

379  
N81  
No. 4796

1972 PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN INVESTIGATION  
BASED ON ATTITUDE MEASUREMENTS  
OF CANDIDATE IMAGES

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the  
North Texas State University in Partial  
Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

By

Dana Carol Ricks, B. S.

Denton, Texas

December, 1973

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES . . . . .	v
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS . . . . .	vi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Statement of the Problem	
Overview of 1972 Presidential Campaign	
Research Design and Procedures	
Organizational Preview	
II. ATTITUDES AND IMAGES: A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE . . . . .	25
The Nature of Attitudes	
The Nature of Image	
The Image in Politics	
Study and Measurement of Political Attitudes and Images	
III. PANORAMIC IMAGES OF NIXON, MCGOVERN, AGNEW, AND SHRIVER, 1972 . . . . .	55
The Semantic Differential Scale	
Panoramic Images	
Conclusion	
IV. ATTITUDES TOWARD PREFERRED AND NONPREFERRED CANDIDATES, 1972 . . . . .	69
The Social Judgement-Involvement Approach	
Methodology of the Method of Ordered Alternatives	
Distribution of Preferred Positions A-I Including Ego-Involved Voters	
Preferred Position Voters A-I and the Evaluative Dimension	
The Evaluative Dimension and Actual Voting Behavior	
Conclusion	

Chapter	Page
V. PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY . . . . .	91
Methodology of Political Philosophy Continuum	
Assimilation/Contrast Effect	
Perception of Political Philosophy	
Political Philosophy and Actual Voting	
Behavior	
Conclusion	
VI. CONCLUSION . . . . .	103
Measuring Political Attitudes	
Recommendations for Further Research	
APPENDIX . . . . .	111
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	126

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
I. Demographic Data of Voters Tested in 1972 Presidential Campaign Study . . . . .	15
II. Voter Attitudes Toward 1972 Presidential Candidates' Ability to Cope with Campaign Issues . . . . .	17
III. Mean Scores of Semantic Differential Scale Representing "Panoramic Images" of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver . . . . .	59
IV. Actual Voting Behavior Frequency Distribution . .	67
V. Frequency Distribution of Statements Accepted, Rejected, and Noncommitted on the Method of Ordered Alternatives Scale Classified by Preferred Positions A-I . . . . .	76
VI. Mean Latitude Size of Preferred Positions A-I . .	82
VII. Mean Scores of Evaluative Dimension (Nixon) . . .	84
VIII. Mean Scores of Evaluative Dimension (McGovern) . .	85
IX. Actual Voting Behavior of Preferred Positions A-I . . . . .	87
X. Actual Voting Behavior in Relation to Higher "Attitude" Score . . . . .	89
XI. Own Political Philosophy and Perceived Political Philosophies . . . . .	96
XII. Actual Voting Behavior of Political Philosophy Categories . . . . .	98

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Panoramic Image of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver . . . . .	66
2. Political Philosophy Continuum . . . . .	92
3. Own Political Philosophy and Perceived Political Philosophies of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew and Shriver . . . . .	100

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

A certain urgency exists today about discovering the nature of human attitudes and the principles that govern them. Especially in this democratic society, political attitudes of voters toward candidates constitute many hours and dollars of devotion through extensive research and speculation. Not only public relations firms and campaign staffs, but also communication theorists, social psychologists, political scientists, and other related disciplines, labor endlessly to achieve a better understanding of voter attitudes toward candidates, and insights into methods of altering or influencing those attitudes.

A political candidate in the United States has traditionally placed a great deal of his time, energy, and money into molding and offering the American public a desirable "image" in order that he may appear to be the man most suited for the job. Since all voters' political acts are bounded by the images of political reality or "pictures

in their heads" which they carry about with them,<sup>1</sup> the voting public's perception of a candidate during a campaign, whether that perception be realistic or manufactured, may ultimately mean victory or defeat, and the 1972 presidential campaign was certainly no exception. This thesis considers those "attitudes" and "images" that were formed during the presidential campaign of 1972 and affected the outcome of that election.

#### Statement of the Problem

The relationship of attitude measurement with the political campaign process provides the problem area that this study considers. The purpose of this political communication study is to explore in detail and describe various "attitude" profiles of voters and resulting candidate "images" of the 1972 presidential election. These "attitudes" and "images" are determined through the use of three primary research instruments: the semantic differential scale, the Method of Ordered Alternatives, and the political philosophy continuum. In addition to these, a record of actual voting behavior serves as validating support of the measured

---

<sup>1</sup>Richard R. Fagan, Politics and Communication (Boston, 1966), p. 71.

attitudes. This study deals with "attitudes" toward and candidate "images" of George McGovern, R. Sargent Shriver, Richard M. Nixon, and Spiro T. Agnew, the Democratic and Republican candidates for President and Vice-President in 1972.

This descriptive investigation unfolds into three major problem areas:

1. to report and describe "panoramic images" of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver, as measured by the semantic differential scale.
2. to give an account of voter preferred positions A through I as measured by the Method of Ordered Alternatives in connection with "attitude" as measured by the evaluative factor of the semantic differential scale, and subsequently aligned with actual voting behavior.
3. to determine the relationship between voters' own political philosophies and their perceived political philosophies of the four candidates as measured by the political philosophy continuum.

The remainder of this chapter overviews the historical milieu of the 1972 presidential campaign, explains the



research design and procedures, and offers an organizational preview of the remaining five chapters.

#### Overview of 1972 Presidential Campaign

The moment the counting of votes ended on November 6, 1968, marked the beginning of the 1972 presidential campaign. President-elect Richard Nixon began to organize his new administration, and as the Republicans took over the White House and the reins of government, political planning and strategy for the next four years played an important, if at first muted, role in key decision making.<sup>2</sup> This, of course is normal in American governmental processes. In addition to becoming Chief Executive, chief legislator, commander-in-chief of the armed forces, and architect of foreign policy, Nixon, by winning in 1968, became the effective leader of the Republican Party, and unless he chose otherwise, its candidate for re-election four years later.

South Dakota Senator George McGovern announced his candidacy on January 18, 1971, twenty-two months before the election, recognizing that it would take a long time for his name to become known to the American public. McGovern had

---

<sup>2</sup>Anthony Austin and others, You and Election '72 (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1972), p. 14.

impressive credentials beyond his early and enduring opposition to the Vietnam War, even when that position was not popular. He had been a bomber pilot in World War II, winning the Distinguished Flying Cross for thirty-five missions over Europe, a college professor of history and political science, a member of the House of Representatives, head of the Food for Peace program, and finally Senator. When he made his announcement, McGovern was known by only two per cent of Democratic voters, according to one poll.<sup>3</sup> After a year of strenuous campaigning, McGovern's standing still remained low, a fact that he acknowledged, but to which he gave little weight. In January, 1972, the Gallup Poll<sup>4</sup> surveyed Democrats to find their choice for the nomination and came up with these results:

Muskie	39%
Humphrey	29%
McCarthy	8%
Lindsay	7%
Jackson	3%
McGovern	3%
Chisholm	2%
Hartke	Under 1%
No preference	7%

The issues of 1972,<sup>5</sup> the new ones and the old, can be grouped under four main headings:

---

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 25. <sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 22. <sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-8.

1. Foreign Policy

In addition to Vietnam, other major areas of concern in foreign policy included the American role in the Middle East, the admission of Communist China to the United Nations with the United States' support, President Nixon's trips to China and the Soviet Union, the dispute between the President and Congress on the control of foreign policy, attempts to limit armaments, the defense budget, and the draft.

2. Domestic Issues

If peace abroad was a major issue, so was peace at home. Dealing with domestic issues was more important to the average voter than foreign policy. The primary issues at home were concerned with how to cope with rising crime rates and the fear that it breeds, how to ease tension among the races, how to resolve questions of busing children as a means of integrating schools, how to rebuild cities, and how to protect the consumer.

### 3. Economic Issues

The economy may have been the single most important new issue of 1972. Of all political questions, the economy is the one that translates most readily into votes. Questions being asked were ones such as: In the face of a taxpayer revolt, how can the nation pay for all that it must do? What are the national priorities? Can social progress continue indefinitely as prices, taxes, unemployment, and budget deficits continue to climb?

### 4. Protection of the Environment

The ecology problem is certainly a long-range one, perhaps the most significant for the future life on this planet. Americans in 1972 were asking: How much are we willing to pay for clean air, water, and land around us? Are we willing to sacrifice some material comfort to improve the quality of life for our children? What kind of realistic programs can the candidates suggest?

In addition to the traditional power blocs in American politics, three new groups--Blacks, women, and students--

were effectively organizing in 1972 to move into positions of power by running for elective office, demanding appointive offices, and giving and withdrawing support in accordance with their demands being answered.

The drive of Blacks for social justice, guaranteed to them and all citizens by the Constitution, law, and court decision, was not new, but their tactics were. For years there had been successive Civil Rights Acts and Supreme Court decisions outlawing discrimination in hotels, restaurants, jobs, and most inflammatory of all, schools. These legal victories, however, had produced incomplete compliance. Facing that problem, Blacks, numbering 25 million of the total 205 million Americans, were running for office in increasing numbers, winning government posts, and using their political power to achieve their goals.

Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm entered the primaries not because she had hopes of winning the nomination, but to wield power for Black rights at the convention and during the campaign. No politician in 1972 could afford to ignore Black aspiration, or Black power.

Women, increasing in militance and potential political power, presented a paradox in 1972, because traditionally, women had been classified as a minority group in the hierarchy

of political organizations. This plight presented a peculiar situation since women outnumber men in the United States, more women vote than men, and, therefore, women would have more political power if they chose to organize and vote as a bloc. During the early seventies, there had been signs of a new consciousness of women's role in all phases of society: growth of Women's Liberation movements; increasing number of women with jobs fighting for equal pay for equal work; numerous court decisions outlawing discrimination because of sex, improving chances for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; and expanding amount of space devoted to women's rights in the media.

The third group emerging as an important influence in the 1972 election consisted of young people. For the first time in history, young men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one were able to vote for the President. They totaled more than eleven million potential new voters. In addition, there were more than fourteen million between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four, too young to have voted in the 1968 election, who could cast their first ballots for the president. Together, these groups totaled twenty-five million new voters, about 18 per cent of the entire voting population of 140 million.

The national convention of the Democratic and Republican Parties ultimately brought before the American public two men who had been selected to carry the leadership of their respective parties. One man inherited his party's nomination, while the other man fought a two-year battle to receive his party's endorsement.

Senator George McGovern of South Dakota, in one of the greatest come-from-behind feats in American political history, won the first ballot nomination of the 36th Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach on July 12, 1972.<sup>6</sup> McGovern's dramatic victory over the traditional power structure of the party was marred during the week following the nomination when the Democratic vice-presidential nominee-- Senator Thomas F. Eagleton--was forced to withdraw from the ticket after he disclosed a history of mental illness. On August 5, R. Sargent Shriver, former director of the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the United States ambassador to France, became McGovern's choice to succeed Eagleton.

A jubilantly confident Republican Party ended its three-day national convention in Miami Beach on August 23,

---

<sup>6</sup>Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, XXVIII (Washington, 1972), p. 1045.

buoyed by the appeal of their renominated leader, Richard Nixon. The convention, precisely programmed to make the most of free prime time, became a gigantic television spectacular from start to finish. The main business of the convention, the nomination of President Nixon and Vice-President Agnew to a second term was a pre-ordained ritual. "The Richard Nixon who accepted the 1972 Republican nomination portrayed a more confident and relaxed Nixon than the man who accepted the nomination four years earlier in the same city."<sup>7</sup>

In 1972, as in all other Presidential years, newspapers, television, and radio incessantly analyzed the chances of the candidates, their ability to raise and spend money, their travels and their status in the public opinion polls that rate them as if the election were a horse race.<sup>8</sup>

At times, it appeared that the election was a popularity contest based on looks, mannerisms, facility with words or charisma; in short, the selection of a president seemed to be focused on anything but the simple question: "Who is best suited to cope with the complex issues of the day?" And yet, when all the speeches were ended, when all the paid political advertisements were turned out, the words and actions of the

---

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 1053.

<sup>8</sup>Austin, op. cit., p. 6.



contenders inevitably left the voters with an image of the candidates and a reaction to them as potential presidents.<sup>9</sup>

Richard M. Nixon, a man who once appeared to be a political loser, swept back into the White House November 7, 1972, with a devastating landslide victory over Senator George McGovern. The final Gallup Poll projected 61 per cent of the vote for Nixon, 35 per cent for McGovern, 3 per cent undecided, and 1 per cent for minor party candidates. The last Harris Survey called the race 59/35 in favor of Nixon, with 6 per cent undecided.<sup>10</sup> Outcome of the race appeared so certain after a few sample returns that television networks projected Nixon the winner before polls even closed in a number of western states. NBC projected the outcome at 8:30 p.m. (EST), twenty minutes before CBS' announcement.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup>See Bob Grene, Running: A Nixon-McGovern Campaign Journal (Chicago, 1973) for an in-depth chronolog of the 1972 presidential campaign; see also Hunter S. Simpson, Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72 (San Francisco, 1973); also Norman Mailer, St. George and the Godfather (New York, 1972); for an analysis of the McGovern campaign, see Gary W. Hunt, Right From the Start: A Chronicle of the McGovern Campaign (New York, 1973).

<sup>10</sup>Congressional Quarterly Almanac, op. cit., p. 1013.

<sup>11</sup>National Journal (Washington, 1972), IV, 46, p. 1730.

Official election returns showed Nixon with a popular vote of 45,861,690 (61 per cent) and an electoral vote of 49 states. McGovern carried 2 states and received 28,402,465 votes (38 per cent). Schmitz of the American Independent Party received 1,047,030 votes, while Spock of the People's Party was the recipient of 73,678 votes.<sup>12</sup>

#### Research Design and Procedures

The 1972 Presidential Campaign Study, conducted by the Communication Research and Training Center at North Texas State University, was directed by Don Edward Beck, with the assistance of research associates Christopher C. Cowan, Patrick J. Hebert, and Dana Carol Ricks. The study, funded by a Faculty Research Grant from North Texas State University, was the last of a series of political attitude studies including the 1966 (Tower versus Carr)<sup>13</sup> and 1970 (Bush versus Bentsen)<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>For a discussion of the findings from Beck's study, see Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, 1969), pp. 364-366.

<sup>14</sup>See Don E. Beck, unpublished research report, Communication Research and Training Center, North Texas State University (Denton, Texas, 1971).

senatorial campaigns in Texas and the 1968 presidential campaign.<sup>15</sup>

The data utilized in this thesis investigation are taken from the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study. A total of 821 eligible voters responded to a research booklet<sup>16</sup> within the 84-hour period preceding election day, November 7, 1972. The respondents also filled out a voter behavior form<sup>17</sup> following the election, and the two documents were connected through the use of a self-administered code. The population was selected in six states--California, Kansas, New York, Oklahoma, Texas, and Wyoming--by research assistants who made no attempt to guarantee a voter "cross-section." An estimated 80 per cent return was received, since the research assistants were responsible for both the issuing and return-mailing of their assigned booklets.

---

<sup>15</sup>See Don E. Beck, "Polarization of Political Attitudes in the 1968 Presidential Campaign," presented to Speech Association of America (New York, December 27, 1969).

<sup>16</sup>The complete research booklet is found in the Appendix, pp. 111-124.

<sup>17</sup>The voter behavior form is found in the Appendix, p. 125.

In addition to the traditional demographic data<sup>18</sup> and a questionnaire of 1972 campaign issues,<sup>19</sup> this study utilizes three primary research instruments: semantic differential, Method of Ordered Alternatives, and a political philosophy continuum. An introductory description of each of these instruments follows, with detailed discussion in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

Table I reveals the findings of the demographic data gathered in this study.

TABLE I  
DEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF VOTERS TESTED IN 1972  
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN STUDY, n=821

	n	Per Cent		n	Per Cent
Sex			Registered Voter		
Male	444	54.08	Yes	796	96.95
Female	353	43.00	No	16	1.95
Blank	24	2.92	Blank	9	1.10
Total	821	100.00	Total	821	100.00
Age			Party Preference		
18-20	227	27.65	Democrat	357	43.48
21-30	342	41.66	Republican	200	24.36
31-40	109	13.28	American Ind.	4	0.49
41-50	76	9.26	Independent	246	29.96
51-60	40	4.87	Raza Unida	3	0.37
61+	20	2.44	Other	2	0.24
Blank	7	0.85	Blank	9	1.10
Total	821	100.00	Total	821	100.00

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix, p. 112.

