West Germany and Japan, respectively) considered strong American allies. Ronald Reagan, with the exception of one trip to Mexico (at the time labeled "partially free"), spoke exclusively in free counties up to the midterm elections of 1982. He concluded his foreign travel in June of that year with a European trip concluding in the UK. However, at the end of November–December 1982, he did embark on a multistate Latin and South American trip with speeches in both free and

partially free countries. In 1984, Reagan traveled abroad in late April as well as early June. The April trip was the aforementioned trip to China while the later one was again to Ireland, France, and the UK. The France trip is notable since it was exclusively to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the Normandy invasion. During his second term, Reagan traveled internationally through May 1986 but unlike his first term, he did have an unusual foreign speaking engagement in October of that year shortly before midterms. He only gave one speech in Iceland as part of the trip for the Reykjavík Summit with Mikhail Gorbachev. These were important meetings about arms control and other issues between the two nations. While the Iceland summit was not fully realized, it was a key step toward the successful Washington Summit in 1987.

George H. W. Bush had a bit of a different foreign midterm speaking situation. Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait in early August 1990. Faced with the need for international support, Bush met with Gorbachev in Helsinki, Finland in September 1990 to discuss the situation in the Middle East. He spoke twice in Finland, but did not engage in further international speaking engagements until after the midterm elections. Starting in mid-November through early December 1990, Bush traveled extensively (Czechoslovakia, Germany, France, Saudi Arabia, Switzerland, Egypt, Mexico, Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Venezuela) but apparently put off his travel until the elections has passed. During his 1992 reelection year, he traveled in early July to Europe and only to free countries. Generally speaking, most presidents seem to engage in international travel and speaking engagements through the summer of the midterm or election years. The locations they go to tend to be strong American allies, or locations with strong vested interests. Bill Clinton's 1994 midterms are a clear exception to this pattern. Clinton traveled internationally in July like many other administrations, but in late October with two weeks before the midterm elections, he travels to the Middle East (Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Syria, Israel). Israel is the only country coded by Freedom House as free with the others either as partially or not free. The general purpose of the trip was to attend the signing of the Israel–Jordan peace treaty, though the timing is extremely unusual so close to domestic elections. His 1996 reelection year looks more like other administrations with the last international trip occurring to France in June for the Group of Seven summit. George W. Bush breaks a bit with midterm election patterns though in a very safe way. He travels in June 2002 to Canada and shortly before

the midterm elections in late October has a short trip to Mexico (now considered free by Freedom House). So, while Bush 43 does have an unusual late October trip both of his last international trips prior to midterms are to countries sharing a border with us and are both considered free. The last international trip George W. Bush took before his reelection in 2004 was in late June to Istanbul, Turkey. This trip looks a bit unusual on the surface since it is a late summer trip to a country Freedom House considered partially free. However, Bush traveled there to attend the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Istanbul Summit where various heads of state met to discuss and commit to ongoing efforts in Afghanistan and Iraq. On the surface, his July 2006 trip to Russia appears to be odd considering it is so close to his second-term elections. However, it was the location of that year's Group of Eight summit and attendance is expected for the American president. Barack Obama appears to conform to patterns in line with many previous presidents. His last international trip during his 2010 midterm year is late June to Canada. During his reelection year, his last international speech is mid-June 2012 in Mexico. Both are countries that share a border with us and are both considered free by Freedom House. His second-term midterms are a bit more interesting. In September 2014, he first traveled to Estonia before going to Wales for the annual NATO Summit meeting. Finally, with the exception of travel to Israel for a memorial service, Barack Obama spent part of September 2016 in China and Laos, countries Freedom House considers "not free."

Historically, most American presidents did not travel much after election season. However, there has been a significant shift since 1993 when Bill Clinton was instrumental in establishing the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) summit. From 1994 onwards, every American president has traveled mid to late November for this meeting. In general, it occurs one to two weeks after our November election cycle. The shortest gap between the election and the president leaving abroad was in November 2010. The midterm elections were on November 2 and Obama left on November 6 for the US-India Business and Entrepreneurship Summit before continuing on to APEC. Foreign speeches are a tool for the American president. He is our face abroad to the world. His actions and words reflect our visions and priorities. Therefore, locations of these places matter as well. There are certain locations presidents cannot control. International summits and events are not always able to be managed by the White House. Olympic sites,

like Beijing in 2008, often require the president's attendance, but he did not have a choice in its location. In addition, when heads of state are memorialized, presidents often attend if the person was a loyal ally to our nation. These events are more of the exception rather than the rule. Presidents have a fairly flexible level of discretion over where they choose to visit during their time as president.

Presidents tend to gravitate toward places with allies or vested interests. When our nation is in conflict with others, it is not unusual for presidents to spend time in those regions. Eisenhower, Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, as well as both Bushes all gave speeches either in countries or in adjacent countries of places we had been engaged in recent military action. Europe is a favored destination for American presidents. It is home to many of our longest and strongest allies. Every president, Truman to Obama, has been to both Germany and Mexico at least once during their presidency. Every president from Eisenhower onwards has gone to the Vatican on a state visit. Canada, France, and the UK have seen the majority of American presidents since Truman. Each country was visited by every American president exception two each. Ford and Carter did not travel to Canada; Truman and Johnson did not visit France; and Johnson and Ford did not go to the UK. Foreign speechmaking shifted during the George H. W. Bush administration. It dramatically increased and has never gone back to its averages prior to his administration. Continents that were not given much attention have been part of the president's international visits with speeches. Though ignored for most of the twentieth century, African and Oceania (Australia and New Zealand) have seen every president since Bush 41.

First terms are also somewhat different than second ones. While there are some clear exceptions, the volume of speeches goes up during second terms. It seems the last three presidents, when not burdened by concerns of reelection, traveled more internationally during their second terms. During their first terms, less than 10% of their total speeches were given in foreign countries. Their second terms were a completely different situation. Bill Clinton gave over 12% of his speeches in international locations; Bush 43, 10.3%; and Obama, 14.4%. These administrations also saw significant speech increases in places considered by Freedom House to be either partially or not free. Many first-term presidents shied away from these places, with a strong preference for free countries.

Foreign speeches have been growing in importance for American presidents as a tool for communication. The number of countries they visit has been regularly increasing for decades. Granted, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush hold an almost identical record around 70 countries, but Obama is not that far off. Since Carter, most presidents travel to at least 20 individual countries and many of them multiple times. These visits and speeches give presidents the chance to go public in an international arena where their events carry different meaning. Many countries are thrilled to receive an American president and warmly receive them (though it is not always the case). Presidential speeches in these places do not receive the same direct scrutiny toward approval ratings as many of their domestic counterparts. Furthermore, foreign speeches may allow a president to shift focus from a current domestic issue toward international discussions or cooperation. These events are usually seen as a positive for American presidents unless something occurs that warrants ridicule or humor. For example, in January 1992, George H. W. Bush became ill at a banquet with the prime minister of Japan. He threw up in the minister's lap and then fainted at the table. The Japanese lacked a word for public vomiting and thus coined the term, Bushu-suru to describe the scenario. While embarrassing, Bush took it in stride and it became a humorous aside rather than a focus of his presidency.

Where presidents go and when they go has larger implications upon an overall presidency. Both Ford and Carter gave huge numbers of speeches in places considered not free during their terms in office. While it is pure speculation to assume it affected their electoral outcomes, no other first-term president since then has devoted such a large percentage of their international speeches in those locations. First-term administrations mostly play it safe with a focus on free countries overwhelmingly in Europe. If they travel before election season, they overwhelmingly conclude their travel with a strong American ally. Second-term presidents, especially in recent years, give more speeches abroad and will be willing to travel to other parts of the globe, as well as countries we have less solid relationships. These are the times when presidents seek to extend their administrations into new places, encourage stronger relationships or simply be adventurous. When the concern of reelection is removed, foreign travel, especially in the last 30 years, has created the image of a different first- and second-term president.

Notes

1. Shelby Foote, *The Civil War*, directed by Ken Burns, Kenneth Lauren Burns Productions, 1990.
2. John W. Foster, "Are or Is? Whether a Plural or Singular Verb Goes with the Words," *The New York Times*, May 4, 1901, BR7.
3. John Marshall, "Sole Organ," *Annals of Congress* 10, pt. 613 (1800).
4. United States v. Curtiss-Wright Export Corporation, 299 U.S. 304 (1936).
5. "Travels Abroad of the President," Office of the Historian, Department of State, accessed November 14, 2017, https://history.state.gov/departmenthistory/travels/president.
6. "Southeast Treaty Organization (SEATO), 1954" Office of the Historian, Department of States, accessed November 14, 2017, https://history.state.gov/milestones/1953-1960/seato.
7. "Freedom in the World Country Rankings," *Freedom House*, accessed December 29, 2017, iea-archive.uoregon.edu/indicators/FreedomHouse.xls; "Freedom in the World," *Freedom House*, accessed December 29, 2017, https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/freedom-world-2012.

CHAPTER 7

All Work and No Play: How Presidents Use Vacation Locations

Presidential residences are places where the president may spend a considerable amount of time while in office. They are not places for the president to shirk duties. Most presidents fall into one of two categories. They either have places they frequent, or they have places that frequently change. The bulk of presidents (Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Reagan, Bush 41, and Bush 43) all had residences they routinely went to time and time again. The remainder (Carter, Clinton, Obama) did not have family homes or long-standing vacation properties and would visit a variety of locations during their time in office. Many were their homes or vacation homes prior to assuming office. Richard Nixon's secondary presidential residences included San Clemente, California and Key Biscayne, Florida. Gerald Ford spent time in Vail, Colorado, while for Jimmy Carter, it was Plains, Georgia. Ronald Reagan's secondary personal residence was his ranch in Santa Barbara, California. Both Bushes have used Kennebunkport, Maine as a vacation residence, though George W. Bush spent considerably more time in Crawford, Texas. Clinton vacationed at the homes of friends on Martha's Vineyard or Nantucket most years, with the exception of two years in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. This location was decided after Dick Morris conducted a poll of the American public asking where Clinton should vacation.[1] The Jackson Hole vacations are included because he explicitly vacationed there in 1995 and 1996. Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and George W. Bush all have referred to their home as the

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"Western White House." In 2001, the George W. Bush administration had an oval sign with the seal of the State Department created that reads "The Western White House, Crawford, Texas" displayed in briefings every time he was in residence. Nixon referred to his Key Biscayne residence as the "Southern White House"[2] though the others, Jimmy Carter, George H. W. Bush, and Bill Clinton did not have a moniker for locations.

