Kansas 150 Focus

In the early session of summer classes at Washburn University, and in the spirit of the state’s sesquicentennial celebration, Betsy Knabe Roe and her students will explore individual connections with the past and present of Kansas through art and memoir writing. Students will learn techniques in papermaking, bookmaking and surface design on fabrics to express their unique voice and vision in artworks such as a story quilt, an artist book, a paper collage wall-hanging or sculpture. Through memoir writing exercises, students will learn how to put their distinctive Kansas memories into writing and to incorporate this text into their artwork. Class runs May 31 to June 30.
In 2006, Democrat Nancy Boyda beat five-term incumbent and former Olympic runner Jim Ryun in the Kansas second congressional district, a victory that caught pundits and the Ryun campaign by surprise. Boyda’s campaign received widespread attention not only because she defeated what appeared to be an entrenched incumbent in a solid Republican district, but because of some of her unorthodox methods. These included flooding the district with hundreds of thousands of sixteen-page, newspaper inserts; producing low-tech, locally produced TV spots; and refusing to be aggressively negative. Her 2006 campaign manager, husband Steve Boyda, said after the victory, “We needed a different way than just running attack ads…Can this kind of campaign work elsewhere, in other races? I think so.” Nancy Boyda was eager to apply her 2006 concepts to her re-election campaign, saying, “We believed that in fact people were tired of negative campaigning.” However, the Kansas second appeared to belie that notion, with voters handing Republican challenger and Kansas State Treasurer Lynn Jenkins—who was not shy at all about using attack ads—a 50.6%-46.2% victory. The most surprised people on election night were both candidates; two weeks before the election Jenkins’ internal polling had Boyda ahead by eight points, while Boyda’s internal polling had her ahead comfortably by twenty points.

In Nancy Boyda’s view, her defeat has a significance that will resound for years. In her first interview after the defeat, with the wound of the loss still raw, Boyda raised her arms high and said, “We will be held up for the world to see. This race will be cited as the reason you have to go negative. The Kansas second will go down in history as what happens when you’re not ready to sling mud. No, not just mud. But lies. What will happen out of D.C. is that they will never listen to anyone who wants to go positive again. They’ll use my race to justify going as negative and as dirty as possible. The ironic thing is we were going to show that voters were at a place where they were ready to reject the negative campaign attacks that they knew weren’t true, but what we have proven beyond a shadow of a doubt is that approach is out.”

Is it as simple as positive versus negative? If so, then why was the result such a shock to both candidates? There seem to be multiple threads to this race that might help explain how an incumbent who was riding high in polling and confident in her strategy, lost.

**Boxed into a Corner**

The first TV ad that Boyda ran featured her and her husband (who was back practicing law and much less involved in the campaign than in 2006) holding the newspaper inserts and...
saying, “In 2006 we ran a different kind of campaign, not the usual D.C. politics, but a Kansas campaign that involved you and none of those thirty-second attack ads...but thoughtful newspapers inserts. And we’re going to do the same thing this election.” Boyda was true to her word and ran no traditional attack ads; even the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee (DCCC) ad buys, which were not coordinated with the Boyda campaign, were all positive ads. The only negative spot was a defensive ad responding to Jenkins’ relentless attacks, saying that Boyda had voted to raise taxes and couldn’t be trusted not to raise taxes again. Pat Leopold, the Jenkins’ campaign manager, said that that one ad was a “poorly done negative. If you’re going to go down that road, you have to stick with it. She ran different ads in the last week, without a consistent compelling message. This allowed us to stick to a single message and drive the message.” He also said that the context in 2008 was very different from 2006 in that “Nancy Boyda ran a campaign that was good as a challenger, but not the best strategy as an incumbent.” The Boyda campaign publicly committed to a campaign message that would have made negative ads difficult later in the race. And it just wasn’t the public commitment: their public declaration of strategy made an internal campaign shift to the use of negative ads psychologically difficult for the candidate.

In short, because the campaign was so committed to a positive approach, they had more reason not to doubt the polls that showed them far ahead throughout the entire campaign. In fact, “Polls showed us with sky high approval ratings, especially with ‘she cares about people like me’ and ‘she works hard,’” Boyda said. When the Jenkins’ attacks came, she thought that going negative would only damage her own image. Significantly, while Jenkins’ late poll showed Boyda ahead by eight, it also had 14% undecided. Boyda admits this kind of poll might have compelled her to change course, saying, “Our polls were showing we were 13, then 18, then 20 points ahead. For months, the more negative Jenkins went the more positive our polls went. Everything confirmed that the voters were rejecting her negative approach. Had the polls been closer we probably would have reassessed and made a stronger case against Jenkins—run more comparative ads.” That may be true, but given the composition of the second district at that time, (42% Republican, 30% Democrat, 29% Independent), it appears that the commitment to the positive campaign and its possible use as a national example clouded what should have been a keen skeptical eye toward those poll numbers.

