



PRISM:
Publishing Requirements for Industry Standard Metadata

**Guide to the
PRISM Aggregator Message V2.1**

Referencing the PRISM Specification 2.1

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Errata



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1 PAM Guide Structure

This PAM Guide was written to provide a guide to constructing the PRISM Aggregator Message. This guide is supplementary to the PRISM 2.1 Specification. The Specification is the authoritative source for all issues of concern.

The PAM Guide is made up of:

- 1. PAM Guide Structure:** A guide to the structure of the document
- 2. Introduction:** A brief overview of the PRISM Aggregator Message
- 3. Building Blocks of PAM:** An overview of the XML namespaces upon which PAM is built
- 4. Elements in PAM**
 - 4.1 Elements in Alphabetical Order:** A listing of all elements in the PRISM Aggregator Message in alphabetical order with a link to documentation in the PRISM 2.1 Specification Documentation Set
 - 4.2 Message Framework Structure:** An overview of the framework (containing) elements of the message
 - 4.3 Head Elements by Function:** The message head element contains many of the descriptive metadata fields for the article. This section documents the elements that make up the message head by their function
 - 4.4 Head Elements by Structure:** In this section, the message head is documented according to its XML structure
 - 4.5 Body Elements:** The body of the messages contains the encoded content along with metadata elements that are encoded inline with the content. This section provides a look at the elements in the message body, including PRISM inline markup (pim:) elements
 - 4.6 Inline Markup Elements:** This section documents the inline markup elements that have been added to standard XHTML structures.
 - 4.7 Media Element:** Most elements in the message come from XHTML. But the pam:media element was specifically added to encode media elements that may fall within the body of the article. This section documents the structure and function of the pam:media element.

Three Appendices are also included in the PAM Guide. These include:

Appendix A: PAM Metadata Glossary

Appendix B: PAM Class Attributes

Appendix C: PAM Example

2 Introduction

The PRISM Aggregator Message is a standard format for publishers to use in transmitting XML content and associated metadata to aggregators and syndicators. This document describes PAM in detail and provides some examples of how it is used.

2.1 About the PRISM Aggregator Message

Using the PRISM Aggregator Message is consistent with the existing flow of content between suppliers and aggregators. PAM simply provides an alternative format. However, adapting your processes to conform to PAM will provide many advantages and financial benefits to you and your business partners.

- The use of a single, industry-standard format for extraction and acquisition reduces the errors and costs of tracking and deploying multiple formats to communicate with multiple business partners.
- The use of a single format for all organizations speeds the processing of content and speeds the integration of new business partners into your workflow. If a new partner is using a format that you can already handle, little if any process change is necessary to transmit content between you. The value and accessibility of the content will be increased because time to market is reduced.
- The use of a common industry format reduces the barrier to entry for all publishers and content aggregators. This is especially valuable for smaller organizations.
- Aggregators manage content from a large numbers of sources. Today, you receive metadata in as many different formats as you do content. By providing a common metadata standard, PRISM helps everyone in the electronic content business track, use and re-use their content.
- Providing content encoded in XML adds to the content's value because it makes it possible to repurpose it for multiple opportunities:
 - Tables of information marked up as tables can take advantage of more formatting capabilities, making them look more professional on output than the fixed-width font style that many are forced to use. Furthermore, the information within them now becomes accessible as data.
 - The inline XML markup that lets you identify names, key phrases and other important data elements within an article or paragraph, makes it easier to format them, search for them and turn them into links. This ability will also greatly contribute to search and display flexibility.
 - Standardization of the use of special characters gives you wider access to more scientific symbols and foreign characters. Furthermore, they can be handled automatically.

All of these capabilities combine to enable you use your content on a wider variety of output media and products, getting more value from your information assets.

By enabling the delivery of detailed information in a consistent format, the PRISM 2.1 DTD or PRISM 2.1 XSD allows publishers and other content-related companies to better communicate with a broader range of partners who are just now standardizing on XML. Many major publishers, other content rights holders, and developers of software tools and information and retrieval systems have indicated their plans to support this standard.

2.2 Previous Versions of the PAM Guide

The PRISM specification defines a collection of metadata elements for common publishing needs. One application of PRISM was to define a format that combined PRISM metadata with content markup to support the use case of transmitting XML content from the publisher to aggregators and syndicators.

Prior to the release of PRISM 2.1, the PAM Guide documented the PRISM Aggregator Message Document Type Definition (DTD). This was the only schema definition provided for the PRISM Aggregator Message.

Note: *It is important to note that there are some differences between XML DTDs and XML Schemas (XSDs) and there are differences between how documents are validated against DTDs and XSDs. This is particularly*

noticeable when using XML Namespaces. PAM utilizes elements and attributes from seven (7) namespaces and care must be taken when moving from one validation environment to the other.

According to Ronald Bourret in his online Namespaces FAQ <http://www.rpbouret.com/xml/NamespacesFAQ.htm>, "Validating against a schema is called *schema validation*. Validating against a DTD is simply called *validation*. Although there are a number of differences between schema validation and validation, the main difference between the two with respect to XML namespaces is that schema validation resolves qualified names into expanded names before comparing them, while validation simply compares the qualified names. As a result, a document being validated against an XML Schema can use *any* prefix in qualified names, while a document being validated against a DTD must use the prefix that is used in the DTD. Thus, the prefixes in the XML document must match the prefixes in the DTD and validation against a DTD, while possible, does not really behave as one would expect with respect to XML namespaces. When an XML document is validated against XML Schemas prefixes in the XML document do not need to match prefixes in the XML schema.

2.3 PAM DTDs and XSDs

Two new PAM DTDs have been prepared in support of PRISM 2.1. The DTDs were based on the Modular XHTML Specification. But the structure was simplified to allow for the development of an XSD and to support maintenance over time. The two DTDs are:

- pam-full.dtd; The pam-full.dtd is written so that all elements must be prefixed or fully qualified. Since we are using 7 fully qualified instances not allowing namespace defaults provides for a direct mapping from the namespaces intended in the XSD and those validated in the instance. This means that all namespaces, including the xhtml tags must specifically be specified.
- pam-xhtml.dtd: The pam-xhtml.dtd is written so that xhtml elements are the default and do not have to be prefixed. Some users may find this advantageous when creating PAM XML using an XHTML editor. This means that xhtml tags need not be specifically specified prefixed with "xhtml:". This was how the previous versions of the PAM DTD were written.

One PAM XSD was prepared. This XSD was designed to mirror the PAM DTD as closely as possible, given the differences between schema validation and validation. See Section 2.2 above. Two instance types, mirroring those that validate with pam-full.dtd and pam-xhtml.dtd can be authored.

Fully qualified PAM xml: If you wish to validate strictly against the XSD, including exact namespace mappings, you will need to call to the pam.xsd without defaulting the xhtml namespaces. This is done with the following statement that calls to the pam.xsd with "xmlns:xsi" and declares all namespaces:

```
xmlns:pam="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/"
xmlns:xhtml="http://www.w3.org/1999/xhtml"
xmlns:prism="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/basic/2.0/"
xmlns:pim="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pim/2.0/"
xmlns:dcterms="http://purl.org/dc/terms/"
xmlns:prl="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prl/2.0/"
xmlns:rdf="http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#"
xmlns:pur="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prismuserights/2.1/"
xmlns:dc="http://purl.org/dc/elements/1.1/"
targetNamespace="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/"
elementFormDefault="qualified" attributeFormDefault="qualified"
version="pam20090303">
```

PAM xml with xhtml set as the tag default: If you wish to tag PAM xml using default xhtml tagging, you will need to call to the pam.xsd and default the xhtml namespace. This is done with the following statement that calls to the pam.xsd with "xmlns:xsi", declares all namespaces and defaults to the xhtml namespace (see underlined text):

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
<pam:message xmlns:xsi="http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema-instance"
xsi:schemaLocation="http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.1/pam.xsd"
xmlns:pam="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/"
```

```
xmlns:xhtml="http://www.w3.org/1999/xhtml"
xmlns:prism="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/basic/2.0/"
xmlns:pim="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pim/2.0/"
xmlns:dcterms="http://purl.org/dc/terms/"
xmlns:prl="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prl/2.0/"
xmlns:rdf="http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#"
xmlns:pur="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prismuserights/2.1/"
xmlns:dc="http://purl.org/dc/elements/1.1/"
xmlns="http://prismstandard.org/pam2.0/xhtml">
```

2.4 PAM Namespaces

PRISM will retain the URI references for all XSD modules for PAM with their /2.0/ designation. Since the PRISM Usage Rights namespace was added with PRISM 2.1, pur: will have a 2.1 designation. See Section 3 for recommended namespace URI.

2.5 Standard URLs for PAM Schemas

Standard URLs have been established to access PRISM/PAM XSDs and DTDs.

To access PAM 2.1 XSDs and DTDs:

<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.1/pam.xsd>
<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.1/pam-xhtml.dtd>
<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.1/pam-full.dtd>

To access PAM 2.0 XSDs and DTDs:

<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.0/pam.xsd>
<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.0/pam-xhtml.dtd>
<http://www.prismstandard.org/schemas/pam/2.0/pam-full.dtd>

2.6 PAM Guide V2.1

The elements that are included in PAM Guide V2.1 represent existing PAM elements combined with new and updated elements that represent both traditional printed article content and multi-platform article content including web based content and mobile content.

Note: *In adding new elements and attributes to construct PAM V2.1, the XML message became somewhat more complex. Not only are we now mixing elements from seven (7) namespaces but we are also mixing attributes and elements from different namespaces. For example <xhtml:h1 prism:class="x" or <dc:contributor prism:role="x". Also differences in construction of a DTD vs an XSD means that for messages validated against XSDs, it is not possible to default to the xhtml namespace as we have done in the past using a DTD alone. Therefore for clarity and to enable instances to validate against either a DTD or XSD, all elements and attributes must be namespace qualified.*

2.7 The PRISM 2.1 Specification Documentation Package

The PRISM 2.1 Specification Documentation Package is referred to often in this Guide. The PRISM 2.1 Documentation consists of the following documents. Use these documents as the authoritative source for all issues of concern.

Document	Description
PRISM Introduction [PRISMINT] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_introduction_2.1.pdf	Overview, background, purpose and scope of PRISM; examples; contains no normative material.
PRISM Compliance [PRISMCOMP] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/	Describes two profiles of PRISM compliance for content and systems; includes normative material.

Document	Description
PRISM compliance 2.1.pdf	
The PRISM Namespace [PRISMPRISMNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_prism_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM namespace; includes normative material.
The PRISM Subset of the Dublin Core Namespace [PRISMDCNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_dublin_core_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements from the Dublin Core namespace that are included in PRISM; includes normative material.
The PRISM Inline Markup Namespace [PRISMIMNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_inline_markup_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM Inline Markup Namespace; includes normative material.
The PRISM Rights Language Namespace [PRISMRLNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_rights_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM Rights Language Namespace; includes normative material.
The PRISM Usage Rights Namespace [PRISMURNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_usage_rights_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM Usage Rights Namespace; includes normative material. This namespace will supersede elements in both the prism: and prl: namespaces in version 3.0 of the specification.
The PRISM Controlled Vocabulary Namespace [PRISMCVNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_controlled_vocabulary_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM Controlled Vocabulary Namespace; includes normative material. The PRISM Controlled Vocabularies are now documented in this document.
The PRISM Aggregator Message Namespace [PRISMAMNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_prism_aggregator_message_namespace_2.1.pdf	Describes the elements contained in the PRISM Aggregator Message Namespace; includes normative material.

Table 1.0: PRISM 2.1 Specification Documentation Package

3 Building Blocks of the PRISM Aggregator Message

The *PRISM Aggregator Message* incorporates several namespaces including: XHTML, Dublin Core (dc), PRISM (prism:), PRISM Inline Markup (pim:), PRISM Rights Language (pri:) and the PRISM Aggregator Message (pam:).

The following table lists these namespaces and points to where the documentation resides.

Namespace (common name)	Description	Prefix	Reference
XHTML	XHTML will be treated as the default namespace for the PRISM Aggregator Message. XHTML elements are leveraged in the message. Because XHTML is the default namespace, XHTML elements do not require a prefix.		W3C <i>Modularization of XHTML</i>
URI: http://www.w3.org/1999/xhtml			
XML	Elements and attributes for XML, such as xml:lang	xml:	Extensible Markup Language (XML) 1.0 (Second Edition) (http://www.w3.org/TR/REC-xml)
URI: http://www.w3.org/XML/1998/namespace			
RDF	The attribute from RDF: rdf:resource	rdf:	Resource Definition Framework (http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#)
URI: http://www.w3.org/1999/02/22-rdf-syntax-ns#			

Namespace (common name)	Description	Prefix	Reference
Dublin Core	When applicable Dublin Core elements are integrated into this message. In fact dc:identifier is required to identify the content being transmitted.	dc: and dcterms:	<i>PRISM Subset of the Dublin Core Namespace Specification, Version 2.1:</i> [PRISMDCNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_introduction_2.1.pdf
URI: http://purl.org/dc/elements/1.1/ and http://purl.org/dc/terms/			
PRISM	The 'prism' namespace contains elements suitable for a wide range of article content	prism:	<i>PRISM Namespace Specification V2.1-</i> [PRISMPRISMNS] http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_prism_namespace_2.1.pdf
URI: http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/basic/2.0/			
PRISM Aggregator Message	The 'pam' namespace contains elements specific to the aggregator message.	pam:	PRISM Aggregator Message Namespace Specification V2.1 http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_prism_aggregator_message_namespace_2.1.pdf
URI: http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/			

Namespace (common name)	Description	Prefix	Reference
PRISM Inline Markup	The 'pim' namespace defines elements for inline metadata such as locations, organizations, personal names, works, events, quotations, etc.	pim:	<i>PRISM Inline Markup Namespace Specification, V2.1</i> http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_inline_markup_namespace_2.1.pdf
URI: http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pim/2.0/			
PRISM Rights Markup	The 'prl' namespace defines elements for usage rights	prl:	<i>PRISM Rights Language Namespace Specification, V2.1</i> http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_rights_namespace_2.1.pdf
URI: http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prl/2.0/			
PRISM Usage Rights Markup	The 'pur' namespace defines elements for usage rights	pur:	<i>PRISM Usage Rights Namespace Specification, V2.1</i> http://www.prismstandard.org/specifications/2.1/PRISM_usagerights_namespace_2.1.pdf
URI: http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prismusagerights/2.1/			

4 Elements in the PRISM Aggregator Message

4.1 Elements in Alphabetical Order

The following is an alphabetical list of the metadata elements that are included in the PAM message. Following the element name is the namespace pointing to the document in the PRISM documentation package where that element appears.

- adultContentWarning (pur:)
- aggregationType (prism:)
- agreement (pur:)
- alternateTitle (prism:)
- article (pam:)
- caption (pam:)
- channel (prism:)
- contributor (dc:)
- copyright (prism:)
- copyright (pur:)
- corporateEntity (prism:)
- coverDate (prism:)
- coverDisplayDate (prism:)
- creator (dc:)
- credit (pam:)
- creditLine (pur:)
- dateReceived (prism:)
- description (dc:)
- doi (prism:)
- edition (prism:)
- embargoDate (prism:)
- embargoDate (pur:)
- event (prism:, pim)
- exclusivityEndDate (pur:)
- expirationDate (prism:)
- expirationDate (pur:)
- format (dc:)
- genre (prism:)
- hasCorrection (prism:)
- hasPart (dcterms:)
- identifier (dc:)
- imageSizeRestriction (pur: in pam:media)
- industry (prism:, pim:)
- isbn: (prism:)
- isPartOf (dc:terms)
- issn (prism:)
- issueIdentifier (prism:)
- issueName (prism:)
- keyword (pim:, prism)
- killDate (prism:)
- location (prism:, pim)
- media (pam:)
- mediaReference (pam:)
- mediaTitle (pam)
- message (pam:)

- nonpublishedMediaTitle (pam:)
- number (prism:)
- object (prism:, pim)
- optionEndDate (pur:)
- organization (prism:, pim)
- originPlatform (prism:)
- pageRange (prism:)
- permissions (pur:)
- person (prism:, pim)
- postDate (prism:)
- publicationName (prism:)
- publisher (dc:)
- quote (pim:)
- restrictions (pur:)
- reuseProhibited (pur:)
- rightsAgent (pur:)
- rightsOwner (pur:)
- section (prism:)
- startingPage (prism:)
- status (pam:)
- subchannel1 (prism:)
- subchannel2 (prism:)
- subchannel3 (prism:)
- subchannel4 (prism:)
- subject (dc:)
- subsection1 (prism:)
- subsection2 (prism:)
- subsection3 (prism:)
- subsection4 (prism:)
- synonym (pcv:)
- teaser (prism:)
- textDescription (pam:)
- ticker (pim:, prism:)
- timePeriod (prism:, pim:)
- title (dc:)
- type (dc:)
- url (prism:)
- usage (prl:)
- versionIdentifier (prism:)
- volume (prism:)
- wordCount (prism:)

4.2 Message Framework

These elements form the containers for PAM metadata and text encoding elements. They, themselves do not encode specific metadata fields. Note that elements that do not have a namespace prefix come from the XHTML namespace, which is the default of the PRISM Aggregator Message. Figure 1 shows the message framework structure. The “+” symbol means 1 or more. The “?” symbol means optional or 0 or 1 occurrence. The square connector indicates the order of the elements.

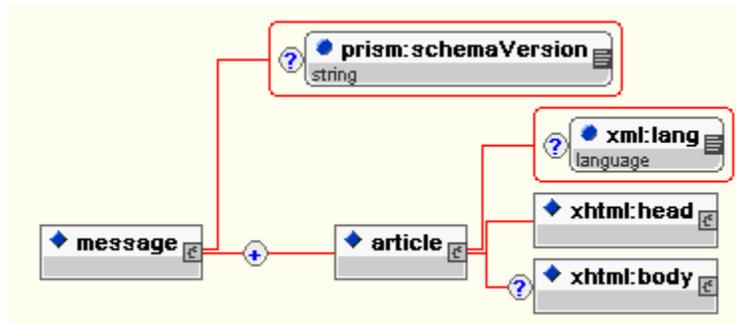


Figure 1 PAM Message Framework

The PAM message begins with the pam:message tag. There is an optional attribute to specify the version of the schema used for this message. The PAM message is made up of one or more (“+”) articles (pam:article). Each article is made up of an XHTML head element that carries numerous descriptive metadata fields followed by an XHTML body element that carries the text of the article coded in XML.

Example: The following example shows how to code the PAM message framework. Note that this example uses the pam.dtd as its schema with the default being the xhtml: namespace.

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="ISO-8859-1"?>
<!DOCTYPE pam:message SYSTEM "pam-xhtml.dtd">
<pam:message>
  <pam:article>
    <head>
      ARTICLE METADATA HERE
    </head>
    <body>
      ARTICLE CONTENT HERE
    </body>
  </pam:article>
</pam:message>
```