<sup>19</sup> See Appendix, p. 123.

Table II lists some of the relevant issues of the campaign and voter reactions to the request of their indicating the candidate whom they felt could more effectively deal with each issue. The table lists percentages of voters tested who selected Nixon or McGovern as better able to cope with the issues in consideration.

The semantic differential, found on pages 8 through 12 of the research booklet,<sup>20</sup> was designed by Don E. Beck according to the original Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum procedures,<sup>21</sup> with one important exception. Eight intervals separate the polarized adjective sets instead of the traditional seven, forcing a choice and eliminating the ambiguous middle position. The study's semantic differential scale incorporates twenty-six pairs of descriptive word opposites, selected from the previously listed political attitude studies by Beck. Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver were each evaluated individually on identical twenty-six pair scales. The mean average of these responses represents the operational definition of "panoramic image." A description of candidate "panoramic image" as

---

<sup>20</sup>See Appendix, pp. 118-122.

<sup>21</sup>See Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, Illinois, 1957).

TABLE II

VOTER ATTITUDES TOWARD 1972 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES'  
 ABILITY TO COPE WITH CAMPAIGN ISSUES

Issue/Problem	% Nixon	% McGovern	% Blank
Ending the conflict in Southeast Asia	59.92	38.86	1.22
Protecting the environment	45.07	53.24	1.69
Planning our national defense	72.35	26.20	1.45
Creating an effective and efficient welfare program	52.01	46.53	1.46
Providing moral leadership for the country	57.98	40.07	1.95
Improving race relations in this country	45.68	52.61	1.71
Providing economic opportunities (jobs and housing) for all citizens	46.04	52.13	1.83
Promoting U.S. interests abroad	77.59	20.83	1.58
Effective management of the economy	63.46	34.60	1.94
Rekindle the national spirit	54.81	42.52	2.67
Bring government close to the people	41.78	56.03	2.19
Promote equal opportunities for all groups	43.85	53.23	2.92

determined by the semantic differential scale, including each candidate's indicated strengths and weaknesses, is found in Chapter III.

According to Osgood and others, "attitude" is operationally defined as "the evaluative factor of the total semantic space."<sup>22</sup> Adjective pairs of the semantic differential test were processed by factor analysis<sup>23</sup> and the following fourteen pairs were identified as evaluative or representative of "attitude:"

evasive/direct

shallow/deep

demoralizing/inspiring

frightening/reassuring

not qualified to be President/qualified to be President

agitating/calming

harmful/beneficial

unethical/ethical

artificial image/genuine image

---

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 195.

<sup>23</sup>"Factor analysis" is defined in Fred N. Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research (New York, 1964), p. 650, as "a method for determining the number and nature of the underlying variables among large numbers of measures."

under-handed/above-board  
 produces conflict/produces harmony  
 not our kind of man/our kind of man  
 inept internationally/competent internationally  
 represents the interests of the few/represents the  
 interests of the many

Individual mean scores were taken from each eight-interval scale. This summed mean response represents the operational definition of "attitude."

Muzafer Sherif's Method of Ordered Alternatives, or social judgement scale, is based on empirical findings about the involvement of the person's self or "ego" in an ongoing event.<sup>24</sup> The instrument provides a method of detecting levels of intensity or "ego-involvement." The scale, located on pages 3 through 7 of the research booklet,<sup>25</sup> is constructed of nine statements ranging from A, the most extreme Democratic, to I, the most extreme Republican, with E representing the neutral or indecisive position. The voter was instructed to designate his most preferred position (page 4), other

---

<sup>24</sup> See Muzafer Sherif and Hadlet Cantril, The Psychology of Ego Involvements (New York, 1947).

<sup>25</sup> See Appendix, pp. 113-117.



acceptable positions (page 5), his most rejected position (page 6), and other rejected positions (page 7). Resulting latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and non-commitment were then determined. The "latitude of acceptance" is simply the most preferred position and other positions the individual also finds acceptable. The "latitude of rejection" consists of the positions most objectionable to the voter, plus other positions also objectionable to him. The "latitude of noncommitment" includes the resulting positions an individual does not evaluate as acceptable or objectionable under these circumstances. Sherif operationally defines "high ego-involvement" as a latitude of rejection of five or more statements.<sup>26</sup> A description of the distribution of the 821 latitude profiles A through I is contained in Chapter IV. Also the Method of Ordered Alternatives is combined with the semantic differential to describe the relationship of preferred positions A through I with the fourteen factor analyzed adjective sets denoting "attitude." Each voter's score toward Nixon and McGovern was scaled on a 14 to 112 range by summing over the mean responses in the fourteen semantic

---

<sup>26</sup>Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn Sherif (ed.), Attitude Ego-Involvement and Change (New York, 1967), p. 115.

differential evaluative word pairs. These scores were then sorted according to each voter's higher summed score, and totaled according to number of voters rating Nixon higher or McGovern higher on the evaluative word sets. The total number of voters whose "attitudes" supported Nixon and McGovern respectively, were aligned with their actual voting behavior record in order to determine the relationship between voters' measured "attitudes" and the way they ultimately voted. This relationship is also included in Chapter IV.

A third research instrument utilized is the "Perception of Political Philosophy" (page 14),<sup>27</sup> a liberal/conservative continuum which allows a comparison between voter's perception of his own political philosophy or anchor, and his perception of the four candidates' political philosophies. The continuum ranges from one to nine, with one representing extreme liberalism, nine representing extreme conservatism, and five as a middle-of-the-road position. The voter was asked to intersect the continuum at the point indicating his own political philosophy, and then to intersect duplicate political philosophies of Agnew, McGovern, Nixon, and Shriver.

Description of the process of linking a voter's perception of

---

<sup>27</sup> See Appendix, p. 124.

his own political philosophy (anchor) and his perception of the four candidates' philosophies, observing the phenomena of assimilation (pulling preferred candidates toward himself), and contrast (pushing objected candidates away from his own position), is found in Chapter V.

#### Organizational Preview

Chapter II, the next chapter in this thesis, undertakes a discussion of the concept and nature of attitudes, and the nature and formation of images. A review of the literature relevant to this study is found throughout the chapter. Chapter II narrows to focus on images in politics, and the study and measurement of political attitudes and images. The information contained in Chapter II provides a basis for the following chapters that proceed to report the findings gathered through the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study's attempt at attitude and image measurement.

In Chapter III, the methodology of the semantic differential is further discussed, its structure, and use. This study incorporates the use of twenty-six polarized adjective pairs to make up the semantic differential scale. A report of the mean responses to each of the word sets, which is representative of the operational definition of "panoramic

image," is given. In addition, each of the four candidates (Nixon, Agnew, McGovern and Shriver) are described in terms of their strengths and weaknesses, as determined by the 821 voters tested by the semantic differential. This chapter focuses on the "panoramic image" of the four candidates as perceived by the voters.

Chapter IV presents the methodology, structure, and use of Sherif's Method of Ordered Alternatives. The population distribution of the latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and noncommitment is given, including a profile of preferred positions A through I. The Method of Ordered Alternatives data is then connected with the findings of the semantic differential scale. The semantic differential scores were processed by factor analysis, resulting in fourteen adjective pairs being labeled evaluative in nature, therefore, constituting the operational definition of "attitude." Through focusing on preferred positions A through I on the Method of Alternatives scale, these "attitude" scores are viewed. This calls direct attention to voters' negative attitudes toward opposing candidates and positive attitudes toward preferred candidates. Finally as a reinforcing agent, this data is linked directly to the voting behavior of each of the positions A through I.

Voter perception of political philosophy is the general topic of Chapter V. A liberal/conservative continuum allows a comparison of voter's own political philosophy and his perceived political philosophy of the candidates, Nixon, Agnew, McGovern, and Shriver. Position of a voter's own political philosophy represents an anchor, from which he bases his perceived philosophies of the other candidates. The assimilation/contrast phenomena, based on Sherif's research, is discussed, in which a voter pulls preferred candidates toward his position (assimilation) and pushes opposing candidates away from his position (contrast). An analysis of the type of voter philosophy (liberal/conservative) that favored the separate candidates is helpful in assessing what kind of political philosophy the candidates appealed to during the campaign.

Chapter VI contains significant conclusions of the study and summarizes the basic findings. The chapter also has recommendation for further research in the areas of political attitude measurement.

## CHAPTER II

### ATTITUDES AND IMAGES: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Everyday, man becomes more keenly aware of the differing beliefs, values, ways of life and ideologies of various human groups and societies. These differences are reflected in the attitudes of individuals belonging to the various groups. Because the differences frequently reveal themselves in actual or potential conflict, problems in attitude and attitude change are among the most vital and timely in this world of rapid change.

A person's attitudes define for him what he is and what he is not. Attitudes relate the individual to aspects of his world as intimate as those pertaining to his friends and family, as well as those of the less immediate but nevertheless cherished matters concerning self and other groups: religious, economic, political, and other social issues.

Therefore, attitude and attitude change become problems in several academic disciplines, and this area becomes the central meeting ground where psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology can discover that they are

approaching similar topics of concern. Each discipline must contribute to the task of developing integrative concepts, theories, and appropriate measurement techniques.

In the area of attitude measurement, the question of creating an ideal measuring instrument has become an urgent one. A steady expansion of literature during the past few years has provided various methods of assessing attitudes through measurement.

But, as should be the case, in order to measure anything, it becomes necessary to know something about the properties being measured. In this chapter, the concept of attitude is characterized, based on a survey of the research literature. After developing a groundwork for understanding, this chapter focuses, again based on a survey of the literature, on the nature of image, images in politics, and the study and measurement of political images.

#### The Nature of Attitudes

"The concept of attitudes is probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary American social psychology."<sup>1</sup> Henceforth, the task of defining the

---

<sup>1</sup>Philip Zimbardo and Ebbe B. Ebbesen, Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior (Reading, Massachusetts, 1969) p. 1.

notion of attitude creates an intricately complicated enigma.

In his chapter of attitudes in his book Social Psychology, Muzafer Sherif states,

Without a doubt, the accumulated literature on attitudes in socialization, attitudes as factors in psychological activity, attitude measurement, and attempts at attitude change through communication or other social process is more extensive than on any other single topic in social psychology.<sup>2</sup>

Also according to Sherif,<sup>3</sup> definitions of attitudes have had certain essential features in common. Almost invariably, one of these is that attitudes are acquired or learned. Another is that attitudes are inferred from modes of behavior by the same person over a time span that are "characteristic, consistent, and selective."<sup>4</sup> Such specification of the data for attitude study was made by the sociologists Thomas and Znanieki,<sup>5</sup> and included by psychologists Murphy,

---

<sup>2</sup>Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, 1969), p. 333.

<sup>3</sup>Carolyn and Muzafer Sherif, editors, Attitude, Ego-Involvement and Change (New York, 1967), p. 114.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>See W. I. Thomas and F. Znanieki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America (Chicago, 1918).



Murphy, and Newcombe,<sup>6</sup> Gordon Allport,<sup>7</sup> Donald Campbell,<sup>8</sup> Smith, Bruner, and White,<sup>9</sup> and by the authors of the series of volumes from Yale Communication Research Program directed by Carl Hovland.<sup>10</sup>

When an attitude is discussed, we are not talking about something that can be observed directly. We are speaking of a psychological concept designating something inside the individual. Just as we can never directly observe pain, psychological tension, or an unspoken idea, we cannot see an attitude.<sup>11</sup>

According to Sherif and Sherif, the concept of attitude has several characteristics that differentiate it from other

<sup>6</sup>See G. Murphy, Lois B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcombe, Experimental Social Psychology (New York, 1937).

<sup>7</sup>See Gordon W. Allport, "Attitudes," A Handbook of Social Psychology, edited by C. Murchison (Worcester, Mass., 1935).

<sup>8</sup>See Donald Campbell, "The Indirect Assessment of Social Attitudes," Psychological Bulletin, 47 (1950); see also Donald Campbell, "Social Attitudes and Other Acquired Behavioral Dispositions," Psychology: A Study of a Science, edited by S. Koch (New York, 1963).

<sup>9</sup>See M. B. Smith, J. S. Bruner, and R. W. White, Opinions and Personality (New York, 1956).

<sup>10</sup>See Carl I. Hovland, J. L. Janis, and H. H. Kelley, Communication and Persuasion (New Haven, 1953); see also M. J. Rosenberg and others, Attitude Organization and Change (New Haven, 1960).

<sup>11</sup>Sherif and Sherif, Attitude, Ego-Involvement and Change, p. 112.

concepts referring to internal states of the individual.

1. Attitudes are not innate. . . . It is assumed that the appearance of an attitude is dependent on learning.
2. Attitudes are not temporary states but are more or less enduring once they are formed. . . .
3. Attitudes always imply a relationship between a person and object. In other words, attitudes are not self-generated, psychologically. They are formed or learned in relation to identifiable referents whether these be persons, groups, institutions, objects, social values, social issues, or ideologies.
4. The relationship between person and object is not neutral but has motivational and affective properties. . . .
5. The subject-object relationship is accomplished through the formation of categories both differentiating between objects and between the person's positive or negative relation to objects in the various categories.<sup>12</sup>

Today, differences in attitudes among various groups of people are not issues to be treated with detachment. Diverse groups and cultures inevitably have traffic with one another, whether they like it or not. Therefore, in a very practical way, it does matter how various groups of people conceive their ways of life, their ways of doing things, their stands on social, religious, economic, and political issues, and how they conceive the ways and stands of others.

What kind of events are we talking about when we speak of attitudes? We are talking about events in which individuals are influenced by more or less lasting assumptions about this world. We are talking about people who have premises and enduring expectations about the way the world operates. . . . When we deal with

---

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 113.

lasting assumptions, lasting premises, lasting beliefs, lasting convictions, and lasting sentiments, we are dealing with attitudes.<sup>13</sup>

Attitudes relate to what a person has learned in the process of becoming a member of a family, a member of a group, and of society that makes him react to his social world in a consistent and characteristic way, instead of a transitory or haphazard way. He is no longer neutral in sizing up the world around him; he is attracted or repelled, for or against, favorable or unfavorable at some level. His behavior toward other persons, groups, institutions, and nations takes on a consistent and characteristic pattern. What he sees or listens to are selectively chosen from a mass of potential stimulation which surrounds him. He has developed stands, sentiments, and ties regarding his family, and toward various social, religious, political and economic issues.

This explanation leads to the implication that a person's attitudes are inferred from some sort of comparison, some choice or some decision that he makes among alternatives. Such comparisons, choices, or decisions imply a judgement process.<sup>14</sup> This judgement process ultimately provides the

---

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 1-2.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

basis for the use of attitude measuring devices, such as the ones employed in this study.

Specifically, in this thesis, the attitude measuring instruments, the semantic differential, the Method of Ordered Alternatives, and the political philosophy continuum, allow the voter to respond to matters related to his political attitudes, particularly, his reactions to McGovern, Nixon, Shriver, and Agnew as potential national leaders.

#### The Nature of Image

Having considered the nature and definition of attitude, it becomes essential to explore the essence of a public image. The English word "image" which comes from the Latin imago, is related to the Latin word imitari, which means "to imitate." According to common American dictionary definitions, an image is an artificial imitation or representation of the external form of any object, especially of a person.<sup>15</sup>

Images, therefore, are essentially stereotypes, in that they are oversimplification of reality. Walter Lippman, in his classic, Public Opinion, explains,

The real environment is altogether too big, too complex, too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not

---

<sup>15</sup>Daniel J. Boorstin, The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America (New York, 1961), p. 197.

equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations. And although we have to act in that environment, we have to reconstruct it on a simple model before we can manage it.<sup>16</sup>

Individuals carry stereotypes of groups, of other individuals, and classes in their minds. Examples are images of Communists, hippies, or John Birchers. Each stereotype provides a sense of balance and security needed by the individual who is daily faced with diversified experiences and people.