The Tax Issue: a Kansas Tradition

A research study of Kansas political TV ads from 1968-2006 conducted by myself and Dr. Mark Peterson of the Washburn University Department of Political Science revealed that taxes had been the number one issue across all political races, dominating any other issue by a two to one margin. It shouldn’t have been surprising, then, that...
Jenkins made the claim that Boyda had voted for “the largest tax increase in American history” and hammered this and other claims of raising taxes continuously until election day. As Leopold noted, “The debates, our TV ads, our mail—all focused on taxes. We were concentrating on Republicans and GOP leaners and that’s what unites them—taxes and cutting spending. Whether she had or wanted to raise taxes was not something Boyda wanted the election to be about, but we made her talk about it. We wanted the key question for voters to be, ‘Do you trust Nancy Boyda to represent you on tax issues?’” Jenkins also ran an ad in the last week that linked Boyda and Barack Obama, saying they were a “tax raising team.”

The “tax increase” Boyda had voted for was actually a resolution to let the Bush tax cuts expire in 2011, to be replaced by targeted tax cuts. “We assumed people didn’t believe her accusations,” but admitted that not responding forcefully was a key failure. “The real mistake we made was in not defending ourselves about taxes. To really put to rest that what she was saying was just damn lies. That’s where we didn’t answer her.” Nor did the DCCC ads go after Jenkins, instead following the Boyda lead with positive spots. As Leopold noted, “When I saw the DCCC ad being positive, I breathed a huge sigh of relief. It seemed odd for her national party to run an ad for her talking about her being independent from the party. I have no idea why they ran that. I was very happy that the NRCC (National Republican Congressional Committee) ad for Jenkins focused on the message we were pushing against Boyda.”

Boyda admits that the “Democrat-as-fiscally-dangerous” claim, even if not true in a specific case, has a strong general hold in Kansas. She said, “The reason they could do ‘She’s-a-tax-and-spend-liberal,’ is because they’ve been doing it for thirty years, so the ground has already been plowed against Democrats on that issue. But that’s what they do. They take their own vulnerability, such as out-of-control spending, and hit you with it. That’s a trick I really don’t want to learn, but they’re good at it.”

Said Leopold, “I was expecting the DCCC to run a negative ad against us on taxes, to muddy the waters. But they never did.”

Jenkins Gets a Free Ride

Lynn Jenkins greatest strengths to the unaffiliated voters she needed to win over were her likeability, political moderation, and fiscal competence and background as a certified public accountant (CPA) and state treasurer. All of these traits were significantly bolstered in the two years before she faced off against Boyda. First, as state treasurer she was featured prominently in a TV-ad campaign that ran extensively in the second district tutoring college savings programs run by her office. Although there were complaints by her primary opponent, Jim Ryun, nothing in Kansas law barred her from appearing in the ads, and by primary time they had made their impact anyway.
Secondly, the primary against Ryun helped her a great deal in the general election. Ryun ran as a conservative and attacked Jenkins as a liberal, even alluding that she might be pro-choice on abortion. Finally, in the only televised debate of the primary, Jenkins attacked Ryun for voting for pork-barrel spending, but did so while laughing and calling him “Babe.” The comment received a great deal of press attention and popular buzz within the second district, so much, in fact, that the debate was re-aired four days later on KSNT, the local NBC affiliate. Some in the media thought the comment hurt Jenkins, but not Leopold. “Well, I didn’t see it coming, but afterwards our feedback was extremely good. We heard from a lot of women who liked it, who said, ‘She’s one of us, that’s how we talk.’” Ryun, like Boyda, thought he had a victory in hand, with his final poll showing him ahead by seventeen points. Instead, Jenkins shocked the former Olympian with a 51%-49% upset.

We needed to do that four weeks out. People needed to be able to hear answers to the lies.”