Example: The following example shows how to code the PAM message framework. Note that this example uses the pam.xsd as its schema and does not default to the xhtml: namespace.

```
<pam:message xmlns:xsi="http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema-instance"
xsi:schemaLocation="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/ pam.xsd"
xmlns:pam="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pam/2.0/"
xmlns:dc="http://purl.org/dc/elements/1.1/"
xmlns:dcterms="http://purl.org/dc/terms/"
xmlns:xhtml="http://www.w3.org/1999/xhtml"
xmlns:pim="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/pim/2.0/"
xmlns:prism="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/basic/2.0/"
xmlns:prl="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prl/2.0/"
xmlns:pur="http://prismstandard.org/namespaces/prismusagerights/2.1/"
xmlns="http://www.w3.org/1999/xhtml" >
  <pam:article>
    <xhtml:head>
      ARTICLE METADATA HERE
    </xhtml:head>
    <xhtml:body>
      ARTICLE CONTENT HERE
    </xhtml:body>
  </pam:article>
</pam:message>
```

4.3 Head Elements by Function

There are many metadata elements in the article head. These can be grouped by function. The grouping of elements by function can be seen in the final order of elements prescribed by the XML schema.

Key Elements for Aggregators: These elements provide key identification and signal those receiving the content about the most important features of the article that follows. The dc:identifier is required for each article. The publication name is also required. Either the cover date or the publication date is required.

The status of the article can be indicated as **A** (Add, this article is new), **C** (correction, the original article is being resent with a published correction appended in prism:hasCorrection), **U** (update, replace the entire article previously sent), and **D** (delete article previously sent). The default is to add the article.

- dc:identifier
- prism:issueIdentifier
- pam:status
- prism:hasCorrection
- prism:aggregationType
- prism:originPlatform prism:platform=

Elements providing a Title: These element provide a number of titles, some of which may vary by delivery platform.

- dc:title
- prism:alternateTitle prism:platform=
- prism:teaser prism:platform=

Elements indicating Creative Origin: Elements identifying creators and contributors

- dc:creator prism:place= prism:role=
- dc:contributor prism:place= prism:role=

Elements providing Publication Information: Elements that help identify the publication to which this article belongs

- prism:publicationName
- prism:isbn
- prism:issn
- prism:elssn
- prism:doi
- dc:publisher
- prism:corporateEntity (of a publisher)

Publication Date Elements:

- prism:coverDate
- prism:coverDisplayDate
- prism:publicationDate

Additional Article Identification Identifiers

- prism:volume
- prism:number
- prism:issueName
- prism:edition
- prism:versionIdentifier

Elements identifying position within in an issue or on a website:

- prism:startingPage

- prism:pageRange
- prism:url
- prism:channel
- prism:subchannel1
- prism:subchannel2
- prism:subchannel3
- prism:subchannel4
- prism:section
- prism:subsection1
- prism:subsection2
- prism:subsection3
- prism:subsection4

Element identifying the Subject of an Article

- dc:subject
- prism:keyword
- dc:description
- prism:event
- prism:industry
- prism:location
- prism:object
- prism:organization
- prism:person
- prism:timePeriod
- prism:ticker
- prism:genre

Article Length

- prism:wordCount

Related Content

- dcterms:hasPart
- dcterms:isPartOf

Rights and Usage

Best Practice is to employ the new rights description elements from the pur: namespace. Those elements include:

- pur:adultContentWarning
- pur:agreement
- pur:creditLine
- pur:copyright
- pur:embargoDate
- pur:exclusivityEndDate
- pur:expirationDate
- pur:imageSizeRestriction
- pur:optionEndDate
- pur:permissions
- pur:restrictions
- pur:reuseProhibited
- pur:rightsAgent
- pur:rightsOwner

The following PAM rights elements will function in PAM 2.1 but will be deprecated when PRISM 3.0 is released.

- prism:copyright
- prl:usage
- prism:dateReceived
- prism:embargoDate prism:platform=
- prism:expirationDate prism:platform=

4.4 Head Elements by Structure

The following is a list of the PAM metadata elements that occur in the head element according to the specified PAM structure. The elements in the message head are specifically ordered where deemed appropriate by publishers preparing content to deliver and aggregators who are receiving content. See Figure 2 for the head model. Remember the “?” means the element is optional. The asterisk indicates that the elements are optional, can appear as many times as necessary, and can be used in any order. The order here is important! While the order of the elements at the beginning and end of the head is important, a group of elements in the middle of the article head can be used to specify the subject of the article can occur in any order.

Remember that you will not use all the elements in the article head. See the following example below for an to see how the article head might be coded:

Example: This example shows a typical message head for a print article with the xhtml namespace default.

```
<head>
  <dc:identifier>100340926</dc:identifier>
  <prism:issueIdentifier>1000710</prism:issueIdentifier>
  <pam:status>A</pam:status>
  <prism:originPlatform prism:platform="print"/>
  <dc:title>The Real Running Mates</dc:title>
  <dc:creator>Karen Tumulty</dc:creator>
  <dc:contributor prism:place="New York">Reporting by Nancy Gibbs
</dc:contributor>
  <dc:contributor prism:place="Washington">Jay Newton-Small</dc:contributor>
  <prism:publicationName>Time</prism:publicationName>
  <prism:issn>0040-781X</prism:issn>
  <prism:coverDate>2007-09-24</prism:coverDate>
  <prism:publicationDate prism:platform="web">
  2007-09-22</prism:publicationDate>
  <prism:coverDisplayDate>September 24, 2007</prism:coverDisplayDate>
  <prism:volume>170</prism:volume>
  <prism:number>13</prism:number>
  <prism:edition>U.S. Edition</prism:edition>
  <prism:startingPage>30</prism:startingPage>
  <prism:url>http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/
      0,28804,1660946_1661334_1661288,00.html</prism:url>
  <prism:channel>Specials</prism:channel>
  <prism:section>The Well</prism:section>
  <prism:subsection1>Cover Story</prism:subsection1>
  <prism:subsection2>Nation</prism:subsection2>
  <prism:subsection3>Running Mates</prism:subsection3>
  <dc:subject>POLITICS</dc:subject>
  <dc:subject>CAMPAIGNS</dc:subject>
  <dc:subject>VOTERS</dc:subject>
  <dc:subject>FAMILY</dc:subject>
  <dc:subject>MARRIAGE</dc:subject>
  <prism:person>Elizabeth Edwards</prism:person>
  <prism:person>Cindy McCain</prism:person>
  <prism:person>Bill Clinton</prism:person>
  <prism:person>Michelle Obama</prism:person>
  <prism:person>Jeri Thompso</prism:person>
  <prism:genre>coverStory</prism:genre>
  <prism:wordCount>4188</prism:wordCount>
  <dcterms:hasPart>See also additional image(s) in Cover Description file and
Table of Contents of same issue.</dcterms:hasPart>
  <pur:rightsAgent>Harold McBain</pur:rightsAgent>
</head>
```

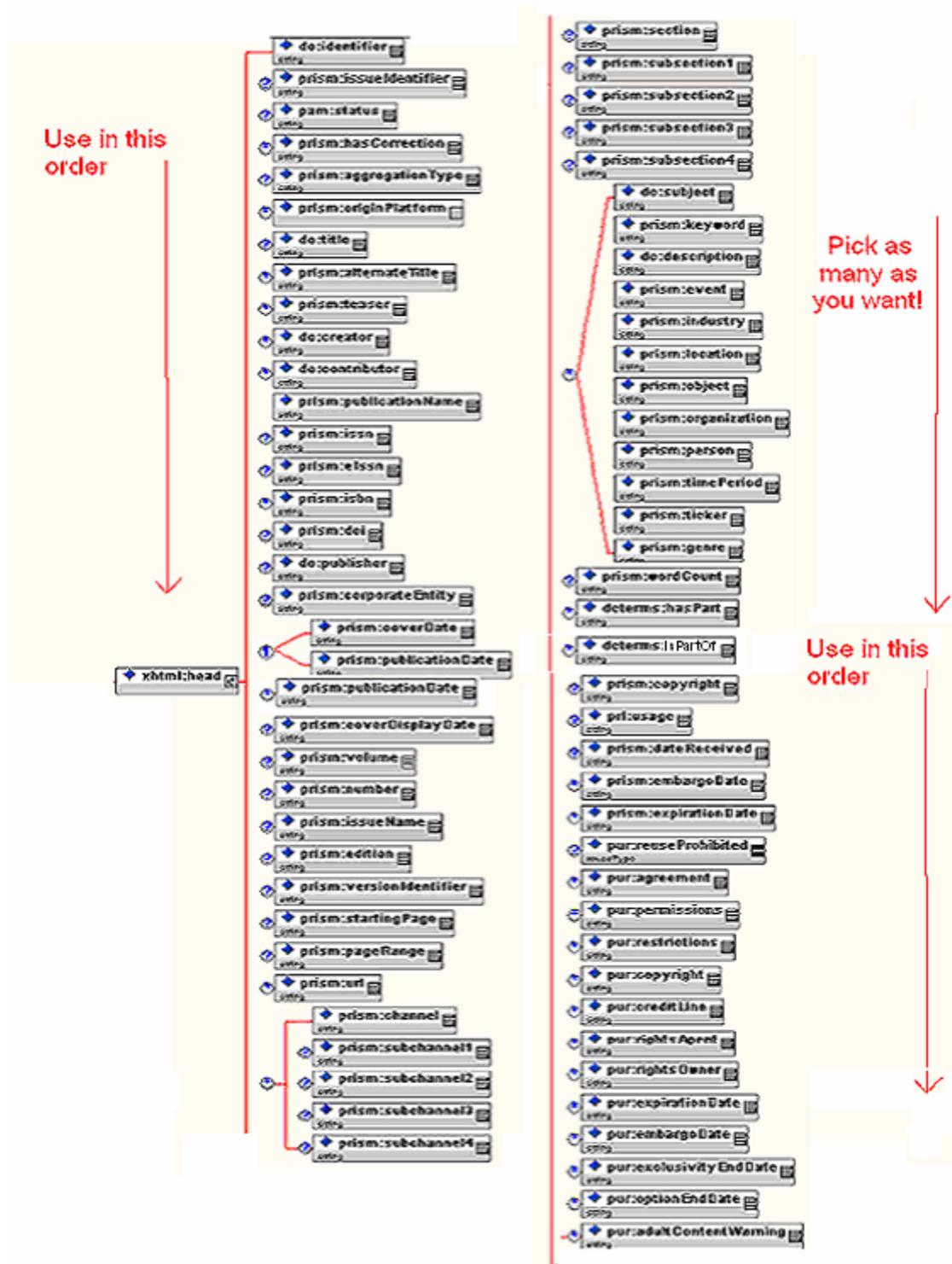


Figure 2 Structure of the elements in the article head

4.5 Body Elements

The content of the article is coded within the XHTML body element. The body has been enhanced in several ways. A PRISM “class” attribute has been added to many elements so that we can specify what type of paragraph or heading they are. In addition a media element has been added to provide for special encoding of related media objects. See Figure 3.

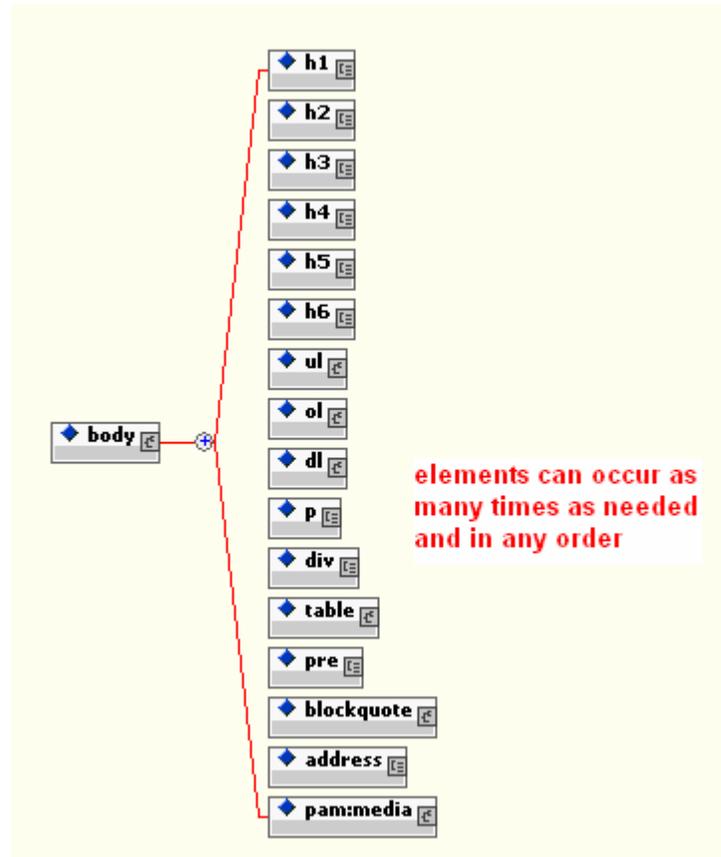


Figure 3 PAM Body Elements

Many body elements are what is called “block presentation elements.” These structures include paragraphs, block quotes and headings. These elements carry the prism:class= attribute and can be used to code special structures such as pull quotes and side bars. If you need to specify a class for other xhtml elements you can use the xhtml class= attribute as an alternative.

Note: Best practice is to use the prism:class= attribute on the <div tag when special structures are complex such as several paragraphs or a paragraph and a table. To specify a structure as a box, deck, byline, dateline, sidebar, lead-in, fnRef, fnBody, fnKey, pullQuote or ticker use prism:class and not the XHTML class= attribute.

Figure 4 shows the paragraph structure. It is made up of text and allows numerous other elements within the text.