An image is totally a product of perception. Politicians may sometimes feel that they own or possess their images, but mistakenly so. An image belongs to the perceiver, in this case, the potential voter, and no one else. Due to man's ability to conceptualize and form images of events, people and places in his mind, he creates images without the benefit of direct contact with the referent. Thus, the image becomes public and is shared by many individuals. This image is soon overlaid by influence from peers, leaders, and the mass media. Boulding explains that "it is the belief that this image is shared by other people like ourselves who also are part of our image of the world."<sup>17</sup> Crespi feels that "emphasis on

---

<sup>16</sup>Walter Lippman, Public Opinion (New York, 1954). p. 23.

<sup>17</sup>Kenneth Boulding, The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society (Ann Arbor, 1956), p. 14.

the concept of image has been a preoccupation of some who spend their time on appearances to the neglect of reality.<sup>18</sup>

Boorstin, in his book, The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, views the public image through six characteristics.

1. "An image is synthetic. It is planned: created especially to serve a purpose, to make a certain kind of impression."<sup>19</sup> Because of man's finite knowledge and inability to know everything about one thing, he must form his image from information obtained through others. He sees things as others mean for them to be seen. One danger becomes apparent here: individuals may construct and control images by manipulative means.

2. "An image is believable. It serves no purpose if people do not believe it. In their own minds, they must make it stand for the institution of the person imaged."<sup>20</sup> Candidates would never be elected and companies would never sell their products if their public image was unbelievable.<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup>Leo P. Crespi, "Some Observation of the Concept of Image," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Spring, 1961), 116.

<sup>19</sup>Boorstin, op. cit., p. 185.      <sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

<sup>21</sup>See Dexter Neadle, "The Relationship of Corporate Image to Product Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Summer, 1964), 291-302.

3. "An image is passive. Since the image is already supposed to be congruent with reality, the producer of the image . . . is expected to fit into the image."<sup>22</sup>

4. "An image is vivid and concrete. The image is limited. . . . It is not enough if the product, the man, or the institution has many good qualities appropriate to it. One or a few must be selected for vivid portrayal."<sup>23</sup>

5. "An image is simplified. In order to exclude undesired and undesirable aspects, an image must be simpler than the object it represents."<sup>24</sup>

6. "An image is ambiguous. It floats somewhere between the imagination and the senses, between expectation and reality."<sup>25</sup>

The image should now be recognized as the picture, stereotype or cognition within a person's mind. Man possesses in his mind not only an image of himself, but an image of other people, situations, and organizations. The image belongs to the individual perceiver and results in a public

---

<sup>22</sup>Boorstin, op. cit., p. 188.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 193.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

image after being shared by the public. The image generally has six characteristics. It is synthetic, believable, passive, vivid and concrete, simplified, and ambiguous.

### The Image in Politics

The image is not a new aspect of election and campaigns, but the systematic measurement and definition of it provide fresh insights into image development and analysis.

The personal images of candidates for public office have long served as simple models of political reality, as political complexity and confusion abstracted into something voters believe they can judge: human character.<sup>26</sup>

To those involved in public behavior and attitudes, the image is a contemporary word used in describing total public posture and the impression the public has about a public figure.<sup>27</sup> Image builders attempt to show that their candidate possesses the same view of the world that the potential voter holds. The voter, in turn, is encouraged to vote for the candidate closest to his own self-image. Therefore, each presidential election is actually, as Samuel Lubell describes, "a self-portrait of America, a self-portrait with each ballot

---

<sup>26</sup>Gene Wyckoff, The Image Candidates (New York, 1968), p. 1.

<sup>27</sup>William L. Safire, The New Language of Politics (New York, 1968), p. 202.



serving as another brush stroke and through which all the emotions of the American people find expression."<sup>28</sup>

"Almost all political behavior involves communication activity of some sort."<sup>29</sup> By studying an individual's behavior, it is possible to identify his images. "It is only from behavior," Sherif suggests, "that we can infer that an individual has an attitude. In short, attitudes are inferred from objects, persons, events, and issues over a time span."<sup>30</sup>

Images possess special meaning for professional politicians. They refer to the impressions that candidates leave with the public about their personalities and their philosophies of government.<sup>31</sup>

Ogden and Peterson, in their book, Electing the President: 1964, believe a political image to be extremely important.

---

<sup>28</sup> Samuel Lubell, Future of American Politics (New York, 1965), p. 24.

<sup>29</sup> Richard R. Fagan, Politics and Communication (Boston, 1966), p. 17.

<sup>30</sup> Carolyn W. and Muzafer Sherif, and Roger E. Nebergall, Attitude and Attitude Change (Philadelphia, 1965), p. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Daniel M. Ogden and Arthur L. Peterson, Electing the President: 1964 (San Francisco, 1964), p. 145.

A political candidate's image can make him or break him. If he can convince the people that he has both the personality and the political philosophy to understand their wishes, . . . he can be unbeatable. If instead, he uncovers flaws in these qualities, he is headed for defeat.<sup>32</sup>

Professor Elmer Cornwell, author of Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion, feels that

a political leader's successfully projected appearance of competence, concern, sincerity, his image in a word, can carry far greater impact than his utterances. . . . The citizenry's capacity for information and argumentation is less than its capacity to absorb and respond to images projected by public figures.<sup>33</sup>

The title of an editorial in the New York Times on October 6, 1966, was "Man vs. Image."

The newest word of political jargon--"image"--. . . denotes the fact that for many voters, how a man looks and projects himself is more persuasive than the facts about his experience, competence or depth of understanding. The image now reveals the substance as the ultimate political reality.<sup>34</sup>

Man is an evaluating animal, and political man particularly so. In his book, Politics and Communication,

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>33</sup>Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., "Role of the Press in Presidential Politics," Politics and the Press, edited by Richard W. Lee (Washington, 1970), p. 19; see also Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr., Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion (Bloomington, 1965).

<sup>34</sup>The New York Times, October 6, 1966.

Richard Fagan contends that

Political images usually contain both information and evaluation, and it is frequently difficult to separate one from the other. Furthermore, it is common to find persons who hold similar evaluational images, at the same time holding different informational images. The converse is also true. Candidates for public office, among others, take cognizance of this fact. They and their supporters tend to use campaign communication to distribute an evaluation image: "X is the best man for the job." Except as it supports this image, candidates frequently behave as if they are not interested in the distribution of information, which is of necessity very uneven, imperfect, and open to evaluative ambiguity in any constituency. The end product sought by the candidate (acting as candidate rather than crusader) is the widest possible distribution of a positive evaluation of himself; the distribution of information is of secondary importance.<sup>35</sup>

In the context of politics, image may evoke negative connotations. Most people associate it with manipulation of existing characteristics or the conjuring up of new ones. The supposition behind this view of image and image manipulation is that the so-called image managers can conceal all about their candidate that they want concealed, reveal all that they want revealed, and "sell" a largely non-existent person to the American voters. The impossibility of completely fashioning a candidate is obvious. "The image of a candidate then, is determined by the perception

---

<sup>35</sup>Fagan, op. cit., p. 78.

and interaction of this personality and orientation to the world with ours."<sup>36</sup>

Mass media has increasingly produced significant effects on political images in America. According to Wyckoff,

Before television and radio, the most important component of a candidate's image was probably his reputation--conveyed by newspapers, pamphlets, cartoons, posters, and campaign slogans--from which voters might derive in their mind's eye an impression of the candidate's personal character. By allowing the electorate to hear the candidate's voice and listen to his reasoning and eloquence as clues to his character, radio probably broke the back of the newspaper industry's ability to perpetuate literary-fiction images of candidates.<sup>37</sup>

Of course, television has made voters capable of approaching and evaluating the candidate from a more realistic viewpoint. Contemporary contenders of public office, along with the help of professionals, go to great pains to adjust their television image to be precisely as they have premeditated. A famous case is the 1960 Nixon--Kennedy television debates.

Kennedy, who was accused of being young and immature, hardly cracked a smile in his debate with Nixon, while the latter, who was said to be stiff and frightening, beamed with friendliness. Kennedy restyled his youthful

---

<sup>36</sup>Dan F. Hahn and Ruth M. Gonchar, "Political Myth: The Image and the Issue," Today's Speech XX (Summer, 1972), 61.

<sup>37</sup>Wyckoff, op. cit., p. 12.

shock of hair, and Nixon thinned his eyebrows to look less threatening.<sup>38</sup>

Elihu Katz and Jacob Feldman did a study of studies, reviewing thirty-one separate research projects concerned with the 1960 Nixon--Kennedy debates. Katz and Feldman concluded that viewers had not learned enough from what was said by the candidates to cause any change of opinion on campaign issues, but that the viewer had "learned something about the candidates themselves. They discovered how well each candidate could perform in a debate and they formed images of each candidate's character and ability."<sup>39</sup>

Although television has made voters aware of the extensive use of public relations firms to promote the campaigns of political candidates, the basic technique was first used many years ago.

An enterprising public relations man (whose pseudonym was Ivy Lee) was hired to change the prevailing stereotype of John D. Rockefeller, Sr. Mr. Rockefeller was generally considered a self-aggrandizing, robber baron.

---

<sup>38</sup>Nelson W. Polsby and Aaron B. Wildavsky, Presidential Elections: Strategies of American Electoral Politics (New York, 1964), p. 117; see also Sidney Kraus, editor, The Great Debates: Background and Perspective Effects (Bloomington, 1962).

<sup>39</sup>Elihu Katz and Jacob J. Feldman, "The Debates in the Light of Research: A Survey of Surveys," The Great Debates, edited by Sidney Kraus (Bloomington, 1962), p. 203.

A complete image reversal was called for, one in which the public would view him as a philanthropic, kindly gentleman. The strategy was deceptively simple; one of the most effective techniques was to publicize pictures and stories of Rockefeller giving shiny new dimes to every child he met in the streets.<sup>40</sup>

One of the most thorough correlational studies of the effects of mass media on attitudes is that of Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet published in The People's Choice.<sup>41</sup>

For years academicians have stressed the importance of campaign issues while the American people have blithely gone their way, voting on the basis of image. Now it is found that the people may have been right all along--issues appear to be transitory, confusing and largely irrelevant while images may provide intelligent and discriminating indices upon which informed votes can be based.

Up to 1960, the factors that influenced voters ranked this way, according to De Vries and Tarrance:<sup>42</sup>

1. Party affiliation
2. Group affiliation (union, church, etc.)

---

<sup>40</sup>Zimbardo and Ebbeson, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>41</sup>Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Berbard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice (New York, 1944).

<sup>42</sup>Walter De Vries and V. Lance Tarrance, The Ticket Splitters (New York, 1972), pp. 24-28.

3. The candidate himself

4. The issues

Now according to the same study, the factors are almost reversed:

1. The candidate, his personality and ability to do the job

2. The issues, the positions the candidates take and the ability of the candidates and his party to solve the problems

3. Party affiliation

4. Group affiliation

"While it is no surprise to anyone that voters are more strongly influenced by images than issues, the degree to which this is true may astound some."<sup>43</sup>

The American Institute for Political Communication asked 1968 voters, "If you had to name just one factor or thing which most influenced your voting decision in the Presidential race, what would that one thing be?" Despite the fact that voters tended to overemphasize the importance of issues, the results showed that

. . . 41% of the respondents said one of the Presidential candidates or a characteristic of the candidate was the

---

<sup>43</sup>Hahn and Gonchar, op. cit., p. 57.

factor "which most influenced" their Presidential vote. Some 25% said an issue or issues was most important. About 13% opted for party affiliation and another 13% for the desire for a change in national leadership and 8.5% specifically referred to one or more of the media.<sup>44</sup>

Political images should be recognized as involving communication activities, therefore these images become identifiable through observation of a voter's behavioral response to the candidates' communication. The image of a candidate usually consists of an amalgam of information and evaluation held in the minds of the voters, but a candidate seems to be more interested in the voter's evaluation of him since his image has a far greater impact than the information he gives or the words he utters. Contemporary political images usually are significantly affected by so-called image makers, along with wide coverage through mass media. All in all, images of political candidates ultimately become the basis for voting behavior more often than issues, party affiliation or other motives. Therefore, the political image of a candidate actually becomes the single most important factor responsible for the way an individual casts his vote on election day.

---

<sup>44</sup>The American Institute for Political Communication, The 1968 Campaign: Anatomy of a Crucial Election (Washington, 1970), pp. 71-72.



## Study and Measurement of Political Attitudes and Images

The acquisition and development of political attitudes have increasingly become subjects of extensive research. The most logical manner in which to study and explore political attitudes is in the context of political activity, namely political campaigns. Numerous methodologies and instruments have been created and utilized in the quest for understanding attitudes during a campaign. This section of Chapter II deals with studies surveyed in the literature related to the process of studying and measuring political attitudes and images.

Measures of Political Attitudes, by Robinson, Rusk, and Head,<sup>45</sup> is a very valuable reference work. It is, primarily, a source for finding scales that measure a variety of political attitudes--scales that have been tested by others. Eighty-three different scales are reported in ten separately classified categories. Thus, the publication of this volume contributes to the development of cumulative research based on standard measures.

---

<sup>45</sup>See John P. Robinson, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes (Ann Arbor, 1968).

The analysis of political communication has become a pertinent area of interest, especially in this time of mass media. Herring, in his book, The Politics of Democracy,<sup>46</sup> and Childs, in his book, Public Opinion,<sup>47</sup> focus on the study of political communication through political campaigns.

The query of how individuals derive their political attitudes creates a complex problem. Study of children's acquisition of political attitudes has experienced meteoric popularity within the past few years. Several summaries of findings have been published, including Greenstein's Children and Politics.<sup>48</sup> The question of how political attitudes are learned has, in the course of time, produced substantial empirical investigation.

---

<sup>46</sup>See P. Herring, The Politics of Democracy (New York, 1940).

<sup>47</sup>See H. L. Childs, Public Opinion (Princeton, 1965).

<sup>48</sup>See F. I. Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven, 1965); see also F. I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Image of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LVI (1960); D. Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Politics I (1962); Robert D. Hess, "Political Attitudes in Children," Psychology Today, II, (January, 1969).

Jennings and Niemi<sup>49</sup> refer to the "transmission" of attitudes from parents to their children in observing correlations between attitudes from parents and twelfth grade students. Hyman<sup>50</sup> notes that "foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family."<sup>51</sup> Hess and Torney<sup>52</sup> conclude that "the public school is the most important and effective instrument of political socialization in the United States."<sup>53</sup>

Another area in question in research is the decision process of the voter to choose among the existing alternatives and vote on election day. The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign, by Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet,<sup>54</sup> is a report on modern American political behavior, specifically on the formation of votes during the 1940 presidential campaign.

---

<sup>49</sup>See M. K. Jennings and R. G. Neimi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, LXII (1968).

<sup>50</sup>See H. Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, 1959).

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>52</sup>See Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago, 1967).

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p. 93.

<sup>54</sup>Lazarsfeld, Berelson and Gaudet, op. cit.

Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee's Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign,<sup>55</sup> also deals with voting--how people come to vote as they do. The book discusses such matters as the voter's perception of politics, their reaction to the issues, their attention to the mass media, their influence on one another's political preferences, the role of class and religious affiliations in politics, and the institutional leadership of the local community. While the study is not intended as an investigation on only one election or of only one community, it is based on a single case--how a thousand citizens living in Elmira, New York, made up their minds in the 1948 election between President Truman and Governor Dewey.

As previously mentioned, the study of media coverage of political campaigns and their ultimate effect on the election has become the focus of substantial augmentation. Part III of Gene Wyckoff's The Image Candidates<sup>56</sup> is entitled "A Case Study of Candidate Images." Dealing specifically with the 1961 New York race for governor, it discusses in

---

<sup>55</sup>See Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago, 1954).

<sup>56</sup>Wyckoff, op. cit., pp. 63-142.

detail the development of television images of the candidates and the manipulation and bias of those images by New York City's television stations.

Political philosophies, their evolvment and meaning, have been identified as still another hub of interests in the comprehensive territory of political attitudes. The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion by Free and Cantril,<sup>57</sup> is based mainly on two surveys of the national adult population, represented by 3,175 Americans altogether, carried out in the fall of 1964. The data have been supplemented by those gathered before and after by various polling organizations, particularly those of George Gallup and Louis Harris.

Free and Cantril pivot their study around the concepts "liberal" and "conservative." Liberals are defined as "people who are disposed to approve the use of power and resources of the federal government to accomplish domestic social objectives."<sup>58</sup> Conservatives are "those inclined to oppose such use of federal power and resources."<sup>59</sup> The

---

<sup>57</sup>Lloyd Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion (New Brunswick, 1967).