The Empty Chair

Amidst the college savings ads, the newspaper inserts, the shockingly wrong polls, and “Babe” becoming a debate sensation, there is one more intriguing item to add to this race: the TV ad known as the “empty chair” that was produced by the Boyda campaign, but never run. Some quick background: one of the duties of the state treasurer is to sit on the board of the state pension fund, the Kansas Public Employee Retirement System known as KPERS. However, Jenkins had missed 26% of the board meetings since becoming treasurer and all three summer meetings in 2008. In the meantime, amidst the economic downturn, the value of KPERS had dropped by over $1 billion. Boyda brought up the KPERS issue in a debate on October 7 and subsequently a video was posted on YouTube which showed Jenkins’ name-tag in front of an empty chair at the KPERS board table. The issue and the video seemed to be an early Christmas gift for the Boyda campaign. “We had the ad cut with the chair,” said Boyda, “to make the point that she was derelict in her duty. I made the decision not to run it. If people didn’t believe it, then I’d tarnish my own image. It was a case where if you don’t hit the ball out of the park, you can foul out.” Leopold also discounts the impact the ad might have had, saying that it was a “process issue, and people tend to vote on issues rather than process.”

Boyda’s and Leopold’s opinion that the “empty chair” ad wouldn’t have made a big impact in the race is not shared among the press, political cognoscenti, and several Kansas political strategists from both parties who closely followed the race. One Democratic campaign strategist said, “No matter what the polls say, when you’re handed something that so clearly undermines everything your opponent has been saying about herself—and it’s linked to her duties as a state official and you have video proof—it’s actually a duty to inform the voters about it. I would have run it as a humorous ad, but the possibilities are of course limitless.” Boyda notes that, “By itself, the empty chair ad wouldn’t have done it.” She is probably right, but the point is that the empty chair ad could have been...
Congressional Race: A Case Study, cont.

part of a broader strategy. 2006 Democratic Presidential candidate John Kerry, who now regrets not responding to the “Swift Boat” attack ads run against him when he ran, in a 2007 interview stated that “It’s not just responding right away [to attacks], it’s a broader thing than just responding. It’s commanding the definition of who you are.” Nancy Boyda has admitted she should have responded with much greater force to Jenkins attacks on her, but for that response to have an effect, Jenkins’ trustworthiness needed to be put in doubt—in short, a process of “commanding the definition” had to include elements that went beyond responding to Jenkins attacks. In the end, Boyda, when ruminating about the loss afterwards, seemed to understand that key point: “In hindsight, it’s so obvious what we should have done, but we didn’t do it. We never provided a good reason to vote against Lynn Jenkins.”

Deborah Altus, PhD, Professor of Human Services, Washburn University, made her annual visit to the Ritchie Cemetery with the students from her Death and Dying course on Saturday, March 5, 2011. Local historian Robin Shrimplin met the students there and gave a presentation on the history of the cemetery. The land for the cemetery was owned by abolitionist and early Topeka settlers John and Mary Jane Ritchie. They offered free plots to many from this community who were unable to afford plots in the Topeka Cemetery. Ritchie also donated 160 acres for Lincoln College, which eventually became Washburn University. About one hundred people are buried in the cemetery, although most of the graves are unmarked. One of the people buried there is Martha “Granny” Ransom, a freed slave and great-grandmother of John Jefferson Scott, a lawyer involved in the Brown v. Topeka Board of Education case. Altus noted that even though many of her students were from Topeka, most did not know about the cemetery and were surprised to learn about its connection to Washburn University and Brown v. Board of Education.

Poet Gary Jackson, author of Missing You, Metropolis, winner of the Cave Canem Poetry Prize, read poems at Mabee Library on April 4th. A Topeka native and a Washburn graduate, Jackson received his MFA from the University of New Mexico. Tom Averill introduced Jackson, and the poet’s visit to Washburn’s campus was supported by the Center for Kansas Studies.
Fellows of the Center for Kansas Studies met for a luncheon meeting on Thursday, January 27. Those attending the meeting were Tom Averill, Patti Bender, Marcia Cebulska, Eric McHenry, David Winchester, Dave Kendall, Mark Peterson, Carol Yoho, Virgil Dean, Margaret Wood, Margy Stewart, Marydorsey Wanless, Bob Lawson, Bob Beatty, Betsy Knabe Roe, Will Gilliland, Marguerite Perret and Tom Schmiedeler. Director Tom Schmiedeler mentioned that there was about $1,500 remaining in the Center budget and reminded the group of the forthcoming Kansas Day presentation by former Governor John Carlin to be held on January 28. He also outlined contributions received for the spring newsletter and encouraged others wishing to contribute to send their information to Carol Yoho. Tom plans to take his and fellow Chris Hamilton’s Science and Public Policy of Global Warming class to the bison ranch of Wayne Copp at Auburn in late April. His request for a $100 honorarium for Mr. Copp was approved by the Fellows.