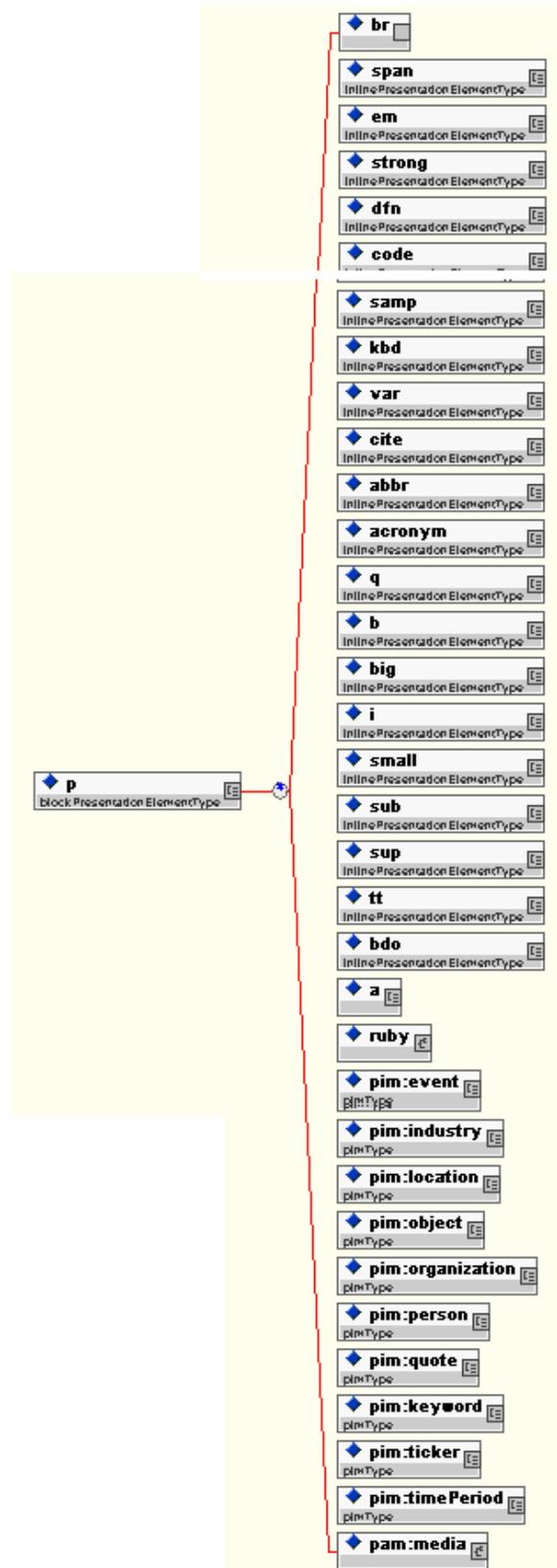


Figure 4. Block Presentation Element Structure

Example: This example shows typical body markup with the xhtml namespace default.

```
<body>
  <h1>A Wake-Up Call on Campus</h1>
  <p prism:class="deck">Virginia Tech has inspired counseling services to
reassess</ p>
  <p prism:class="byline">By Nancy Shute</ p>
  <p>This fall, when students at <pim:location>Penn State-
Altoona</pim:location> trudge back to their dorms demoralized by a failed test or a
romance on the rocks, they can take advantage of free <pim:keyword>mental-health
counseling</pim:keyword>, on the spot, from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Monday through
Thursday.</p>
  <p>At <pim:location>Cornell University</pim:location>, where foreign students
tend to avoid the campus counseling center, a counselor now staffs an outpost in
the international dorm so the isolated and struggling can drop in for an impromptu
chat.</p>
  <p>All students who come to the health center at the <pim:location>University
of Wisconsin</pim:location>, even if just for a sprained ankle or a case of the
sniffles, soon will be automatically screened for depression and offered treatment
if needed.</p>
. . . . </body>
```

4.6 Inline Metadata Markup

The standard XHTML body elements have been modified to allow for the inclusion of additional PRISM inline markup elements. These elements allow for coding the subjects of an article right inline with the content. This type of encoding facilitates more exact search capabilities. Not only can one locate an article with a particular subject, but the exact area of the text can be targeted as well. See example in Section 4.5.

Inline Markup Elements

- pim:event
- pim:industry
- pim:location
- pim:object
- pim:organization
- pim:person
- pim:quote
- pim:keyword
- pim:ticker
- pim:timePeriod

4.7 Media Element

A special pam:media element has been added to encode media related to the article content. While the media object is not included in the XML message, the pam:mediaReference can be used to link to the media object. See Figure 5.

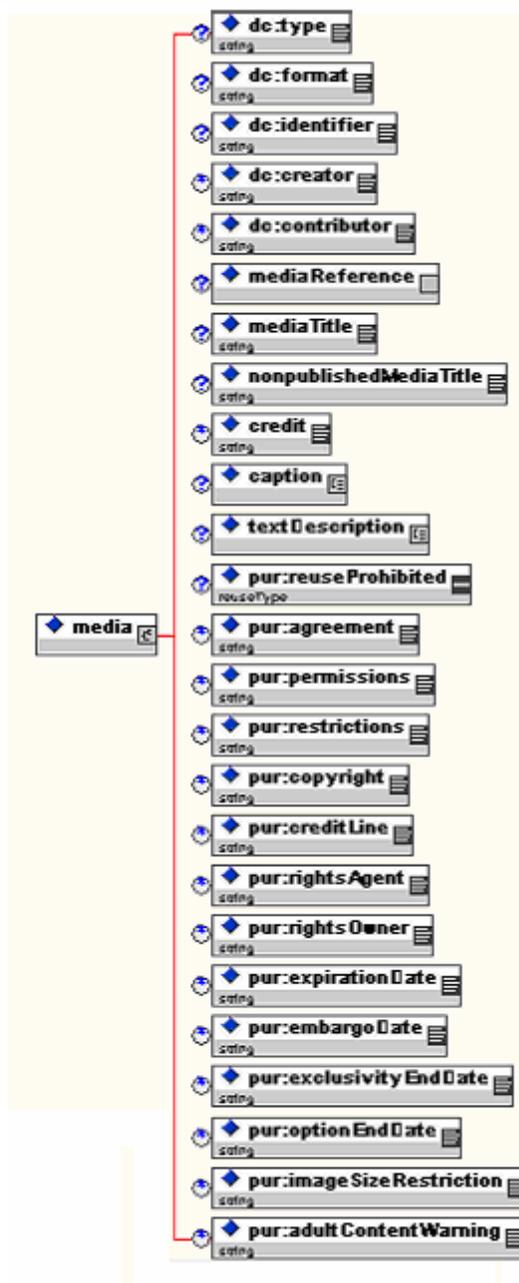


Figure 5 PAM Media Element

Example: this example shows a sample pam:media element

```
<pam:media>
  <dc:type>Picture</dc:type>
  <dc:format>image/jpeg</dc:format>
  <pam:nonpublishedMediaTitle>Virginia Tech</pam:nonpublishedMediaTitle>
  <pam:credit>Scott Goldsmith/Aurora for USN&WR</pam:credit>
  <pam:caption>Gregory Eells and his staff of counselors are much more
    visible around campus this fall.
  </pam:caption>
</pam:media>
```

Appendix A: PAM Metadata Glossary

This appendix contains a glossary for the metadata elements within the PRISM Aggregator message. The elements are listed alphabetically. Following the element name is the namespace pointing to the document in the PRISM documentation package where that element appears.

adultContentWarning (pur:) Specifies an adult content warning for an article or media object..

aggregationType (prism:) The unit of aggregation such as a magazine or journal.

agreement (pur:) Specifies the contract, license or release for a media object.

alternateTitle (prism:) An alternate title or alternate headline for a resource that may be used in a table of contents, a popup etc. and can vary with platform.

article (pam:) Contains the metadata and markup for one article.

channel (prism:) Web channel assigned to the resource. A navigational aid. Has attributes for indication of subchannel1 -4 to indicate finer navigation.

caption (pam:) Caption for a media object in PAM.

contributor (dc:) An entity responsible for making contributions to the content of a media resource.

copyright (prism:, pur:) Copyright statement for the resource.

corporateEntity (prism:) The name(s) of publisher's organizational units related to the resource, either as the financial owner or group responsible for the resource, and at a lower hierarchical level than the corporate entity named in dc:publisher.

coverDate (prism:) Date, in date format, on the cover of a magazine issue, suitable for storing in a database.

coverDisplayDate (prism:) Date on the cover of a magazine issue, provided as a textual string such as "Spring 2007".

creator (dc:) An entity primarily responsible for creating the content of a media resource.

credit (pam:) A caption-style attribution for a media object as published.

creditLine(pur:) Specifies the credit line for a media asset required by an agreement. May be tied directly to an agreement by the agreementID attribute.

description (dc:) An account of the content of the resource.

doi (prism:) The Digital Object Identifier, DOI, for the article.

edition (prism:) An identifier for one of several alternate issues of a magazine or other resource such as a foreign edition.

elssn (prism:) The electronic ISSN for the publication in which the resource was published.

embargoDate (prism:, pur:) Earliest date (potentially including time) the resource may be made available to users or customers according to the rights agreement or to a clause in the rights agreement. May be specified by distribution platform.

event (prism:, pim:) An event (social gathering, phenomenon, or more generally something that happened at a specifiable place and time) referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.

excusivityEndDate (pur:) The date (potentially including time) when exclusive rights to a resource ends. May be specified by distribution platform.

expirationDate (prism:, pur:) The date (potentially including time) by which the resource must be removed from availability to users or customers used according to a rights agreement. May be specified by distribution platform.

- format (dc:)** The physical or digital manifestation of the resource. Expressed as a MIME type.
- genre (prism:)** Describes the genre, or the *intellectual* content of the resource.
- hasCorrection (prism:)** Identifies any known corrections to the current resource.
- hasPart (dcterms:)** The described resource includes the referenced resource either physically or logically.
- identifier (dc:)** An unambiguous reference to the resource, within a given context. Required for each article sent within a PAM message.
- imageSizeRestriction (pur:)** Specifies restrictions on the usage size for an image. May be tied to agreement.
- industry (prism:, pim:)** An industry or industry sector, referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.
- isbn (prism:)** The ISBN for the book in which the resource was published.
- issn (prism:)** The ISSN for the publication in which the resource was published.
- issueIdentifier (prism:)** An additional identifier, typically used to record an identifier for a specific issue of a magazine or other resource, as distinct from the "special" name element, prism:issueName.
- issueName (prism:)** An additional identifier, typically used for major issues of a magazine or other resource.
- keyword (pim:, prism:)** An element used to tag keywords that are likely to be used in search queries. Note that this differs from a subject or elements such as prism:person, prism:event, or prism:organization that are the subject of the article.
- location (prism:, pim:)** A geospatial location, referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.
- media (pam:)** An alternative to the XHTML img element. Permits referring to and providing metadata for a media object related to an article.
- mediaReference (pam:)** Links to the media file referred to by pam:media.
- mediaTitle (pam)** Published title of the media element.
- message (pam:)** Root element for message from publisher to aggregator that contains one or more articles.
- nonpublishedMediaTitle (pam:)** Nonpublished title of the media element.
- number (prism:)** Additional identifier for the publication where the resource appeared, providing the number portion of the common volume, number scheme.
- object (prism:, pim:)** The name of a physical or virtual object, referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.
- optionEndDate (pur:)** The date (potentially including time) when the option to use a resource ends. May be specified by distribution platform.
- organization (prism:, pim:)** The name of an organization, referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.
- originPlatform (prism:)** The original platform where a resource's intellectual content was delivered.
- pageRange (prism:)** Identifies the page range for the published print version of the resource.
- permissions (pur:)** A free text field used to specify special permissions for the use of a media asset.
- person (prism:, pim:)** The proper name of a person, referred to in order to indicate a subject of the resource.
- postDate (prism:)** Date (and potentially the time) the identified resource is to be posted online. This includes both web and mobile content.
- publicationName (prism:)** Title of the magazine, or other publication, in which a resource was/will be published.

publisher (dc:) The entity responsible for making the resource available.

quote (pim:) Marks the words attributed to a specific person in the text.

restrictions (pur:) A free text field used to specify special permissions for the use of a media asset.

reuse (pur:) Can be used to immediately and directly specify if reuse is allowed.

rightsAgent ((pur:) Can be used to specify the rights agent. This is a free text field so contact information may be included. The rights agent may not be the rights owner.

rightsOwner ((pur:) Can be used to specify the rights owner. This is a free text field so contact information may be included. The rights owner may be different from the rights agent.

section (prism:) Name of the publication section in which the resource is categorized. A section is a logical subdivision of a publication which helps to identify the general subject domain of the contained content.

startingPage (prism:) Identifies the first page number for the published version of the resource.

status (pam:) Defines the processing status of the article. The default is to add the article (A).

subchannel1 (prism:) First level Web sub channel assigned to the resource.

subchannel2 (prism:) Second level Web sub channel assigned to the resource.

subchannel3 (prism:) Third level Web sub channel assigned to the resource.

subchannel4 (prism:) Fourth level Web sub channel assigned to the resource.

subject (dc:) The main topic or topics of the content of the resource. Defines “aboutness”.

subsection1 (prism:) Name of the subsection of the publication in which the resource appears. Should follow the prism:section element and precede the prism:subsection2 element (if one is given).

subsection2 (prism:) Name of the subsection of the publication in which the resource appears. Should follow the prism:section1 element and precede the prism:subsection3 element (if one is given).

subsection3 (prism:) Name of the subsection of the publication in which the resource appears. Should follow the prism:section2 element and precede the prism:subsection4 element (if one is given).

subsection4 (prism:) Name of the subsection of the publication in which the resource appears. Should follow the prism:section3 element.

teaser (prism:) A short description of the resource.

textDescription (pam:) Contains a textual description for the item referred to in a pam:media element.

ticker (pim:, prism:) Indicates a stock ticker symbol that is the subject of the article.

timePeriod (prism:, pim:) The temporal subject of the content of the resource.

title (dc:) The published name given to the resource.

type (dc:) The style of presentation of the resource’s content, such as an image or a table.

url (prism:) This element provides the url for an article or unit of content.

usage (prl:) A standard phrase or phrases, defined by the publisher that describes the usage or restriction criteria for the content.

versionIdentifier (prism:) Provides an additional identifier, typically used to record a specific version of a resource. Best practice is to use a version identifier that implies sequence.

volume (prism:) Additional identifier for the publication where the resource appeared, providing the Volume portion of the common Volume, Number scheme.

wordCount (prism:) The (approximate) count of the number of words in a textual resource.

Appendix B: PRISM Class Attribute Reference

This appendix contains a complete list of the class attributes that are allowed on elements within the body of the PRISM Aggregator Message.

The URI for the PRISM PAM Class Vocabulary is: <http://prismstandard.org/vocabularies/2.0/pam.xml>.

Term	Definition
#body	The principal component of the resource. [NewsML]
#box	Ancillary content that is presented with an article and cannot stand alone.
#byline	The byline (author) of the story.
#caption	Text identifying or explaining, and printed in close proximity to, illustrations or other images. [AAT]
#credit	An acknowledgement, appearing in the style of a caption.
#dateline	The geographical location where the story was filed, e.g., city, state, and/or country where the story originated.
#deck	A sub-head or secondary headline that generally is preceded by the article headline and precedes the body of the story.
#footnotes	Note above the footer of the page made up of the note and the reference to the note.
#lead-in	Eye catching beginning to a caption.
#pullQuote	Eye catching quote pulled from the text of the body of an article.
#sidebar	A substantive piece of content that is presented with an article and can stand alone.
#teaser	A short description of the resource.

Appendix C: PAM Example with XHTML Default for DTD

This example shows the coding for fully qualified PAM xml verified against the pam-xhtml.dtd. Note that this example is for content originally published online and validated against a DTD.