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

authors measured the population on what they called an "operational spectrum" and an "ideological spectrum." Results showed a schizoid state of mind of the electorate.

Sixty-five per cent of the respondents were completely or predominantly liberal operationally, contrasted with 16 per cent ideologically. Conversely, 50 per cent were ideologically conservative, in contrast with 14 per cent who were conservative in operation. It is this contrast the authors characterize as schizoid.

An added dimension of concern with political philosophies of voters is their relations to the voters' perceived philosophies of preferred and nonpreferred candidates. Sherrod's "Selective Perception of Political Candidates,"<sup>60</sup> investigates voters' selective perception of political candidates' positions as a means of maintaining cognitive consistency. The results indicate that voters preferring a particular candidate do selectively perceive that candidate's position in such a way as to make it consistent with their own.

---

<sup>60</sup> See Drury R. Sherrod, "Selective Perception of Political Candidates," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXV (Winter, 1971-1972).

"Reference Group Identification and the Perception of Political Figures," by Raven and Gallo<sup>61</sup> examines the voters' perceptions of the 1960 presidential candidates prior to and after the nominating convention, observing the effect of the candidate becoming officially identified as the party's leader.

Roberta Sigel's "Effect of Partisanship of the Perception of Political Candidates,"<sup>62</sup> concentrates on how voters perceive political candidates and two recently developed theories to explain it.

One theory leans heavily on theoretical and empirical work in social psychology, especially social perception, and has been referred to as the perceptual balance theory. It holds that political perception

. . . must serve a definitive psychological function for the individual voter. As in other spheres of activity, so in the political: one function must be to avoid potential stress. . . . The voter tends to see or to invent what is favorable to himself and to distort or to deny much of what is unfavorable. This

---

<sup>61</sup>See B. H. Raven and P. S. Gallo, "Reference Group Identification and the Perception of Political Figures," The University of California Technological Report (Los Angeles, 1960).

<sup>62</sup>Roberta S. Sigel, "Effect of Partisanship of the Perception of Political Candidates," Public Opinion Quarterly XXVIII (Fall, 1964), 483.

must leave him fewer internal conflicts to resolve-- with, so to speak, a favorable balance of perception.<sup>63</sup>

From this theoretical formulation it follows that political perception is perceiver-determined. In order not to experience imbalance or stress, partisans, especially, will see in a preferred candidate what they wish to see.

A second explanation is the image theory, which holds that the image voters have of a candidate is not perceiver-determined, but candidate- or stimulus-determined. This theory maintains that candidates, by their appearance, speeches, stands on issues, etc., convey a specific image. The image emanating from the candidate accounts for the public's perception of that candidate, not the stereotyped "pictures inside people's heads which do not automatically correspond with the world outside."<sup>64</sup> According to the image theory, the candidate who casts the most popular image wins the election. McGrath and McGrath, in their article, "Effects of Partisanship on Perception of Political Figures,"<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Lippman, op. cit., p. 21.

<sup>65</sup> Joseph E. and Marion F. McGrath, "Effects of Partisanship on Perceptions of Political Figures," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Summer, 1962).



deal with and support the image theory of political perception.

Sigel's study involved a face-to-face interview with 1,350 registered voters constituting a random sample of the Detroit electorate, taken in October, 1960, during the Kennedy-Nixon campaign. The interview contained questions regarding traits that the respondents considered to be important in a president, or representative of an ideal image. Then the respondents were asked to rank their preferred and nonpreferred candidates on the same list of attributes. Respondents were also asked to indicate their party affiliation.

A comparison of a respondent's ideal image with his image of his preferred and nonpreferred candidates seemed to be a good test of the perceptual balance theory. Results indicated that the total sample, Republicans, Democrats, and independents, had the same idealized image of a president. The findings were consistent with the perceptual balance theory.<sup>66</sup>

To maintain balance and avoid stress, people who have commitments, like the partisans, bring about perceptual congruence between their ideal and preferred-candidate images, but do not have this commitment, and do not

---

<sup>66</sup>Sigel, op. cit., 486-488.

have to create congruence. No relationship was found between their ideal image and their candidate images.<sup>67</sup>

Focusing on the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study, it becomes necessary to align it with previously conducted studies of similar or like purpose and methodology.

Although substantial evidence was available in the areas of political attitude and image measurement, particularly in presidential campaigns, a survey of the literature uncovered no indication of what could be called a parallel study. The obvious exceptions are the previously performed attitude studies by Beck.<sup>68</sup> These three investigations utilized the same primary research methodology employed in the 1972 study. In addition to the utilization of the semantic differential scale, the Method of Ordered Alternative, and the political philosophy continuum, this study annexed the actual voting behavior to its structure.

---

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 490.

<sup>68</sup>See Tower/Carr study in Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, 1969), pp. 364-366; see Bush/Bentsen in Don E. Beck, unpublished research report, Communication Research and Training Center, North Texas State University (Denton, Texas, 1971); see Nixon/Humphrey/Wallace study in Don E. Beck, "Polarization of Political Attitudes in the 1968 Presidential Election," presented to Speech Association of America (New York, December 27, 1969).

The preceding foundation, which develops a further comprehension of the task of studying and measuring political attitudes, constitutes a basis for the description and analysis of the findings of the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study relevant to this particular investigation.

## CHAPTER III

### PANORAMIC IMAGES OF NIXON, MCGOVERN, AGNEW AND SHRIVER, 1972

Following a synopsis of relevant literature in the area of political attitude and image measurement, it becomes appropriate to report the findings of the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study in regard to the four candidates' panoramic or overall images, as measured by the semantic differential scale. Preceding a description of the results, this chapter discusses the methodology and use of the semantic differential scale. Subsequently, an analysis of the "panoramic images" of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew and Shriver, including their strengths and weaknesses, is given.

#### The Semantic Differential Scale

The semantic differential, which has found a variety of uses in recent years since its development by Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, is frequently applied to the study of attitudes. "Validity on the differential attitude scales appear to be high, based on high correlational scores

gathered by the traditional Thurston, Likert, Guttman types of scales."<sup>1</sup>

Underlying the semantic differential technique is the basic assumption of a hypothetical semantic space of an unknown number of dimensions, in which the meaning of any word or concept can be represented as a particular point. Osgood's procedure is to have people judge a particular concept on a set of semantic scales defined by verbal word opposites with a mid-point of neutrality. The scales are usually composed of seven discriminable steps.<sup>2</sup> An example is as follows:

Richard Nixon

Dovish \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_ Hawkish

It should be reiterated at this point that the design of the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study's semantic differential scale provided eight possible intervals, instead of the customary seven, in order to alleviate the statistically ambiguous middle position. When dealing with a population

<sup>1</sup> James E. Brinton, "Deriving an Attitude Scale from Semantic Differential Data," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (1961), 290.

<sup>2</sup> Philip Zimbardo and Ebbe B. Ebbeson, Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior (Reading, Massachusetts, 1969), p. 127.

that is adequately familiar with the concept being tested, in this case, the 1972 candidates for President and Vice-President, the middle or neutral position seems unnecessary and relatively meaningless. The eight possible intervals offered a more sensitive range to attitudes of voters, due to the fact that none of the voters were truly neutral toward the candidates. Following is an example of the revised structure:

George McGovern

Radical \_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_:\_\_\_Traditional

An analysis of the ratings collected by this method may reveal the intensity of the meaning given to a particular concept and the positive/negative reaction to the concept. Osgood explains that "direction of a point in the semantic space will then correspond to what reactions are elicited by the sign, and the distance from the origin will correspond to the intensity of the reaction."<sup>3</sup>

"Panoramic image," in this study, is operationally determined by locating the mean responses of each of the twenty-six word pairs for the entire population of voters

---

<sup>3</sup>Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Urbana, 1957), p. 27.

tested. This panoramic image score allows an overall individual appearance of each of the candidates in the eyes of the 821 voters tested during the 1972 campaign.

In summary, since its introduction by Osgood and his associates, the semantic differential has become one of the most popular methods of measuring attitudes and opinions.<sup>4</sup> It offers many advantages--ease and speed of administration, manifest numerical equivalences, reliability, sensitivity, versatility, and it has passed a number of validity tests.<sup>5</sup>

#### Panoramic Images

During the campaign of 1972, candidates' images developed by American voters matured and, in most cases, stabilized prior to the voters' decision-making process. These "panoramic images" of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver, perceived by the American public, are quantified through the use of the semantic differential scale. Mean scores of each of the twenty-six adjective pairs represent the operational definition of "panoramic image." These scores are recorded in Table III.

---

<sup>4</sup>See Richard F. Carter, W. Lee Ruggels, and Steven H. Chaffee, "The Semantic Differential in Opinion Measurement," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-1969), 666-674.

<sup>5</sup>See Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, op. cit., pp. 140-166; for other examples of validity checks against external variables, see Jack Lyle, "Semantic Differential Scales for Newspaper Research," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVII (1960), 559-562.

TABLE III

MEAN SCORES OF SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALE  
 REPRESENTING "PANORAMIC IMAGES" OF NIXON,  
 MCGOVERN, AGNEW, AND SHRIVER

Polar Adjective Sets	Nixon	McGovern	Agnew	Shriver
evasive-direct	4.11552	4.57107	5.59056	4.93404
deep-shallow	4.93039	4.58690	4.43099	4.53087
indecisive-decisive	5.71845	3.70140	5.83173	4.88776
inspiring-demoralizing	4.65389	4.61104	4.15450	4.69775
reassuring-frightening	4.85853	4.08507	4.02175	4.51504
qualified-not qualified	5.92795	4.32259	4.00469	3.73430
radical-traditional	6.38836	2.92186	5.89628	3.62222
difficult to understand- easy to understand	5.31163	4.71358	5.30066	4.92673
naive-sophisticated	5.85731	4.25194	4.92186	5.10213
intimate-remote	3.71602	5.20566	4.02540	4.63319
attractive-ugly	4.25805	5.06924	4.09361	5.40299
calming-agitating	4.93040	4.07168	3.67460	4.38106
known-unknown	6.84999	5.51381	6.30310	4.87922
dovish-hawkish	3.63562	6.28848	3.14599	5.58325
harmful-beneficial	5.05219	4.23977	4.32503	4.53940
ethical-unethical	4.90482	5.03147	4.75988	5.04488
powerful-powerless	6.46998	4.28484	5.19348	4.33477



TABLE III--Continued

Polar Adjective Sets	Nixon	McGovern	Agnew	Shriver
artificial image- genuine image	4.36645	4.70922	5.12283	4.50164
rigid-flexible	4.30310	5.88410	3.46875	5.14476
above-board-underhanded	4.41151	4.87192	4.76962	4.83903
produces conflict- produces harmony	4.51064	3.57108	3.47850	4.31529
right party-wrong party	5.46144	5.12161	5.25438	5.26291
experienced- inexperienced	6.97424	4.56375	5.42612	4.33963
our kind of man-not our kind of man	4.53697	4.03148	4.13867	4.18131
competent inter- nationally-incompetent internationally	6.21927	3.78666	4.38106	4.40298
represents interest of few-represents inter- ests of many	4.58569	4.54915	4.14597	4.32503

The purpose of this chapter is not to compare images of candidates, but to describe their images individually. Methodologically, the semantic differential scale was constructed in order to apply each of the twenty-six polar word sets to each of the candidates separately. No attempt is made to place a value judgement on the "best" or "worst" image, but

merely to indicate each candidate's isolated image, including his designated strengths and weaknesses.

### The Panoramic Image of Richard M. Nixon

A view of Table III reveals that Richard Nixon, incumbent Republican candidate for President, maintained mean scores ranging from 3.7106 to 6.4999 on the eight-interval semantic differential scale. Of the total twenty-six word pairs, six of his mean scores fall below the median of 4.5, and the remaining twenty adjective set mean scores fall above the median, indicating a positively directed (4.5+) general image.

Nixon's strengths are represented by his highest positively directed mean scores. He was considered by the 821 voters tested in this study to be experienced (6.9), known (6.8), powerful (6.4), competent internationally (6.2), traditional (6.3), and qualified to be President (5.9). Conversely, his weaknesses are represented by his lowest negatively directed mean scores: remote (3.7), evasive (4.1), ugly (4.2), rigid (4.3), artificial image (4.3), and under-handed (4.4).

It appears that Richard Nixon was appraised by the total population to be a professional politician, desirable

due to his experience, qualifications, and conformity to traditional America. Nixon does not, however, seem desirable on a personal level. Voters viewed him as being remote, evasive, rigid, under-handed and possessing an artificial image. According to this study's data, something might be said for the criteria under which a man may be elected President of these United States.

#### The Panoramic Image of George McGovern

Another look at Table 3 shows the range of the Democratic candidate for President, George McGovern's, mean score on the semantic differential scale which spreads from 2.92186 to 5.88410. Ten of McGovern's mean scores fall below the median indicating negativism, while the remaining sixteen fall above the 4.5 median point.

McGovern's strong attributes (highest mean scores) were: flexible (5.8), known (5.5), intimate (5.2), attractive (5.0), ethical (5.0), and above-board (4.8). His weak characteristics (lowest mean scores) were: radical (2.9), produces conflict (3.5), indecisive (3.7), incompetent internationally (3.7), not our kind of man (4.0) and agitating (4.0).

According to the total population, McGovern was scored high in regard to personal attributes. He appeared intimate,

ethical, above-board, flexible and attractive. But, as far as a national leader is concerned, McGovern was rated low. He appeared to lack qualifications as a potential President, and he went across the grain of traditional America, being termed radical, agitating, and not our kind of man.

#### The Panoramic Image of Spiro T. Agnew

According to Table III, Spiro Agnew, Republican candidate for Vice-President, has a mean score range on the semantic differential scale of 3.46875 to 6.30310. Fourteen of his mean scores fall on the negative side of the eight-interval scale, or below the 4.5 median, leaving twelve mean scores on the positive side, above the median.

Agnew's strengths (highest mean scores) were: known (6.3), decisive (5.8), direct (5.5), experienced (5.4), easy to understand (5.3), and powerful (5.1). His weaknesses (lowest mean scores) were: rigid (3.4), produces conflict (3.4), agitating (3.6), frightening (4.0), remote (4.0), and ugly (4.0).

Agnew's experience and directness seemed to be his positive attributes, while the total population saw him personally rigid and remote. Although he rated high in qualifications for national office, he still caused conflict in voters and appeared agitative and frightening.

The Panoramic Image of R. Sargent Shriver

Again, as indicated by Table III, the mean scores of Sargent Shriver, Democratic candidate for Vice-President, range from 3.62222 to 5.40299 on the semantic differential scale. Nine of Shriver's mean scores fall on the negative side of the scale (below 4.5) while fifteen fall on the positive side (above 4.5).

Highest mean scores or strong points of Shriver were: attractive (5.4), flexible (5.1), sophisticated (5.1), ethical (5.0), direct (4.9), and easy to understand (4.9). Lowest mean scores or weak points were: radical (3.6), not qualified to be President (3.7), not our kind of man (4.1), represents the interests of the few (4.3), and inexperienced (4.3).

According to the 821 voters tested, Shriver appeared to be personally very positive. The voters saw him as being attractive, ethical, flexible, and easy to understand. But, in regard to his role as Vice-President of the United States, the same voters viewed him as being inexperienced and unqualified. He also represented to them an undesirable, radical person, not their kind of man.

### Conclusion

The panoramic images of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver, as measured by the semantic differential scale, offer an overall view of each man's strengths and weaknesses as potential national leaders. After surveying each candidate's positive and negative attributes, a conclusion may be drawn regarding the individual candidates. See Figure 1 for a graphic representation of the mean score data.

According to the 821 voters tested, Richard Nixon seemed to appear highly qualified and desirable as President of the United States. By campaigning under the slogan, "Re-elect the President," Nixon acknowledged and concentrated on this leadership role rather than on personal attributes, where voters viewed him negatively.

George McGovern's personal demeanor and appearance, as measured by the semantic differential scale, seemed to be very positive, while his political posture represented a conflict to voters. On the national leadership level, McGovern's panoramic image was not generally desirable or acceptable.

