

April 22, 1957

The Book
(An Outline for Discussion)

Chapter

1. What is micro-political analysis?
2. The Electorate
3. The Parties
4. The Candidates
5. The Issues
6. Group memberships
7. The Campaign
8. The Vote
9. 1952 and 1956
10. A Theory of Voting Behavior

April, 1957

Source: Outlines, The American Voter folder, box 1, Philip E. Converse Papers,
Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

II. The social context

THE AMERICAN VOTER IN MID-CENTURY

(tentative chapter outline)

May, 1957

Introductory Section:

I. Historical review of the study of voting behavior
Comparison of methods of study -- macro- and micro-analysis

II. SRC motivational model

Comparison with efficacy of other models used to account for
political participation and preference
Evaluation of utility of SRC model in 1952 and 1956

III. Outline of succeeding sections of book

Section Two: Political Motives and Voting Behavior

(chapters on the party, issue, candidate and group measures; each chapter
to present one or more of the major concepts and demonstrate the concept-
vote relationship for preference and participation, north and south, 1952 and
1956)

I. Party Identification

II. Party Images (government management and political leadership)

III. Issue Partisanship and Orientation, domestic and foreign policies
(for Democratic and Republican parties, Stevenson and Eisenhower)

IV. Patterns and dimensions of attitudes on political issues (16 issue data)

V. Candidate images (personal qualities, capabilities, experience, age
and health) (images of vice-presidential candidates)

VI. Socio-economic groups as political beneficiaries

Section Three: Origins and Contexts of Motivated Behavior; Institutional and Individual Factors in Voting

I. The social context

Group memberships (5 groups in 1956)

Reference groups (trust-distrust in 1956; perceived group behavior in 1952)

Social class and status

Non-economic demographic categories (age, sex, religion, population
size, education, race)

Geographic mobility (rural-urban; urban-suburban)

Primary groups (family tradition, status, occupation)

II. The economic context

- Socio-economic categories (income, occupation)
- Economic attitudes (financial situation; optimism-pessimism; security-insecurity; experiences, expectations, perceptions and political relevance)
- The economic base of the voter's environment (County data)
- Individual behavior and interest-group politics (comments on interest-group theory)

III. The political context

- The political environment (county data; war expectations; election expectations)
- Political institutions as facilitators and inhibitors of individual behavior (ballot form; primaries; residence requirements)

IV. The personal context

- Personality theory, values and beliefs and voting (efficacy, duty, competence, authoritarianism, conservatism)

Section Four: The Election

I. The campaign

- Participation, interest and involvement
- Party contact
- Mass media (use of media; motive-patterns of media users)
- The course of decision (time of decision, considered other candidate)

II. The vote

- Regional changes, 1952-56
- Ticket splitting
- Preferences of non-voters

Section Five: Summary

- I. Integrated evaluation of the political motives (interaction and independence; relative importance; explanatory usefulness)
- II. Critique of the model of analysis; voting behavior as one aspect of political behavior
- III. Implications of the findings for:
 - Future political developments
 - A theory of voting behavior
 - Political theory

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Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

The Psychology of Political Man

Section One: Introduction

- I. Historical Review of the Study of Voting Behavior**
- II. A Model for the Analysis of Political Behavior**

The political environment
Stimuli to political action
Barriers to political action
The political person
Cognitive structure
Affective structure
Personality
The political act

Section Two: Forces on the Voter

III. The Parties

The Image of the Parties

The party image differs among voters in cognitive and affective structure.

The party image is strongly influenced by socio-economic and political position but some salient features of both parties are perceived throughout the electorate.

The party image changes in some respects from one election to the next, reflecting current issues, but the general outline remains constant.

The major features of the party image are the quality of the party's major leaders, the policy orientations of the party, the quality of the people who support the party, the group orientations of the party.

Identification with the Parties

Most people have some degree of attachment to a party and its symbols. Party identification is associated with party image (probably in a causal relationship* but is not identical with it.

Degree and direction of party identification varies substantially through the socio-economic order.

Strong party identification serves the function of providing structure in the political life space.

Strong party identifiers are more categorical in political perceptions, evaluations and actions than political independents.

Party independence results either from positive rejection of party labels or indifference to parties and other aspects of politics.

IV. The Candidates

The Image of the Candidates

The candidate images differ among voters in cognitive and affective structure.