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
<!DOCTYPE pam:message SYSTEM "pam-xhtml.dtd">
<pam:message>
  <pam:article xml:lang="en-US">
    <head>
      <dc:identifier>100340926</dc:identifier>
      <prism:issueIdentifier>1000710</prism:issueIdentifier>
      <pam:status>U</pam:status>
      <prism:originPlatform prism:platform="print"/>
      <dc:title>The Real Running Mates</dc:title>
      <dc:creator>Karen Tumulty</dc:creator>
      <dc:contributor prism:place="New York">With reporting by Nancy
Gibbs</dc:contributor>
      <dc:contributor prism:place="Washington">Jay Newton-Small</dc:contributor>
      <prism:publicationName>Time</prism:publicationName>
      <prism:issn>000000</prism:issn>
      <prism:coverDate>2007-09-24</prism:coverDate>
      <prism:coverDisplayDate>September 24, 2007</prism:coverDisplayDate>
      <prism:volume>170</prism:volume>
      <prism:number>13</prism:number>
      <prism:edition>U.S. Edition</prism:edition>
      <prism:startingPage>30</prism:startingPage>

      <prism:url>http://www.time.com/time/specials/2007/article/0,28804,1660946_1661334_1
661288,00.html</prism:url>
      <prism:channel>Specials</prism:channel>
      <prism:section>The Well</prism:section>
      <prism:subsection1>Cover Story</prism:subsection1>
      <prism:subsection2>Nation</prism:subsection2>
      <prism:subsection3>Running Mates</prism:subsection3>
      <dc:subject>POLITICS</dc:subject>
      <dc:subject>CAMPAIGNS</dc:subject>
      <dc:subject>CHILDREN</dc:subject>
      <dc:subject>VOTERS</dc:subject>
      <dc:subject>FAMILY</dc:subject>
      <dc:subject>PRESS</dc:subject>
      <prism:person>Elizabeth Edwards</prism:person>
      <prism:person>Hillary Clinton</prism:person>
      <prism:person>Cindy McCain</prism:person>
      <prism:person>Laura Bush</prism:person>
      <prism:genre>coverStory</prism:genre>
      <prism:wordCount>4188</prism:wordCount>
      <dcterms:hasPart>See also additional image(s) in Cover Description file and Table
of Contents of same issue.</dcterms:hasPart>
      <pur:creditLine pur:required="yes" xml:lang="FR">Credit given</pur:creditLine>
    </head>
    <body>
      <p prism:class="deck">
Political spouses
have traditionally wielded their influence in private. But in this race, all
the rules will have to be rewritten
      </p>

```

<p>Elizabeth Edwards prides herself on her ability to explain the fine print of her husband's energy plan and the details of how John Edwards would respond to the next Katrina-size natural disaster. She can rattle off the number of people who lack health insurance in New Hampshire (about 127,000), how many schools there have failed to meet the Federal Government's standards for "adequate yearly progress" (191) and where the state ranks in teacher pay (24th). "I think it's important to learn policy, so that people don't have to dumb down their questions because I'm the spouse," she says. Nor, for that matter, does she feel a spouse should have to sand down her edges. When a woman at a house party in Bow, N.H., asked her one recent morning how her husband's campaign would respond to "the inevitable horrible mudslinging" that is part of presidential politics, you might have thought she was the one in the family who had grown up in a brawling mill town. "It's a question of being prepared and not having any hesitation," she said. "You go straight to the nose because then they walk away bleeding. And that's the point."/p>

<p>It's hard to imagine Laura Bush saying something like that. There is no handbook for the spouse of a presidential candidate, but the expectations have always been pretty clear. She (yes, that was the presumption) should first do no harm. Her safest bet: stand silently at his side, beaming with admiration and awe, the well-coiffed testament to a home life that was tranquil, drama-free and utterly traditional. When the spouse became the story, it was seldom good news for the principal.</p>

<p>Take what happened in 1992, when a certain Governor from Arkansas started throwing around quips like "Buy one, get one free" and musing about the possibility of giving his outspoken lawyer wife a Cabinet post. In no time, people were working out their own conflicted feelings about feminism and family by arguing over Hillary Clinton--the influences she would bring to the White House, the state of her marriage, even her headbands. No less a political scientist than Richard Nixon, whose own spouse had been a paragon of cloth-coat humility, warned, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."/p>

<p>Fast-forward four presidential cycles, and Hillary is leading the field for the Democratic presidential nomination, while Bill is the one learning to fit himself into the supporting role. With a spouse who can be counted on to outshine the candidate, her campaign has had to handle the former President as carefully as a tactical nuclear weapon. "A lot of people might have expected him to be out immediately, and instead, he's sort of behind the scenes and on the phone and doing fund raising," says Elizabeth Edwards, 58. "It is clearly more complicated for them ... I'm just glad that's their problem, not mine."/p>

<p>But Bill is far from the only spouse rewriting the rules of the road in presidential politics. Of the 2008 candidates--and particularly among those in the top tier--more than a few are married to outspoken, opinionated, professional women who are neither accustomed to nor inclined toward melting into the background. They are comfortable with, even eager about making news in their own right. Since the 2008 campaign promises to be more competitive, more expensive and more

prolonged than any we've seen, the spouses are playing roles more typically associated with the running mate than the mate of the person who's running. In fact, the reality of today's politics seems to have turned Nixon's premise on its head. A strong, smart, fully engaged spouse is practically a prerequisite if you want to win. Sit down and talk to some of them, and you will realize that while they all are charting the terrain ahead in their own ways, they do so with the conviction that their partner can't get there without them. As Cindy McCain, 53, put it, "He and I are the only two in it in the end."

The
Gladiators

ONE REASON

CAMPAIGNS ARE RELYING MORE heavily on spouses as surrogates is simply practical: two people can cover far more territory than one. "It's obviously different. Not only am I going out and speaking, but I'm also doing fund raising on my own," says Ann Romney, 58, whose five sons too are being deployed across the map. "There are so many states in play now that you can't possibly cover them all with the asset of just one candidate." As the competition gets hotter, we'll see whether the traditional attack-dog role played by vice-presidential nominees falls to the spouses as well--and whether they are given leeway to say things that their husbands wouldn't dare. There was no mistaking what Elizabeth Edwards meant when she said Hillary Clinton is "divisive and unelectable." She has blasted Barack Obama for being "holier than thou" on the Iraq war, contended Hillary Clinton has had to "behave as a man" and "is just not as vocal a women's advocate as I want to see," and complained that her husband is not getting as much media attention as either of them because "we can't make John black; we can't make him a woman."

Edwards allows

that she occasionally thinks, "Golly, I wish I hadn't said it that way." And she insists that she is merely being herself, not part of a campaign strategy. "There is no, and I mean zero, campaign discussion, calculation, anything with respect to this. The second thing is, I don't usually volunteer this," Edwards says of these comments about her husband's front-running rivals. "When I am specifically asked, I simply answer the question, and it's not a matter of attacking in particular."

But that doesn't

mean all this is random. "My job is to move voters," Edwards says. "If you're not moving votes or moving voters to see the candidate himself or herself, then you're not using your time very wisely." And that highlights another poignant and uncomfortable reality of the unique situation in which Edwards now finds herself. What she calls "my precious time" is even more so since it was revealed in March that her breast cancer, first diagnosed in the final days of the Kerry-Edwards campaign in 2004, had recurred as Stage IV and is incurable. Statistics suggest only 20% of patients in her situation live for five years. Is Edwards getting a sympathy pass? Rival campaigns think so, though they won't say so publicly. As one strategist puts it, "She's bulletproof."

Reporters are

primed to hear an attack even when none is intended. When Michelle Obama, 43, mused last month in Iowa that "if you can't run your own house, you certainly can't run the White House"--an innocent enough observation, the full context of her remarks shows, about the challenges of juggling her children's schedule with her husband's--it was immediately interpreted as a dig

at the Clintons. THE CLAWS COME OUT screamed a caption beneath her picture and Hillary Clinton's on Fox News. "That's a totally different context,"

Obama now says. "So that's one of those things where I take it, I learn a lesson, I say, 'O.K., let me be clearer' ... All I'm trying to do is talk to

the American people about who we are, our shortcomings, our challenges. What I don't want to feel like is that we can't have any conversations about this--values or morals or all of that--because somebody's feelings might get hurt. This is tough stuff."

<p>The Guardians</p>

<p>AN IMPORTANT

THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT the extraordinary lineup of smart, savvy, engaged campaign spouses in the 2008 race is that none of this is entirely new. What's new is knowing so much about it.</p>

<p>First Ladies have

been deeply involved in politics all through history. In 1776, even as John Adams was helping invent the Republic, Abigail was warning him, "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could."

Mary Todd Lincoln had such strong views about Cabinet members and Supreme Court nominees that some White House aides called her "the Hellcat." Edith Wilson secretly held the government together for her stroke-incapacitated husband, though she opposed giving women the vote.

Rosalynn Carter was basically in charge of mental-health policy. As her husband staggered through 1979, columnist Jack Anderson dubbed her the "co-President." "Many, many women have brought to the table so many different things," says Cindy McCain. "It just depends on how deeply you want to look."

<p>McCain--whom

voters got to know as a smiling, beautiful, St. John--suited presence in her husband's 2000 campaign--played a hard-knuckled tactical role this time around by engineering the shake-up of a high-priced campaign organization that had spent itself into near insolvency. In large part at Cindy McCain's instigation,

her husband's longtime political strategist John Weaver was fired; his 2000 campaign manager Rick Davis was brought back from internal exile to take over.

"Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me," McCain says.

"I don't have anything to lose by telling him not only what I think but what I think he did wrong."

<p>In the

pre-Hillary age, with different expectations for gender roles, that kind of influence was wielded privately--over everything from policy to personnel to political strategy--more than publicly. With the conspicuous exception of Eleanor Roosevelt, who was an outspoken and polarizing figure in her own right, the modern era saw a procession of generally pliant First Ladies: Bess, Mamie, Jackie, Lady Bird, Pat. It really was Betty Ford, arguably the archetype for

today's aspiring First Spouses, who changed the rules. Faced with a traumatized electorate and an omnivorous press corps after Watergate, she responded in the way that came naturally--which is to say forthrightly, answering whatever questions were thrown at her because her Midwestern manners precluded the idea that you could just ignore a question you didn't like. There was Betty on 60 Minutes saying she wouldn't be surprised if her teenage daughter Susan were having sex or if her kids had tried pot. When she observed to a columnist that the only question she hadn't been asked was how often she slept with her husband, the reporter came back with: "Well, how often do you?" Her answer: "As often as possible!" The Fords "flung open the White House windows and declared there are real people living here," says journalist Kati Marton, who wrote Hidden Power, a book on presidential marriages, and who herself is married to former Clinton Administration official Richard Holbrooke.

But then, Betty Ford got the First Lady's job without ever having to campaign for it. And not everyone was charmed by her candor. Some of the President's aides wanted to muzzle her, and his pollsters said she could cost him 20 points with conservative GOP voters. First Lady aspirants have more typically acted as fabric softener. Tipper Gore made her husband look looser, as did Kitty Dukakis, though in both cases that wasn't saying much. Laura Bush has almost always been a more popular figure than W., though most people could not name a policy position that she's passionate about.

The current class of candidates' spouses has plenty who still fit the traditional mold--like Mary Brownback, 49, who married Sam while she was in law school and proudly declares that she's never worked outside the home. "Basically," she says, "I live in the kitchen." Ann Romney calls herself the CFO--chief family officer--and her husband Mitt's campaign website says she "places primary importance on her role as a wife, a mother and a grandmother." Mike and Janet Huckabee were high school sweethearts; now 52, she was 18 when they married, and they renewed their vows in a covenant marriage on Valentine's Day, 2005. Jill Tracy Biden, 56, was a student teacher when she and Joe Biden married in 1977, and has dropped off the campaign trail now that the school year has begun again.

In fact, for a politician's spouse, some things never change. This is how Barbara Richardson, 58, a veteran of her husband Bill's successful campaigns for the House and the New Mexico governorship, summed it up before a debate in South Carolina: "While Mr. Wonderful is out there campaigning, the rest of us as spouses are still schlepping through the airport to a commercial plane with kids in tow. We miss our connections. We're standing in grocery-store lines, and frankly, we're just trying to keep body and soul and house and home and family together, while they go out and make nice--Mr. Popularity!"

Have voters really adjusted their ideas and expectations of a First Mate? The spouses themselves don't sound so sure. "As much as it may sound a little archaic, I think the American voter wants a traditional situation," says Cindy

McCain. "In other words, I don't believe they want a spouse who is involved in day-to-day politics. And I'm not criticizing any former Administration. I'm just telling you what people have told me. They still kind of want the traditional-looking family."

Even Elizabeth Edwards, for all her outspokenness, agrees. "There are certain baseline things people require in a First Lady--a graciousness," she says. "There is sort of a sense of maternal capabilities that we might be looking for. I don't think that in any way disqualifies Bill, but I do think that if it's a woman, they're looking perhaps for something like that."

Marriages Under the Microscope

MANY A FIRST MARRIAGE HAS BEEN THE subject of rumor and speculation, but the Clinton presidency put political marriage under the microscope in a way it never had been before. In this new season of full disclosure, there's Elizabeth Kucinich, 29, who told the Associated Press that a lazy day at home consists of getting up for brunch and then going back to bed until 4:30 p.m., "John Lennon and Yoko Ono--style." But it's hard to think of another spouse who has taken openness as far as Michelle Obama. Her idea of managing her husband's image seems to begin with knocking him off his pedestal.

In a Glamour magazine interview, Michelle Obama said her husband is so "snore-y and stinky" that her daughters won't cuddle with him in bed. She tells voters how he leaves his dirty socks around and invites them to tattler if they see him violating their deal in which she would allow him to run if he would stop smoking. Barack Obama has written with startling candor about the strains that his political career has put on their marriage, particularly when both were in their formative years. "Leaning down to kiss Michelle goodbye in the morning, all I would get was a peck on the cheek," he wrote. "By the time Sasha was born--just as beautiful, and almost as calm as her sister--my wife's anger toward me seemed barely contained."

But you could argue that her acknowledgment of his flaws makes her more effective when she turns that anger on his critics. "Don't be fooled by people who claim that it is not his time," she exhorts. "We've heard this spewed from the lips of rivals ... every phase of our journey: He is not experienced enough. He should wait his turn. He is too young. He is not black enough. He is not white enough."

Michelle Obama says she is betting that voters will not only accept that frankness but embrace it. "You win with being who you are and with being clear and comfortable with that," she says. "I'm finding that people completely understand me. For the most part, I think the women and the men and the families and the folks that we are meeting on the campaign trail understand the realities of families of today."

ODDLY ENOUGH, IT

IS THE REPUBLICAN spouses who are stretching the limits of traditional values in ways they never have before. Ann Romney's story line--the high school sweetheart and sunny stay-at-home mom who produced a close-knit, picture-perfect family--actually sets her apart among the leading contenders' wives. Which doesn't hurt when you are trying to persuade voters, particularly evangelical conservatives, to consider putting a Mormon in the White House. "I think that people have seen Mitt and me. They certainly know we have a very strong marriage and very strong family," she says. "I think that is clearly helpful to him in breaking down barriers that people have had in the past." But, she adds, "I don't know if they've seen enough."

For the others, the question may be whether voters have seen too much. The public displays of affection that front runner Rudolph Giuliani and wife Judith put on for Barbara Walters--holding hands and calling each other "baby" and "sweetheart"--only served to remind viewers that this first blush of love is also the third marriage for each, and that wife No. 3 is one of the reasons his children with wife No. 2 won't campaign for him. "I have just recently begun--I think they call it in the political world--being rolled out," Judith, 52, told Walters, but the process has been anything but smooth. A scathing profile of Judith Stish Ross Nathan Giuliani in Vanity Fair pored over her two failed marriages (one of which she acknowledged only recently), the requirement that a separate seat on her plane be provided for the Louis Vuitton handbag that is known around Giuliani headquarters as Baby Louis, and the inconvenient timeline of their courtship, which started while he was still living with second wife Donna Hanover.

Through all this, Judith Giuliani is trying hard to keep her game face on. "It's a steep learning curve. It's all been new to me," she says. "What's really important is, it's my husband who's running for office. He is the one. I do think that is important for us to focus on. We aren't electing a spouse." And while Rudy Giuliani told Walters he would be "very, very comfortable" with having his wife, a nurse, attend Cabinet meetings--"I couldn't have a better adviser"--Judith downplays her influence and her interest in his campaign and in any future Giuliani Administration. "My role is really to support my husband in the ways I have always supported him. I love to take charge of his personal health needs, make sure he's exercising, getting the right food, which is a real challenge on the campaign trail," she says. "I do attend some meetings, but more often than not, it's for my own edification."

For Fred Thompson's wife Jeri, 40, who is a quarter-century younger than he is, it's hard to figure out which female stereotype is more toxic: the siren whose tight, low-cut outfits had cable-television commentator and former GOP Congressman Joe Scarborough speculating that she "works the pole"--a phrase usually associated with strippers--or the conniving Lady Macbeth who has been blamed for sending his campaign into disarray even before it was launched. She was a major force in persuading him to run but also a major one behind a series of shake-ups that had the campaign on its second manager and its fourth spokesman before Thompson even announced his candidacy.

<p>Her defenders note that Jeri Thompson has worked for years as a political operative. "She gets Republican politics. She gets conservative politics. But most of all, she understands where this man is and how best to help him," says Mark Corallo, a well-respected strategist who helped launch the campaign. But then, on the eve of Thompson's much delayed announcement, Corallo himself resigned.</p>

<p>Their family portrait--a man who qualifies for Social Security with a 40-year-old blond, a toddler and a baby--is a far cry from that of Ike and Mamie. "He sadly now looks like their grandfather," says Marton. "It's not what women want the presidential family to look like. No doubt unintentionally, but to a lot of women it's almost a rebuke. It's too unsubtle."</p>

<p>The New Normal</p>

<p>IN THIS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS PRODUCED SO much buzz about political marriages, the challenge for the Clintons has been a different one: making the most remarkable situation of all look normal.</p>

<p>The first time his wife ran for office, Bill Clinton was in the White House, which kept him safely off her stage and minimized the amount of public distraction he caused. But behind the scenes, he was her political consultant in chief, reworking her speeches, stepping in when her staff was putting too much on her schedule, rehearsing her for debates and demanding she step up her ad buys.</p>

<p>That was two successful Senate campaigns ago. Now the man who jokes that he wants to be known as "First Laddie" downplays his role as she reaches for the biggest prize of all: his old job. He has joined his wife in a couple of campaign swings and is her star fund raiser. But he has yet to show up among the spouses in the audience at any of the Democratic debates. As for his role in any future Clinton Administration, both she and he have talked about the possibility that she might make him an unofficial emissary. "I think she will ask me and former President Bush and other people to go help the country. We have got to restore our standing in the world," Bill Clinton told CNN's Larry King recently. "I wouldn't be surprised if she [asked] every former President to do something."</p>

<p>But in the meantime, there's an election to win. And while Hillary Clinton has the best political strategist of her generation at her disposal, Bill is by all accounts keeping his obtrusions to a minimum. Campaign officials say that while the couple talks several times a day, he rarely gets involved with the workings of her campaign. "He's doing what he's asked, and he's doing what he can," says an aide, "but he's certainly not meddling." In part, that's because his own work--his foundation and a tour to promote his new book--keeps him plenty busy. And it also reflects the fact that she has an enormous political machine around her that seems to be doing pretty well on its own.</p>

<p>"If she's

writing an important article or giving an important speech, she'll ask me to read it," the former President told Oprah Winfrey. "And once in a while she'll ask me for some advice on something strategic. But she knows so much more about a lot of this stuff than I do because I'm far removed from it."

Occasionally, he says, he gets a call from her while he's on the golf course, and she reminds him that she's 15 years older than he was when he did it, "and I say, 'Well, nobody made you run.'"

Bill Clinton, 61, is also making a conscious effort to stay out of the fray, though when Elizabeth Edwards attacked Hillary as not vocal enough on women's issues, he rode to his wife's defense. "If you look at the record on women's issues, I defy you to find anybody who has run for office in recent history who's got a longer history of working for women, for families and children, than Hillary does," Clinton said in an interview with ABC's Good Morning America. As for Edwards' contention that Hillary had behaved "as a man," Clinton retorted, "I don't think it's inconsistent with being a woman that you can also be knowledgeable on military and security affairs and be strong when the occasion demands it."

But he has steered clear of criticizing Hillary's opponents. "This is a good time for us Democrats," he says. "We don't have to be against anybody. We can be for the person we think would be the best President." Of course, that's easy to say when your candidate is safely ahead in the polls. If their situation and that of the Edwardses were reversed, "would he be her biggest attack dog like Elizabeth Edwards is? Maybe," concedes a strategist. "But he gets to be the big guy--at least for now." Then again, he's in a supporting role that doesn't come with a script. No one knows that better than a Clinton.

[This article contains a table. Please see hardcopy of magazine or PDF.]

THE MARCH OF HISTORY

That Was Then. This Is Now

Both in style and in substance, the 2008 contenders for the job of First Spouse are all far different from anyone Americans have ever seen in the East Wing

Accessory	
Image	
Credential	
Cause	

<td>Divorce Record</td>
<td>Financial Experience</td>
<td>ExecutiveExperience</td>
<td>Family Photo</td>
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<td>THE OLD WAY</td>
<td>Her pillbox hat was Jackie Kennedy's fashion signature</td>
<td>Nancy Reagan never lost her adoring gaze for her husband</td>
<td>Mamie Eisenhower touted her Million Dollar Fudge recipe</td>
<td>Lady Bird Johnson beautified America's highways</td>
<td>Florence Harding, the first divorced First Lady, and Betty Ford, the next and last, each had one previous marriage</td>
<td>Mary Todd Lincoln ran up secret debts with her shopping</td>
<td>Edith Wilson wielded power after husband Woodrow's stroke</td>
<td>Barbara Bush's was a tableau filled with grandchildren</td>
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<td>THE NEW
WAY</td>
<td>Elizabeth Kucinich would be the first First Lady to wear a tongue stud</td>
<td>Michelle Obama talks about Barack's flaws, calling him "stinky and snore-y"</td>
<td>This year's spouses are a lawyerly lot. Shown clockwise from top left, Elizabeth Edwards, Michelle Obama, Mary Brownback and Bill Clinton all earned their degrees in law</td>
<td>If his wife is elected, former President Bill Clinton says he wants to help change the world by working through his foundation on problems like aids</td>
<td>Judith Nathan Giuliani is on her third marriage--a fact that became public only recently</td>
<td>Representative Chris Dodd's wife Jackie Clegg Dodd sits on five corporate boards and was a vice chair of the Export-Import Bank</td>
<td>Bill Clinton was the 42nd President of the U.S. but jokes he might be called "First Laddie"</td>
<td>Jeri Thompson has a changing table on the campaign bus</td>
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<p prism:class="box">SPOUSE TALK AT TIME.COM

To read interviews with the running mates and see photos of the couples on the trail, visit [time.com /spouses](http://time.com/spouses). Plus, Elizabeth Edwards and Ann Romney speak about campaigning while battling breast cancer and

MS</p>

<p prism:class="pullQuote">'If you're not moving votes or moving voters ... then you're not using your time very wisely.' --ELIZABETH EDWARDS</p>

<p prism:class="pullQuote">'Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me. I don't have anything to lose by telling him ... what I think he did wrong.' --CINDY MCCAIN</p>

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trying not to outshine his wife.</pam:caption>

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Appendix D: PAM Example with XHTML Default for XSD

This example shows the coding for PAM xml that is defaulted to the xhtml: namespace and verified against the pam.xsd. Note that this example is for content originally published online and validated against an XSD.

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Political spouses
have traditionally wielded their influence in private. But in this race, all the rules will have to be rewritten