The positive attributes of Spiro Agnew, as rated by the total population, indicated that his experience and political

TOTAL

1.00 2.00 3.00 4.00 5.00 6.00 7.00 8.00

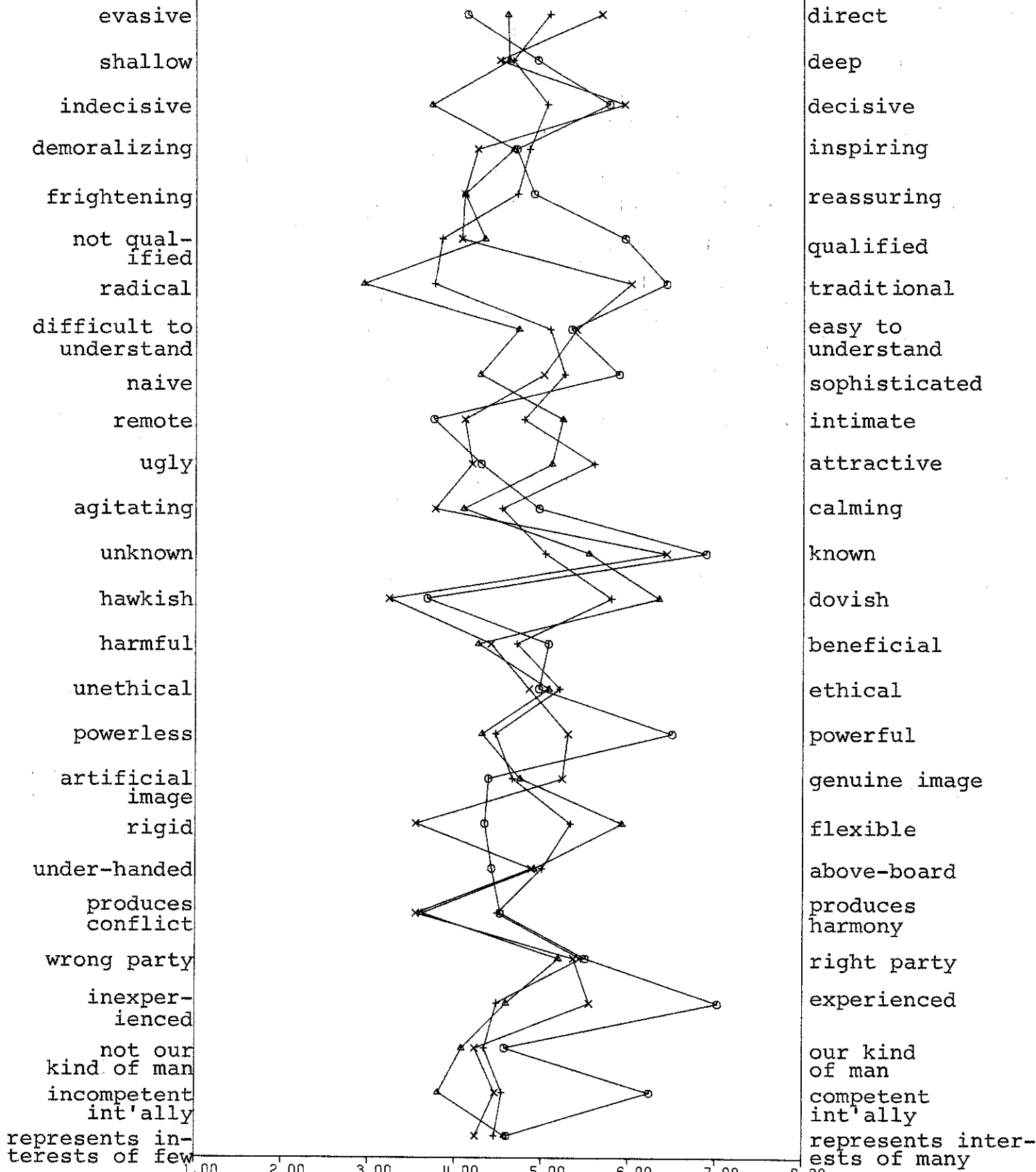


Fig. 1--Panoramic image of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew, and Shriver.

LEGEND:  
 ○ → NIXON  
 △ → MC GOVERN  
 + → SHRIVER  
 × → AGNEW

position lent toward an affirmation of his national leadership role. But, even so, Agnew still posed a threat to voters in some areas.

R. Sargent Shriver assumed the semblance of an ethical and attractive person, but in regard to his political expertise and posture, he was considered unqualified and off-base.

As indicated by Table IV, of the total 821 voters tested, 452 (55 per cent) cast their votes for Richard Nixon, while 306 (37 per cent) marked their ballots for George McGovern.

TABLE IV  
ACTUAL VOTING BEHAVIOR FREQUENCY  
DISTRIBUTION

Candidate	N	%
Nixon	452	55.05
McGovern	306	37.27
Schmitz	5	0.61
Unable to vote	27	3.29
Did not want to vote	19	2.31
Other	6	0.73
Blank	6	0.73
Total	821	100.00

The prevailing deduction of this chapter becomes an interesting one. As was the case in Sigel's study,<sup>6</sup> it

---

<sup>6</sup>See Roberta S. Sigel, "Effect of Partisanship on the Perception of Political Candidates," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Fall, 1964), 491.



appears that voters' reasons for favoring or opposing a candidate were mainly political and that the basis of voting ultimately was not personal characteristics of the candidates.

## CHAPTER IV

### ATTITUDES TOWARD PREFERRED AND NONPREFERRED CANDIDATES, 1972

Muzafer Sherif's Method of Ordered Alternatives has increasingly been utilized to measure attitudes. More conventional techniques for attitude measurement aim at securing a single score, average response, or number to express the individual's attitude. The single numerical expression of the person's attitude is, of course, a great convenience for statistical manipulation. However, Sherif pointed out, the person's attitude is indicated most inadequately by a single score in order to predict his reactions in relevant situations. Individuals who accept the same position on an issue do differ in their range of tolerance, and they do differ in what they reject.

This chapter centers around voter's involvement in the 1972 presidential campaign. An introduction to Sherif's social judgement-involvement approach is given, followed by a discussion of the methodology of the Method of Ordered Alternative scale. A population distribution of each of the positions A through I is given, describing the number of

voters preferring each position. Also reported is the varying sizes of latitudes of acceptance, rejection and noncommitment within each preferred position, including the classification of "ego-involved" voters. An average or mean of the latitude sizes A through I is also included.

The Method of Ordered Alternatives is later linked with the semantic differential scale, to view voters' evaluation of Nixon and McGovern in preferred position A through I categories. Also, the actual voting behavior is reported, again in classification groups of preferred positions A through I.

Finally, the mean scores of the fourteen evaluative word pairs of the semantic differential scale are summed over for Nixon and McGovern, with a possible range of 14 to 112. The higher sum of the two candidates' scores is then related directly to the actual voting behavior, as indicated by the card provided in the research booklet.

#### The Social Judgement-Involvement Approach

According to Sherif, the social judgement-involvement approach

. . . is not merely concerned with how people behave when they experience tension, dissonance, incongruity, or imbalance but in specifying the conditions (variables)

that will produce such experiences. Its aim is to predict the degree of discrepancy between a communication and the person's attitude that will arouse psychological discomfiture, to predict his reaction to the communication, and to predict how it will or will not affect his attitude. It aims to specify the conditions in which an individual will be susceptible to attempts to change his attitude or be resistant to change even before anyone has attempted to alter his view.<sup>1</sup>

Sherif's social judgement-involvement approach has been long in the making, even for a field of inquiry as relatively new as attitude research. Its most complete statement was Attitude and Attitude Change.<sup>2</sup> The survey of findings on judgement was presented in Social Judgement,<sup>3</sup> along with a program of research initiated in 1948. The literature on attitudes and self (ego) involvement was surveyed and summarized in The Psychology of Ego-Involvements.<sup>4</sup>

#### Methodology of the Method of Ordered Alternatives

The research instrument to be primarily considered in this chapter is the Method of Ordered Alternative scale,

---

<sup>1</sup> Muzafer Sherif and Carl I. Hovland, Social Judgement (New Haven, 1961), pp. 107-108.

<sup>2</sup> See Carolyn and Muzafer Sherif and Roger E. Nebergall, Attitude and Attitude Change (Philadelphia, 1965).

<sup>3</sup> See Sherif and Hovland, op. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See Muzafer Sherif and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvements (New York, 1947).

developed from Sherif's social judgement-involvement approach to attitude measurement.

As previously mentioned, the instrument consists of nine statements of political stance in relation to the 1972 presidential election. These statements range from A through I, with A representing extreme pro-McGovern/Shriver, while I represents extreme pro-Nixon/Agnew. Position E provides a neutral or indecisive position. Refer to the Appendix for a complete layout of the Method of Ordered Alternative scale as utilized in the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study.<sup>5</sup>

The definition evolved through this social judgement-involvement approach is based on a body of evidence.<sup>6</sup> It leads to methods for specifying the structure of an individual's attitude. Briefly, it stems from evidence that the characteristic, consistent and selective modes of behavior from which an attitude is formed are based on characteristic standards and scales for comparison. "A judgement process underlies the behavior in which the individual uses a set of categories

---

<sup>5</sup>See Appendix, pp. 113-117.

<sup>6</sup>See Sherif, Sherif, and Nebargall, op. cit.; also see Sherif and Hovland, op. cit.

for comparing the evaluating items within the stimulus domain in question."<sup>7</sup>

The judgement process, in the case of this study, is not neutral. In selecting one alternative over the other (i.e., Nixon over McGovern), in seeking some and avoiding other alternatives, in consistently preferring some to others, the individual voter both discriminates among alternatives and evaluates them. It is as though he were saying, "I like and want this one" or "This one is the one for me," while avoiding others as objectionable, disgusting, or "definitely not my kind."

Accordingly, the social judgement-involvement approach developed the following definition for attitude:

Operationally, an attitude may be defined as the individual's set of categories for evaluating a stimulus domain, which he has established as he learns about that domain in interaction with other persons and which relate him to various degrees of positive or negative affect.<sup>8</sup>

Proceeding from the definition of attitude, Sherif specifies three concepts for purposes of assessing the structure of an attitude.

---

<sup>7</sup>Carolyn W. and Muzafer Sherif, editors, Attitude, Ego-Involvement, and Change (New York, 1967), p. 114.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 115.

1. Latitude of acceptance: If a person voluntarily states his own view on a topic, he usually gives the position most acceptable to him. The latitude of acceptance is simply this most acceptable position plus other positions the individual also finds acceptable.

2. Latitude of rejection: The position most objectionable to the individual, the thing he most detests in a particular domain, plus other positions also objectionable to him, define the latitude of rejection.

3. Latitude of noncommitment: While accepting some and rejecting others, the individual may prefer to remain noncommittal in regard to certain positions. Ordinarily, these are the "don't know," "neutral," "undecided," "no opinion," or "no comment" in public opinion surveys.<sup>9</sup>

In the Method of Ordered Alternatives, the individual has been required only to indicate the most acceptable and objectionable positions, being free to accept or reject others but not forced to do so. The positions that he does not evaluate as either acceptable or objectionable under these circumstances constitutes his latitude of noncommitment.

---

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

Distribution of Preferred Positions A-I  
Including Ego-Involved Voters

A look at Table V will reveal the population distribution of preferred positions A through I on the Method of Ordered Alternatives scale. The number of ego-involved voters in each position should be noted. Ego-involved voters, as previously mentioned, are determined by summing over the number of voters who have a latitude of rejection of five or more statements.

Over half (twenty-seven) of the preferred position A voters are considered ego-involved in their position, meaning that these voters' susceptibility to attitude change is dim, due to their rejection of so many statements. Forty-two B position voters can be termed ego-involved, while twenty-three C position people rejected five or more statements. Ten D position people are ego-involved in their position, and only six voters who selected E as their most preferred position are ego-involved in their stance. Preferred positions F and G totaled ten and twenty-nine ego-involved voters respectively. Sixty-four position H voters can be labeled ego-involved, and thirty-eight people who selected I as their most preferred position are ego-involved in that choice.



TABLE V

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF STATEMENTS ACCEPTED,  
REJECTED, AND NONCOMMITTED ON THE METHOD OF  
ORDERED ALTERNATIVES SCALE CLASSIFIED BY  
PREFERRED POSITIONS A-I

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N
Position A, N=52 "The election of McGovern and Shriver is absolutely essential in the interests of the nation."	Acceptance	1	5
		2	18
		3	24
		4	5
	Rejection	2	11
		3	3
		4	11
		5	13
		6	11
		7	2
		8	1
		Noncommit- ment	0
	1		18
	2		7
	3		7
	4		2
5	8		
Position B, N=101 "On the whole, the interests of the nation will be served best by the election of McGovern and Shriver."	Acceptance	1	13
		2	57
		3	27
		4	4
	Rejection	1	4
		2	27
		3	15
		4	13
		5	30
		6	9
		7	3

TABLE V--Continued

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N
	Noncommitment	0	8
		1	15
		2	24
		3	12
		4	12
		5	23
		6	6
		7	1
Position C, N=98 "It appears that the interests of the nation would be better served if McGovern and Shriver were elected in November."	Acceptance	0	1
		1	16
		2	50
		3	24
		4	5
		5	2
	Rejection	1	3
		2	35
		3	18
		4	19
		5	16
		6	6
		8	1
	Noncommitment	0	6
		1	9
		2	15
		3	19
		4	15
		5	26
		6	6
		7	2

TABLE V--Continued

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N	
Position D, N=51 "Although it is hard to decide, there would be a slight advantage in the election of McGovern and Shriver."	Acceptance	1	7	
		2	30	
		3	10	
		4	3	
		5	1	
	Rejection	1	3	
		2	25	
		3	3	
		4	10	
		5	8	
		6	1	
		7	1	
	Noncommit- ment	0	4	
		1	2	
		3	6	
		4	7	
		5	19	
		6	2	
		7	2	
Position E, N=44 "It is difficult to decide between McGovern/Shriver and Nixon/Agnew in the November Presidential election."	Acceptance	1	15	
		2	25	
		3	3	
		5	1	
	Rejection	2	28	
		3	4	
		4	6	
		5	2	
		6	3	
		8	1	
		Noncommit- ment	0	1
			1	2
	2		3	
	3		3	
	4		7	
	5		18	
	6	10		

TABLE V--Continued

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N
Position F, N=57 "Although it is hard to decide, there would be a slight advantage in the election of Nixon and Agnew."	Acceptance	1	9
		2	38
		3	9
		4	1
	Rejection	0	1
		1	3
		2	24
		3	4
		4	15
		5	4
		6	5
	Noncommit- ment	7	1
		0	3
		1	3
		2	8
		3	10
		4	5
5		19	
6	5		
7	4		
Position G, N=148 "It appears that the inter- ests of the nation will be better served if Nixon and Agnew were elected in Novem- ber."	Acceptance	1	23
		2	92
		3	26
		4	7
	Rejection	1	7
		2	58
		3	26
		4	28
		5	20
		6	7
		7	2

TABLE V--Continued

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N
	Noncommit- ment	0	4
		1	16
		2	17
		3	27
		4	24
		5	43
		6	13
		7	4
Position H, N=168 "On the whole, the interests of the nation will be served best by the election of Nixon and Agnew."	Acceptance	1	34
		2	102
		3	30
		4	2
	Rejection	1	8
		2	55
		3	16
		4	25
		5	36
		6	20
		7	8
	Noncommit- ment	0	14
		1	19
		2	37
		3	23
4		11	
5		42	
6		15	
7	7		
Position I, N=99 "The election of Nixon and Agnew is absolutely essential in the interests of the nation."	Acceptance	1	21
		2	43
		3	30
		4	4

TABLE V--Continued

Preferred Position	Latitude	Unit Size Of Latitude	N
	Rejection	1	7
		2	31
		3	12
		4	10
		5	20
		6	12
		7	3
		8	3
	Noncommit- ment	0	14
		1	15
		2	12
		3	11
		4	11
		5	25
6		4	
7	6		

It should be noted that relative to the population size of each preferred position category, the extreme positions (A-B and H-I) contain more ego-involved voters than the middle positions. In the case of this study, this indicates more relative ego-involvement in extreme positions than in middle or more indecisive positions.

Refer to Table VI for mean latitude distributions for each of the preferred positions A through I. Again, note that the mean size of the latitude of rejection increases toward extreme positions and decreases toward middle positions.