Tom Averill’s requests for two Speaking of Kansas honoraria, one for Gary Jackson on April 4 and the other for Hadyn Riess on April 11, were approved. Fellows also approved supplemental funding for Tom to help defray travel costs associated with over twenty library visits Tom will make this spring to discuss the book What Kansas Means To Me. Bob Beatty requested funding in the amount of $400 to pay Center fellow and web technician Carol Yoho to create a new website connected to the Center website that would be focused on Kansas Politics. This website will house a vast array of items on Kansas politics, including the Kansas governor documentaries and raw film footage, chapters on the Kansas governors book, and television commercials from past Kansas political races. Fellows approved the request.

Margy Stewart provided an update on sales of the book One Time on the Upper McDowell published by the Center. The book is a memoir of growing up on a Flint Hills ranch in the 1930s written by Helen Poole Tonish, who died on Thursday, October 21, 2010, at the age of 95. Margy wrote the introduction to the book. A portion of the proceeds from the sale of the book go to support the restoration of St. Joseph’s church located in the McDowell Creek community. Margy also gave an update on fellow Betsy Roe’s installation at a prairie restoration site in eastern Geary County. The nonprofit corporation Prairie Heritage Inc. commissioned this work to honor the memory of conservationist Jan Garton. The work is composed of biodegradable materials found on site. Margy also spoke of a possible prairie-based, visual-verbal collaboration between Betsy and herself. Fellows were also reminded to publicize Betsy’s summer Kansas Studies class, “The Kansas Experience: a Sense of Place.” The class will explore of individual connections with the past and/or present of the state at its sesquicentennial celebration through art and memoir writing.

Will Gilliland discussed the state 4-H geology field trips to be held the weekend of June 10-12. These field trips, headquartered in the Topeka and Newton areas, are expected to attract two hundred project members and their families. Project leaders will attend each trip. Field trip guidebooks are produced for each field trip to provide information to participants on their trip and to serve as an educational reference when they return to their home counties. Fellows approved Will’s request for $100 to help defray some of the costs of preparing the field trip guidebooks and supplies for the educational workshops.

Playwright Marcia Cebulska informed the group that she is collaborating with the Inge Center of the Arts of Independence, Kansas, and Cornerstone Theater Company of Los Angeles on creating a stage play about Greensburg, Kansas. The town of Greensburg was 95% destroyed by a tornado in May, 2007, and is being rebuilt as an environmentally Green City. Cornerstone Theater Company, featured on the cover of American Theatre magazine last month, has a strong national reputation for working with communities to elicit and tell their stories. The Greensburg Project
Fellows Meetings: Minutes, cont.

is a return to Kansas for Cornerstone which first worked in Kansas in 1986.

Dave Kendall announced that KTWU has started to post some Sunflower Journeys segments to YouTube, including some with fellow Tom Averill (“Oleander’s Kansas”). Other Sunflower Journeys episodes posted include “Flint Hills Montage,” “Little Red Schoolhouse,” and “Russell Prairies-ta.” Margaret Wood discussed her forthcoming Archaeological Field School to be held at a site known as Uniontown located near an Oregon Trail crossing of the Kansas River in western Shawnee County. The school will be held from June 20 to July 8.

Meeting adjourned at 1:45.

Minutes submitted by Tom Schmiedeler

April 7, 2011

Fellows of the Center for Kansas Studies held their final meeting of the academic year beginning at 7:30 on Thursday, April 7. Attending the breakfast meeting were Tom Schmiedeler, Mary Dorsey Wanless, Will Gilliland, Tambra Eifert, Judy McConnell-Farmer, Carol Yoho, Brad Siebert, Tom Averill, David Winchester and Bob Lawson. After a brief discussion of the Center budget, members discussed their activities and projects. Tambra Eifert reported that she plans to write a series of children’s books titled I Dig Kansas. The first will be on fossils and the second on rocks and minerals. In conjunction with the books, she plans an interactive website which will allow children, parents, and teachers to obtain science exercises and experiments related to the book topics. The books will be written specifically for seven to twelve year olds, but anyone interested in the subjects will enjoy reading them. A former professional animator for Disney will be doing the artwork for the books and Carol Yoho will be providing her with an intern student for photography. Tambra plans to use “Print on Demand” as a publisher, and intends to get the books out to museums and to nature and science stores in Kansas. She will also be providing books to the Discovery Center in Topeka and to teachers and home-schooled children.

Will Gilliland discussed the forthcoming 4-H Geology State Field Trip on June 10-12 that will headquarter at the Jefferson County Fairgrounds in Valley Falls, Kansas. It is expected that between 160 to 200 4-H members, family members and leaders will attend this trip and an equal number will attend the companion trip out of Newton, Kansas. These field trips are offered for two years to allow the 4-H’ers to switch trips the next year. Educational workshops, a quiz bowl, and geology judging contests will be offered in addition to the opportunity to collect specimens for display at county and state fairs.