Harry Truman had the "Little White House" in Key West, Florida. He even took a vacation cruise on the U.S.S. Williamsburg, the presidential yacht at the time to Bermuda in August and September 1946.[3] It was a Navy gunboat which served the president from 1945 to 1953. Truman used it to periodically travel to Bermuda, Cuba, Florida, and the Virgin Islands though it mostly used in the Chesapeake Bay area. Eisenhower also used Williamsburg, but ordered her decommissioned after one trip. President Eisenhower considered it an "unnecessary luxury" and contrary to the image he wanted to project.[4] It was transferred to the National Science Foundation in 1962 and eventually sunk at the La Spezia, Italy docks in 2015 after decades of neglect.[5] The most famous presidential yacht is the U.S.S. Sequoia. The first president to use it was Herbert Hoover and it remained at disposal for presidents until sold by Jimmy Carter in 1977. While Williamsburg was officially presidential, Sequoia belonged to the US Navy and was used both by the Navy and other areas of the executive branch for functions. Presidents throughout the years used it extensively including Nixon's negotiation of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) I treaty. Currently, it has been the subject of legal negotiations and as of 2016, languishing in dry dock in Virginia infested with raccoons.[6]

While presidents have long used vacation locations (or yachts) for relaxation and work, few actually spoke at them in an official capacity. In fact, we know many presidents would utilize them, but they were slow to use them for public work. Based on travel logs located at the Truman Library, Harry Truman spent more than 240 days on vacation as president, primarily in Key West, Florida (roughly 94 in first term and 149 in second).[7] While Truman was away from the White House, the public papers show he regularly issued executive orders, statements, and other official communication. In his first term, Truman spoke at his vacation locations 4 times and in his second term, 10. It seemed he grew more comfortable with Key West as a public working location since 7 of those

second-term events were news conferences. It creates a picture of a president who uses the vacation locations to get away and does not really consider them a de facto White House for publicity and press purposes. Harry Truman also went to Kansas City and Independence, Missouri for visits home and relaxation time. It is difficult to call such time vacation when a person is actually going home, but considering it is an official residence, it qualifies. It is also awkward to parse out personal from business trips to Missouri, but in broad terms, Truman returned there around 50 days for an occasional summer respite or Christmas holiday. The number is close to 48 and when including the 3 days for his mother's death, it goes up to about 53. These days are all determined by reading his personal calendar that is publicly available by his library. During these days, there are 5 speeches in the public papers that correspond to these trips. In total, the public papers have 17 speeches given in the vicinity of his Missouri home with a total of 43 throughout the entire state for his administration. Between Florida and Missouri, there are almost 300 days, or slightly less than 10%, where Truman was away from the White House for personal time. While there were regular statements and other official business recorded in his papers, there were only about 19 times where he publicly spoke when he was away and not on official business. Harry Truman presents an administration that did not primarily use vacation or private time for public business. Later presidents are going to blur the line, but this administration, did not overtly use private time for public functions.

Dwight Eisenhower had various presidential residences. Gettysburg, Augusta, Newport, Key West, and Denver were all used as places he would travel to for relaxation. He would also visit his brother, Milton, who at the time was president of Penn State College. He spent a considerable amount of time in Denver, Colorado. Mamie Eisenhower's parents, John and Elivera Doud lived in there. He used their residential home as the Summer White House on several occasions, like on October 1–15, 1954. The presidential calendars indicate while Eisenhower took long breaks away from the White House, he was actively working.[8] He left the Denver residence every day for an office at Lowry Air Force Base and would conduct meetings and other business until returning home for the night.

Eisenhower was also an avid sportsman. If he was at Byers Ranch in Fraser, Colorado, the calendar indicated he fished every day. However, if he was solely in Denver, he golfed every day. The only exception

appears to be Sundays when he would forgo his daily golfing. 1955 is an interesting year for presidential vacation locations. Eisenhower spent August 5–14 in Gettysburg at their farm. On the 14, they travelled to the Summer White House in Denver where he stayed until August 22 when he returned to Washington, DC for business. He returned on August 25 and remained until November 11, 1955. His heart attack was September 24, 1955, and at that time, he was at the Fitzsimmons Army Hospital in Aurora, Colorado. November 11–14 was at the White House in Washington before he left on the 14th for the farm in Gettysburg. He remained there until December 20th when he returned to the White House. Finally, on December 28, 1955, the Eisenhowers departed for Key West, Florida where they remained until January 8, 1956, when they returned to Washington, DC. From August 5, 1955, until January 8, 1956, there are a total of 12 speaking events for the president across a total of 156 days. Four of these events are also all prior to the heart attack with 8 of them afterward.

In 1957, Dwight Eisenhower moved the Summer White House to Newport, Rhode Island. He was there from September 4 until the 30. He did briefly leave on September 7 and September 23 and again on 24–25 to Washington, DC. On September 24, he arrived at the White House to give the Little Rock speech and returned the next morning to the Summer White House to resume his schedule. While in Newport, he played golf every day with the exception of one Sunday. Eisenhower publicly spoke 6 times, 2 in Rhode Island and the other 4 were when he had to travel to Washington, DC to address the nation about the Little Rock situation. The next year, 1958, Eisenhower again used the Summer White House in Newport from August 29 until September 23 with two one-day trips back to Washington, DC on September 6 and the 11th. During this time, he spoke publicly only twice, once in Newport and the other on September 11, 1958. He had returned to Washington to address the country over the Formosa Strait Crisis and left the next day to resume his vacation. For his final summer as president, Eisenhower spent July 7–26, 1960, in Newport, Rhode Island. He travelled to Chicago to address the Republican National Convention on July 26–27, followed by a trip to Denver on 27–31. On July 31, he returned for a last time to Newport until August 7 when they returned to Washington, DC. Eisenhower spoke 4 times during the approximate month of travel. Two were in Newport (press conference and dedication

of Eisenhower Park) and the final two were at the Republican National convention.

Calculating the true number of vacation days Eisenhower spent away from the White House is a complicated task. He had a fair number of locations he spent time in away from the White House, but he was also constantly working at many of them. The calendar has his days filled with golf, but also meetings, briefings, and other business associated with the job as president. The Eisenhowers would regularly use Gettysburg for weekend, Camp David on occasion, and also visit family for a day or two. While Abilene, Kansas was his hometown, the only times they were there officially during his administration involved opening his museum. Longer stints were in Augusta, Colorado, Key West, and Newport though Gettysburg did serve as a place for convalescence after leaving Colorado. There is an estimate of Eisenhower spending about 450 days on vacation, and from his library's calendar archives, it simultaneously sounds accurate and misleading. Trips to Gettysburg were short and often sparsely noted in the calendar. Denver, Newport, and Augusta were often longer, but not every day. Eisenhower would keep to a regular schedule of early morning work, meetings, afternoon golf, and meetings or social events until the evening. There were also many half days in the schedule. In other words, longer vacation trips were not as much of vacation, but a temporary geographical relocation of his job with the added bonus of daily golf rounds. Eisenhower would regularly golf at the White House, but not on a daily basis. In all, the public papers have 32 speaking events at these locations throughout the entirety of his presidency. While he did regularly use these locations to work, he did not use them as platforms to communicate with the public. As the situation in Little Rock and the Second Formosa Crisis highlights, he specifically broke his holiday and returned to Washington to address the public from the Oval Office rather than do it at the Summer White House. President Eisenhower did use Camp David to host foreign dignitaries, but did not use it as a public forum with the press. In September 1959, Soviet Premier Khrushchev was a guest, and in spring 1960, Eisenhower played host to both the British prime minister and the Columbian president albeit at different times.

John Kennedy had several vacation or retreat residences during his presidency which were all used with varying frequency. The Kennedys leased a property called Glen Ora located in Middleburg, Virginia. According to presidential calendars,[9] they visited it about 28 separate

times with a total of 74 or 75 days (including arrival and departure days) at the property. These days were almost always weekends, with the first time on February 11–13, 1961 and the last February 16–17, 1963. The Kennedys seemed to prefer properties where they could leave Washington for the weekend. Though they had visited Camp David twice, once in November 1961 and again in July 1962, they only began to aggressively use the location after their last visit to Glen Ora and before their house in Atoka, Virginia was completed. Between March 10 and October 12 of 1963, the Kennedys went to Camp David for 16 separate weekends totaling 40 days inclusive. By the end of October 1963, their new weekend home in Atoka was done and they went there 3 times for a total of 8 days before the abrupt end of the administration. Kennedy also had one residence he spent time in which was not quite a vacation location, but also not fully a business stopover either. On three separate occasions (March 23–25 and December 8–10, 1962 as well as September 28–30, 1963), John Kennedy stayed in Bing Crosby's home in Palm Springs, California during a trip to that state. Some have written Kennedy's first trip was originally at Frank Sinatra's home, but Bobby Kennedy convinced him otherwise because of political concerns over Sinatra's alleged ties to organized crime. Sinatra apparently took a sledgehammer to the heliport he built for the president when told Kennedy would not stay there.[10]

They also used three other properties for longer vacation purposes. They are located in Newport, Rhode Island, Palm Beach, Florida, and Hyannis Port, Massachusetts. The Newport location, Hammersmith, was commonly used in late fall. Both Hammersmith and Hyannis Port have been called the Summer White House for the Kennedy administration. They stayed at Hammersmith a total of 11 times or approximately 46 days, mostly in September (1961, 1962, 1963), but they also were there in October and November of 1961. The other Summer White House is also referred to as the Kennedy Compound and located in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts on Cape Cod. It was the Massachusetts residence of Joseph and Rose Kennedy with their sons owning homes adjacent to the primary one. They visited Hyannis Port 37 separate times with a total of 141 days, inclusive. There are also another 6 days in August of 1963 where part of it was at Hyannis Port, but awkward to parse out and include since they were non-working, but not vacation days. These days surround the death of their son, Patrick, with part of their recovery spent at the family homes there. Hyannis Port

was primarily a summer residence for the Kennedy family with regular trips as early as May and as late as November. In May 1963, the president used the location to host an informal meeting between himself and the Canadian Prime Minister. In November 1961 and 1962, it was the Thanksgiving location for the First Family with each visit lasting 5–6 days. The last location the president's family regularly used was La Guerida home in Palm Beach, Florida. This house is also another property owned by Joseph Kennedy and utilized by the entire extended family. It was also referred to as the Winter White House during the Kennedy administration. The Kennedy family stayed there on 18 separate occasions for a total of 102 days, inclusive. It was the place they spent Christmas in 1961 and 1962. In fact, the Christmas trips were the longest vacation jaunts of the whole presidency, with about 15 days each time (December 22, 1961–January 5, 1962 and December 21, 1962–January 8, 1963—though John Kennedy travelled on business on January 4–5 before returning). The Kennedy family spent several days of every calendar month there in 1961, 1962, or 1963 with the exception of the months July–October. Those months were the times they were instead in Hyannis Port.