The major features of the candidate images are personal appeal, qualities appropriate to the office, past experience, interest in special groups, position on salient issues.

Perception of the candidates is more influenced by political position than by socio-economic position.

Changes in candidate images from year to year reflect interening events.

Comparative Evaluations of the Candidates

Candidate evaluation reflects party identification but is not identical identifiable with it.

When candidate evaluation conflicts with party identification, ambiguous political consequences result.

V. The Issues

Concern with Issues

The scope and detail of awareness of political issues varies greatly.

Content of concern reflects socio-economic position--farmers, laborers, Negroes, business men, etc. have specific areas of concern.

Saliency of issues changes from election to election.

Partisan orientation on issues.

Approval of party's position on issues is influenced by both political position (party identification) and socio-economic position.

Approval of party position on vote changes from election to election.

Conflict between approved party position and other political motivation produces ambiguities in political behavior.

Policy orientations

The breadth and strength of political ideology varies greatly.

Political ideology is strongest among most highly partisan people.

There are several distinguishable ideological types.

People tend to identify their own position on policy questions with their party's position.

Security and Insecurity

Tension arising from economic threat tends to organize political behavior along socio-economic dimensions; lack of tension tries to reduce the significance of socio-economic position.

Tension arising from international threat tends to reduce the significance of socio-economic considerations in political behavior.

VI. Group Influence

Group identification

Intensity of group identification varies among group members and is related to efficacy of group influence.

Group standards

The political standards of a group are variously perceived by members of the group.

The more highly identified a group member the more closely he perceives the group's standards to conform to his own.

Legitimacy of group standards

The more highly identified a group member the more likely he is to accept the group's political standards as legitimate.

Political differences among groups

Racial, religious, occupational and trade union groups differ substantially in their qualities as political influences.

VII. Personal Influences

Director personal influence is most effective among people of weakest political commitment.

Campaign solicitation is highly concentrated on committed people and makes few converts.

VIII. Personality characteristics

Sense of political efficacy

People who do not see individual political behavior as efficacious tend not to participate politically.

Sense of political ineffectiveness is part of a broader personal dimension of sense of personal incompetence.

Sense of ineffectiveness is associated with perceptions of candidates and views on governmental policy

Resistance to change

Resistance to change is greatest among the less privileged social categories.

Resistance to change is associated with policy orientations and direction of political choice, it is the general basis of political conservatism.

Resistance to change is associated with sense of personal incompetence.

Section Three: The Political Act

IX. Participation

The distribution of political participation is highly skewed; a few people are very active, most are not active at all.

Participation varies considerably by socio-economic situation but is also influenced by psychological factors (partisanship, sense of efficacy, sense of citizen duty).

Extent of participation is also associated with extent of motivation (see Section Two).

X. The Decision to Vote

Time of decision is associated with strength of motivation.
Campaigns differ in the time at which voting decisions are made,
depending on the clarity of motivation to vote.
Late decisions result either from conflict or from lack of
motivation, especially lack of party identification.
Campaign events tend to solidify previous intentions rather than change
them.

XI. The Partisanship of the Vote

Voters organize their ballots in different ways, straight and split
tickets.
Combinations of partisan motives result in different ballot patterns.
Socio-economic status correlates more strongly with the vote in some
elections than others.
Candidate influences may change socio-economic relationships with the
vote at the presidential level without changing it at the con-
gressional and local level.
The presidential vote is determined in large part by the psychological
forces listed in Section Two.
The South and the North, a special case study

Section Four: Summary

XII. Elections and Electors

American presidential elections may be described by the relative
strength of different political motives which move the electors.
A suggested typology of elections.

XIII. The Future of American Politics

Trends and realignments and their political consequences
The South, suburbia, minority groups, migration effects,
upward social and educational movements.