TABLE VI  
 MEAN LATITUDE SIZE OF PREFERRED POSITIONS A-I

Preferred Position	Mean Latitude Size			Total
	Acceptance	Rejection	Noncommitment	
Position A, N=52	2.5577	4.3846	2.0577	9.0
Position B, N=101	2.2178	3.7624	3.0198	9.0
Position C, N=98	2.2245	3.3367	3.4286	9.0
Position D, N=51	2.2353	3.0392	3.7255	9.0
Position E, N=44	1.7955	2.9091	4.4318	9.0
Position F, N=57	2.0351	3.1579	3.8947	9.0
Position G, N=148	2.1149	3.1689	3.7162	9.0
Position H, N=168	2.0000	3.7024	3.3036	9.0
Position I, N=98	2.1735	3.6939	3.1324	9.0

Preferred Position Voters A-I and  
 the Evaluative Dimension

Before further report of the findings, an additional area of the semantic differential scale must be discussed, in order to link it to the Method of Ordered Alternatives.

Osgood's own research has indicated that through factor analysis, there are clearly three dominant, independent dimensions which people use in judging concepts. He refers to these dimensions as the evaluative factor (good-bad), the

potency factor (strong-weak), and the activity factor (active-passive). This investigation is concerned only with the evaluative factor of the semantic differential scale.

Upon factor analyzing the polar adjective sets, fourteen of those pairs (previously listed) were distinguished as evaluative in nature, therefore indicative of "attitude." This "attitude" score allows a look at voter reactions to the candidates through the evaluative dimension.

By categorizing voter responses according to preferred positions A through I, these factor analyzed "attitude" scores become more meaningful, in that they clearly represent a polarization of attitudes between the preferred and non-preferred candidates.

Preferred position categories A through I are indicated in Tables VII and VIII which give the mean score of the fourteen evaluative word pairs of the eight-interval semantic differential for Nixon and McGovern. Observe the relatively higher positive (above 4.5) mean scores of McGovern through A-position voters, decreasing to lower negative (below 4.5) mean scores from I-position voters. The converse is true for Nixon. This indicates a positive evaluation of McGovern and a negative evaluation of Nixon by voters who preferred



TABLE VII

## MEAN SCORES OF EVALUATIVE DIMENSION (NIXON)

Polarized Adjective Sets	Preferred Positions									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
Evasive/direct	1.59	2.02	2.10	2.76	3.00	4.01	5.03	5.84	6.62	
Deep/shallow	2.61	3.56	3.58	4.00	4.59	5.01	5.64	6.13	6.43	
Inspiring/demoralizing	1.53	3.01	3.04	3.49	4.40	4.92	5.41	6.08	6.78	
Reassuring/frightening	1.75	3.00	3.14	3.83	4.52	5.28	5.81	6.24	6.94	
Qualified/not qualified	2.67	4.16	4.28	4.37	5.50	4.45	7.00	7.41	7.66	
Calming/agitating	2.23	3.06	3.19	3.09	4.65	5.40	5.83	6.29	6.84	
Harmful/beneficial	1.88	2.61	3.10	3.80	4.52	5.47	6.25	6.75	7.24	
Ethical/unethical	1.88	2.50	3.32	4.00	4.30	5.22	5.95	6.52	7.11	
Artificial image/genuine image	1.55	1.96	2.25	3.17	3.18	4.21	5.50	6.20	6.87	
Above-board/under-handed	1.84	2.15	2.41	3.21	3.50	4.49	5.50	6.02	6.65	
Produces conflict/produces harmony	1.86	2.66	2.88	3.72	3.86	4.50	5.31	5.97	6.46	
Our kind of man/not our kind of man	1.65	1.16	2.06	3.01	3.68	4.94	5.74	6.65	7.18	
Competent internationally/incompetent	4.38	5.00	5.07	5.13	5.97	6.50	6.97	7.13	7.36	
Represents interests of many/few	1.57	2.36	2.36	3.09	3.52	4.71	5.82	6.36	7.09	

TABLE VIII

## MEAN SCORES OF EVALUATIVE DIMENSION (MCGOVERN)

Polarized Adjective Sets	Preferred Positions									
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
Evasive/direct	7.11	6.47	6.24	5.60	4.97	4.35	3.70	3.41	2.40	
Deep/shallow	7.11	6.63	5.98	5.58	4.84	4.03	3.75	3.62	2.54	
Inspiring/demoralizing	7.30	6.69	6.31	5.88	5.53	3.92	3.84	2.70	1.75	
Reassuring/frightening	7.19	6.07	5.95	5.37	4.73	3.29	3.19	2.69	1.94	
Qualified/not qualified	7.44	7.18	6.65	5.76	4.75	3.64	3.14	2.67	1.52	
Calming/agitating	7.03	6.07	5.95	5.37	4.73	3.29	3.19	2.69	1.94	
Harmful/beneficial	7.76	7.03	6.70	5.70	4.40	3.57	3.02	2.45	1.64	
Ethical/unethical	7.38	6.44	6.32	5.19	4.40	3.26	2.89	2.70	1.75	
Artificial image/genuine image	7.51	7.03	6.70	5.70	5.41	4.33	4.39	3.94	2.87	
Above-board/under-handed	7.53	7.18	6.55	5.82	5.41	3.66	3.26	3.04	2.77	
Produces conflict/produces harmony	6.36	5.35	4.79	4.78	3.86	3.17	2.80	2.49	1.78	
Our kind of man/not our kind of man	7.57	7.20	6.65	5.76	4.41	3.38	2.68	2.02	1.37	
Competent internationally/incompetent	6.88	6.23	5.52	5.29	4.16	3.26	2.63	2.35	1.61	
Represents interests of many/few	7.36	6.77	6.44	5.86	4.93	4.07	3.54	3.15	2.42	

that McGovern be elected. Conversely, the voters who preferred that Nixon be elected evaluated him positively and McGovern negatively.

As revealed in these tables, voters tested in this study tended to view their preferred candidate, as indicated by the Method of Ordered Alternative scale, to be positive on the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential scale. Those same voters viewed their nonpreferred candidate to be negative on the semantic differential evaluative dimension.

Actual voting behavior of preferred position categories A through I is reported in Table IX. Note the high percentage of voters in polar positions who voted for the candidate whom they indicated as preferred. Also note the split of votes in E or middle position.

#### The Evaluative Dimension and Actual Voting Behavior

The mean scores of the fourteen polar adjective sets constituting the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential scale, were summed for Nixon and McGovern. Scores fall within a possible range of 14 to 112. A voter's higher summed "attitude" score was categorized,

TABLE IX

## ACTUAL VOTING BEHAVIOR OF PREFERRED POSITIONS A-I\*

Preferred Position	Voter Response	N	%
Position A, N=52	Nixon	2	3.85
	McGovern	49	94.23
	Blank	1	1.92
Position B, N=101	Nixon	2	1.98
	McGovern	95	94.08
	Unable to vote	1	0.99
	Other	1	0.99
	Blank	2	1.98
Position C, N=98	McGovern	86	87.76
	Unable to vote	5	5.10
	Did not want to	4	4.08
	Other	1	1.02
	Blank	2	2.04
Position D, N=51	McGovern	47	92.16
	Unable to vote	1	1.96
	Did not want to	2	3.92
	Other	1	1.96
Position E, N=44	Nixon	18	40.91
	McGovern	17	38.64
	Schmitz	1	2.27
	Unable to vote	3	6.82
	Did not want to	4	9.09
	Other	1	2.27
Position F, N=57	Nixon	42	73.68
	McGovern	4	7.02
	Schmitz	3	5.26
	Unable to vote	4	7.02
	Did not want to	3	5.26
	Other	1	1.75

TABLE IX--Continued

Preferred Position	Voter Response	N	%
Position G, N=148	Nixon	135	91.22
	McGovern	5	3.38
	Schmitz	1	0.68
	Unable to vote	4	2.70
	Did not want to	2	1.35
	Blank	1	0.68
Position H, N=168	Nixon	158	94.05
	McGovern	1	9.60
	Unable to vote	6	3.57
	Did not want to	2	1.19
	Other	1	0.60
Position I, N=99	Nixon	94	94.95
	McGovern	2	2.02
	Unable to vote	3	3.03

\*Explanation of Positions A-I given in Table V, p. 76.

indicating support for either Nixon or McGovern. The number of voters in each of these categories was totaled and, as indicated by Table X, of the 472 voters who scored Nixon higher on the "attitude" score, 428 also voted for Nixon (94.69 per cent). Of the 349 voters who rated McGovern higher on the "attitude" score, 292 also voted for McGovern (95.42 per cent).

TABLE X  
 ACTUAL VOTING BEHAVIOR IN RELATION TO  
 HIGHER "ATTITUDE" SCORE

Voter Response	Higher "Attitude" Score				Total N
	Nixon		McGovern		
	N	%	N	%	
Nixon	428	94.69	24	5.31	452
McGovern	14	4.58	292	95.42	306
Schmitz	3	60.00	2	40.00	5
Unable to vote	17	62.96	10	37.04	27
Did not want to vote	8	42.11	11	57.89	19
Other	1	16.67	5	83.33	6
Blank	1	16.67	5	83.33	6
Total	472		349		821

### Conclusion

In summary, attitudes measured by Sherif's Method of Ordered Alternatives scale are formulated in latitudes of acceptance, rejection, and noncommitment. A voter's ego-involvement is determined by the size of his latitude of rejection. Combining the Method of Ordered Alternatives scale with the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential scale, provides a method of focusing on preferred

position voters and their evaluation of their preferred and nonpreferred candidates. In the case of this study, an obvious polarization of voter attitudes between preferred and nonpreferred candidates took place. Voters who preferred Nixon evaluated him positively and viewed McGovern negatively. Conversely, voters who preferred McGovern assessed him positively and regarded Nixon negatively. Preferred positions correlated highly with voting behavior.

In regard to the summed mean evaluative scores of the semantic differential, 94.69 per cent of the 472 voters who evaluated Nixon higher also voted for him. Of the 349 voters assessing McGovern higher, 95.42 per cent voted for him.

## CHAPTER V

### PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

As discussed earlier, in a political campaign, candidate images evolve as a result of voter perception. Included within those "pictures in his head" is a voter's discernment of his own political philosophy and the philosophies of the candidates.

This chapter deals with those perceptions of political philosophies as they were determined by the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study. The methodology of the instrument is discussed, along with an introduction to the assimilation/contrast effect. Finally, a report of the relevant findings of this part of the study is given.

#### Methodology of Political Philosophy Continuum

Provided in the research booklet are liberal/conservative continuums which allow a voter to indicate his own political philosophy and that of Agnew, McGovern, Nixon, and Shriver as illustrated on Figure 2. The voter was first asked to intersect the first continuum at the point at which he considered his political philosophy to be located. The continuum



ranges from "very liberal" to "very conservative," with a "middle-of-the-road" position. After each voter indicated his own political philosophy, he intersected duplicate continuums designating his perceived political philosophies of Agnew, McGovern, Nixon, and Shriver. In order to quantify the data, a range of one to nine was applied to the continuum, with one representing extreme liberalism, five denoting middle-of-the-road, and nine indicating extreme conservatism.

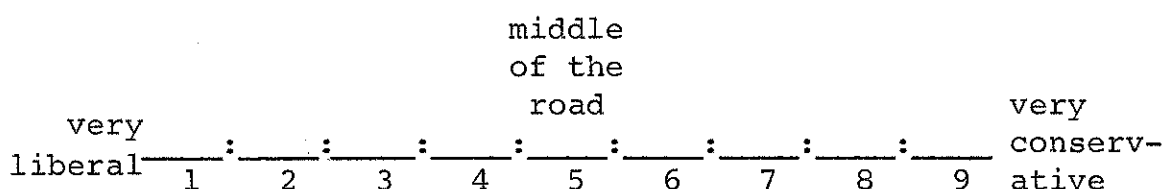


Fig. 2--Political philosophy continuum

Prior to a report of the findings, it becomes necessary to introduce the assimilation/contrast effect, in order to make application to the data.

#### Assimilation/Contrast Effect

Hovland, Harvey, and Sherif maintained that there is a systematic, predictable relationship between a subject's stand on an issue and his perception of the position advocated by a given communicator.

They began with an unusual point of departure for a model of attitude measurement and attitude change--psychophysical

studies in weightlifting. The question posed was how the judgements of a series of weights become distorted by the presence of a single weight used as a standard. This "anchor" weight had very different effects upon the subjective judgements of the weights of the series, depending upon the relation of its weight to that of the series. If the anchor was much lighter than any of the other weights, then the entire series was perceived to be much heavier than it actually was. In this case, the anchor exerted a contrast effect on the judgements of the series. That is, the weights of the series were displaced away from both the anchor and their "true" positions. However, if the weight of the anchor was placed within a range of the comparison series, then weights near it were judged more similar to it than they actually were. That is, weights slightly heavier than the anchor appeared lighter, while slightly lighter ones appeared heavier. This attraction exerted by the anchor on the other stimuli is called an assimilation effect.

The basic assimilation/contrast model can be made relevant to social psychological interests by simply using the subject's initial attitude position as the reference anchor. In the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study, a voter's own

political philosophy, as indicated on the liberal/conservative continuum, serves as the anchor. This reference anchor becomes a sort of filter through which the political philosophies of Agnew, McGovern, Nixon, and Shriver are evaluated. A candidate's perceived philosophy extremely discrepant from the position of the voter is seen more different than it really is (contrast), while only slightly discrepant is seen as more similar to the voter's position (assimilation) than it is in fact.

In his book, Social Psychology, Sherif states,

No man is an island. The person's ties and his commitments and identifications . . . . are psychological products related to other people one way or another.

. . . . .  
 . . . Once members of a group have developed a common viewpoint toward some event, this viewpoint becomes an internal anchor for behavior in later situations.<sup>1</sup>

#### Perception of Political Philosophy

As reported in Table XI, voters indicated their own political philosophy and perceived political philosophy of the four candidates.

In regard to "own political philosophy" positions, voters in this study tended to mark positions toward the middle of

---

<sup>1</sup>Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif, Social Psychology (New York, 1969), pp. 418 and 142.

continuum more often. Fewer voters seemed to consider themselves extremely liberal or conservative. Seventy-seven voters did not mark their own political philosophy, possibly due to the confusing spacing in the research booklet. It may have appeared that the first continuum on the page was only an example.

By the voters tested, Agnew was overwhelmingly seen as conservative. His largest frequency was located in the "very conservative" 1 position. Of the total 821 population, 658 voters perceived Agnew to be on the conservative side of the continuum, not including the middle position 5.

McGovern's political philosophy was undoubtedly considered liberal by voters tested. His largest position was "very liberal," position 9. Not including middle position 5, 744 voters out of 821 perceived McGovern to be on the liberal side of the continuum.

Nixon's political philosophy strength fell in position 6, a unit toward the conservative side of the continuum from the middle position 5. Of a total of 821 voters, 729 spread his philosophy from "middle-of-the-road" (5) to "very conservative" (9).

According to this study, the political philosophy of Shriver can be considered liberal. His largest unit was

TABLE XI

OWN POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND PERCEIVED  
POLITICAL PHILOSOPHIES

Position*	N	%
Own Political Philosophy		
1	51	6.21
2	100	12.18
3	101	12.30
4	113	13.76
5	139	16.93
6	105	12.79
7	85	10.35
8	33	4.02
9	17	2.07
blank	77	9.38
Total	821	100.00
Agnew's Political Philosophy		
1	9	1.10
2	7	0.85
3	15	1.83
4	29	3.53
5	89	10.84
6	138	16.81
7	147	17.90
8	177	21.56
9	196	23.87
blank	14	1.71
Total	821	100.00
McGovern's Political Philosophy		
1	281	34.23
2	237	28.87
3	152	18.51
4	74	9.01
5	32	3.90
6	13	1.58
7	9	1.10
8	6	0.73
9	6	0.73
blank	11	1.34
Total	821	100.00

TABLE XI--Continued

Position*	N	%
Nixon's Political Philosophy		
1	6	0.73
2	7	0.85
3	20	2.44
4	48	5.85
5	110	13.40
6	207	25.21
7	156	19.00
8	144	17.54
9	112	13.64
blank	11	1.34
Total	821	100.00
Shriver's Political Philosophy		
1	181	22.05
2	185	22.53
3	167	20.53
4	128	15.59
5	104	12.67
6	31	2.56
7	7	0.85
8	6	0.65
9	4	0.49
blank	18	2.19
Total	821	100.00

\*Indicates position on political philosophy continuum illustrated in Fig. 2.

position 2, indicating somewhat less than extreme liberalism. Of the 821 voters tested, 521 perceived Shriver's philosophy to be liberal, excluding the middle position 5.