</p> <p>Elizabeth Edwards
prides herself on her ability to explain the fine print of her husband's energy plan and the details of how John Edwards would respond to the next Katrina-size natural disaster. She can rattle off the number of people who lack health insurance in New Hampshire (about 127,000), how many schools there have failed to meet the Federal Government's standards for "adequate yearly progress" (191) and where the state ranks in teacher pay (24th). "I think it's important to learn policy, so that people don't have to dumb down their questions because I'm the spouse," she says. Nor, for that matter, does she feel a spouse should have to sand down her edges. When a woman at a house party in Bow, N.H., asked her one recent morning how her husband's campaign would respond to "the inevitable horrible mudslinging" that is part of presidential politics, you might have thought she was the one in the family who had grown up in a brawling mill town. "It's a question of being prepared and not having any hesitation," she said. "You go straight to the nose because then they walk away bleeding. And that's the point."</p>
<p>It's hard to
imagine Laura Bush saying something like that. There is no handbook for the spouse of a presidential candidate, but the expectations have always been pretty clear. She (yes, that was the presumption) should first do no harm. Her safest bet: stand silently at his side, beaming with admiration and awe, the well-coiffed testament to a home life that was tranquil, drama-free and utterly traditional. When the spouse became the story, it was seldom good news for the principal.</p>

<p>Take what
happened in 1992, when a certain Governor from Arkansas started throwing around quips like "Buy one, get one free" and musing about the possibility of giving his outspoken lawyer wife a Cabinet post. In no time, people were working out their own conflicted feelings about feminism and family by arguing over Hillary Clinton--the influences she would bring to the White House, the state of her marriage, even her headbands. No less a political scientist than Richard Nixon, whose own spouse had been a paragon of cloth-coat humility, warned, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."</p>

<p>Fast-forward four
presidential cycles, and Hillary is leading the field for the Democratic presidential nomination, while Bill is the one learning to fit himself into the supporting role. With a spouse who can be counted on to outshine the candidate, her campaign has had to handle the former President as carefully as a tactical nuclear weapon. "A lot of people might have expected him to be out immediately, and instead, he's sort of behind the scenes and on the phone and

doing fund raising," says Elizabeth Edwards, 58. "It is clearly more complicated for them ... I'm just glad that's their problem, not mine."

But Bill is far from the only spouse rewriting the rules of the road in presidential politics. Of the 2008 candidates--and particularly among those in the top tier--more than a few are married to outspoken, opinionated, professional women who are neither accustomed to nor inclined toward melting into the background. They are comfortable with, even eager about making news in their own right. Since the 2008 campaign promises to be more competitive, more expensive and more prolonged than any we've seen, the spouses are playing roles more typically associated with the running mate than the mate of the person who's running. In fact, the reality of today's politics seems to have turned Nixon's premise on its head. A strong, smart, fully engaged spouse is practically a prerequisite if you want to win. Sit down and talk to some of them, and you will realize that while they all are charting the terrain ahead in their own ways, they do so with the conviction that their partner can't get there without them. As Cindy McCain, 53, put it, "He and I are the only two in it in the end."

The
Gladiators

ONE REASON
CAMPAIGNS ARE RELYING MORE heavily on spouses as surrogates is simply practical: two people can cover far more territory than one. "It's obviously different. Not only am I going out and speaking, but I'm also doing fund raising on my own," says Ann Romney, 58, whose five sons too are being deployed across the map. "There are so many states in play now that you can't possibly cover them all with the asset of just one candidate." As the competition gets hotter, we'll see whether the traditional attack-dog role played by vice-presidential nominees falls to the spouses as well--and whether they are given leeway to say things that their husbands wouldn't dare. There was no mistaking what Elizabeth Edwards meant when she said Hillary Clinton is "divisive and unelectable." She has blasted Barack Obama for being "holier than thou" on the Iraq war, contended Hillary Clinton has had to "behave as a man" and "is just not as vocal a women's advocate as I want to see," and complained that her husband is not getting as much media attention as either of them because "we can't make John black; we can't make him a woman."

Edwards allows that she occasionally thinks, "Golly, I wish I hadn't said it that way." And she insists that she is merely being herself, not part of a campaign strategy. "There is no, and I mean zero, campaign discussion, calculation, anything with respect to this. The second thing is, I don't usually volunteer this," Edwards says of these comments about her husband's front-running rivals. "When I am specifically asked, I simply answer the question, and it's not a matter of attacking in particular."

But that doesn't mean all this is random. "My job is to move voters," Edwards says. "If you're not moving votes or moving voters to see the candidate himself

or herself, then you're not using your time very wisely." And that highlights another poignant and uncomfortable reality of the unique situation in which Edwards now finds herself. What she calls "my precious time" is even more so since it was revealed in March that her breast cancer, first diagnosed in the final days of the Kerry-Edwards campaign in 2004, had recurred as Stage IV and is incurable. Statistics suggest only 20% of patients in her situation live for five years. Is Edwards getting a sympathy pass? Rival campaigns think so, though they won't say so publicly. As one strategist puts it, "She's bulletproof."

Reporters are

primed to hear an attack even when none is intended. When Michelle Obama, 43, mused last month in Iowa that "if you can't run your own house, you certainly can't run the White House"--an innocent enough observation, the full context of her remarks shows, about the challenges of juggling her children's schedule with her husband's--it was immediately interpreted as a dig

at the Clintons. THE CLAWS COME OUT screamed a caption beneath her picture and Hillary Clinton's on Fox News. "That's a totally different context,"

Obama now says. "So that's one of those things where I take it, I learn a lesson, I say, 'O.K., let me be clearer' ... All I'm trying to do is talk to

the American people about who we are, our shortcomings, our challenges. What I don't want to feel like is that we can't have any conversations about this--values or morals or all of that--because somebody's feelings might get hurt. This is tough stuff."

The Guardians

AN IMPORTANT

THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT the extraordinary lineup of smart, savvy, engaged campaign spouses in the 2008 race is that none of this is entirely new. What's new is knowing so much about it.

First Ladies have

been deeply involved in politics all through history. In 1776, even as John Adams was helping invent the Republic, Abigail was warning him, "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could." Mary Todd Lincoln had such strong views about Cabinet members and Supreme Court nominees that some White House aides called her "the Hellcat." Edith Wilson secretly held the government together for her stroke-incapacitated husband, though she opposed giving women the vote. Rosalynn Carter was basically in charge of mental-health policy. As her husband staggered through 1979, columnist Jack Anderson dubbed her the "co-President." "Many, many women have brought to the table so many different things," says Cindy McCain. "It just depends on how deeply you want to look."

McCain--whom

voters got to know as a smiling, beautiful, St. John--suited presence in her husband's 2000 campaign--played a hard-knuckled tactical role this time around by engineering the shake-up of a high-priced campaign organization that had spent itself into near insolvency. In large part at Cindy McCain's instigation, her husband's longtime political strategist John Weaver was fired; his 2000 campaign manager Rick Davis was brought back from internal exile to take over. "Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me," McCain says.

"I don't have anything to lose by telling him not only what I think but what I think he did wrong."

In the pre-Hillary age, with different expectations for gender roles, that kind of influence was wielded privately--over everything from policy to personnel to political strategy--more than publicly. With the conspicuous exception of Eleanor Roosevelt, who was an outspoken and polarizing figure in her own right, the modern era saw a procession of generally pliant First Ladies: Bess, Mamie, Jackie, Lady Bird, Pat. It really was Betty Ford, arguably the archetype for today's aspiring First Spouses, who changed the rules. Faced with a traumatized electorate and an omnivorous press corps after Watergate, she responded in the way that came naturally--which is to say forthrightly, answering whatever questions were thrown at her because her Midwestern manners precluded the idea that you could just ignore a question you didn't like. There was Betty on 60 Minutes saying she wouldn't be surprised if her teenage daughter Susan were having sex or if her kids had tried pot. When she observed to a columnist that the only question she hadn't been asked was how often she slept with her husband, the reporter came back with: "Well, how often do you?" Her answer: "As often as possible!" The Fords flung open the White House windows and declared there are real people living here, says journalist Kati Marton, who wrote Hidden Power, a book on presidential marriages, and who herself is married to former Clinton Administration official Richard Holbrooke.

But then, Betty Ford got the First Lady's job without ever having to campaign for it. And not everyone was charmed by her candor. Some of the President's aides wanted to muzzle her, and his pollsters said she could cost him 20 points with conservative GOP voters. First Lady aspirants have more typically acted as fabric softener. Tipper Gore made her husband look looser, as did Kitty Dukakis, though in both cases that wasn't saying much. Laura Bush has almost always been a more popular figure than W., though most people could not name a policy position that she's passionate about.

The current class of candidates' spouses has plenty who still fit the traditional mold--like Mary Brownback, 49, who married Sam while she was in law school and proudly declares that she's never worked outside the home. "Basically," she says, "I live in the kitchen." Ann Romney calls herself the CFO--chief family officer--and her husband Mitt's campaign website says she "places primary importance on her role as a wife, a mother and a grandmother." Mike and Janet Huckabee were high school sweethearts; now 52, she was 18 when they married, and they renewed their vows in a covenant marriage on Valentine's Day, 2005. Jill Tracy Biden, 56, was a student teacher when she and Joe Biden married in 1977, and has dropped off the campaign trail now that the school year has begun again.

In fact, for a politician's spouse, some things never change. This is how Barbara Richardson, 58, a veteran of her husband Bill's successful campaigns for the House and the New Mexico governorship, summed it up before a debate in South Carolina: "While Mr. Wonderful is out there campaigning, the rest of us as spouses are still schlepping through the airport to a commercial plane with kids in

tow. We miss our connections. We're standing in grocery-store lines, and frankly, we're just trying to keep body and soul and home and family together, while they go out and make nice--Mr. Popularity!"

Have voters really adjusted their ideas and expectations of a First Mate? The spouses themselves don't sound so sure. "As much as it may sound a little archaic, I think the American voter wants a traditional situation," says Cindy McCain. "In other words, I don't believe they want a spouse who is involved in day-to-day politics. And I'm not criticizing any former Administration. I'm just telling you what people have told me. They still kind of want the traditional-looking family."

Even Elizabeth Edwards, for all her outspokenness, agrees. "There are certain baseline things people require in a First Lady--a graciousness," she says. "There is sort of a sense of maternal capabilities that we might be looking for. I don't think that in any way disqualifies Bill, but I do think that if it's a woman, they're looking perhaps for something like that."

Marriages Under the Microscope

MANY A FIRST

MARRIAGE HAS BEEN THE subject of rumor and speculation, but the Clinton presidency put political marriage under the microscope in a way it never had been before. In this new season of full disclosure, there's Elizabeth Kucinich, 29, who told the Associated Press that a lazy day at home consists of getting up for brunch and then going back to bed until 4:30 p.m., "John Lennon and Yoko Ono--style." But it's hard to think of another spouse who has taken openness as far as Michelle Obama. Her idea of managing her husband's image seems to begin with knocking him off his pedestal.

In a Glamour magazine interview, Michelle Obama said her husband is so "snore-y and stinky" that her daughters won't cuddle with him in bed. She tells voters how he leaves his dirty socks around and invites them to tattler if they see him violating their deal in which she would allow him to run if he would stop smoking. Barack Obama has written with startling candor about the strains that his political career has put on their marriage, particularly when both were in their formative years. "Leaning down to kiss Michelle goodbye in the morning, all I would get was a peck on the cheek," he wrote. "By the time Sasha was born--just as beautiful, and almost as calm as her sister--my wife's anger toward me seemed barely contained."

But you could argue that her acknowledgment of his flaws makes her more effective when she turns that anger on his critics. "Don't be fooled by people who claim that it is not his time," she exhorts. "We've heard this spewed from the lips of rivals ... every phase of our journey: He is not experienced enough. He should wait his turn. He is too young. He is not black enough. He is not white enough."

<p>Michelle Obama says she is betting that voters will not only accept that frankness but embrace it. "You win with being who you are and with being clear and comfortable with that," she says. "I'm finding that people completely understand me. For the most part, I think the women and the men and the families and the folks that we are meeting on the campaign trail understand the realities of families of today."</p>

<p>ODDLY ENOUGH, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN spouses who are stretching the limits of traditional values in ways they never have before. Ann Romney's story line--the high school sweetheart and sunny stay-at-home mom who produced a close-knit, picture-perfect family--actually sets her apart among the leading contenders' wives. Which doesn't hurt when you are trying to persuade voters, particularly evangelical conservatives, to consider putting a Mormon in the White House. "I think that people have seen Mitt and me. They certainly know we have a very strong marriage and very strong family," she says. "I think that is clearly helpful to him in breaking down barriers that people have had in the past." But, she adds, "I don't know if they've seen enough."</p>

<p>For the others, the question may be whether voters have seen too much. The public displays of affection that front runner Rudolph Giuliani and wife Judith put on for Barbara Walters--holding hands and calling each other "baby" and "sweetheart"--only served to remind viewers that this first blush of love is also the third marriage for each, and that wife No. 3 is one of the reasons his children with wife No. 2 won't campaign for him. "I have just recently begun--I think they call it in the political world--being 'rolled out,'" Judith, 52, told Walters, but the process has been anything but smooth. A scathing profile of Judith Stish Ross Nathan Giuliani in Vanity Fair pored over her two failed marriages (one of which she acknowledged only recently), the requirement that a separate seat on her plane be provided for the Louis Vuitton handbag that is known around Giuliani headquarters as Baby Louis, and the inconvenient timeline of their courtship, which started while he was still living with second wife Donna Hanover.</p>

<p>Through all this, Judith Giuliani is trying hard to keep her game face on. "It's a steep learning curve. It's all been new to me," she says. "What's really important is, it's my husband who's running for office. He is the one. I do think that is important for us to focus on. We aren't electing a spouse." And while Rudy Giuliani told Walters he would be "very, very comfortable" with having his wife, a nurse, attend Cabinet meetings--"I couldn't have a better adviser"--Judith downplays her influence and her interest in his campaign and in any future Giuliani Administration. "My role is really to support my husband in the ways I have always supported him. I love to take charge of his personal health needs, make sure he's exercising, getting the right food, which is a real challenge on the campaign trail," she says. "I do attend some meetings, but more often than not, it's for my own edification."</p>

<p>For Fred Thompson's wife Jeri, 40, who is a quarter-century younger than he is, it's

hard to figure out which female stereotype is more toxic: the siren whose tight, low-cut outfits had cable-television commentator and former GOP Congressman Joe Scarborough speculating that she "works the pole"--a phrase usually associated with strippers--or the conniving Lady Macbeth who has been blamed for sending his campaign into disarray even before it was launched. She was a major force in persuading him to run but also a major one behind a series of shake-ups that had the campaign on its second manager and its fourth spokesman before Thompson even announced his candidacy.

Her defenders

note that Jeri Thompson has worked for years as a political operative. "She gets Republican politics. She gets conservative politics. But most of all, she understands where this man is and how best to help him," says Mark Corallo, a well-respected strategist who helped launch the campaign. But then, on the eve of Thompson's much delayed announcement, Corallo himself resigned.

Their family

portrait--a man who qualifies for Social Security with a 40-year-old blond, a toddler and a baby--is a far cry from that of Ike and Mamie. "He sadly now looks like their grandfather," says Marton. "It's not what women want

the presidential family to look like. No doubt unintentionally, but to a lot of women it's almost a rebuke. It's too unsubtle."

The New Normal

IN THIS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS PRODUCED SO much buzz about political marriages, the challenge for the Clintons has been a different one: making the most remarkable situation of all look normal.

The first time

his wife ran for office, Bill Clinton was in the White House, which kept him safely off her stage and minimized the amount of public distraction he caused. But behind the scenes, he was her political consultant in chief, reworking her speeches, stepping in when her staff was putting too much on her schedule, rehearsing her for debates and demanding she step up her ad buys.

That was two

successful Senate campaigns ago. Now the man who jokes that he wants to be known as "First Laddie" downplays his role as she reaches for the biggest prize of all: his old job. He has joined his wife in a couple of campaign swings and is her star fund raiser. But he has yet to show up among the spouses in the audience at any of the Democratic debates. As for his role in any future Clinton Administration, both she and he have talked about the possibility that she might make him an unofficial emissary. "I think she will ask me and former President Bush and other people to go help the country. We have got to restore our standing in the world," Bill Clinton told CNN's

Larry King recently. "I wouldn't be surprised if she [asked] every former President to do something."

But in the

meantime, there's an election to win. And while Hillary Clinton has the best political strategist of her generation at her disposal, Bill is by all accounts keeping his obtrusions to a minimum. Campaign officials say that while the couple talks several times a day, he rarely gets involved with the workings of

her campaign. "He's doing what he's asked, and he's doing what he can," says an aide, "but he's certainly not meddling." In part, that's because his own work--his foundation and a tour to promote his new book--keeps him plenty busy. And it also reflects the fact that she has an enormous political machine around her that seems to be doing pretty well on its own.

"If she's writing an important article or giving an important speech, she'll ask me to read it," the former President told Oprah Winfrey. "And once in a while she'll ask me for some advice on something strategic. But she knows so much more about a lot of this stuff than I do because I'm far removed from it." Occasionally, he says, he gets a call from her while he's on the golf course, and she reminds him that she's 15 years older than he was when he did it, "and I say, 'Well, nobody made you run.'"</p></p>

Bill Clinton, 61, is also making a conscious effort to stay out of the fray, though when Elizabeth Edwards attacked Hillary as not vocal enough on women's issues, he rode to his wife's defense. "If you look at the record on women's issues, I defy you to find anybody who has run for office in recent history who's got a longer history of working for women, for families and children, than Hillary does," Clinton said in an interview with ABC's Good Morning America. As for Edwards' contention that Hillary had behaved "as a man," Clinton retorted, "I don't think it's inconsistent with being a woman that you can also be knowledgeable on military and security affairs and be strong when the occasion demands it."

But he has steered clear of criticizing Hillary's opponents. "This is a good time for us Democrats," he says. "We don't have to be against anybody. We can be for the person we think would be the best President." Of course, that's easy to say when your candidate is safely ahead in the polls. If their situation and that of the Edwardses were reversed, "would he be her biggest attack dog like Elizabeth Edwards is? Maybe," concedes a strategist. "But he gets to be the big guy--at least for now." Then again, he's in a supporting role that doesn't come with a script. No one knows that better than a Clinton.

[This article contains a table. Please see hardcopy of magazine or PDF.]

THE MARCH OF HISTORY</p>

That Was Then. This Is Now</p>

Both in style and in substance, the 2008 contenders for the job of First Spouse are all far different from anyone Americans have ever seen in the East Wing

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<table>

<tr>

<td> </td>

<td>Accessory</td>

<td>Image</td>

<td>Credential</td>

<td>Cause</td>

<td>Divorce Record</td>

<td>Financial Experience</td>

<td>ExecutiveExperience</td>

<td>Family Photo</td>

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<td>THE OLD WAY</td>

<td>Her pillbox hat was Jackie Kennedy's fashion signature</td>

<td>Nancy Reagan never lost her adoring gaze for her husband</td>

<td>Mamie Eisenhower touted her Million Dollar Fudge recipe</td>

<td>Lady Bird Johnson beautified America's highways</td>

<td>Florence Harding, the first divorced First Lady, and

Betty Ford, the next and last, each had one previous marriage</td>

<td>Mary Todd Lincoln ran up secret debts with her shopping</td>

<td>Edith Wilson wielded power after husband Woodrow's stroke</td>

<td>Barbara Bush's was a tableau filled with grandchildren</td>

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<td>THE NEW

WAY</td>

<td>Elizabeth Kucinich would be the first First Lady to wear a tongue stud</td>

<td>Michelle Obama talks about Barack's flaws, calling him "stinky and snore-y"</td>

<td>This year's spouses are a lawyerly lot. Shown clockwise from top left, Elizabeth Edwards, Michelle Obama, Mary Brownback and Bill Clinton all earned their degrees in law</td>

<td>If his wife is elected, former President Bill Clinton says he wants to help change the world by working through his foundation on problems like aids</td>

<td>Judith Nathan Giuliani is on her third marriage--a fact that became public only recently</td>

<td>Representative Chris Dodd's wife Jackie Clegg Dodd sits on five corporate boards and was a vice chair of the Export-Import Bank</td>

<td>Bill Clinton was the 42nd President of the U.S. but jokes he might be called "First Laddie"</td>

<td>Jeri Thompson has a changing table on the campaign bus</td>

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</table>

<p prism:class="box">SPOUSE TALK AT TIME.COM

To read interviews with the running mates and see photos of the couples on the trail, visit [time.com /spouses](http://time.com/spouses). Plus, Elizabeth Edwards and Ann Romney speak about campaigning while battling breast cancer and MS</p>

<p prism:class="pullQuote">'If you're not moving votes or moving voters ... then you're not using your time very wisely.' --ELIZABETH EDWARDS</p>

<p prism:class="pullQuote">'Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me. I don't have anything to lose by telling him ... what I think he did wrong.' --CINDY MCCAIN</p>

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but the aspiring

First Laddie and strategist in chief, shown with Hillary in New Hampshire, is trying not to outshine his wife.</pam:caption>

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Appendix E: Fully Qualified PAM Example for DTD

This example shows the coding for fully qualified PAM xml verified against the pam-full.dtd. Note that this example is for content originally published online and validated against a DTD.

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Political spouses

have traditionally wielded their influence in private. But in this race, all the rules will have to be rewritten

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<xhtml:p>Elizabeth Edwards

prides herself on her ability to explain the fine print of her husband's energy

plan and the details of how John Edwards would respond to the next Katrina-size natural disaster. She can rattle off the number of people who lack health insurance in New Hampshire (about 127,000), how many schools there have failed to meet the Federal Government's standards for "adequate yearly progress" (191) and where the state ranks in teacher pay (24th). "I think it's important to learn policy, so that people don't have to dumb down

their questions because I'm the spouse," she says. Nor, for that matter, does she feel a spouse should have to sand down her edges. When a woman at a house party in Bow, N.H., asked her one recent morning how her husband's campaign would respond to "the inevitable horrible mudslinging" that is part of presidential politics, you might have thought she was the one in the family who had grown up in a brawling mill town. "It's a question of being

prepared and not having any hesitation," she said. "You go straight to the nose because then they walk away bleeding. And that's the point."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>It's hard to

imagine Laura Bush saying something like that. There is no handbook for the spouse of a presidential candidate, but the expectations have always been pretty clear. She (yes, that was the presumption) should first do no harm. Her safest bet: stand silently at his side, beaming with admiration and awe, the well-coiffed testament to a home life that was tranquil, drama-free and utterly traditional. When the spouse became the story, it was seldom good news for the principal.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Take what