Source: Outlines, The American Voter folder, box 1, Philip E. Converse Papers,
Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF POLITICAL MAN:
The American Voter and Presidential Politics**

SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTION

- I. Historical review of the study of voting behavior; a comparison of the basic methods of study: macro-analysis and micro-analysis
- II. A model for the analysis of voting behavior
 - A. The political environment
 1. Stimuli to political action
 2. Barriers to political action
 - B. The political person
 1. Cognitive structure
 2. Affective structure
 - C. The political act
 1. Political partisanship
 2. Political participation
- III. The outline of the book
 - A. The political motives of the voters: a comparison of the presidential elections of 1952 and 1956
 1. The image of the parties
 - a. Political leadership
 - b. Governmental management
 - c. Foreign policy
 - d. Domestic issues
 2. Identification with the parties
 3. The image of the candidates
 - a. Personal qualities
 - b. Capabilities, competence
 - c. Experience
 - d. Foreign policy
 - e. Domestic policy
 - f. The candidate as party representative
 - g. The vice-presidential candidates

4. The issues

- a. Intensity and partisan direction of concern with issues
- b. Policy orientations
 - (1) Domestic issues
 - (2) Foreign policy issues

B. Origins and conditions of political behavior

- 1. The social setting of voting behavior
- 2. The economic base of presidential politics
- 3. The political environment and the individual voter
- 4. The individual: personality characteristics and basic beliefs

C. The election

- 1. The partisanship of the vote choice
- 2. Political participation
- 3. The campaign and the vote decision

D. Summary

- 1. Elections and electors: elections as defined by voters' motives
- 2. The future of political man
- 3. Stability and change in American politics

SECTION TWO: POLITICAL MOTIVES; REACTION TO THE PHENOMENA OF POLITICS

IV. The Parties

A. The Image of the Parties

- 1. There are three major features of the image of each party:
 - a. The party as an agent of political leadership (including the party as a sponsor of outstanding individual political leaders)
 - b. The party as a manager of government (including perceptions of the party as honest or corrupt, business-like and efficient or wasteful and inefficient, and devoted to economy or insensitive to the costs of government)
 - c. The party as an agent espousing particular policies related to the role of government, with concern over domestic or foreign policies as a major differentiating focus for many citizens.

2. Both Democratic and Republican voters have very similar cognitive pictures of the two parties; the major distinction between their ~~respective~~ respective images of the parties lies in the affective or evaluative ~~of~~ dimensions:
 - a. Negative or unfavorable aspects of a party's image tend to be minimized by its adherents and emphasized by its opponents (as was true with perceptions of the Democratic party as a corrupt manager of government in 1952)
 - b. A major weakness of each party exists in the almost complete absence of perceived relevance between the party and one aspect of governmental policy:
 - (1) The Democratic party was not perceived in terms of foreign policy; Republican voters did not criticize Democratic foreign policy and Democratic voters did not defend it--neither saw the Democratic party as relevant to considerations of foreign policy.
 - (2) The Republican party was not perceived in terms of facilitating the welfare of any well-liked segment of the population; where the Democratic party drew great support as the defender of the little man and labor, the Republican party was not similarly perceived, except insofar as it was criticized in 1956 as the party which catered to big business.
3. The major features of each party's image are very durable and persist from election to election; however, some important changes do take place which bear on the relative success of the party's candidates at election time.
 - a. The Democratic party endured a major handicap in 1952 because of the widespread perception of corruption in the Truman administration; this perception had eroded substantially by 1956, to the subsequent benefit of many Democratic candidates.
 - b. The extremely hostile evaluation of the Republican party's domestic issue position in 1952 was replaced by a divided but balanced perception in 1956; the ability of the Eisenhower administration to change perceptions of both Democratic and Republican voters resulted in one of the most pronounced changes in political motives between the two elections.
 - c. The net effect of changes in the images of the parties between 1952 and 1956 was to minimize a substantial advantage held by the Democratic party and restore the Republican party to a not unfavorable relative position; this was the result of a sharp decrease in positive aspects of the Democratic image and a parallel decrease in the negative image of the Republican party.

B. Identification with the Parties

1. More than three out of four persons demonstrate some degree of attachment to a major party and its symbols
 - a. The Democratic advantage in numbers persist practically undiminished despite two Eisenhower victories.
 - b. Differentiation in strength of attachment ~~of~~ to a party has important consequences for voting behavior; both Eisenhower victories depended on his support by self-classified Democrats--90% of such Democrats were weak party adherents, as determined by independent measures of strength of attachment to party.
2. Party identification is associated with party image (probably in a causal relationship) but is not identical with it--some Democratic identifiers have positive images of the Republican party while some Republican identifiers have negative images of their own party.
3. Party identification provides structure, an organizing principle, for the identifier's reaction to political stimuli.
 - a. Party identifiers of one party share a patterning or ideological structuring of attitudes toward major issues of governmental policy.
 - b. People who identify with a given party share perceptions of the political values and predispositions of other groups in the society.
4. Strong party identifiers are more categorical (extreme?) in political perceptions, evaluations and actions than weak identifiers and political independents.
5. Party independence results either from positive rejection of party labels and opposition to the party as the best organizing agent of politics, or from indifference to the parties along with most other aspects of politics.