Judy McConnell-Farmer announced that she is writing a book based on the journals of Lula Sadler Craig. Craig’s life is one of interest and inspiration. In 1877, her family joined the Exoduster’s Movement and as a nine year old she traveled with them from Kentucky to Nicodemus, Kansas. In her memoirs, she describes her everyday life as well as that of her neighbors in Nicodemus. Passages from her writings include her poignant recollections of growing up in the oldest African-American community west of the Mississippi River. She became a school teacher at the age of sixteen, taught for a total of 55 years, and lived to be 104. Judith is in the process of an extended study titled, “A Day in Nicodemus,” detailing a series of interviews conducted on June 5, 2009, of three Nicodemus residents: Mrs. Ora Switzer, 106 years old; her son, Mr. Freddy Switzer, 82 years old; and his favorite classroom teacher, Mrs. Dorothy Herndon, 100 years old. Mrs. Switzer died on August 23, 2009, a little more than two months after the interview. This was quite a unique oral research opportunity to meet and interview these three interconnected individuals who shared with her their remembrances of life in historic Nicodemus. Judith is extending
this study with subsequent interviews with Mr. Switzer and Mrs. Herndon. Another writing project is a requested chapter titled, “Early Childhood Education and the Civil Rights Movement: A Dynamic Living History,” to be published in the upcoming book, Early Childhood History in the Modern Age, by Rutledge Press (Blythe Hinitz, Ed.). The essences of this chapter are oral histories of those involved in the Brown vs. Topeka Board of Education decision.

Tom Averill announced that he continues to visit small town libraries for discussions of themes from the book he edited, What Kansas Means to Me. In celebration of the Kansas sesquicentennial, the State Library of Kansas selected his book as the “Kansas Reads” book for 2011. Tom also announced that on April 11, at 4:00 p.m., a showing of the film Every War Has Two Losers will take place at Mabee Library. Filmmaker, Haydn Reiss will introduce his film and answer questions. Every War Has Two Losers is based on a book of peace writings by William Stafford, National Book Award-winning writer, who was also a conscientious objector during World War II. Edited by Kim Stafford, son of the Kansas poet, this Poet’s Meditation on Peace uses the journal writing of the poet as its core. The program is sponsored by Mabee Library and the Center for Kansas Studies and is free and open to the public.

Carol Yoho reported that the Shawnee Co. Historical Society plans to celebrate completion of restoration of the Hale Ritchie House, 1116 S.E. Madison, in May, 2011. Renovations of the structure will include plumbing, heating/air conditioning, phone line and other amenities not available originally at the historic John Ritchie House. The Hale Ritchie House will become an office and educational center for the Society and will be supported through donations of members, supporters, descendants of John and Hale Ritchie, and Cox Communications and BP Global. A donors’ recognition event is planned at the site on May 29, 2-4 p.m., by invitation. The Shawnee County Historical Society will partner with the National Park Service and the Lecompton Re-enactors to produce a program, “Kansas 150: Forging Freedom’s Pathway,” evolving views of race and freedom. The program will begin at 9 a.m. at the Brown v Board Museum with registration and transportation to the Ritchie House. There visitors will begin a Ranger Walk back to the Brown Museum, encountering along the way re-enactors defending various views of race and freedom, ranging from pro-slavery advocates in the 1850s to those struggling with integration in the 1950s. The program will be open to the public, particularly suited for families. Also in June, SCHS will assist in the KSHS Preservation Conference Downtown Walking Tour. There are thirty-plus downtown structures on the National Registry of Historic Places. Jeanne Mithen and Doug Wallace will act as tour guides. There is much information gathered for previous walking tours available on the SCHS web site: http://skyways.lib.ks.us/orgs/schs/preservation/downtown.html

Meeting adjourned at 1:45.
Minutes submitted by Tom Schmiedeler

Spring News Flash

▶ Annual Kansas Preservation of the Kansas State Historical Society will be held in Topeka, June 1-3, at the Kansas Historical Society facility, 6425 SW 6th. The conference will commemorate the state sesquicentennial with a variety of sessions and workshops focused on the state’s vernacular architecture both in the past and present.

Conference details are on-line:
www.kshs.org/p/annual-preservation-conference/16640
Kansas Day 2011, Sesquicentennial Celebration

"Kansas at 150: What Looking at the Past Can Tell Us About Moving Forward"

Friday, January 28, 2011

Speaker was John W. Carlin, Kansas Governor, 1979-1987, and Executive-in-Residence, Political Science, Kansas State University. Governor Carlin spoke to a full house, Henderson Hall, Washburn campus.

Visit us on-line: www.washburn.edu/reference/cks/