How does this translate for public speeches? John Kennedy clearly used vacation residences extensively as president, but did he speak at these places? Using a liberal gauge for determining public speeches, there are 25 trips associated with almost 430 vacation or relaxation days. All of the public speeches are associated with Hyannis Port, Newport, or Florida. The days in the public speeches were checked against his publicly available travel calendar to determine the events. Kennedy never spoke to the press or in a public format around Glen Ora or Camp David. Most are either remarks at events or casual telephone remarks with other public figures. The only event of likely serious consequence was the August 20, 1963, news conference from Hyannis Port, Massachusetts. With the exception of remarks at one bill signing in Washington, DC on August 19, it was the first time he spoke publicly since the death of his son on August 9th. In other words, Kennedy did not use his personal residences or vacation locations for work. In fact, 9 of the 10 Florida speeches occurred outside the city of Palm Beach in Miami, Miami Beach, or Tampa. John Kennedy would travel for the afternoon away from the family home, deliver the speech, and return to the city at night. These were not places where he would fully integrate public and private worlds. That said, it is important to note

approximately 41% of his entire presidency was at vacation or relaxation locations.

Lyndon Johnson kicked off an entirely new way we view the vacation residences of the presidents. Unlike previous modern presidents, Lyndon Johnson had only one primary location he travelled to as president, his ranch in Texas. It was the place he was born, lived, and eventually buried. Johnson also travelled to Camp David as president, but the ranch was the Western White House during his administration. It was his retreat, vacation location, and a place of official business. Many previous presidents used their private locations primarily for personal time. They would work there, but often only through telephone or paper communications. Johnson's calendar[11] is filled with meetings, appointments, and events scheduled down to the minute. While the ranch was definitely a work location, Johnson made it also a place for meeting officials. Other administrations had important meeting and key political figures at their residences, but Johnson used the ranch to entertain heads of state. The leaders of Germany, Canada, Israel, and Mexico were all welcomed and entertained with outdoor barbeque feasts. The ranch even hosted 35 ambassadors, primarily from Central, South America and the Caribbean at a barbeque luncheon in April 1967. He made 74 trips to the ranch while president, spending a total of 490 days, inclusive. In other words, 26% of his entire presidency was spent at the ranch in Texas. His longest visits were in the fall of 1965. Lyndon Johnson had gall bladder surgery on October 8, 1965. He was in the hospital until October 21 when he was discharged. On the 23, he left for the ranch where he stayed a total of 23 days until November 14, 1965. He returned on November 20 and remained there another 24 days until December 13, 1965. He then stayed in Washington for a week until December 21 when he returned to the ranch for 13 more days, or until January 2, 1966. From October 21, 1965, until January 2, 1966, he spent a total of 16 days in the White House and 60 at the ranch. Most ranch stays were 5–6 days though much longer November and December visits were common.

Johnson also used the ranch for public communications and speeches. He would either speak there or go to regional locations and return home. He spoke at the ranch or cities like Austin, Texas for news conferences 28 times, with 15 of them coded in the public papers as given at the ranch. Of the 74 visits to the ranch, he either spoke there, or used it as a base to travel from for a speech 40 times, or 54% of the time. There were also 101 separate speaking events recorded in the public papers,

including a wide range of events from telephone remarks, toasts of officials, formal speeches, and news conferences. He was there frequently and used it as a platform of his presidency. It was truly a public White House in the sense it was the face of the American president. It was not a retreat or escape without any business.

A more private place for Lyndon Johnson was Camp David. He was there regularly, though the trips are harder to categorize. Johnson would visit the location for day trips, beginning and ending his day at the White House. These were often business meetings away from the White House where he hosted people in a different environment. While those visits were not counted, there were 24 separate overnight visits in his presidency, for a total of 60 days spent at Camp David in residence. He only spoke to the press three times while at Camp David, and all were primarily official meetings. In April 1965, Johnson hosted the Canadian Prime Minister at Camp David with public remarks during that visit. The other two remarks from Camp David involved discussing a meeting with Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker about the situation in Vietnam. While the Johnson Ranch was his home, it appears Camp David was more of a getaway from Washington for weekends to retreat given the physical distance between the ranch and the White House. The ranch was an awkward weekend location with only 5 trips that lasted only 2 days and 10 that lasted 3. The Johnson ranch became an iconic home that represented his presidency. It changed the perception of presidential homes and the expectations of presidents away from the White House. Johnson spent a large amount of time there. The public papers and his daily calendar show it to be a working administration which represented a presidency that relocated temporarily more than one in relaxation mode. The Johnson presidency set up the expectations for future administrations to not fully disengage for more than a couple of days at a time. The president may not be in Washington, but he is expected to be active and busy. Johnson regularly interacted with the public and presented a president who used his ranch as just another part of his administration.

Richard Nixon took the usage of presidential and vacation residences to a new level during his administration.[12] He frequented his residences with veracity unlike any other president. He spent 957 days either at, or traveling to, personal or presidential residences. In other words, 47.2% of his entire presidency was spent away from the White House at his retreat locations. While Franklin Roosevelt may have created it, Nixon is

likely the president who used Camp David the most spending 440 days there, inclusive. Camp David was the regular weekend location, with 165 separate visits during his presidency. Each trip was usually 2 or 3 days, with a few in the 6–8 day range. He used the property for personal and professional reasons, hosting several heads of state such as the British and Japanese prime ministers as well as the Soviet premier. He also had other residences he regularly used while in office. His home in San Clemente, La Casa Pacifica, functioned as the Western White House. It was the residence he spent the longest stays. He came here 28 separate times and would spend a week or more, with the longest stay at 31 days and several at 16–18. In total, Nixon spent 271 days in San Clemente, though 4 of those days were spent at the Annenberg estate at Rancho Mirage in 1974. Nixon named Walter Annenberg the ambassador to the UK in 1969 and was visiting them at their home. Many presidents have since frequented the Annenberg estate as a retreat and it has been used as a location to either relax or meet dignitaries. The other location Nixon spent a considerable amount of time was his home in Key Biscayne, Florida. Nixon went to Key Biscayne a total of 55 separate times for a total of 246 days, with the average visit 4–5 days. However, the 246 days is a bit misleading. Richard Nixon was friends with Robert Abplanalp who owned a couple islands in the Bahamas, notably Grand Cay and Walker Cay. For 15 of those 55 visits, Nixon would arrive at Key Biscayne, leave Florida for 1 night and 2 days for Grand Cay. In all, Nixon spent 33 of the 246 days in the Bahamas on these properties. During one of these Florida trips in July 1974, Nixon visited the Mar-a-Lago property in Palm Beach, Florida. According to the records in his daily diary, the president was investigating its use for visiting foreign dignitaries. It had been willed to the national government by Marjorie Merriweather Post specifically for that purpose. Nixon favored his Key Biscayne property and future presidents were not interested in it. It was returned to the Post Foundation in 1981 and purchased by Donald Trump in 1985.[13] Richard Nixon also enjoyed the use of the U.S.S. Sequoia as president. He frequently took the yacht out for half-day regional trips throughout his presidency. In 1973, he spent part of 31 different days on the Sequoia, and in 1974, 19 days.

Nixon also used his presidential properties for business. He worked at every one of his locations and used Camp David as a place for meetings and important functions. In 1973, Nixon entertained Soviet Premier Brezhnev at several residences. Brezhnev arrived on June 18, 1973, at

the White House. On June 19, Nixon took him on the presidential yacht Sequoia and hosted him from the 19 to the 21 at Camp David. Richard Nixon then brought Brezhnev at the Western White House, his San Clemente home, from June 22 to the 24. A few days after the Soviet Premier left, Nixon had the permanent residents to the NATO council at San Clemente followed by the US congressional delegation to China. Nixon clearly favored his vacation and retreat locations. The longest break he had from any of them was about a month with most gaps far shorter with 12 days or less. So, if we have a president who spent almost half of his time at these residences, did he also regularly speak at them? The most straightforward answer is not according to the public papers. Nixon spoke 10 times at Camp David throughout his entire presidency. Six were radio addresses to the public; two others were for national holidays, one a telephone conversation, and the last a general set of remarks. He never spoke in the Bahamas, but he did speak 12 times at his Key Biscayne property. Five were radio addresses, but several others were general remarks about events occurring with his administration. As president, Nixon spoke 29 times in Florida. Of those 29, 28 of those public speaking events were tied to his visits at Key Biscayne. The speaking events ranged from Tallahassee to Miami, Florida. For every event except for a speech at the Kennedy Space Center about National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) in 1969, it was part of a larger vacation trip to his Florida White House.

Nixon spoke more in California than any of his other vacation or retreat properties. There were 80 speaking events given in California while he was in office, and 39 of them were specifically located at his San Clemente residence. These recorded in the public papers are more far ranging than at the other locations. They include television interviews and press conferences to remarks involving the current events of the day. Nixon spoke at a wide variety of places in California during his presidency. He was as far North as Redwoods National Park and South as San Diego, California. However, 75 of the 80 speeches were all given as a larger part of his stay at La Casa Pacifica in San Clemente. The remaining five were split between a couple in March 1969 at the beginning of his presidency and three right before the election in 1972. Richard Nixon made his vacation locations an integral part of his administration spending just under half of all his days at them. They were places he worked, entertained, and relaxed away from Washington, DC. The daily calendar

suggests he was often busy throughout every day and frequently concluded his evenings with a motion picture film.