V. The Image of the Candidates

- A. There are five major features of the image of each candidate:
 1. The personal qualities and attributes of the candidate as an individual person, his integrity, intelligence, warmth, sincerity, compassion or his snobbishness, his dishonesty, his ignorance or his poor sense of humor.
 2. The qualities which equip him for the office, his political expertness, his ability as a leader, his training as an administrator.

3. The fact of experience and demonstrated ability, his record of past performances.
 4. The stand which he takes on issues of domestic and foreign policy, including his personal interest in special groups within the population.
 5. The candidate as a representative of his party.
- B. As with the image of the parties, Democratic and Republican voters share similar cognitive pictures of the candidates and differ primarily in their evaluation of the candidate's attributes.
1. Both candidates were seen as very positive, appealing political figures in 1952; Eisenhower's image improved over the next four years while Stevenson lost ground on almost every count.
 2. Eisenhower overcame the earlier perception of him as a military man with no civil or political experience (a negative image held by a large minority of his 1952 supporters) and was perceived in almost universally positive terms by 1956.
 - a. Eisenhower's major strength in both years lay in his experience and capabilities in dealing with foreign affairs.
 - b. Eisenhower's major weakness (reflected in absence of relevant perceptions and not in negative perceptions) in both elections concerned his stand on domestic policy)
 3. Stevenson's major limitation as a candidate was reflected in the absence of any image, positive or negative, relating him to foreign policy.
 4. Although two new attributes, age and health, were introduced in the 1956 campaign, neither of these formed any visible part of the relevant image of Eisenhower.
- C. The Vice Presidential Candidates as Figures of Political Significance
1. Very few people have any clear or strongly evaluated image of the candidates for vice president.
 2. Despite the prominence of regional considerations in delimiting the field of potential candidates, there is no evidence that candidates do attract disproportionate attention, let alone support, from their own regions.
 3. The image of the vice presidents is much more heavily concentrated on their personal qualities than is true for presidential candidates.

*demonstrated?
New Era?
How about Pres?
?*

VP ←

4. The change in the image of Nixon, 1952 to 1956 produced a net loss in popularity and an increase in highly partisan differences of perceptions.

VI. The Issues

A. General concern with issues

1. The electorate is composed of persons with widely differing propensities to be concerned with issues; a large minority of voters evidence no interest at all in the issues of governmental policy, a comparable minority appears to be very much involved with these issues.
2. Concern over issues varies somewhat from election to election; involvement in domestic issues decreased more between 1952 and 1956 than did concern with questions of foreign policy.
3. Interest in questions of domestic policy is expressed almost exclusively in terms of the parties; neither Stevenson nor Eisenhower provided the focus for domestic issue concern.
4. Involvement with foreign policy is focused almost directly on the Republican party and Eisenhower; while some attention is paid to the Democratic party's foreign policy, Stevenson is a virtual cipher in this context.

B. Policy orientations, concern with particular issues

1. On each of the sixteen issues examined in detail, a very visible minority of voters either had no opinion to express or was unable to provide any evaluation of the Eisenhower administration's performance with respect to the issue.
 - a. A full ___% had no political evaluation for any of the 16 items; ___% responded meaningfully to at least 14 of the 16.
 - b. Domestic issues tended to draw a response from more persons than did the foreign policy items.
2. Positions in support of extended governmental activity tended to predominate in both domestic and foreign fields.
 - a. Governmental guarantee of employment opportunity, medical care and school building construction were supported by majorities which varied from large to overwhelming; a strong majority of the people also opposed tax reduction in the face of postponing governmental services.

- b. The internationalist or interventionist position was endorsed by very sizeable majorities of those persons who expressed opinions; maintaining a concern with foreign problems, supporting economic aid and military assistance were strongly endorsed.
3. The critics of the Eisenhower administration tended to be those favoring reduced governmental activity rather than persons supporting extensive governmental action; on some domestic questions, however, the predominant criticism was that the administration had not done enough in the particular area under discussion.
 4. Differential perceptions of the party positions on the specific issues varied greatly from domestic to foreign policy.
 - a. The reduced Democratic advantage in domestic affairs was reflected in the miniscule predominance of people who felt the Democratic party was closer to their own position than was the Republican; on most issues the predominant perception was of "no difference" between the parties.
 - b. The Republican ascendancy in foreign policy was expressed by the heavy predominance of people who felt the Republican party better represented their own point of view.