happened in 1992, when a certain Governor from Arkansas started throwing around quips like "Buy one, get one free" and musing about the possibility of giving his outspoken lawyer wife a Cabinet post. In no time, people were working out their own conflicted feelings about feminism and family by arguing over Hillary Clinton--the influences she would bring to the White House, the state of her marriage, even her headbands. No less a political scientist than Richard Nixon, whose own spouse had been a paragon of cloth-coat humility, warned, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent, it makes the husband look like a wimp."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Fast-forward four

presidential cycles, and Hillary is leading the field for the Democratic presidential nomination, while Bill is the one learning to fit himself into the supporting role. With a spouse who can be counted on to outshine the candidate, her campaign has had to handle the former President as carefully as a tactical nuclear weapon. "A lot of people might have expected him to be out immediately, and instead, he's sort of behind the scenes and on the phone and doing fund raising," says Elizabeth Edwards, 58. "It is clearly more complicated for them ... I'm just glad that's their problem, not mine."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>But Bill is far

from the only spouse rewriting the rules of the road in presidential politics.

Of the 2008 candidates--and particularly among those in the top tier--more than a few are married to outspoken, opinionated, professional women who are neither accustomed to nor inclined toward melting into the background. They are comfortable with, even eager about making news in their own right. Since the 2008 campaign promises to be more competitive, more expensive and more prolonged than any we've seen, the spouses are playing roles more typically associated with the running mate than the mate of the person who's running. In fact, the reality of today's politics seems to have turned Nixon's premise on its head. A strong, smart, fully engaged spouse is practically a prerequisite if you want to win. Sit down and talk to some of them, and you will realize that while they all are charting the terrain ahead in their own ways, they do so with the conviction that their partner can't get there without them. As Cindy McCain, 53, put it, "He and I are the only two in it in the end."

The
Gladiators

ONE REASON

CAMPAIGNS ARE RELYING MORE heavily on spouses as surrogates is simply practical: two people can cover far more territory than one. "It's obviously different. Not only am I going out and speaking, but I'm also doing fund raising on my own," says Ann Romney, 58, whose five sons too are being deployed across the map. "There are so many states in play now that you can't possibly cover them all with the asset of just one candidate." As the competition gets hotter, we'll see whether the traditional attack-dog role played by vice-presidential nominees falls to the spouses as well--and whether they are given leeway to say things that their husbands wouldn't dare. There was no mistaking what Elizabeth Edwards meant when she said Hillary Clinton is "divisive and unelectable." She has blasted Barack Obama for being "holier than thou" on the Iraq war, contended Hillary Clinton has had to "behave as a man" and "is just not as vocal a women's advocate as I want to see," and complained that her husband is not getting as much media attention as either of them because "we can't make John black; we can't make him a woman."

Edwards allows that she occasionally thinks, "Golly, I wish I hadn't said it that way." And she insists that she is merely being herself, not part of a campaign strategy. "There is no, and I mean zero, campaign discussion, calculation, anything with respect to this. The second thing is, I don't usually volunteer this," Edwards says of these comments about her husband's front-running rivals. "When I am specifically asked, I simply answer the question, and it's not a matter of attacking in particular."

But that doesn't mean all this is random. "My job is to move voters," Edwards says. "If you're not moving votes or moving voters to see the candidate himself or herself, then you're not using your time very wisely." And that highlights another poignant and uncomfortable reality of the unique situation in which Edwards now finds herself. What she calls "my precious time" is even more so since it was revealed in March that her breast cancer, first diagnosed in the final days of the Kerry-Edwards campaign in 2004, had recurred as Stage IV and is incurable. Statistics suggest only 20% of patients in her

situation live for five years. Is Edwards getting a sympathy pass? Rival campaigns think so, though they won't say so publicly. As one strategist puts it, "She's bulletproof."

Reporters are primed to hear an attack even when none is intended. When Michelle Obama, 43, mused last month in Iowa that "if you can't run your own house, you certainly can't run the White House"--an innocent enough observation, the full context of her remarks shows, about the challenges of juggling her children's schedule with her husband's--it was immediately interpreted as a dig at the Clintons. THE CLAWS COME OUT screamed a caption beneath her picture and Hillary Clinton's on Fox News. "That's a totally different context," Obama now says. "So that's one of those things where I take it, I learn a lesson, I say, 'O.K., let me be clearer' ... All I'm trying to do is talk to the American people about who we are, our shortcomings, our challenges. What I don't want to feel like is that we can't have any conversations about this--values or morals or all of that--because somebody's feelings might get hurt. This is tough stuff."

The Guardians

AN IMPORTANT THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT the extraordinary lineup of smart, savvy, engaged campaign spouses in the 2008 race is that none of this is entirely new. What's new is knowing so much about it.

First Ladies have been deeply involved in politics all through history. In 1776, even as John Adams was helping invent the Republic, Abigail was warning him, "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could." Mary Todd Lincoln had such strong views about Cabinet members and Supreme Court nominees that some White House aides called her "the Hellcat." Edith Wilson secretly held the government together for her stroke-incapacitated husband, though she opposed giving women the vote. Rosalynn Carter was basically in charge of mental-health policy. As her husband staggered through 1979, columnist Jack Anderson dubbed her the "co-President." "Many, many women have brought to the table so many different things," says Cindy McCain. "It just depends on how deeply you want to look."

McCain--whom voters got to know as a smiling, beautiful, St. John--suited presence in her husband's 2000 campaign--played a hard-knuckled tactical role this time around by engineering the shake-up of a high-priced campaign organization that had spent itself into near insolvency. In large part at Cindy McCain's instigation, her husband's longtime political strategist John Weaver was fired; his 2000 campaign manager Rick Davis was brought back from internal exile to take over. "Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me," McCain says. "I don't have anything to lose by telling him not only what I think but what I think he did wrong."

In the pre-Hillary age, with different expectations for gender roles, that kind of influence was wielded privately--over everything from policy to personnel to

political strategy--more than publicly. With the conspicuous exception of Eleanor Roosevelt, who was an outspoken and polarizing figure in her own right, the modern era saw a procession of generally pliant First Ladies: Bess, Mamie, Jackie, Lady Bird, Pat. It really was Betty Ford, arguably the archetype for today's aspiring First Spouses, who changed the rules. Faced with a traumatized electorate and an omnivorous press corps after Watergate, she responded in the way that came naturally--which is to say forthrightly, answering whatever questions were thrown at her because her Midwestern manners precluded the idea that you could just ignore a question you didn't like. There was Betty on 60 Minutes saying she wouldn't be surprised if her teenage daughter Susan were having sex or if her kids had tried pot. When she observed to a columnist that the only question she hadn't been asked was how often she slept with her husband, the reporter came back with: "Well, how often do you?" Her answer: "As often as possible!" The Fords "flung open the White House windows and declared there are real people living here," says journalist Kati Marton, who wrote *Hidden Power*, a book on presidential marriages, and who herself is married to former Clinton Administration official Richard Holbrooke.

But then, Betty Ford got the First Lady's job without ever having to campaign for it. And not everyone was charmed by her candor. Some of the President's aides wanted to muzzle her, and his pollsters said she could cost him 20 points with conservative GOP voters. First Lady aspirants have more typically acted as fabric softener. Tipper Gore made her husband look looser, as did Kitty Dukakis, though in both cases that wasn't saying much. Laura Bush has almost always been a more popular figure than W., though most people could not name a policy position that she's passionate about.

The current class of candidates' spouses has plenty who still fit the traditional mold--like Mary Brownback, 49, who married Sam while she was in law school and proudly declares that she's never worked outside the home. "Basically," she says, "I live in the kitchen." Ann Romney calls herself the CFO--chief family officer--and her husband Mitt's campaign website says she "places primary importance on her role as a wife, a mother and a grandmother." Mike and Janet Huckabee were high school sweethearts; now 52, she was 18 when they married, and they renewed their vows in a covenant marriage on Valentine's Day, 2005. Jill Tracy Biden, 56, was a student teacher when she and Joe Biden married in 1977, and has dropped off the campaign trail now that the school year has begun again.

In fact, for a politician's spouse, some things never change. This is how Barbara Richardson, 58, a veteran of her husband Bill's successful campaigns for the House and the New Mexico governorship, summed it up before a debate in South Carolina: "While Mr. Wonderful is out there campaigning, the rest of us as spouses are still schlepping through the airport to a commercial plane with kids in tow. We miss our connections. We're standing in grocery-store lines, and frankly, we're just trying to keep body and soul and house and home and family together, while they go out and make nice--Mr. Popularity!"

Have voters really adjusted their ideas and expectations of a First Mate? The spouses

themselves don't sound so sure. "As much as it may sound a little archaic, I think the American voter wants a traditional situation," says Cindy McCain. "In other words, I don't believe they want a spouse who is involved in day-to-day politics. And I'm not criticizing any former Administration. I'm just telling you what people have told me. They still kind of want the traditional-looking family."

Even Elizabeth Edwards, for all her outspokenness, agrees. "There are certain baseline things people require in a First Lady--a graciousness," she says. "There is sort of a sense of maternal capabilities that we might be looking for. I don't think that in any way disqualifies Bill, but I do think that if it's a woman, they're looking perhaps for something like that."

Marriages Under the Microscope

MANY A FIRST MARRIAGE HAS BEEN THE subject of rumor and speculation, but the Clinton presidency put political marriage under the microscope in a way it never had been before. In this new season of full disclosure, there's Elizabeth Kucinich, 29, who told the Associated Press that a lazy day at home consists of getting up for brunch and then going back to bed until 4:30 p.m., "John Lennon and Yoko Ono--style." But it's hard to think of another spouse who has taken openness as far as Michelle Obama. Her idea of managing her husband's image seems to begin with knocking him off his pedestal.

In a Glamour magazine interview, Michelle Obama said her husband is so "snore-y and stinky" that her daughters won't cuddle with him in bed. She tells voters how he leaves his dirty socks around and invites them to tattler if they see him violating their deal in which she would allow him to run if he would stop smoking. Barack Obama has written with startling candor about the strains that his political career has put on their marriage, particularly when both were in their formative years. "Leaning down to kiss Michelle goodbye in the morning, all I would get was a peck on the cheek," he wrote. "By the time Sasha was born--just as beautiful, and almost as calm as her sister--my wife's anger toward me seemed barely contained."

But you could argue that her acknowledgment of his flaws makes her more effective when she turns that anger on his critics. "Don't be fooled by people who claim that it is not his time," she exhorts. "We've heard this spewed from the lips of rivals ... every phase of our journey: He is not experienced enough. He should wait his turn. He is too young. He is not black enough. He is not white enough."

Michelle Obama says she is betting that voters will not only accept that frankness but embrace it. "You win with being who you are and with being clear and comfortable with that," she says. "I'm finding that people completely understand me. For the most part, I think the women and the men and the families and the

folks that we are meeting on the campaign trail understand the realities of families of today."

ODDLY ENOUGH, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN spouses who are stretching the limits of traditional values in ways they never have before. Ann Romney's story line--the high school sweetheart and sunny stay-at-home mom who produced a close-knit, picture-perfect family--actually sets her apart among the leading contenders' wives. Which doesn't hurt when you are trying to persuade voters, particularly evangelical conservatives, to consider putting a Mormon in the White House. "I think that people have seen Mitt and me. They certainly know we have a very strong marriage and very strong family," she says. "I think that is clearly helpful to him in breaking down barriers that people have had in the past." But, she adds, "I don't know if they've seen enough."

For the others, the question may be whether voters have seen too much. The public displays of affection that front runner Rudolph Giuliani and wife Judith put on for Barbara Walters--holding hands and calling each other "baby" and "sweetheart"--only served to remind viewers that this first blush of love is also the third marriage for each, and that wife No. 3 is one of the reasons his children with wife No. 2 won't campaign for him. "I have just recently begun--I think they call it in the political world--being 'rolled out,'" Judith, 52, told Walters, but the process has been anything but smooth. A scathing profile of Judith Stish Ross Nathan Giuliani in Vanity Fair pored over her two failed marriages (one of which she acknowledged only recently), the requirement that a separate seat on her plane be provided for the Louis Vuitton handbag that is known around Giuliani headquarters as Baby Louis, and the inconvenient timeline of their courtship, which started while he was still living with second wife Donna Hanover.

Through all this, Judith Giuliani is trying hard to keep her game face on. "It's a steep learning curve. It's all been new to me," she says. "What's really important is, it's my husband who's running for office. He is the one. I do think that is important for us to focus on. We aren't electing a spouse." And while Rudy Giuliani told Walters he would be "very, very comfortable" with having his wife, a nurse, attend Cabinet meetings--"I couldn't have a better adviser"--Judith downplays her influence and her interest in his campaign and in any future Giuliani Administration. "My role is really to support my husband in the ways I have always supported him. I love to take charge of his personal health needs, make sure he's exercising, getting the right food, which is a real challenge on the campaign trail," she says. "I do attend some meetings, but more often than not, it's for my own edification."

For Fred Thompson's wife Jeri, 40, who is a quarter-century younger than he is, it's hard to figure out which female stereotype is more toxic: the siren whose tight, low-cut outfits had cable-television commentator and former GOP Congressman Joe Scarborough speculating that she "works the pole"--a phrase usually associated with strippers--or the conniving Lady Macbeth who has been blamed for sending his campaign into disarray even before it was launched.

She was a major force in persuading him to run but also a major one behind a series of shake-ups that had the campaign on its second manager and its fourth spokesman before Thompson even announced his candidacy.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Her defenders

note that Jeri Thompson has worked for years as a political operative. "She gets Republican politics. She gets conservative politics. But most of all, she understands where this man is and how best to help him," says Mark Corallo, a well-respected strategist who helped launch the campaign. But then, on the eve of Thompson's much delayed announcement, Corallo himself resigned.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Their family

portrait--a man who qualifies for Social Security with a 40-year-old blond, a toddler and a baby--is a far cry from that of Ike and Mamie. "He sadly now looks like their grandfather," says Marton. "It's not what women want

the presidential family to look like. No doubt unintentionally, but to a lot of women it's almost a rebuke. It's too unsubtle."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>The New

Normal</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>IN THIS CAMPAIGN,

WHICH HAS PRODUCED SO much buzz about political marriages, the challenge for the Clintons has been a different one: making the most remarkable situation of all look normal.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>The first time

his wife ran for office, Bill Clinton was in the White House, which kept him safely off her stage and minimized the amount of public distraction he caused. But behind the scenes, he was her political consultant in chief, reworking her speeches, stepping in when her staff was putting too much on her schedule, rehearsing her for debates and demanding she step up her ad buys.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>That was two

successful Senate campaigns ago. Now the man who jokes that he wants to be known as "First Laddie" downplays his role as she reaches for the biggest prize of all: his old job. He has joined his wife in a couple of campaign swings and is her star fund raiser. But he has yet to show up among the spouses in the audience at any of the Democratic debates. As for his role in any future Clinton Administration, both she and he have talked about the possibility that she might make him an unofficial emissary. "I think she will ask me and former President Bush and other people to go help the country. We have got to restore our standing in the world," Bill Clinton told CNN's

Larry King recently. "I wouldn't be surprised if she [asked] every former President to do something."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>But in the

meantime, there's an election to win. And while Hillary Clinton has the best political strategist of her generation at her disposal, Bill is by all accounts keeping his obtrusions to a minimum. Campaign officials say that while the couple talks several times a day, he rarely gets involved with the workings of her campaign. "He's doing what he's asked, and he's doing what he can,"

says an aide, "but he's certainly not meddling." In part, that's

because his own work--his foundation and a tour to promote his new book--keeps him plenty busy. And it also reflects the fact that she has an enormous political machine around her that seems to be doing pretty well on its own.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>"If she's writing an important article or giving an important speech, she'll ask me to read it," the former President told Oprah Winfrey. "And once in a while she'll ask me for some advice on something strategic. But she knows so much more about a lot of this stuff than I do because I'm far removed from it." Occasionally, he says, he gets a call from her while he's on the golf course, and she reminds him that she's 15 years older than he was when he did it, "and I say, 'Well, nobody made you run.'"</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Bill Clinton, 61, is also making a conscious effort to stay out of the fray, though when Elizabeth Edwards attacked Hillary as not vocal enough on women's issues, he rode to his wife's defense. "If you look at the record on women's issues, I defy you to find anybody who has run for office in recent history who's got a longer history of working for women, for families and children, than Hillary does," Clinton said in an interview with ABC's Good Morning America. As for Edwards' contention that Hillary had behaved "as a man," Clinton retorted, "I don't think it's inconsistent with being a woman that you can also be knowledgeable on military and security affairs and be strong when the occasion demands it."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>But he has steered clear of criticizing Hillary's opponents. "This is a good time for us Democrats," he says. "We don't have to be against anybody. We can be for the person we think would be the best President." Of course, that's easy to say when your candidate is safely ahead in the polls. If their situation and that of the Edwardses were reversed, "would he be her biggest attack dog like Elizabeth Edwards is? Maybe," concedes a strategist. "But he gets to be the big guy--at least for now." Then again, he's in a supporting role that doesn't come with a script. No one knows that better than a Clinton.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>[Contains a table. Please see hardcopy of magazine or PDF.]<xhtml:br/><xhtml:br/>THE MARCH OF HISTORY</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>That Was Then. This Is Now</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Both in style and in substance, the 2008 contenders for the job of First Spouse are all far different from anyone Americans have ever seen in the East Wing<xhtml:br/><xhtml:br/></xhtml:p>

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<xhtml:tr>
<xhtml:td>THE OLD WAY</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Her pillbox hat was Jackie Kennedy's fashion signature</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Nancy Reagan never lost her adoring gaze for her husband</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Mamie Eisenhower touted her Million Dollar Fudge recipe</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Lady Bird Johnson beautified America's highways</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Florence Harding, the first divorced First Lady, and Betty Ford, the next and last, each had one previous marriage</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Mary Todd Lincoln ran up secret debts with her shopping</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Edith Wilson wielded power after husband Woodrow's stroke</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Barbara Bush's was a tableau filled with grandchildren</xhtml:td>
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<xhtml:tr>
<xhtml:td>THE NEW<xhtml:br/>
WAY</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Elizabeth Kucinich would be the first First Lady to wear a tongue stud</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Michelle Obama talks about Barack's flaws, calling him "stinky and snore-y"</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>This year's spouses are a lawyerly lot. Shown clockwise from top left, Elizabeth Edwards, Michelle Obama, Mary Brownback and Bill Clinton all earned their degrees in law</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>If his wife is elected, former President Bill Clinton says he wants to help change the world by working through his foundation on problems like aids</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Judith Nathan Giuliani is on her third marriage--a fact that became public only recently</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Representative Chris Dodd's wife Jackie Clegg Dodd sits on five corporate boards and was a vice chair of the Export-Import Bank</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Bill Clinton was the 42nd President of the U.S. but jokes he might be called "First Laddie"</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Jeri Thompson has a changing table on the campaign bus</xhtml:td>
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<xhtml:p prism:class="box">SPOUSE TALK AT TIME.COM<xhtml:br/>

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To read interviews with the running mates and see photos of the couples on the trail, visit [time.com /spouses](http://time.com/spouses). Plus, Elizabeth Edwards and Ann Romney speak about campaigning while battling breast cancer and MS</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p prism:class="pullQuote">'If you're not moving votes or moving voters ... then you're not using your time very wisely.' --ELIZABETH EDWARDS</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p prism:class="pullQuote">'Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me. I don't have anything to lose by telling him ... what I think he did wrong.' --CINDY MCCAIN</xhtml:p>

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but the aspiring

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Appendix F: Fully Qualified PAM Example for XSD

This example shows the coding for fully qualified PAM xml verified against the pam.xsd. Note that this example is for content originally published online and validated against an XSD.

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Political spouses
have traditionally wielded their influence in private. But in this race, all
the rules will have to be rewritten
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<xhtml:p>Elizabeth Edwards
prides herself on her ability to explain the fine print of her husband's
energy
plan and the details of how John Edwards would respond to the next Katrina-size
natural disaster. She can rattle off the number of people who lack health
insurance in New Hampshire (about 127,000), how many schools there have failed
to meet the Federal Government's standards for "adequate yearly
progress" (191) and where the state ranks in teacher pay (24th). "I
think it's important to learn policy, so that people don't have to dumb
down
their questions because I'm the spouse," she says. Nor, for that matter,
does she feel a spouse should have to sand down her edges. When a woman at a
house party in Bow, N.H., asked her one recent morning how her husband's
campaign would respond to "the inevitable horrible mudslinging" that is
part of presidential politics, you might have thought she was the one in the
family who had grown up in a brawling mill town. "It's a question of
being
prepared and not having any hesitation," she said. "You go straight to
the nose because then they walk away bleeding. And that's the
point."
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</xhtml:p>
<xhtml:p>It's hard to
imagine Laura Bush saying something like that. There is no handbook for the
spouse of a presidential candidate, but the expectations have always been
pretty clear. She (yes, that was the presumption) should first do no harm. Her
safest bet: stand silently at his side, beaming with admiration and awe, the
well-coiffed testament to a home life that was tranquil, drama-free and utterly
traditional. When the spouse became the story, it was seldom good news for the
principal.</xhtml:p>
<xhtml:p>Take what
happened in 1992, when a certain Governor from Arkansas started throwing around
quips like "Buy one, get one free" and musing about the possibility of
giving his outspoken lawyer wife a Cabinet post. In no time, people were
working out their own conflicted feelings about feminism and family by arguing
over Hillary Clinton--the influences she would bring to the White House, the
state of her marriage, even her headbands. No less a political scientist than
Richard Nixon, whose own spouse had been a paragon of cloth-coat humility,
warned, "If the wife comes through as being too strong and too intelligent,
it makes the husband look like a wimp."</xhtml:p>
<xhtml:p>Fast-forward four
presidential cycles, and Hillary is leading the field for the Democratic
presidential nomination, while Bill is the one learning to fit himself into the
supporting role. With a spouse who can be counted on to outshine the candidate,
her campaign has had to handle the former President as carefully as a tactical
```