Gerald Ford, in contrast, began to shift into the vacation style we see more closely associated with later presidents like Bill Clinton. He did not spend every weekend away from the White House at a retreat or vacation location.[14] Ford was president for a total 896 days, and he spent 123 days inclusive, or 13.7% at Camp David or vacation residences. Gerald Ford made 16 trips to Camp David during his entire presidency. In contrast, during a comparable time of 896 days (August 1969–January 1972), Richard Nixon spent 415 days away from the White House with 67 trips to Camp David with a total of 172 days inclusive. When compared to Nixon, Ford's 39 days inclusive at Camp David looks austere. The Ford family took long trips to Vail, Colorado in late December and during the month of August. They had 6 stays in Vail during his presidency with the shortest trip at 8 days in December 1975 with the others all over 10 days. He also spent 22 days out in California between the Firestone and Annenberg estates three times during his administration. Ford in totality looks somewhat different from many previous presidents. He took periodic weekends at Camp David, but not as regularly as many others. He appears to focus large vacation trips in the late summer and during the holiday season and not as often as many predecessors and successors.

Jimmy Carter was elected in 1976 and began serving in 1977. He has often been cast as the president who took fewer vacation days than any other president.[15] However, this moniker is only partially true and depends on the lens you view the presidency.[16] It is true Carter did not take vacations as regularly as Kennedy, Nixon, or Reagan. However, these days only reflect part of the picture. He spent a tremendous amount of time at Camp David during his administration. He was there almost every weekend he did not have other commitments. He took a total of 95 trips to Camp David for 366 days, inclusive. He did have the summit there for 14 days with Begin and Sadat in September 1978, but that was really just a small fraction of time. His use of Camp David is under-appreciated. For example, in 1979, he went there 23 separate times for a total of 101 days, inclusive. In fact, he traveled to Camp David at least twice a month in 9 out of the 12 months in that calendar year. Furthermore, he visited Camp David at least once a month throughout his entire presidency. The only exceptions are January and April 1977 and August 1978. It was a place he obviously found to be

a reliable escape from the White House. Unlike many other previous administrations with designated vacation destinations, Carter spent time at different places. He continued Ford's idea of focused vacations at specific times of the year. The Carters would often take a long family vacation in August. One in particular was a Mississippi River riverboat trip on the Delta Queen. It is a steamboat, most famous for its annual race against the Belle of Louisville as part of the festivities leading up to the Kentucky Derby. The First Family took a cruise on the boat as passengers in 1979. New reports indicated they fully participated in activities on board and not sequestered from the general passengers.[17] As his presidency progressed, he spent less time in Plains, Georgia likely because of the lack of privacy and attention he brought to such a small town. Some reports suggest protestors made these trips difficult.[18] In all, Carter had 9 trips to Plains totaling 40 days during his presidency. It was the location he went to the most for vacation outside Camp David. He did spend Christmas 1979 at Camp David, but the other 3 years were at his home in Plains.

Jimmy Carter's presidency reflects a president with concentrated vacations at specific times of the year. It is a presidential style emulated by many later administrations. With the exception of Plains, many of the other retreat vacation locations for Carter centered around a nature theme. There were 3 trips to the Musgrove Plantation in Georgia, 3 to Spruce Creek, 3 to the Sapelo River, and one each to the Salmon River, Camp Hoover, and the aforementioned Delta Queen. Camp Hoover, or Rapidan Camp, is located in the Shenandoah National Park in Virginia. It was the outdoorsy retreat of Herbert Hoover during his administration. It was also the first complex specifically designed as a presidential rustic retreat. The Hoovers donated it to Virginia for future usage, but Roosevelt did not use it because of physical challenges that made it extremely difficult for him in his wheelchair.[19] It was often utilized by other organizations for camps as well as high-ranking government officials though not as an executive residence. Carter became the last president to use the facility as a retreat when he spent 4 days there in May 1979. The trips to Sapelo Island were an opportunity for seclusion.[20] The Coast Guard patrolled the island's borders and the First Family could spend time relaxing away from the public and media. One of the most poignant trips occurred at the end of his presidency. The day after the presidential election (and loss) in 1980, Carter spent 2 days at Camp David followed by a short trip (November 7–9) to the Spruce Creek

Fishing Cabin in Pennsylvania. This trip was likely time to reflect and regroup with the defeated president isolated in nature for some private time.

Jimmy Carter was a president who used presidential vacation locations as retreats away from the public and press. They were less an alternative White House, and more a refuge from attention. In total, Carter spent 469 days away from the White House at these locations during his presidency. Carter was president for 1461 days, so 32.1% of his time was spent at these locations away from the White House. Camp David was the most frequent location with slightly over one hundred days spent elsewhere. However, if you exclude Camp David, Carter's retreat time away from the White House falls to only 7%. So, while it is true Carter spent far fewer true vacation days away from the White House than many other presidents, we should not discount the importance of the retreat at Camp David as a place to escape the pressures of the office. Carter spoke only once (and by telephone) at Camp David his entire time in office and did not use the location as a platform to discuss policy. Camp David was a place for him to be away from the world. President Carter, in general, did not often use his downtime for public speaking engagements. There were informal exchanges with reporters, but rarely were there actual events. For example, Carter spoke 22 times either in Plains, or nearby Americus, Georgia. Sixteen of them were informal exchanges, with only 1 news conference and 1 official interview. The balance was exchanges or remarks, but primarily of an incidental basis. There were also a few informal remarks on vacations. There were 4 informal exchanges in Wyoming and Idaho while on vacation, and another on Sapelo Island. The riverboat tour of 1979 was a distinct break with this style with the president speaking in various places from Minnesota to Missouri while traveling along the river. The president wanted to focus on energy policy and gave attention to the issue at various places along the route. There were 14 speeches as part of this tour, beginning in St. Paul, Minnesota and ending in St. Louis, Missouri. Seven of the speeches were in various places throughout Iowa along the Mississippi River. Two were in Wisconsin with one of those at a picnic for a mining and manufacturing company. Of the remaining speeches, 3 were in Minnesota with 2 in Missouri. While unsuccessful, sources reported the trip at the feel of a campaigning event given the early primaries in Wisconsin.[21]

Ronald Reagan was notable for his frequent trips to Camp David as well as his time at his California ranch.[22] Reagan, while better known

for vacation time, did not spend substantially more time away from the White House compared to Jimmy Carter. Reagan was president for a total of 2922 days, or 1461 in each term. 36.6% of his total administration was spent at various vacation locations, though primarily Camp David and California. When broken down term to term, there were 523 days (35.8%) in the first and 545 days (37.3%) in the second at these retreat places. Reagan is certainly high, especially in the second term, but not at the same levels as Richard Nixon. When Ronald Reagan became president, he became a bicoastal administration in many ways. Camp David turned into the regular retreat on the East Coast, while a variety of places filled that need out West. The Reagans had their ranch, Rancho del Cielo, as a frequent destination, but unlike other presidents, he also spent a considerable time in hotels in Los Angeles. The Century Plaza Hotel was his usual residence while in the city. Between both terms, the Reagans stayed there on 26 different trips for a total of 83 days, inclusive. According to references in the daily diary, the Reagans had a usual penthouse suite in the hotel and the entire floor has now been named for him in honor of his regular occupation as president.[23] Ronald Reagan also spent time at the Annenberg Estate in California. The Reagans spent every New Years at Sunnylands, the Annenberg residence. They had 8 trips totally 39 days, typically from December 29 until January 2, give or take a day on certain years. The Reagans were regular New Year's guests there for decades, both before and after his presidency.[24] The Reagans also went to Phoenix, Arizona on at least 3 trips for a total of 6 days. Phoenix was where Nancy's parents, Loyal and Edith Davis retired. Though Dr. Loyal Davis passed away in 1982,[25] the Reagans did visit Nancy's mother on short visits before her death in 1987.[26] Toward the end of the Reagan administration, they also had two trips in the daily diaries labeled as a private residence in Los Angeles for 11 days. This property was a home in Bel Air purchased for the Reagans by friends as a place for them to live after the end of his presidency. The two locations he spent the most time are Camp David and Rancho del Cielo. In the first term, he had 91 separate trips to Camp David for a total of 276 days. It went up slightly in the second term to 96 trips over 296 days. Rancho del Cielo in the first term had 26 trips over 166 days while the second term, 23 trips over 183 days. Reagan travelled slightly less to the California ranch in his second term, but had longer stays. Between these two residences, Reagan spent 30.3% of his total time as president in his first term and 32.7% in his second one. These were places

for both relaxation and business. Reagan hosted Queen Elizabeth at the ranch in 1983 and at Camp David, Margaret Thatcher as well as the prime ministers of Mexico and Japan.

Ronald Reagan used these locations to communicate with the public in greater ways than many previous administrations. Between the two terms, Reagan spoke at Camp David 145 times, all the weekly radio address. In the first four years, Reagan had 54 speaking events at Camp David and 91 in the second. He gave the radio address from Camp David at least once in each month of 1983, 1985, 1986, and 1987. His California retreat locations were also used as places for presidential business. Ranco del Cielo is located near Santa Barbara, and the presidential papers indicate the city for business conducted at the ranch. It is complicated by the fact the Reagans also hosted fund-raisers in Santa Barbara away from the ranch. While there was only one event, a bill signing attributed at the ranch, 37 radio addresses were given in Santa Barbara (15 in the first term, 22 in the second). There were also 6 remarks by telephone, 2 informal exchanges, and one address to the nation from Santa Barbara which most likely occurred at Rancho del Cielo. He also gave 7 radio addresses in Los Angeles, most likely at the Century Plaza Hotel, and one in Palm Springs, most likely at the Annenberg estate. Reagan used these locations as places to conduct business, but on his own terms. The radio addresses function as a way to communicate without interfering with his privacy. They allowed to appear engaged and atop of situations while limiting the time away from these places. The Reagan vacation locations reveal a person with strong routines and a regular schedule. They spent regular weekends at Camp David traveling at least once a month all eight years of his administration. There were only two exceptions, May 1982 and August 1988 when they skipped Camp David. Thanksgivings were reserved for Rancho del Cielo every year. They also went to their ranch at least once every August as well as time during almost every February, April, and September. Unlike many other presidents, the Reagans chose to spend every Christmas at the White House except for his last year in office, 1988. They spent that holiday at their new home in Los Angeles, California.