Refer to Table XII for a report of voter's own positions and their perception of the candidates' political

philosophies. Observe, for example, in Table XI, position 1, the assimilation effect toward preferred candidates McGovern and Shriver, and the contrast effect toward nonpreferred candidates Nixon and Shriver. This assimilation/contrast effect may be viewed by noting the movement from extreme to middle positions. Figure 3 graphically represents the distribution of the "own political philosophy" positions and the "perceived political philosophy" positions of Agnew, Nixon, McGovern and Shriver by the total population tested.

TABLE XII

ACTUAL VOTING BEHAVIOR OF POLITICAL  
PHILOSOPHY POSITIONS

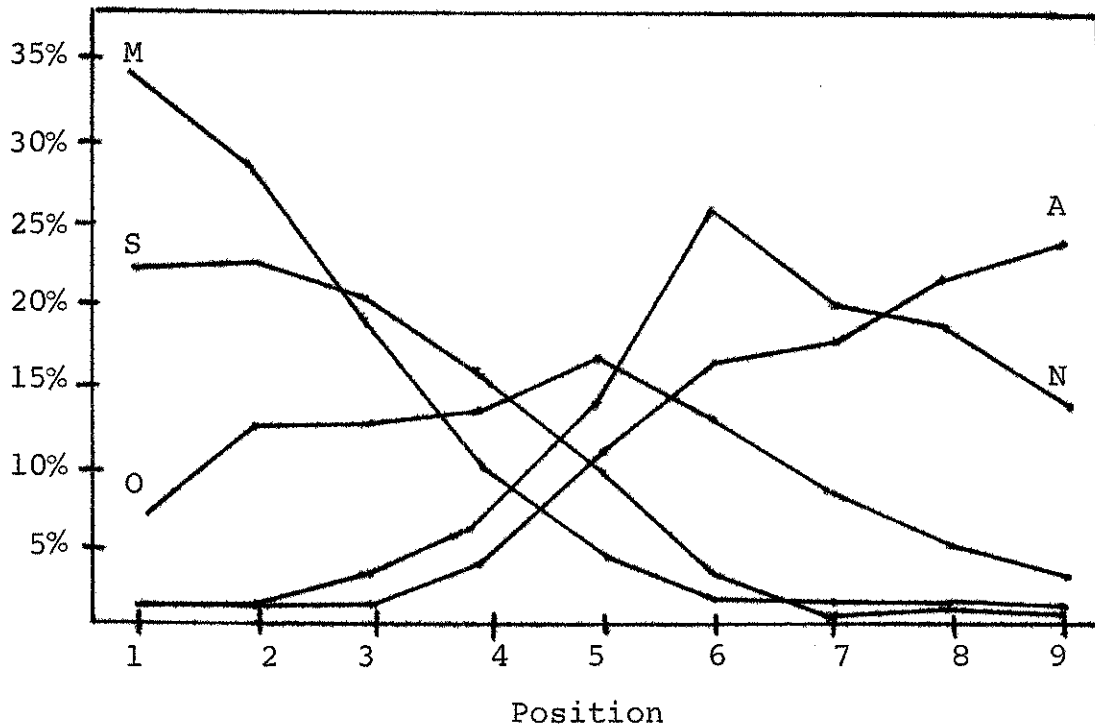
Voter Response	N	%
Position 1 (liberal), * N=51		
Nixon	1	1.96
McGovern	45	88.24
Unable to vote	1	1.96
Did not want to vote	4	7.84
Position 2, N=100		
Blank	1	1.00
Nixon	19	19.00
McGovern	74	74.00
Unable to vote	2	2.00
Did not want to vote	2	2.00
Other	2	2.00

TABLE XII--Continued

Voter Response	N	%
Position 3, N=101		
Blank	2	1.98
Nixon	30	29.70
McGovern	63	62.38
Unable to vote	2	1.98
Did not want to vote	3	2.97
Other	1	0.99
Position 4, N=113		
Blank	2	1.77
Nixon	51	45.13
McGovern	53	46.90
Unable to vote	5	4.42
Did not want to vote	2	1.77
Position 5 (middle), N=139		
Nixon	106	76.26
McGovern	24	17.27
Unable to vote	6	4.32
Did not want to vote	3	2.16
Position 6, N=105		
Nixon	87	82.86
McGovern	10	9.52
Unable to vote	5	4.76
Did not want to vote	2	1.90
Other	1	0.95
Position 7, N=85		
Nixon	74	87.06
McGovern	6	7.06
Schmitz	2	2.35
Unable to vote	3	3.53
Position 8, N=33		
Nixon	28	84.85
McGovern	2	6.06
Schmitz	2	6.06
Did not want to vote	1	3.03
Position 9 (conservative), N=17		
Nixon	15	88.24
Schmitz	1	5.88
Unable to vote	1	5.88

\*See political philosophy continuum, Fig. 2.





O = Own Political Philosophy  
 M = McGovern's Political Philosophy  
 S = Shriver's Political Philosophy  
 A = Agnew's Political Philosophy  
 N = Nixon's Political Philosophy

Fig. 3--Own Political philosophy and perceived political philosophies of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew and Shriver.

Political Philosophy and Actual  
Voting Behavior

Following a description of the perceived political philosophies of voters and candidates, these positions (1-9) are linked to actual voting behavior. This tie indicates how voters with a certain political philosophy actually voted in the 1972 election.

As indicated by Table XII, 88.24 per cent of the position 1 or "very liberal" voters marked their ballot for McGovern. Only one "very liberal" voter favored Nixon. McGovern retained the majority of votes through position 2 (74.00 per cent) and position 3 (62.38 per cent). Note the split of votes in position 4, a unit before the "middle of the road" position, due to the fact that Nixon's political philosophy was perceived to be so near the middle position 5. Resultingly, Nixon gained the majority of the votes in position 5 (76.26 per cent), position 6 (82.86 per cent), position 7 (87.06 per cent), position 8 (84.85 per cent), and "very conservative" position 9 (88.24 per cent).

According to this study, McGovern tended to gain support from voters who considered themselves liberal, while Nixon was generally supported by "middle of the road" and conservative voters.

### Conclusion

The use of the political philosophy continuum allows a view of voter's own political philosophies and perceived political philosophies of Agnew, Nixon, McGovern, and Shriver. According to the voters tested in this study, Agnew appeared very conservative, McGovern very liberal, Nixon slightly conservative, and Shriver moderately liberal.

The assimilation/contrast effect became observable through viewing the voters in each political philosophy position (1-9) and their perception of the political philosophies of preferred and nonpreferred candidates.

Linking voter's own political philosophy to actual voting behavior provides clues to the "kind" of voter favoring Nixon or McGovern in the 1972 election. According to the data, McGovern gained support from "liberal" voters, while Nixon was generally supported by "middle-of-the-road" and "conservative" voters.

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

The 1972 Presidential Campaign Study involved attitude measurement with the political campaign process. The primary purpose of this investigation was to explore and describe various voter attitudes and candidate images. Three primary research instruments were utilized: the semantic differential scale, the Method of Ordered Alternatives, and a political philosophy continuum. In addition, voters indicated their actual voting behavior on a card accompanying the research booklet. A total of 821 eligible voters were tested within the eighty-four-hour period preceding election day, November 7, 1972. The study unfolded into three major areas of concern: (1) "panoramic images" of Nixon, McGovern, Agnew and Shriver as measured by the semantic differential scale, (2) evaluation of candidates through preferred position categories of the Method of Ordered Alternative scale, related to actual voting behavior, and (3) relationship between voter's own political philosophy and perceived political philosophies of the four candidates, as measured by the political philosophy continuum.

The 1972 presidential campaign, like other national elections, was an occasion for voters to develop and form perceptions of the candidates. These perceptions may often be referred to as images, and they are purely a function of voters' perceptions, not possessed or controlled by the candidate exclusively, as is sometimes mistakenly conceived. A candidate in a political campaign in America traditionally spends great amounts of time, money and energy in attempts to offer the American public a desirable image, in order that he may be considered the man best suited for the job.

Richard Nixon received the Republican Party nomination for President on August 23, 1972. He selected Spiro Agnew to be his running mate, and promptly launched his "re-elect the President" campaign.

After a two-year battle, George McGovern received the Democratic Party nomination at their national convention held in Miami Beach. McGovern selected Thomas Eagleton for a running mate, but due to discovery of Eagleton's mental illness history, McGovern replaced him with R. Sargent Shriver. McGovern and Shriver campaigned heavily from the time of their nomination to election day.

The issues of the 1972 campaign dealt mainly with foreign policy, domestic affairs, economic issues, and environmental

problems. Three new power blocs arose in American politics in 1972--Blacks, women, and students. They were effectively organizing and running for elective office, and asserting their political power as they had never done before.

Official election results showed Nixon with a 61 per cent vote, compared with McGovern's 38 per cent. Electorally, Nixon carried 49 states, while McGovern carried only 2.

#### Measuring Political Attitudes

The problems of attitude and attitude change are among the most vital in the world today. Defining and understanding the nature of attitudes poses an intricate problem shared by several academic disciplines. The notion that an attitude is learned is a widely accepted assertion. Another common assumption is that attitudes are inferred from modes of behavior. Sherif describes attitudes as being innate, enduring, involving a relationship between a person and object, and possessing motivational and affective properties through differentiation.

An image is a stereotype, an oversimplification of reality. Images are products of perception, belonging to the perceiver, and no one else. Boulding characterizes an image as being synthetic, believable, passive, vivid, simplified, and ambiguous.

Political images possess special meaning for both voters and candidates during the campaign process. Some authors feel that an image can ultimately affect the outcome of an election, and that candidates are aware of this and seek to maintain the widest positive evaluation distribution possible. From research, images seem to be the basis for voting behavior more often than issues, party affiliation, or other motives.

The development and acquisition of political attitudes have increasingly become subjects of extensive research, but a survey of the literature indicated no existence of a study that might be termed parallel to the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study, with the obvious exception of the three previous studies by Beck.

Chapter III of this thesis deals with "panoramic images" of McGovern, Nixon, Agnew, and Shriver, including their strengths and weaknesses, as measured by the semantic differential scale. According to the 821 voters tested, Richard Nixon appeared highly desirable and qualified as President, but he was negatively regarded on a personal dimension. George McGovern was rated highly in regard to personal demeanor, while voters perceived him as being unqualified and unwanted as a potential national leader. Spiro Agnew's experience and

position were positive attributes, but he still posed some threat to voters. Sargent Shriver appeared personally ethical and attractive, but was considered unqualified for the job of Vice-President. It appears that, in the case of this study, voters' reasons for favoring or opposing a candidate were mainly political and that personal characteristics of candidates were not ultimately the basis for voting.

Chapter IV involves voter attitudes toward candidates as measured by the Method of Ordered Alternatives. Preferred positions A-I allowed an analysis of the level of voter ego-involvement in each position, showing more ego-involvement in the polar positions as opposed to the ones nearer the center. Also preferred positions A-I provided categories through which to view the candidates' evaluative dimension of the semantic differential, which showed polarization of attitudes between preferred and nonpreferred candidates. The study concludes that both preferred positions and attitudes toward the candidates as measured by the evaluative dimension of the semantic differential scale correlated highly with actual voting behavior.

Chapter V is concerned with a voter's perception of his own political philosophy and his perceived political philosophy



of the four candidates, as measured by the liberal/conservative continuum. According to the study, a majority of the voters tended to view themselves near the "middle-of-the-road" position, while those same voters saw Agnew as very conservative, McGovern very liberal, Nixon slightly conservative, and Shriver moderately liberal.

The assimilation/contrast effect is visible through viewing the voters in each political philosophy position and their perception of the philosophies of the preferred and nonpreferred candidates.

By linking a voter's own political philosophy to his actual voting behavior, clues to the "type" of voter favoring Nixon or McGovern arise. According to this study, McGovern generally gained support from liberal voters, while Nixon was mainly supported by middle-of-the-road and conservative voters.

#### Recommendations for Further Research

After in-depth analysis and investigation into the measurement of political attitudes and images, it becomes obvious that there is much needed research in the area.

One definite point of concern is the need for early and late application of attitude measuring instruments to

presidential campaigns. Researchers might administer duplicate tests prior to the national nominating conventions, during the campaign, and just preceding the election, in order to observe voter attitude shift during a political campaign.

In order to, in some way, bridge the gap between academic research and public opinion polls, it would be indeed helpful if researchers might use random samplings available from organizations such as Gallup Poll or Harris Survey. Application of attitude measuring devices commonly used in academic research could be made, in order both to measure political attitudes and to predict voting behavior.

Sherif's Method of Ordered Alternatives is structurally limited to a two-man political race. Some adaptation of the social judgement-involvement approach is needed in order that application of it might be made to campaigns involving both major parties and a third party, as was the case in the 1968 presidential campaign.

A problem area created by the utilization of complicated attitude research instruments is the innate literacy bias. Any test requiring the pencil/paper method of marking responses automatically eliminates illiterates or near-illiterates. Attitude measurement through observation of physical behavior is needed, for example, in the area of pupilmetrics.

Data from the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study provided vast opportunity to explore areas untouched in this thesis, such as level of voting behavior predictability, further correlation between the three primary research instruments, and internal consistency of the data.

This study, which grew out of the 1972 Presidential Campaign Study, provides insights into voter attitudes toward and candidate images of George McGovern, Richard Nixon, Spiro Agnew, and Sargent Shriver, as these men competed for the highest national offices in our land. These attitudes and images were ultimately a result of voter perceptions of and interaction with the surrounding world.

APPENDIX

# **1972 Presidential Campaign Study**

**Conducted by  
The Communication Research and Training Center  
North Texas State University  
Denton, Texas**

The information requested in this section will be used for sorting the questionnaires and for scientific analysis. In this way, your responses may be matched with those of persons of similar age, party affiliation, etc. for tabulation. Please fill in or check each of these items.

Last name (or initials): \_\_\_\_\_

Sex:  Male  Female

Age (check one):

18-20    21-30    31-40    41-50    51-60    Over 60  
                                       

Day and month of birth: \_\_\_\_\_

Are you a registered voter?  Yes  No

Please indicate your political party preference by checking one of the following:

Democrat

Republican

American Independent Party

Independent

\_\_\_\_\_

(Put name of party if not above)

## Questionnaire Number 1

### *Instructions—Please Read Carefully*

Each of the following four pages contains a set of nine statements which reflect different positions on the 1972 Presidential Campaign. Although the four sets of nine-statements are identical, the instructions at the top of each page are different.

**Please read the instructions carefully before you respond to the statements.**

The statements below represent positions concerning the 1972 Presidential Election.

Please read all of the statements carefully before making any marks on this page.

Now that you have read all the statements carefully, *draw a line under the one* statement that comes closest to your point of view on this matter. Underline only one statement on this page.

---

- A. The election of McGovern and Shriver is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.
- B. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- C. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if McGovern and Shriver were elected in November.
- D. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight advantage* in the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- E. It is difficult to decide between McGovern/Shriver and Nixon/Agnew in the November Presidential election.
- F. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight advantage* in the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- G. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if Nixon and Agnew were elected in November.
- H. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- I. The election of Nixon and Agnew is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.

The statements below are the same statements as on the preceding page.

Please read all statements once more before making any marks on the page.

There may be another statement or other statements which are also acceptable from your point of view. If there are, put a circle around the letter (Z) in front of such a statement or statements which are also acceptable.

---

- A. The election of McGovern and Shriver is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.
- B. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- C. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if McGovern and Shriver were elected in November.
- D. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight* advantage in the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- E. It is difficult to decide between McGovern/Shriver and Nixon/Agnew in the November Presidential election.
- F. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight advantage* in the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- G. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if Nixon and Agnew were elected in November.
- H. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- I. The election of Nixon and Agnew is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.



The statements below are the same as those on the two preceding pages.

Please read the statements again and select the one statement which is *most objectionable* from your point of view. ~~Cross out that one statement~~ which is most objectionable.