nuclear weapon. "A lot of people might have expected him to be out immediately, and instead, he's sort of behind the scenes and on the phone and doing fund raising," says Elizabeth Edwards, 58. "It is clearly more complicated for them ... I'm just glad that's their problem, not mine."

But Bill is far from the only spouse rewriting the rules of the road in presidential politics. Of the 2008 candidates--and particularly among those in the top tier--more than a few are married to outspoken, opinionated, professional women who are neither accustomed to nor inclined toward melting into the background. They are comfortable with, even eager about making news in their own right. Since the 2008 campaign promises to be more competitive, more expensive and more prolonged than any we've seen, the spouses are playing roles more typically associated with the running mate than the mate of the person who's running. In fact, the reality of today's politics seems to have turned Nixon's premise on its head. A strong, smart, fully engaged spouse is practically a prerequisite if you want to win. Sit down and talk to some of them, and you will realize that while they all are charting the terrain ahead in their own ways, they do so with the conviction that their partner can't get there without them. As Cindy McCain, 53, put it, "He and I are the only two in it in the end."

The
Gladiators

ONE REASON
CAMPAIGNS ARE RELYING MORE heavily on spouses as surrogates is simply practical: two people can cover far more territory than one. "It's obviously different. Not only am I going out and speaking, but I'm also doing fund raising on my own," says Ann Romney, 58, whose five sons too are being deployed across the map. "There are so many states in play now that you can't possibly cover them all with the asset of just one candidate." As the competition gets hotter, we'll see whether the traditional attack-dog role played by vice-presidential nominees falls to the spouses as well--and whether they are given leeway to say things that their husbands wouldn't dare. There was no mistaking what Elizabeth Edwards meant when she said Hillary Clinton is "divisive and unelectable." She has blasted Barack Obama for being "holier than thou" on the Iraq war, contended Hillary Clinton has had to "behave as a man" and "is just not as vocal a women's advocate as I want to see," and complained that her husband is not getting as much media attention as either of them because "we can't make John black; we can't make him a woman."