Unlike other administrations, the Reagan daily diary is unusual. It is only partially complete with many days, if not weeks, missing. Up to Reagan, most diarists obsessively detailed the president's days with exacting precision. Material may be redacted, but it is possible to get a clear picture of a president's preferences and quirks. For example, Richard

Nixon was awoken every morning by the switchboard calling his room. Dwight Eisenhower lived for golf, played as many rounds as possible, and used those occasions to network and discuss business. The Reagan diary has been heavily supplemented by the presidential movements schedule and logs from other offices that managed the president on a daily basis. When comparing days included to days missing, it appears the diarist did not record down or personal time both in and away from the White House.

The George H. W. Bush administration was very different in terms of its vacation time. Though the daily diary was not available to examine, the presidential library provided logs of his vacation time away from the White House. Bush spent a total of 543 days, inclusive, at either Camp David or Kennebunkport, Maine as president. It is approximately 37.2% of the total days he was in office. Kennebunkport has been a long-standing property for Bush's family. They owned homes on the land since 1902 and by the former president since 1981.[27] As president, George H. W. Bush took at total of 24 vacation or retreat trips for a total of 156 days to the property. There was an additional one-day trip in November 1991 to access hurricane damage, but that has been excluded given the reason for the visit. The Bushes spent time there every May, July, and August at Kennebunkport each year he was in office. The longest trips were the August trips which often spanned at least 20 days for the first three years. The only exception is 1992 when he spent only 5 days at the residence in early August.

As president, Bush used the Kennebunkport property also as a place to conduct meetings with heads of state. In 1989, he met with French President Francois Mitterrand, Danish Prime Minister Poul Schlueter, and Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at the retreat. He met with both King Hussein of Jordan and again Prime Minister Mulroney there in August 1990. In July 1991, Bush met with Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu at Kennebunkport for an informal meeting. After the attempted failed Soviet coup in August 1991, he hosted British Prime Minister, John Major and Canadian Prime Minister, Brian Mulroney at the home for talks about the situation. In September of the same year, Bush also gave a press conference at Kennebunkport where he reaffirmed the US' recognition of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania as independent countries.[28] In August 1992, Bush hosted Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin for an informal meeting at the property.[29]

Camp David was a regular retreat location for George H. W. Bush throughout his administration. He made 123 separate trips there for a total of 387 days, inclusive. He spent 26.5% of this entire presidency at Camp David. He extensively used the property, visiting it at least once a month through his entire term in office. The Bushes also spent every Christmas at Camp David with at least 4 days at the location. They also spent two Thanksgivings (1989 and 1991) and in 1990, the day after Thanksgiving as well as the weekend. The family's affection for the property is evident when his daughter, Dorothy, chose to marry there in June 1992 making her the only presidential child to do so[30] though Patricia Nixon did honeymoon there following her marriage to Edward Cox. Bush also utilized the location to meet with foreign dignitaries and officials. In 1989, he used Camp David to meet with foreign officials on at least 4 separate occasions. From February 17 to 20, he hosted Prince Charles of Wales and in July, Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawkes. During late September, he met with Mexican President Carlos Salinas and on November 24, 1989, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. During 1990, he hosted both German Chancellor Kohl and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. The year 1991 saw Camp David extensively employed to meet with foreign officials. In January, he met with United Nations Secretary General Perez de Cuellar followed by a meeting in March with Turkish President Turgut Ozal. He met with the UK's new Prime Minister John Major in May, Argentina's President Carlos Menem in November, and Mexican President Salinas in December. President Bush used Camp David to host foreign leaders on 6 separate occasions in 1992: Russian President Boris Yeltsin, German Chancellor Kohl, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, and UK's Prime Minister Major on two separate occasions. A few days before Bush left office in January 1993, he hosted Canadian Prime Minister Mulroney there for one last time.

George H. W. Bush utilized his vacation and retreat locations as both places of relaxation and work. He would meet with foreign officials as well as use the places as a break from Washington, DC. Records also indicate Bush met with the National Security Council at least three times at Camp David while in office. Camp David was primarily for short, frequent trips with the longest lasting 5 days, inclusive. Kennebunkport was for fewer, but often longer breaks from the White House. In terms of percentages, Bush spent more time at Camp David than Carter or Reagan on a term by term comparison. Unlike Reagan, Bush preferred

to record the radio addresses at the White House. During his four years in office, he only gave one radio address from Camp David. The presidential papers suggest Bush used Camp David as a place of relaxation over work. While he spent more time there (26.5% of his administration) than his recent predecessors, he only spoke at Camp David 11 times. Three were press conferences, one was the Thanksgiving address, and aside from the aforementioned sole radio address, the balance was remarks upon arrival or departure. He spoke 37 times from Kennebunkport and most reflected the usage of the location as a meeting place for foreign dignitaries. He gave 10 press conferences and 4 news conferences, both frequently with foreign leaders. Eleven events were exchanges with reporters and the balance primarily involved remarks along with question and answer sessions. While Bush took long trips to Kennebunkport in August and September, these retreats obviously blended the business and personal in these months than during the other times of the year. Three-quarters of the total speeches in the papers given from Kennebunkport occurred in during these two months.

The presidency of Bill Clinton ushered in a different way to use vacations and retreat locations. Previous presidents took scheduled vacations with time in different locations. Many of them had "slow" days, especially Sundays, but they were part of the daily schedule. These were days when a president would have one meeting or a notation about when they got up and went to bed. Some administrations would include travel to church or the golf course as part of their Sunday routine. However, the Clinton daily diary[31] had a considerable number of "no public schedule" days on the calendar. Unlike previous administrations with a slow Sunday, these days would regularly be in the middle of the week or occasionally a partial weekend. They would also be part of the official travel schedule and bigger formal trips with a day off. Clinton had 70 "no public schedule" days in the first term and 181 in the second. Two were in the Bahamas, 5 in Honolulu, 2 in Hot Springs, 2 in New York City, and 2 in Salt Lake City. The remaining 238 days were all taken inside the White House. They range from just one day off to upward of 7 days one December. The Clintons spent every Christmas holiday at the White House with a minimum of at least 3, but usually 5–7 days marked on the calendar for "no public schedule" days. There were also many half day or partial days off throughout the year which were not counted since the president would indeed have a public schedule for part of the day.

The Clinton administration frequented Camp David, but at a far reduced level than his recent predecessors. The first term had 28 trips with a total of 84 days, inclusive. The second term had 26 trips and 96 days, inclusive. The Clinton's did not have a regular pattern of visiting Camp David with the exception of Thanksgiving. The Clintons spent the days around Thanksgiving every year they were at the White House at Camp David. Aside from that specific event, they did not have a consistent month or time of year they visited the presidential retreat. They also did not use Camp David as a regular location to meet with officials and dignitaries. The first record of a foreign official at Camp David during the Clinton years is early February 1998. He hosted the British Prime Minister Tony Blair there as part of his official visit. This trip itself is notable because Clinton visited Camp David very regularly in early 1998. There were 3 trips, back to back to Camp David on January 30 to February 1, February 6–8 (Blair visit), and February 13–17. The story about Monica Lewinsky broke in the press on January 21, 1998, so these trips in close proximity to each other appear to have more context from that perspective. Clinton was likely using the Camp David location as a retreat and a place to meet with Blair away from the press corps and their questions. Bill Clinton favored Camp David as a place to discuss Middle East politics. In July 1999, he met with Israeli Prime Minister Barak there as part of his larger trip in the USA. Barak visited Camp David again the next year in July 2000 as part of a Middle East peace conference along with Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasir Arafat. Though Clinton was not at Camp David as regularly as previous presidents, he did speak from the location on occasion though not as religiously as Reagan. During the first term, he gave 4 weekly radio addressed from Camp David, and in the second, 5. There were also 3 additional remarks and exchanges with reporters for a total of 8 events in the public papers for the second term.

The Clinton daily diaries were unique in comparison with other administrations. The diaries help us see insights into the routines of presidents rarely witnessed by the public. For example, several administrations record the first run film shown at either the White House or Camp David on any particular day. The Clinton records have several insights about the first family and their activities. It appears to be the first daily diary that indicates the physical location of the president as well as the First Lady at the end of the day. Most administrations have the president's location, but this administration included Hillary Clinton even if her location was different from her husband. The daily record also

started almost every day with the typical entry of "jogging TBA." It was on schedule as a suspected potential event from 1993 until March 1997 in the second term when it is finally removed from the schedule never to appear again. Bill Clinton was also an ardent University of Arkansas sports fan. Every time Arkansas played football, regardless of the day's events, the game was noted with a large box around it on the physical schedule to draw a person's attention to it. It is the only presidential diary with the time and television channel marked for his handlers to easily access it. Arkansas basketball during March Madness was also denoted on the schedule so the games would be available on request. In the 1995 season, he traveled to Little Rock and stayed at his mother-in-law's home from March 31 to April 4 for the games. The Razorbacks had won their Final Four game on the first and lost the national championship on the third. While the game itself was in Seattle, Clinton went to the campus to cheer on the team. While perhaps flippant, it is a clear show of team devotion to spend time at the in-law's home without your spouse to watch basketball games. Another unusual notation in the diaries was a July 1993 memorial service in Little Rock. The Clintons returned to the city for a funeral with a memorial service afterward. The daily diary lists the location of the event as the Western Sizzlin', a regional buffet style restaurant that often includes an all-you-can-eat area. It creates a very humanizing image to think of the president voraciously watching college sports and comforting friends at restaurants similar to places in almost every city in the country.