---

- A. The election of McGovern and Shriver is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.
- B. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- C. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if McGovern and Shriver were elected in November.
- D. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight* advantage in the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- E. It is difficult to decide between McGovern/Shriver and Nixon/Agnew in the November Presidential election.
- F. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight advantage* in the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- G. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if Nixon and Agnew were elected in November.
- H. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- I. The election of Nixon and Agnew is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.

The statements below are the same as those on the three preceding pages.

Please look over the statements again before making any marks on this page.

There may be another statement or other statements which you find *objectionable* from your point of view. If there are, show which are objectionable by *crossing out the letter* in front of such a statement or statements (X).

---

- A. The election of McGovern and Shriver is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.
- B. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- C. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if McGovern and Shriver were elected in November.
- D. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight* advantage in the election of McGovern and Shriver.
- E. It is difficult to decide between McGovern/Shriver and Nixon/Agnew in the November Presidential election.
- F. Although it is hard to decide, there would be a *slight advantage* in the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- G. It appears that the interests of the nation would be *better served* if Nixon and Agnew were elected in November.
- H. On the whole, the interests of the nation will be *served best* by the election of Nixon and Agnew.
- I. The election of Nixon and Agnew is *absolutely essential* in the interests of the nation.

## Questionnaire Number 2

118

### *INSTRUCTIONS—Please Read Carefully*

We would like to know how you *feel* about the presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Please judge the four candidates in terms of what the descriptive scales *mean to you*. There are, of course, no “right” or “wrong” answers and we urge you to be as accurate as possible in your ratings.

For purposes of illustration, suppose you were asked to evaluate John Doe using the “fair-unfair” scale. If you judged him to be extremely “unfair,” you would fill in the box as follows:

UNFAIR ■ — □ — □ — □ — □ — □ — □ — □ FAIR

If you judged him to be substantially “fair,” you would fill in the box as follows:

UNFAIR □ — □ — □ — □ — □ — □ — ■ — □ FAIR

If you judged him to be moderately “unfair,” you would fill in the box as follows:

UNFAIR □ — □ — ■ — □ — □ — □ — □ — □ FAIR

If you judged him to be slightly “fair,” you would fill in the box as follows:

UNFAIR □ — □ — □ — □ — ■ — □ — □ — □ FAIR

In summary.....

1. Be sure you mark *every* adjective-pair for all four candidates. Never fill in more than *one* box on a single scale.
2. Make each item a separate and independent judgment.
3. Work at a fairly high speed through this survey; we want your first impressions—the way you actually feel at the present time toward the candidates.

# Richard Nixon

<b>Evasive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Direct</b>
<b>Deep</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Shallow</b>
<b>Indecisive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Decisive</b>
<b>Inspiring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Demoralizing</b>
<b>Reassuring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Frightening</b>
<b>Qualified to be President</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Qualified to be President</b>
<b>Radical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Traditional</b>
<b>Difficult to Understand</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Easy to Understand</b>
<b>Naive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Sophisticated</b>
<b>Intimate</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Remote</b>
<b>Attractive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Ugly</b>
<b>Calming</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Agitating</b>
<b>Known</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Dovish</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Hawkish</b>
<b>Harmful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Beneficial</b>
<b>Ethical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unethical</b>
<b>Powerful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Powerless</b>
<b>Artificial Image</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Genuine Image</b>
<b>Rigid</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Flexible</b>
<b>Above-board</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Under-handed</b>
<b>Produces Conflict</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Produces Harmony</b>
<b>Right Political Party</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Wrong Political Party</b>
<b>Experienced</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inexperienced</b>
<b>Our Kind of Man</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Our Kind of Man</b>
<b>Competent Internationally</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inept Internationally</b>
<b>Represents the Interests of the Few</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Represents the Interests of the Many</b>

# George McGovern

120

Evasive	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Direct
Deep	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Shallow
Indecisive	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Decisive
Inspiring	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Demoralizing
Reassuring	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Frightening
Qualified to be President	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Not Qualified to be President
Radical	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional
Difficult to Understand	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Easy to Understand
Naive	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Sophisticated
Intimate	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Remote
Attractive	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Ugly
Calming	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Agitating
Known	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Unknown
Dovish	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Hawkish
Harmful	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Beneficial
Ethical	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Unethical
Powerful	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Powerless
Artificial Image	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Genuine Image
Rigid	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Flexible
Above-board	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Under-handed
Produces Conflict	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Produces Harmony
Right Political Party	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Wrong Political Party
Experienced	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Inexperienced
Our Kind of Man	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Not Our Kind of Man
Competent Internationally	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Inept Internationally
Represents the Interests of the Few	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	Represents the Interests of the Many

## Sargent Shriver

<b>Evasive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Direct</b>
<b>Deep</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Shallow</b>
<b>Indecisive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Decisive</b>
<b>Inspiring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Demoralizing</b>
<b>Reassuring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Frightening</b>
<b>Qualified to be President</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Qualified to be President</b>
<b>Radical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Traditional</b>
<b>Difficult to Understand</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Easy to Understand</b>
<b>Naive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Sophisticated</b>
<b>Intimate</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Remote</b>
<b>Attractive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Ugly</b>
<b>Calming</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Agitating</b>
<b>Known</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Dovish</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Hawkish</b>
<b>Harmful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Beneficial</b>
<b>Ethical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unethical</b>
<b>Powerful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Powerless</b>
<b>Artificial Image</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Genuine Image</b>
<b>Rigid</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Flexible</b>
<b>Above-board</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Under-handed</b>
<b>Produces Conflict</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Produces Harmony</b>
<b>Right Political Party</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Wrong Political Party</b>
<b>Experienced</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inexperienced</b>
<b>Our Kind of Man</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Our Kind of Man</b>
<b>Competent Internationally</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inept Internationally</b>
<b>Represents the Interests of the Few</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/> -- <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Represents the Interests of the Many</b>

# Spiro Agnew

<b>Evasive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Direct</b>
<b>Deep</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Shallow</b>
<b>Indecisive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Decisive</b>
<b>Inspiring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Demoralizing</b>
<b>Reassuring</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Frightening</b>
<b>Qualified to be President</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Qualified to be President</b>
<b>Radical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Traditional</b>
<b>Difficult to Understand</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Easy to Understand</b>
<b>Naive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Sophisticated</b>
<b>Intimate</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Remote</b>
<b>Attractive</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Ugly</b>
<b>Calming</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Agitating</b>
<b>Known</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unknown</b>
<b>Dovish</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Hawkish</b>
<b>Harmful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Beneficial</b>
<b>Ethical</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Unethical</b>
<b>Powerful</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Powerless</b>
<b>Artificial Image</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Genuine Image</b>
<b>Rigid</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Flexible</b>
<b>Above-board</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Under-handed</b>
<b>Produces Conflict</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Produces Harmony</b>
<b>Right Political Party</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Wrong Political Party</b>
<b>Experienced</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inexperienced</b>
<b>Our Kind of Man</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Not Our Kind of Man</b>
<b>Competent Internationally</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Inept Internationally</b>
<b>Represents the Interests of the Few</b>	<input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/> — <input type="checkbox"/>	<b>Represents the Interests of the Many</b>

## 1972 Campaign Issues

Below you will find a list of some of the issues relevant in the Presidential Campaign. To the left of the statement you will see two boxes, one for Nixon and one for McGovern. Check the box of the candidate who you feel could more effectively deal with the issue. To the right of the statement is a set of spaces in which you are asked to indicate the relative priority you feel the issue deserves.

Nixon	McGovern	Issue/Problem	Priority
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Ending the conflict in Southeast Asia.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	2. Protecting the environment	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	3. Planning our national defense.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	4. Creating an effective and efficient welfare program.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	5. Providing moral leadership for the country.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	6. Improve race relations in this country.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	7. Providing economic opportunities (jobs and housing) for all citizens.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	8. Promoting U.S. interests abroad.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	9. Effective management of the economy.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	10. Rekindle the national spirit.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	11. Bring government close to the people.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	12. Promote equal opportunities for all groups.	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	13. Other: _____	High <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> Low



# Perception of Political Philosophy

124

Indicate by crossing the line below the way you view *your own* political philosophy on the basis of the contemporary "liberal" versus "conservative" distinction.  
(Example: \_\_\_\_\_/\_\_\_\_\_)

Very Liberal	_____	Very Conservative
	Middle of the Road	

Now, by intersecting each of the lines below, indicate the way you view the political philosophy of each of the four candidates listed.

	Spiro T. Agnew	
Very Liberal	_____	Very Conservative
	Middle of the Road	

	George McGovern	
Very Liberal	_____	Very Conservative
	Middle of the Road	

	Richard M. Nixon	
Very Liberal	_____	Very Conservative
	Middle of the Road	

	R. Sargent Shriver	
Very Liberal	_____	Very Conservative
	Middle of the Road	

Prior to the primary elections, which one of the following candidates did you most strongly favor?

- Humphrey    Nixon    McGovern    Schmitz    Jackson  
 Wallace    Muskie    Chisolm    Spock    Other: \_\_\_\_\_  
(name)

Booklet Number: \_\_\_\_\_

Return to: \_\_\_\_\_  
Immediately after the election.

In order for us to complete the research, we need a record of your actual voting behavior. This reporting system which we are using makes it possible for you to remain completely anonymous. Thanks for your help!



The Communication Research and Training Center  
 North Texas State University  
 N.T. Box 13336  
 Denton, Texas 76203

In the 1972 Presidential Election,

I voted for (check one):

\_\_\_\_\_ McGovern                      \_\_\_\_\_ Nixon

\_\_\_\_\_ Schmitz                        \_\_\_\_\_ Spock

\_\_\_\_\_ \_\_\_\_\_  
 (other)

I did not vote because (check one):

\_\_\_\_\_ I was unable to vote

\_\_\_\_\_ I did not want to vote (disliked all  
 choices)

\_\_\_\_\_ Other \_\_\_\_\_

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Books

- Allport, Gordon W., "Attitudes," A Handbook of Social Psychology, edited by C. Murchison, Worcester, Mass., Clark University Press, 1935.
- The American Institute for Political Communication, The 1968 Campaign: Anatomy of a Crucial Election, Washington, The American Institute for Political Communication, 1970.
- Austin, Anthony and others, You and Election '72, Englewood Cliffs, N. J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972.
- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Laxerfield, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1954.
- Boorstin, Daniel J., The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, New York, Harper and Row, 1961.
- Boulding, Kenneth E., The Image: Knowledge in Life and Society, Ann Arbor Michigan, University of Michigan Press, 1956.
- Campbell, Donald, "Social Attitudes and Other Acquired Behavioral Dispositions," Psychology: A Study of a Science, edited by S. Koch, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1963.
- Childs, H. L., Public Opinion, Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co., 1965.
- Cornwell, Elmer E., Jr., Presidential Leadership of Public Opinion, Bloomington, University of Indiana Press, 1965.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Role of the Press in Presidential Politics," Politics and the Press, edited by Richard W. Lee, Washington, Acropolis Books, 1970.

- De Vries, Walter and V. Lance Torrance, The Ticket Spitters, New York, Eerds, am Publishers, 1972.
- Fagan, Richard R., Politics and Communication, Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1966.
- Free, Lloyd and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion, New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1967.
- Greenstein, F. I., Children and Politics, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1965.
- Greene, Bob, Running: A Nixon-McGovern Campaign Journal, Chicago, Henry Regnery Company, 1973.
- Herring, P., The Policies of Democracy, New York, Norton Company, 1940.
- Hess, Robert D., and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, Chicago, Aldine Press, 1967.
- Hovland, Carl I., J. L. Janis, and H. H. Kelley, Communication and Persuasion, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1953.
- Hunt, Gary W., Right From the Start: A Chronicle of the McGovern Campaign, New York, New York Times Book Company, 1973.
- Hyman, H., Political Socialization, Glencoe, Free Press, 1959.
- Kerlinger, Fred N., Foundations of Behavioral Research, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1964.
- Kraus, Sidney, editor, The Great Debates: Background and Perspective Effects, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1962.
- Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, New York, Duell Sloan and Pearce, 1944.

- Lippman, Walter, Public Opinion, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1954.
- Lubell, Samuel, Future of American Politics, New York, Harper and Row, 1965.
- Mailer, Norman, St. George and the Godfather, New York, The New American Library, Inc., 1972.
- Murphy, G., Lois B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcombe, Experimental Social Psychology, New York, Harper and Row, 1969.
- Ogden, Daniel M. and Arthur L. Peterson, Electing the President: 1964, San Francisco, Chandler Publishing Company, 1964.
- Osgood, Charles E., George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1957.
- Polsby, Nelson W., and Aaron B. Wildavsky, Presidential Election: Strategies of American Electoral Politics, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1964.
- Robinson, John P., Jerrold G. Rusk and Kendra B. Head, Measures of Political Attitudes, Ann Arbor, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1968.
- Rosenberg, M. J., and others, Attitude Organization and Change, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1960.
- Safire, William L., The New Languaged Politics, New York, Random House, 1968.
- Sherif, Muzafer and Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Ego-Involvement, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1947.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_, editors, Attitude, Ego-Involvement and Change, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967.
- 
- \_\_\_\_\_ and Carolyn, Social Psychology, New York, Harper and Row, 1969.

- \_\_\_\_\_, and Roger E. Nebergall, Attitude and Attitude Change, Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders Company, 1965.
- Simpson, Hunter S., Fear and Loathing on the Campaign Trail '72, San Francisco, Straight Arrow Books, 1973.
- Smith, M. B., J. S. Bruner and R. W. White, Opinions and Personality, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1956.
- Thomas, W. I., and F. Znanicki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1918.
- Wyckoff, Gene, The Image Candidates, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1968.
- Zimbardo, Philip and Ebbe B. Ebbesen, Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior, Reading, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1969.

#### Articles

- Brinton, James E., "Deriving an Attitude Scale from Semantic Differential Data," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Spring, 1961), 289-295.
- Campbell, Donald, "The Indirect Assessment of Social Attitudes," Psychological Bulletin, XLVII (1950), 15-38.
- Carter, Richard F., W. Lee Ruggels, and Steven H. Chaffee, "The Semantic Differential in Opinion Measurement," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXII (Winter, 1968-1969), 666-674.
- Crespi, Leo P., "Some Observations on the Concept of Image," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXV (Spring, 1961), 115-120.
- Easton, D. and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Politics, I (1962), 229-246.
- Greenstein, F. I., "The Benefolent Leader: Children's Image of Political Authority," American Political Science Review, LVI (1960), 934-945.

- Hahn, Dan F., and Ruth M. Gonchar, "Political Myth: The Image and the Issue," Today's Speech, XX (Summer, 1972), 57-65.
- Hess, Robert D., "Political Attitudes in Children," Psychology Today, II (January, 1969), 24-28.
- Hovland, Carl I., and O. J. Harvey, "Assimilation and Contrast Effects in Communication and Attitude Change," Journal of Abnormal Psychology, LV (1957), 242-252.
- Jennings, M. K. and R. G. Neimi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," American Political Science Review, LXII (1968), 169-185.
- Lyle, Jack, "Semantic Differential Scales for Newspaper Research," Journalism Quarterly, XXXVII (1960), 559-562.
- McGrath, Joseph E. and Marion F., "Effects of Partisanship of Perceptions of Political Figures," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVI (Summer, 1962), 236-248.
- Neadle, Dexter, "The Relationship of Corporate Image to Product Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Summer, 1964), 291-302.
- Sherrod, Durry R., "Selective Perception of Political Candidates," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXXV (Winter, 1971-1972), 554-562.
- Sigel, Roberta S., "Effects of Partisanship on the Perception of Political Candidates," Public Opinion Quarterly, XXVIII (Fall, 1964), 483-496.

#### Reports

- Raven, B. H., and P. S. Gallo, "Reference Group Identification and Perception of Political Figures," The University of California Technological Report No. 5, Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1960.

## Public Documents

Congressional Quarterly Almanac, 92nd Congress, 2nd Session, XXVIII, Washington, Congressional Quarterly Inc., 1972.

National Journal, IV, 46, Washington, 1972.

## Unpublished Materials

Beck, Don E., "Polarization of Political Attitudes in the 1968 Presidential Campaign," unpublished paper presented to Speech Association of America, New York, December 27, 1969.

\_\_\_\_\_, unpublished research report, Communication Research and Training Center, North Texas State University, Denton, Texas, January, 1971.

## Newspapers

New York Times, October 6, 1966.