Edwards allows that she occasionally thinks, "Golly, I wish I hadn't said it that way." And she insists that she is merely being herself, not part of a campaign strategy. "There is no, and I mean zero, campaign discussion, calculation, anything with respect to this. The second thing is, I don't usually volunteer this," Edwards says of these comments about her husband's front-running rivals. "When I am specifically asked, I simply answer the question, and it's not a matter of attacking in particular."

But that doesn't

mean all this is random. "My job is to move voters," Edwards says. "If you're not moving votes or moving voters to see the candidate himself or herself, then you're not using your time very wisely." And that highlights another poignant and uncomfortable reality of the unique situation in which Edwards now finds herself. What she calls "my precious time" is even more so since it was revealed in March that her breast cancer, first diagnosed in the final days of the Kerry-Edwards campaign in 2004, had recurred as Stage IV and is incurable. Statistics suggest only 20% of patients in her situation live for five years. Is Edwards getting a sympathy pass? Rival campaigns think so, though they won't say so publicly. As one strategist puts it, "She's bulletproof."

Reporters are primed to hear an attack even when none is intended. When Michelle Obama, 43, mused last month in Iowa that "if you can't run your own house, you certainly can't run the White House"--an innocent enough observation, the full context of her remarks shows, about the challenges of juggling her children's schedule with her husband's--it was immediately interpreted as a dig at the Clintons. THE CLAWS COME OUT screamed a caption beneath her picture and Hillary Clinton's on Fox News. "That's a totally different context," Obama now says. "So that's one of those things where I take it, I learn a lesson, I say, 'O.K., let me be clearer' ... All I'm trying to do is talk to the American people about who we are, our shortcomings, our challenges. What I don't want to feel like is that we can't have any conversations about this--values or morals or all of that--because somebody's feelings might get hurt. This is tough stuff."

The Guardians

AN IMPORTANT THING TO REMEMBER ABOUT the extraordinary lineup of smart, savvy, engaged campaign spouses in the 2008 race is that none of this is entirely new. What's new is knowing so much about it.

First Ladies have been deeply involved in politics all through history. In 1776, even as John Adams was helping invent the Republic, Abigail was warning him, "Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of the husbands. Remember, all men would be tyrants if they could." Mary Todd Lincoln had such strong views about Cabinet members and Supreme Court nominees that some White House aides called her "the Hellcat." Edith Wilson secretly held the government together for her stroke-incapacitated husband, though she opposed giving women the vote. Rosalynn Carter was basically in charge of mental-health policy. As her husband staggered through 1979, columnist Jack Anderson dubbed her the "co-President." "Many, many women have brought to the table so many different things," says Cindy McCain. "It just depends on how deeply you want to look."

McCain--whom voters got to know as a smiling, beautiful, St. John--suited presence in her husband's 2000 campaign--played a hard-knuckled tactical role this time around by engineering the shake-up of a high-priced campaign organization that had spent itself into near insolvency. In large part at Cindy McCain's instigation, her husband's longtime political strategist John Weaver was fired; his 2000

campaign manager Rick Davis was brought back from internal exile to take over. "Truly, the only person my husband can trust is me," McCain says. "I don't have anything to lose by telling him not only what I think but what I think he did wrong."

In the pre-Hillary age, with different expectations for gender roles, that kind of influence was wielded privately--over everything from policy to personnel to political strategy--more than publicly. With the conspicuous exception of Eleanor Roosevelt, who was an outspoken and polarizing figure in her own right, the modern era saw a procession of generally pliant First Ladies: Bess, Mamie, Jackie, Lady Bird, Pat. It really was Betty Ford, arguably the archetype for today's aspiring First Spouses, who changed the rules. Faced with a traumatized electorate and an omnivorous press corps after Watergate, she responded in the way that came naturally--which is to say forthrightly, answering whatever questions were thrown at her because her Midwestern manners precluded the idea that you could just ignore a question you didn't like. There was Betty on 60 Minutes saying she wouldn't be surprised if her teenage daughter Susan were having sex or if her kids had tried pot. When she observed to a columnist that the only question she hadn't been asked was how often she slept with her husband, the reporter came back with: "Well, how often do you?" Her answer: "As often as possible!" The Fords "flung open the White House windows and declared there are real people living here," says journalist Kati Marton, who wrote Hidden Power, a book on presidential marriages, and who herself is married to former Clinton Administration official Richard Holbrooke.

But then, Betty Ford got the First Lady's job without ever having to campaign for it. And not everyone was charmed by her candor. Some of the President's aides wanted to muzzle her, and his pollsters said she could cost him 20 points with conservative GOP voters. First Lady aspirants have more typically acted as fabric softener. Tipper Gore made her husband look looser, as did Kitty Dukakis, though in both cases that wasn't saying much. Laura Bush has almost always been a more popular figure than W., though most people could not name a policy position that she's passionate about.

The current class of candidates' spouses has plenty who still fit the traditional mold--like Mary Brownback, 49, who married Sam while she was in law school and proudly declares that she's never worked outside the home. "Basically," she says, "I live in the kitchen." Ann Romney calls herself the CFO--chief family officer--and her husband Mitt's campaign website says she "places primary importance on her role as a wife, a mother and a grandmother." Mike and Janet Huckabee were high school sweethearts; now 52, she was 18 when they married, and they renewed their vows in a covenant marriage on Valentine's Day, 2005. Jill Tracy Biden, 56, was a student teacher when she and Joe Biden married in 1977, and has dropped off the campaign trail now that the school year has begun again.

In fact, for a politician's spouse, some things never change. This is how Barbara Richardson, 58, a veteran of her husband Bill's successful campaigns for the House and the New Mexico governorship, summed it up before a debate in South Carolina:

“While Mr. Wonderful is out there campaigning, the rest of us as spouses are still schlepping through the airport to a commercial plane with kids in tow. We miss our connections. We’re standing in grocery-store lines, and frankly, we’re just trying to keep body and soul and house and home and family together, while they go out and make nice--Mr. Popularity!”

Have voters really adjusted their ideas and expectations of a First Mate? The spouses themselves don’t sound so sure. “As much as it may sound a little archaic, I think the American voter wants a traditional situation,” says Cindy McCain. “In other words, I don’t believe they want a spouse who is involved in day-to-day politics. And I’m not criticizing any former Administration. I’m just telling you what people have told me. They still kind of want the traditional-looking family.”

Even Elizabeth Edwards, for all her outspokenness, agrees. “There are certain baseline things people require in a First Lady--a graciousness,” she says. “There is sort of a sense of maternal capabilities that we might be looking for. I don’t think that in any way disqualifies Bill, but I do think that if it’s a woman, they’re looking perhaps for something like that.”

Marriages Under the Microscope

MANY A FIRST MARRIAGE HAS BEEN THE subject of rumor and speculation, but the Clinton presidency put political marriage under the microscope in a way it never had been before. In this new season of full disclosure, there’s Elizabeth Kucinich, 29, who told the Associated Press that a lazy day at home consists of getting up for brunch and then going back to bed until 4:30 p.m., “John Lennon and Yoko Ono--style.” But it’s hard to think of another spouse who has taken openness as far as Michelle Obama. Her idea of managing her husband’s image seems to begin with knocking him off his pedestal.

In a Glamour magazine interview, Michelle Obama said her husband is so “snore-y and stinky” that her daughters won’t cuddle with him in bed. She tells voters how he leaves his dirty socks around and invites them to tattler if they see him violating their deal in which she would allow him to run if he would stop smoking. Barack Obama has written with startling candor about the strains that his political career has put on their marriage, particularly when both were in their formative years. “Leaning down to kiss Michelle goodbye in the morning, all I would get was a peck on the cheek,” he wrote. “By the time Sasha was born--just as beautiful, and almost as calm as her sister--my wife’s anger toward me seemed barely contained.”

But you could argue that her acknowledgment of his flaws makes her more effective when she turns that anger on his critics. “Don’t be fooled by people who claim that it is not his time,” she exhorts. “We’ve heard this spewed from the lips of rivals ... every phase of our journey: He is not experienced enough. He

should wait his turn. He is too young. He is not black enough. He is not white enough."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Michelle Obama says she is betting that voters will not only accept that frankness but embrace it. "You win with being who you are and with being clear and comfortable with that," she says. "I'm finding that people completely understand me. For the most part, I think the women and the men and the families and the folks that we are meeting on the campaign trail understand the realities of families of today."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>ODDLY ENOUGH, IT IS THE REPUBLICAN spouses who are stretching the limits of traditional values in ways they never have before. Ann Romney's story line--the high school sweetheart and sunny stay-at-home mom who produced a close-knit, picture-perfect family--actually sets her apart among the leading contenders' wives. Which doesn't hurt when you are trying to persuade voters, particularly evangelical conservatives, to consider putting a Mormon in the White House. "I think that people have seen Mitt and me. They certainly know we have a very strong marriage and very strong family," she says. "I think that is clearly helpful to him in breaking down barriers that people have had in the past." But, she adds, "I don't know if they've seen enough."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>For the others, the question may be whether voters have seen too much. The public displays of affection that front runner Rudolph Giuliani and wife Judith put on for Barbara Walters--holding hands and calling each other "baby" and "sweetheart"--only served to remind viewers that this first blush of love is also the third marriage for each, and that wife No. 3 is one of the reasons his children with wife No. 2 won't campaign for him. "I have just recently begun--I think they call it in the political world--being 'rolled out,'" Judith, 52, told Walters, but the process has been anything but smooth. A scathing profile of Judith Stish Ross Nathan Giuliani in Vanity Fair pored over her two failed marriages (one of which she acknowledged only recently), the requirement that a separate seat on her plane be provided for the Louis Vuitton handbag that is known around Giuliani headquarters as Baby Louis, and the inconvenient timeline of their courtship, which started while he was still living with second wife Donna Hanover.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Through all this, Judith Giuliani is trying hard to keep her game face on. "It's a steep learning curve. It's all been new to me," she says. "What's really important is, it's my husband who's running for office. He is the one. I do think that is important for us to focus on. We aren't electing a spouse." And while Rudy Giuliani told Walters he would be "very, very comfortable" with having his wife, a nurse, attend Cabinet meetings--"I couldn't have a better adviser"--Judith downplays her influence and her interest in his campaign and in any future Giuliani Administration. "My role is really to support my husband in the ways I have always supported him. I love to take charge of his personal health needs, make sure he's exercising, getting the right food, which is a real challenge on the campaign trail," she says. "I do attend some meetings, but more often than not, it's for my own edification."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>For Fred Thompson's wife Jeri, 40, who is a quarter-century younger than he is, it's hard to figure out which female stereotype is more toxic: the siren whose tight, low-cut outfits had cable-television commentator and former GOP Congressman Joe Scarborough speculating that she "works the pole"--a phrase usually associated with strippers--or the conniving Lady Macbeth who has been blamed for sending his campaign into disarray even before it was launched. She was a major force in persuading him to run but also a major one behind a series of shake-ups that had the campaign on its second manager and its fourth spokesman before Thompson even announced his candidacy.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Her defenders note that Jeri Thompson has worked for years as a political operative. "She gets Republican politics. She gets conservative politics. But most of all, she understands where this man is and how best to help him," says Mark Corallo, a well-respected strategist who helped launch the campaign. But then, on the eve of Thompson's much delayed announcement, Corallo himself resigned.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>Their family portrait--a man who qualifies for Social Security with a 40-year-old blond, a toddler and a baby--is a far cry from that of Ike and Mamie. "He sadly now looks like their grandfather," says Marton. "It's not what women want the presidential family to look like. No doubt unintentionally, but to a lot of women it's almost a rebuke. It's too unsubtle."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>The New Normal</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>IN THIS CAMPAIGN, WHICH HAS PRODUCED SO much buzz about political marriages, the challenge for the Clintons has been a different one: making the most remarkable situation of all look normal.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>The first time his wife ran for office, Bill Clinton was in the White House, which kept him safely off her stage and minimized the amount of public distraction he caused. But behind the scenes, he was her political consultant in chief, reworking her speeches, stepping in when her staff was putting too much on her schedule, rehearsing her for debates and demanding she step up her ad buys.</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>That was two successful Senate campaigns ago. Now the man who jokes that he wants to be known as "First Laddie" downplays his role as she reaches for the biggest prize of all: his old job. He has joined his wife in a couple of campaign swings and is her star fund raiser. But he has yet to show up among the spouses in the audience at any of the Democratic debates. As for his role in any future Clinton Administration, both she and he have talked about the possibility that she might make him an unofficial emissary. "I think she will ask me and former President Bush and other people to go help the country. We have got to restore our standing in the world," Bill Clinton told CNN's Larry King recently. "I wouldn't be surprised if she [asked] every former President to do something."</xhtml:p>

<xhtml:p>But in the

meantime, there's an election to win. And while Hillary Clinton has the best political strategist of her generation at her disposal, Bill is by all accounts keeping his obtrusions to a minimum. Campaign officials say that while the couple talks several times a day, he rarely gets involved with the workings of her campaign. "He's doing what he's asked, and he's doing what he can," says an aide, "but he's certainly not meddling." In part, that's because his own work--his foundation and a tour to promote his new book--keeps him plenty busy. And it also reflects the fact that she has an enormous political machine around her that seems to be doing pretty well on its own.

"If she's writing an important article or giving an important speech, she'll ask me to read it," the former President told Oprah Winfrey. "And once in a while she'll ask me for some advice on something strategic. But she knows so much more about a lot of this stuff than I do because I'm far removed from it." Occasionally, he says, he gets a call from her while he's on the golf course, and she reminds him that she's 15 years older than he was when he did it, "and I say, 'Well, nobody made you run.'"</p></div>

Bill Clinton, 61, is also making a conscious effort to stay out of the fray, though when Elizabeth Edwards attacked Hillary as not vocal enough on women's issues, he rode to his wife's defense. "If you look at the record on women's issues, I defy you to find anybody who has run for office in recent history who's got a longer history of working for women, for families and children, than Hillary does," Clinton said in an interview with ABC's Good Morning America. As for Edwards' contention that Hillary had behaved "as a man," Clinton retorted, "I don't think it's inconsistent with being a woman that you can also be knowledgeable on military and security affairs and be strong when the occasion demands it."

But he has steered clear of criticizing Hillary's opponents. "This is a good time for us Democrats," he says. "We don't have to be against anybody. We can be for the person we think would be the best President." Of course, that's easy to say when your candidate is safely ahead in the polls. If their situation and that of the Edwardses were reversed, "would he be her biggest attack dog like Elizabeth Edwards is? Maybe," concedes a strategist. "But he gets to be the big guy--at least for now." Then again, he's in a supporting role that doesn't come with a script. No one knows that better than a Clinton.

[Contains a table. Please see hardcopy of magazine or PDF.]
THE MARCH OF HISTORY

That Was Then. This Is Now

<xhtml:p>Both in style and in substance, the 2008 contenders for the job of First Spouse are all far different from anyone Americans have ever seen in the East Wing<xhtml:br/><xhtml:br/></xhtml:p>

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<xhtml:tr>
<xhtml:td>THE OLD WAY</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Her pillbox hat was Jackie Kennedy's fashion signature</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Nancy Reagan never lost her adoring gaze for her husband</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Mamie Eisenhower touted her Million Dollar Fudge recipe</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Lady Bird Johnson beautified America's highways</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Florence Harding, the first divorced First Lady, and Betty Ford, the next and last, each had one previous marriage</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Mary Todd Lincoln ran up secret debts with her shopping</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Edith Wilson wielded power after husband Woodrow's stroke</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Barbara Bush's was a tableau filled with grandchildren</xhtml:td>
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<xhtml:tr>
<xhtml:td>THE NEW<xhtml:br/>WAY</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Elizabeth Kucinich would be the first First Lady to wear a tongue stud</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Michelle Obama talks about Barack's flaws, calling him "stinky and snore-y"</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>This year's spouses are a lawyerly lot. Shown clockwise from top left, Elizabeth Edwards, Michelle Obama, Mary Brownback and Bill Clinton all earned their degrees in law</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>If his wife is elected, former President Bill Clinton says he wants to help change the world by working through his foundation on problems like aids</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Judith Nathan Giuliani is on her third marriage--a fact that became public only recently</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Representative Chris Dodd's wife Jackie Clegg Dodd sits on five corporate boards and was a vice chair of the Export-Import Bank</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Bill Clinton was the 42nd President of the U.S. but jokes he might be called "First Laddie"</xhtml:td>
<xhtml:td>Jeri Thompson has a changing table on the campaign

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To read interviews with the running mates and see
photos of the couples on the trail, visit time.com /spouses. Plus, Elizabeth
Edwards and Ann Romney speak about campaigning while battling breast cancer and
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<xhtml:p prism:class="pullQuote">&apos;If you&apos;re not moving votes or moving
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