The Clintons also took longer vacations in specific locations. They made 6 separate trips to Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, three in each term. In the first term, they spent 21 days there inclusive and in the second term, 45 days. At least on one of these times on Martha's Vineyard (1998), the Clintons spent part of the time in the Hamptons. These trips could also be considered working vacations because work was integrated into the vacation schedules. The first term had 4 speaking events in the public papers, two radio addresses, and 2 remarks. However, public speaking significantly increases during the second term with 18 occasions. Bill Clinton gave 5 radio addresses, 4 additional radio or telephone remarks to the media as well as spoke at 2 fund-raisers and a bill signing. The remainder of the balance were remarks or exchanges with reporters. In 1995 and again in 1996, the Clintons took an August vacation to Jackson Hole, Wyoming. The first trip was for 16 days and the second for 9, for a total of 25 total days inclusive. Clinton had 9

speeches recorded in the public papers during his vacation there. Four were the weekly presidential radio address. One was remarks with reporters following the signing of a bill, another regarding women's suffrage with the rest as exchanges with reporters about current events or occurrences. There were also two four-day trips during the first term, one to Vail, Colorado in August 1993 and another to Hawaii in November 1996. The Clintons travelled to St. Thomas and Hilton Head during both terms. They went to St. Thomas in 1997 and 1998 at the start of the New Year spending 4 to five days. From 1994 to 1998, the Clintons spent the end of December through the New Year celebration at Hilton Head, South Carolina. In the second term, the Clintons had vacation trips to the Hamptons and the White Oak Plantation in Yulee, Florida. The trip Yulee was in May 1999 for 6 days while the Hamptons were four days in late summer in the same year at a property owned by Stephen Spielberg.[32] Clinton spoke three times in the public papers during the Florida vacation, once was the weekly radio address with the others as general remarks on current events toward reporters. There were also short trips with no public schedule to Park City, Lake Placid, and Chappaqua in the second term and a seven day trip to a private residence in San Diego during the first. The vacation and retreat schedule for the Clinton administration reflects an administration quite unlike others before it in the modern presidency area. Many administrations had schedules delineate between work and down time. Presidents would take time away on weekends and even more time away during the summers. Bill Clinton's schedule reflects an administration run by a workaholic. There is certainly a considerable amount of downtime, but it is not at vacation locations or retreats. Days are scheduled off at the White House where the president is easily accessible. Formal business trips will have a day or two built in with no schedule for the president to have vacation or downtime in attractive places. Formal vacations are taken every year, but the president also used them as places to speak and interact with the public. Traditional presidential spots like Camp David are utilized, but rarely when compared to previous administrations. Clinton does not use vacation locations for entertaining dignitaries outside of a couple of trips to Camp David in the second term. The Bill Clinton presidency looks more like an administration that would take short respites on a regular basis and blend them with their working schedule.

George W. Bush's retreat and vacation time away from the White House closely resembled his father in many ways. Though the daily

diaries are not available for his or Obama's administrations at the time of writing, there is quite a bit of public information available along with other information gleaned from the public papers. George W. Bush, or Bush 43, primarily used two properties, Camp David and Prairie Chapel Ranch near Crawford, Texas. In 1999, he purchased the property in McLennan County, Texas. From speeches in the public papers, it appears Bush always devoted the time between Christmas and New Years for time at the ranch. As president, Bush made a total of 149 trips to Camp David and 77 trips to his ranch. He spent 487 days at Camp David, inclusive and 490 inclusive at the ranch, or 33.7% of this entire administration. Bush used the properties during his presidency as a place to entertain foreign officials as well as places to get away. He regularly met with foreign officials at Camp David. During his first term, he brought foreign leaders to the Maryland retreat 11 times. Prime Minister Tony Blair was by far the most regular foreign visitor with 4 separate visits during his first term. The other visitors were the Prime Ministers of Italy, Japan; the Presidents of Egypt, Pakistan, Russia, Spain; and King Abdullah II of Jordan. During his second term, he had foreign leaders to Camp David on 7 different occasions. He met with the Prime Ministers of Denmark, Japan, UK and the Presidents of Afghanistan, Brazil, France, and South Korea. Bush 43, more than many of his predecessors, used his presidential retreat locations as overt work locations. Reagan had given radio addresses at Camp David, but in controlled conditions with limited access from the public. George W. Bush, in his first term, spoke on 18 separate occasions. While 4 were radio addresses, 6 were with news conferences with foreign heads of state (Blair (2), Mubarak, Musharraf, Abdullah, Putin). The remainder (8) was exchanges and remarks with reporters. During his second term, Bush spoke 16 different times at Camp David. Two were telephone remarks, 4 radio addresses, 4 remarks and exchanges, and the remaining 6 were news conferences with various foreign leaders (Karzai, Myung-Bak, da Silva, Rasmussen, Brown, Abe). Camp David during both Bush presidencies functioned as a personal retreat and a platform to entertain important guests. He used Prairie Chapel Ranch in a similar way as well. There were fewer trips to the ranch compared to Camp David, but the president spent almost the same number of days at both throughout his presidency.

Between his two terms in office, Bush hosted 15 different foreign leaders in Crawford, Texas, not including a one day trip by Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia and another by Secretary General of NATO,

Jakob Gijsbert de Hoop Scheffer. In his first term, the Presidents of China, Egypt, Mexico, Russia, and Spain were guests at the ranch as well as the Prime Ministers of Australia, Italy, Japan, and the UK. King Juan Carlos of Spain was also a guest during this term. In his second term, President Fox of Mexico was again a guest, as was the President of Columbia, Chancellor Merkel of Germany and the Prime Ministers of Canada, Denmark, and Israel. Much like Camp David, Bush used his vacation residence as a work location. Many other administrations have used a Western White House, but few spoke so frequently there. Reagan did have a large number of speeches in the public papers, but the majority of them almost entirely radio addresses. In his first term in office, George W. Bush spoke at the ranch or its near vicinity 69 times. Twenty-seven were radio addresses, but 10 were news conferences that often involved foreign leaders. There was one address to the nation, another remarks after signing legislation, and another videotaped remarks. The remainder (29) were either exchanges with reporters often following the news conferences or remarks at the press corps on a wide variety of topics ranging from innocuous to occasionally serious in nature.

The second term was similar to the first at the ranch but at a greatly reduced capacity. There are only 32 speeches logged in the public papers that originate from either Crawford or the ranch. The most unusual was an interview with Israeli television, but 15 were just typical radio addresses. He also held 7 news conferences with various officials, including heads of state with the balance of the speeches as remarks and exchanges with reporters. In addition, the wedding of his daughter Jenna was held at the ranch in May 2008 during his last year in office. For Bush 43, both locations were regular places he went to throughout his administration that he used for both work and vacation away from Washington, DC. He also spoke with the press more frequently at them than any of his predecessors. George W. Bush utilized both locations to entertain, work, and relax throughout his presidency.

Barack Obama used presidential vacations and retreat locations differently. While the presidential daily diaries are not currently available for this administration, much can be extracted from news reports and the public papers. President Obama did not use presidential retreat or vacation locations at the same rate as other administrations. While he did not have an official alternative home like the Western White House of George W. Bush or Ronald Reagan, he did routinely travel at certain times of the year. They went to Hawaii every Christmas and New Year's.

In total, Obama took a total of 29 vacation trips while president totaling 235 days, inclusive.[33] In addition, he went to Camp David 39 times for a total of 93 days inclusive. Cumulatively, over the 8 years he was president, he spent only 11.2% of this entire administration at vacation or retreat locations, including Camp David. Without Camp David, the percent falls to only 8%. Given the fact most other presidents average well over a quarter of their administrations at these locations, Obama is markedly low. Many, especially the more recent ones, would give short exchanges or interactions with the press when they are at these locations. During his first term, President Obama spoke at Camp David two times. In May 2012, he hosted the Group of Eight working session at Camp David with the leaders from Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and the UK in attendance. He spoke once before the meeting and another one during the event. It was also the only time in his first term he hosted any foreign dignitaries at Camp David. There was only one speech at Camp David the entire second term. It was a news conference in May 2015 as part of the meeting Obama held there hosting the Gulf Cooperation Council. There were only two heads of state in attendance for that meeting, Emir Sabah of Kuwait and Emir Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani of Qatar[34] though the other four members did send high-ranking officials.

All the other times Obama was at Camp David (37 other trips), no public speeches are recorded in the papers. In 2012, he opted to go to Camp David for a short summer break instead of Martha's Vineyard. However, the only times he spoke involved official meetings and these were very limited compared to both Bushes and the Clinton administrations. In general, Barack Obama did not publicly speak when engaged in personal or vacation time. There are limited public speeches and unlike some previous administrations, no informal exchanges with reporters.

Barack Obama resembled Clinton on how he blended both business and personal trips. The primary difference is the Obama trips were even more overtly combined. Clinton would work a couple days of downtime into a travel schedule. Obama took trips explicitly to work and vacation, similar to the Carter Mississippi River sojourn. In his first year, there were two particularly notable trips. In July, the Obama family went overseas and visited Ghana, Italy, and Russia. The president and First Lady took their children on the trip to see various places specifically to expose them to history and culture. The president spoke approximately 17 times in these various locations during their visit. All of the remarks

and speeches were business related and not primarily about their personal itineraries. The next month in August, the Obamas took a summer trip to the western USA and visited Arizona, Colorado, Montana, and Wyoming. On the personal side, the first family went to Yellowstone National Park as well as the Grand Canyon. However, the trip itself was business with the president holding two town hall meetings in Colorado and Montana followed by a speech a couple days later at the Veterans of Foreign Wars Convention in Phoenix, Arizona. These three public remarks were the only times the president spoke during the trip. Toward the end of the same month, the family vacationed on Martha's Vineyard for several days. He only spoke three times with remarks about reappointing the head of the Federal Reserve, and two about the death of Senator Edward Kennedy. The president first gave remarks about the event and three days later, the eulogy at his funeral. The next year in July 2010, the Obama family took another vacation to a national park, except this time it was on the East Coast. They went to Acadia National Park, the oldest national park east of the Mississippi River, and spent a couple days in Bar Harbor, Maine. Bar Harbor was an unusual spot for a modern president. The location was a popular tourist destination for many Americans in the late nineteenth century for prominent families from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia such as the Rockefellers, Astors, and Morgans. Theodore Roosevelt visited there with his fiancé in 1880.[35] Presidents Chester A. Arthur and Benjamin Harrison went to Bar Harbor during their administrations. The last sitting president to visit before Barack Obama was William Howard Taft in 1910.[36] Later that summer in August, they again travelled to Martha's Vineyard to spend several days. In fact, with the exception of the summer of 2012, the Obamas spent part of every August on Martha's Vineyard. They skipped 2012 in favor of Camp David because of the constraints of an election year.

President Obama rarely spoke on vacation. There were zero speeches of any kind in 2010 at any of the vacation locations. In 2011, the president spoke twice on Martha's Vineyard and again had no public speeches there in 2012 and in 2013, once about the situation in Egypt. The speeches in Martha's Vineyard begin to change somewhat in 2014. From 2014 to 2016, there are only 5 total speeches and two (one in 2014 and another in 2016) fund-raising speeches. In 2014, the president spoke at a Senate fund-raiser and a Democratic National Committee one in 2016. The president also broke up his vacation time in 2014 with short visits

back to Washington, DC to address political situations. Taken collectively, it works out to 11 total times Barack Obama spoke on Martha's Vineyard during the entire 8 years of his presidency. The Obamas also spent part of every December holiday season in Hawaii. Much like Martha's Vineyard, he rarely spoke to the public in these locations. There are 6 public speeches in the first term and 3 in the second. The ones in the second are all in 2015 and geared either toward the military or incoming heads of state. President Obama presents himself as a president who simultaneously blended professional and personal trips, yet carefully differentiated between the two for public speeches. There were several occasions when the First Family would take a trip with days of relaxation, yet there were professional events built into the schedule. In comparison, Bill Clinton would seemingly do something similar, but the days would be blocked off as "no public schedule." The Obamas would explicitly take vacation time, yet merge it with official business. The last trip of this nature for the Obamas was June 2016. They visited Carlsbad Caverns and Yosemite National Parks on the trip West. He spoke at Yosemite about conservation before taking a day off with this family for a hike through the area.[37]

While the Bushes and Reagan used their personal properties to meet heads of state away from the White House, other presidents like Clinton and Obama did not have the same options. Clinton frequently met with people at Camp David, and while Obama did use it, he did not take advantage of it as extensively as previous administrations. Obama utilized a different property, both familiar and new to the American presidents. Sunnydale, or the Annenberg estate, was a popular location for Nixon, Ford, and Reagan at various times during their administrations. In 2001, Walter and Leonore Annenberg established the Annenberg Trust with the idea to use their property to help promote diplomacy. Ideally, they wanted their home to function as the "Camp David of the West."[38] President Obama took full advantage of the Rancho Mirage Sunnylands estate and used it on three occasions to meet with foreign dignitaries. In June 2013, he had an informal meeting with Xi Jinping of China, followed by another meeting in February 2014 with King Abdullah of Jordan. The most important meeting Obama had at Sunnylands was in February 2016 when he hosted a meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) there. For two to three days (February 16–18), the location played host to the leaders of Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and

Vietnam to help strengthen the commitment of the USA to Southeast Asian region. These meetings at Sunnylands were purely professional albeit in an idyllic setting. In keeping with his other professional commitments, Obama regularly spoke at these events. He had two speaking events with President Jinping, one with King Abdullah, and three during the time at Rancho Mirage. The first public speech at the Annenberg estate in 2016 addressed the death of Justice Scalia, though the other two were related to the ASEAN meeting.

The American presidency is a job without breaks or official time off. They commit to four to eight years of non-stop activity, work, and scrutiny. They exist as the president for exactly 1461 days assuming they serve an entire four years. However, how they manage those years is fully up to the person occupying the office. Some administrations, like Obama, rarely take time off while others, like Nixon, make retreat and vacation locations integral into their administration. Certain presidents have homes they regularly retreat to for time away, while others, use various places depending on the year. Many presidents adore Camp David and use it almost weekly. Others use it far less and only for specific reasons during their term in office.

Presidential retreat and vacation locations give us insight to how a president sees their job and how they prioritize their personal time. Some presidents value specific activities so much (such as Eisenhower with golf), they are worked into his personal schedule almost every day away from the White House. Other presidents simply value time away from Washington, DC and have the days away simply marked at vacation time without daily schedules. While scholars often focus upon the official events as president, we can also learn a tremendous amount of material from these administrations in these periods when they are not always working. Some use these personal locations as Western, Southern, or Winter White Houses, while others simply just call them home or vacation locations. Many presidents will speak at these places on a regular business and conduct the job of their office. Others simply use it as a place to rejuvenate and escape the intense attention of their job.

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CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

Throughout the entire course of our nation's history, one of the most powerful tools our presidents have wielded is the spoken word. Our acknowledged reverence for the office, both as a political and ceremonial position, makes the chief executive extremely powerful. The sheer mention of support or distain for a policy can have tremendous repercussions upon it. Likewise, the endorsement of a candidate for elected office can also have impact on the success of a campaign. Presidential speeches are curious things. At their simplest level, they involve an elected official talking. However, speeches can convey a myriad of motives, ambitions, and intentions. Sometimes, it is not how a president says something, but where he says something. Other times, location can be secondary to message. And occasionally, what you say and where you say, it is imperative for the speech to have meaning. In short, location matters. It also exists as more than just a geographical point on a map. Obviously, every speech has to occur at a specific location. However, places have different meanings depending upon how to classify them. Space can be conveyed in various ways. In this book, I have attempted to look it via Census regions, media markets, Electoral College states, vacation locations, and foreign locales. All bring unique nuance since presidential administrations are not two-dimensional entities, and this research does not attempt to pretend so. Presidents use and prefer locations for a variety of reasons. Sometimes, an administration prefers geographical locations because of where they are in the USA. Other times, they may want to

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target large or small media markets or reach out or reinforce electoral bases throughout the country.

There have been other ideas here revolving around the ideas of targeting populations for maximum effect. Speeches are not given ad hoc or decided by throwing darts on a map. Places are chosen often for specific reasons which, at times, may be more telling than any words which may come out of their mouths. All choices have impact, and they resonate with others in ways that are sometimes predictable, and sometimes not. When administrations focus only upon large media markets in supportive states, it sends signals about what which populations they value above others. If a president only speaks in places when stumping for elections, it communicates their importance in the larger picture for an administration. Social media has exploded over the last 20 years and has potentially at times become a surrogate for connectivity between the president and people. However, presidents have always targeted constituencies with radio, newspapers, television, whistle-stop campaigns, surrogates, and other forms of directed communication. Regional presidential speechmaking elevates areas by acknowledging awareness of those specific people and their hometowns. All presidents go places throughout the country and overseas. While some, like Nixon, may withdraw from speechmaking, they are not allowed to close the curtains and pretend the country does not exist. Every day of their administrations writes a bit more about their history and legacy. The places they go tell us a story about their values and views of the country and the world. Even their vacation time tells us about priorities and intentions. Some, like Eisenhower, Johnson, or Bush 43, did not leave the White House as much as they moved it to alternative locations. Some, such as Carter and Reagan, escaped to Camp David, using it as a second home for weekend retreats. Nixon spent almost half of his administration at vacation locations while Obama barely spent any time on vacation at all. All these choices help better inform us about how they approach and conduct their administration. They are all different, yet unique at the same time. Constitutional limitations and legal statutes help ensure they all generally conform to overarching norms. However, the path they take can vary and makes understanding them a never-ending challenge. Though they were speaking about rhetorical styles, Campbell and Jamieson accurately sum up the view this book has approached these administrations. "The recurrence of certain presidential functions invites a rhetoric of stability

and continuity. At the same time, the flexibility offered to presidents by these genres ensures adaptability."[1]

Two other ideas explored throughout this book are the notion of the permanent campaign and the nature of going public. Permanent campaigning involves the president spending the majority of their time giving speeches with the end result buffering electoral support. This continuous campaigning does not have to manifest itself simply as just election-oriented speeches. On the contrary, it suggests the very activity of being president means the president is engaged in a perpetual state of election maintenance. Presidents constantly eye the next election cycle, and it functions as the overarching driving force behind most behavior and choices. If that were true, presidents would maintain the same level of speechmaking all throughout their first four years in office. Speeches given in the first year would carry as much weight as speeches during the third year. Consequently, presidents would sustain a similar speech load every year in office. Evidence throughout the chapters suggests this idea is complicated and a one-size-fits-all approach does not work across all administrations. Presidential speechmaking for many peaks in years 2 and 4 with years 1 and 3 often show fewer speeches during those years. However, this pattern grows increasingly murky with recent administrations. Barack Obama presents one of the better cases for a president engaged in permanent campaigning while George W. Bush makes a strong case for a cyclic pattern. There are many places around the country that only see the spotlight of many administrations' attentions when there is an upcoming electoral contest. Presidential "going public" has indeed been a national strategy many presidents embrace when giving speeches. The sizable numbers of speeches many presidents have given in the largest media markets shows they have often sought the biggest audiences when attempting to pressure the public. Nevertheless, George W. Bush presidency certainly utilized "going public," but focused far more on smaller media markets and swing states, especially in his first term. By using smaller locations to discuss an issue, Bush 43 deployed a very localized version of "going public" in many instances. The direct appeal is not aimed at as many citizens as possible. Instead, the president seeks to forge a relationship with this smaller set of the voting public and make them feel special and unique. Instead of relying upon televised national appeals, George W. Bush often gave similar versions of the same speech often tweaked for the immediate audience. By focusing on smaller markets, yet

essentially delivering the same speeches over and over, Bush clearly sought to employ a "going public" strategy, but in a more intimate fashion than detailed by Kernell. This approach is most evident in the 2002 midterm campaign speeches of George W. Bush when he gave 87 speeches, all roughly the same length and largely functionally identical to each other. However, certain sections were put in and pulled out depending on the region of the country. Education policy was inserted in about almost every speech given in the Northeastern states while only about two-thirds of the Midwestern ones. Ethanol policy was mentioned in a third of the Midwestern speeches while removed in all other areas. Forestry policy was dropped in half of all the Western speeches and completely removed in the Northeastern and Southern ones. Bush 43 used a going local strategy with a high degree of success in his first term, best exemplified by his strong 2002 midterm electoral successes and subsequent 2004 reelection. As his popularity waned, so did his local strategy. His second term saw shifts into larger media markets and more Republican Party states. Campaigning after his second-term midterms was functionally nonexistent. In order to go public, one first has to go somewhere.

Most other administrations chose to go public in large media markets overwhelmingly in supportive areas. They aim for maximum penetration in efficient ways. In other words, they want the biggest bang for their buck. Eshbaugh-Soha and Peake articulate this idea well with the following summary. "A successful strategy of going local may therefore contain elements of both leadership and responsiveness. That is, presidents may be able to lead the public and media agendas by going local but are wise to go local on those policies with preexisting public support to translate agenda-setting leadership into increased legislative success."[2] Most administrations travel to places where people are already predisposed to like them and use those places to discuss ideas that are popular or resonate with those audiences. They then transition that perception of support into the persuasion power that Neustadt believed could make or break a presidency.

Speech volume has steadily increased. The general trend in public presidential speeches has been growth. While the overall volume of speeches has dramatically increased, many of those speeches occur in Washington, DC. It is important not to discount these speeches. Presidents give the majority of their administration's speeches there because it is the seat of government as well as the location of the president's primary residence. It is undisputed that recent presidents give more speeches than previous ones. However, the

nature of public discourse has also changed. The national media exists as a multitude of mediums, all competing for a new or fresh angle to draw an audience. Newspapers, television, radio, and the Internet all have various stations, companies, and outlets all seeking something unique. As a result, managing the presidency as well as access to the chief executive has become its own business with rules and regulations. Presidents no longer simply give weekly press conferences (like Eisenhower and Kennedy) or large named speeches (like Lyndon Johnson) as their primary way to interact with the American public. The vast bulk of these increased public interactions are in their own way sound bites. Presidents for years have contended with the national media selecting short snippets of speeches to convey a message. Recent administrations have seemingly attempted to wrest control away from the media by manufacturing their own sound bites via social media platforms like Twitter. The president has evolved into the most remarkable public office in the USA. As an institution, it wields a huge amount of power through the bureaucracy. The president is also simultaneously is a celebrity creation striving for a resonating connection with the country to maintain popularity and support. This bond between the people and chief executive is welded together by the illusion of frequent communication about issues and topics important to the public. This goal is accomplished through the use of short, often ceremonial, concise speeches covering a variety of topics. Most of these speeches often originate either at the White House or in the Washington, DC, area during most years, though presidents tend to "take the act on the road," to borrow a theater phrase, during election years. As the presidents use brief minor speeches more often, they do give more speeches. On average, every president since Reagan has minimally given one speech every day they were in office.

The Census serves as a valuable tool to look at presidential speeches. It confirms some things we often assume presidents about presidential travel. Census regions help us better see presidential regional preferences. Southern states do get more attention than Western ones. Democratic presidents travel to the Northeast more regularly than Republican ones. Presidents adjust their speeches depending on where they fall in presidential time. In other words, many administrations will focus more speeches in places when elections are nigh. In the last 20 years, there has been a slow creep toward closer pattern that resembles continuous campaigning than ever before. Gaps between fundraising cycles are narrowing, and presidents begin banging the campaign drums earlier and earlier with each successive administration.

Many prefer areas of the country favorable toward them as well as locations that may give them the greatest electoral advantage. Southern states with their large number of Electoral College votes offer a tantalizing prize for presidential candidates. Many administrations gravitate toward the South and Midwest for speechmaking likely because of their large numbers of constituencies. Every time a president publicly speaks in the USA, it is to an audience. Most of the USA is part of a Designated Market Area (DMA). These DMAs are numbered according to the number of television households included in them. Media markets free speeches from the geographical boundaries placed upon them by Census regions. A majority of presidential speeches are always given in the largest markets within the USA. Though presidents may prefer certain geographical areas to others, the media markets clearly demonstrate they generally go to the largest markets in any Census region though exceptions occur such as Bush 43. The media market chapter raises some interesting questions and also presents some thought-provoking results. The population has increased, and the majority of those people live in the proximity to larger cities. The smaller DMAs have shrunk in size as the larger metropolitan areas have grown. These trends were somewhat regular until the presidency of George W. Bush. George W. Bush gave a smaller percentage of speeches in the largest media markets of the USA than any other president in this study. The George W. Bush administration appears acutely aware of the nature of media markets and utilizes them to their maximum advantage. Also, it is not enough to simply dismiss these findings by arguing Republicans prefer rural areas. Nixon, Ford, Reagan, and George H. W. Bush all gave more speeches in the largest markets and most had fewer speeches in the smaller ones. However, with Barack Obama reverting back to a very strong large market DMA pattern, Bush 43 currently appears more of an anomalous administration than the beginning of a new trend. The use of the media markets also substantiated the previous assertions of speeches appearing cyclic in nature. For almost every presidency, the largest percentages of speeches in every media market occurred during congressional and presidential election years. In this regard, George W. Bush appears very conventional. While he may have given more speeches in smaller markets, they are primarily concentrated in years 2 and 4. These results suggest a very strategic approach to speechmaking beyond a simple dislike for larger media markets. They hint at a very deliberate and focused appeal toward markets when key elections are on the horizon.

The Electoral College results strongly suggest presidents, no matter how contentious the election, focus more upon states that compose their bases of support. Presidents seek out and give speeches in states with more favorable audiences. But, George W. Bush again appears to be a vivid departure from well-established patterns within public speechmaking. By concentrating on the swing states, Bush appears, at least from this perspective, to reach out to a variety of constituencies. By not focusing only on states solidly in the Republican camp, it could be argued the George W. Bush administration looks to either build bridges or simply create recruits to their views. Do presidents give more election speeches in the states they carried in the Electoral College than overall speeches? As a general trend, the answer is yes though again George W. Bush is the exception.

Presidents travel internationally to support or allies and foster relationships. As the primary face of the American government for foreign affairs, his choices impact us. Our presidents travel abroad more than ever before in our country's history. Rapid transportation and communication permit them to traverse large distances without sacrificing domestic concerns. Harry Truman gave a total of 6 foreign speeches across two terms, Bill Clinton had about 550, and Obama spoke slightly over 400 times in international locations. These speeches have grown in volume and diversity over the decades. Every president over the last 30 years has spoken on each populated continent at some point in office. Europe has been the most frequent location for these speeches, but since the second term of George W. Bush, Asia has received a higher percentage of speeches as a portion of a president's term. Presidents tend to give more foreign speeches during the second terms in office. With the exception of Nixon and Reagan, every administration elected to a second term gave a higher percentage of foreign speeches in their last term. American presidents strongly prefer to give speeches in free countries. Historically, our strongest allies have always been free democracies, and these speeches often allow us to show support for our allies. Foreign speeches also have elements of reinforcement and outreach. First-term administrations overwhelming appear to engage in foreign speechmaking that reinforces our free countries and our closest allies. Presidents often do not take many risks with foreign speeches in their first terms, likely because of the concerns of potential political consequences when running for reelection. The second terms of Clinton, Bush 43, and Obama all saw declines in this category with substantial increases in countries considered

"partially" or "not" free. Second-term administrations have less to lose electorally, and it gives them a greater ability to engage in outreach and speak in places less friendly toward American democracy.

Vacation locations give us windows into the time presidents value for themselves. Earlier administrations like Eisenhower effectively decamped out of Washington, DC, for extended periods of time. Nixon spent so much time away from the White House, he could either be perceived as a vacationing president who occasionally visited the official residence or a mobile administration with the power seated with the person more than location. Some presidents, like Johnson, Reagan, Bush 41, and Bush 43 had homes they extensively utilized. Johnson and Bush 43 transformed their homes into internationally recognized places that were used for diplomacy and fostering better relations with world leaders. Other presidents, like Carter, Clinton, and Obama, did not use an official or permanent alternative White House and often travelled to various locations for official respites away from the Washington, DC. Ford, though an often overlooked administration, appears a key in the transition into administrations taking official set vacation times in a more formal manner. Most latter presidents followed his lead and focused their official vacation time off into concentrated weeks. Obama appeared to rarely take time off from the White House, especially when compared to the other presidents. Camp David is also significant to many presidents. It is a retreat, vacation home, and less formal location for administrations to host important foreign guests. Certain presidents, Reagan and Carter notably, enjoyed the place almost as a second presidential home. Camp David was a place they could escape for a weekend and have a slower schedule while still in the proximity of the nation's capital.

Many ideas in this book never wander far away from Neustadt's belief that the president's most powerful tool in his repertoire is his persuasion power. A president without power is an emperor without any clothes. Constitutional power always exists, but the true power lay in the hearts and minds of the people. Presidents need individuals in all positions and walks of life to believe in him or her. This idea applies to the bureaucrats as well as the average voters. The heart of this book centers around the idea that where presidents go matters. Their choices send signals about their values, priorities, and intentions that may not always come through in words. When a president goes to small locations throughout the country, he is showing those places they are not forgotten or ignored. When presidents only concentrate on large media markets which predominantly

align with their own political party, it implies the types of people that president values above others. Time and resources are finite and inevitably choices have to be made about priorities. However, consequences may arise from decisions which lack inclusivity or diversity. Diane Heith wrote "[a]ttempting to appeal to such narrow slivers of the American pie and to broad-based groups simultaneously promotes ideological confusion."[3] While she was speaking about a different situation, the observation rings true. Presidents may talk about all Americans as a whole, but only travel to select, favorable locations. Attitudes may then coalesce around beliefs that certain sized places, certain geographical regions, or certain partisan leanings translate into no attention while that president remains in charge. Colloquially, many people may believe that political parties or places that align with those places will remain on the proverbial dark side of the moon until power changes hands in government. It may not be accurate or fair, but presidents are often judged by their actions, not just their words. When these patterns become part of the rhetoric about an administration, people will integrate that knowledge into their own habit loops that help form opinions about a president. When that happens, it will be difficult, if not impossible to shift their attitudes away from that perspective. Therefore, these choices matter because they can have long-term implications upon people's attitudes about each president. It is also possible that when different administrations from same political party typically all act in a similar manner, people begin to believe that party, not person, drives the choices. Therefore, all X only care about cities, or all Y ignore places that vote X. Our attitudes about presidents reinforce our views about the things we like and dislike in very selective ways. Humans are extremely efficient in filtering information in ways favorable to our deeply held beliefs. Presidents feed these beliefs by making choices that reaffirm or contradict them in the public's eye. The words they speak as well as the places they choose to do it impact the perception of the administration. While important speeches certainly exist in every administration, we often overlook the small, pro forma speeches given regularly that have little impact on the big ideas upon the national conscious. However, when we look total speeches within administrations through various lenses, we can see the emergence of larger patterns that reflect each president's priorities. All presidents want to conduct successful terms in office. The way they pursue this goal changes from person to person. People impact systems. Personal preferences, comfort zones, and desires for continued electoral success drive

presidents to usually reinforce, but occasionally outreach into areas of the country when giving speeches. These specific choices shift from administration to administration and often even from term to term. Studying speech locations is not an absolute with unwavering certainties. In fact, it is more of a dynamic sifting pile of ephemera or sand that holds somewhat true for four years, but may change when administrations face pressure or new ones are elected. However, even within these fluctuations commonalities exist that extend across time and presidencies. Barack Obama and George H. W. Bush prefer similar media markets, areas of the country, and strong bases of support. Though opposite parties, they have more in common from this perspective than not. It is these similarities that help us better understand how presidents approach the presidency and allow us insight into the ways they handle their term in office.

Notes

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