C. Policy orientations, the interrelationship of issues

1. The breadth and strength of political ideology varies greatly throughout the population.
- ? - [2. Among various distinguishable ideological types, only a small minority of persons can be characterized as relatively pure representatives of any one type.
3. Domestic issues are not bound to foreign issues by any significant thread commonality; it is almost impossible to predict from domestic issue position to foreign issue position for any combination of issues or for any pair of issues.
- ? ← 4. The most highly partisan people do exhibit recognizable and distinct ideological patterns in their issue stands.

What about whole multivariate weightings?

*Comparison, 1952-1956
summary chapter here?*

General discussion of political motivation?

SECTION THREE: ORIGINS AND CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL BEHAVIOR; INSTITUTIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL FACTORS IN VOTING

VII. Social systems, social variables and the psychology of political man

A. Introduction

1. Review of sociological concepts utilized in study of voting behavior; resume of findings.
2. Statement of objectives of this chapter
 - a. Some of the variations in individual motives (with respect to the parties, issues and candidates) can be understood in terms of differences in social position and changes in social structure which are experiences by the individual person.
 - b. Social variables contribute, in a rather limited degree, to an independent and supplementary explanation of voting behavior as they reflect forces on the voter which are not translated into the political content embraced by the party, issue and candidate variables.

...and those that are?

B. Group Memberships

1. Group identification varies among nominal members; its presence is a necessary condition which enables the group to influence its members. *this variation can be described as a function of proximity of fundamental group goals to the political scene.*
2. Groups vary in the degree to which they maintain clear standards of political behavior; members' perceptions that a group standard does exist is another necessary condition which must be fulfilled for the group to influence group members. *Clarity of standards varies over time as a function of changing group salience from election to election.*
 - a. Party identification is a special case of group membership. In no other group is it necessary, as it is for the member of the political party, for the group member to perceive political obligations as a consequence of his membership. There is, however, great variation in the dimensions which define the party member's partisanship.
 - (1) Many party members do not see inter-party differences on given questions of governmental policy and thus do not translate their party identification into completely congruent issue partisanship.
 - (2) Some party members do not perceive their party's presidential candidate as a proper representative of the party and therefore do not translate their party identification into necessary support for that candidate.

- b. The more highly identified a group member the closer the congruence between his perception of group standards and his own standards.

~~3. // Group Memberships~~

3. The group standard must be perceived as legitimate, appropriate for the group to espouse, if the group is to exert any positive influence on members.
 - a. The more highly identified a group member the more likely he is to accept the group's political standards as legitimate.
4. The political consequences of group membership vary greatly from group to group.
 - a. Trade union groups and occupational groups (such as the farm groups) succeed in emphasizing the importance of selected domestic issues for their members.
 - b. Members of religious groups, such as Catholics and Jews, respond less to overt influence attempts of the group and more to politically relevant values important to the group (Stevenson's divorce, for Catholics), political traditions of the group, and perceived general norms of behavior for group members.
 - c. Negroes respond to politics less as group members than as disadvantaged individuals; perceived standards of behavior, set by leaders, have little congruence with or apparent influence on the behavior of the rank and file Negro voter.
5. Groups (or even categories of people for whom group membership is not a meaningful term) serve as political guides for non-members if the non-members perceive the group (or category) as having a political standard and if they have an affective reaction to the group.
6. Primary groups (family, friends and work associates) are very homogeneous in terms of political attitudes and behaviors. However, cross-sectional studies are not appropriate for measuring influence of the primary group because the group is known to the analyst only through the report of one group member; there is no validity check on actual group attitudes and behavior, as there is for secondary groups--many of whose members are included in the sample and may be taken to represent the group.

C. Social Class and Social Status

1. Class and status are important variables by which the structure of a society may be defined; their relationship to politics, described by the concept of status polarization, is an important measure of the political implications of social change.

- a. Some dimensions of status polarization are highly stable and reflect major crises in the nation's political history.
{ This is true of the relationship between status and
{ party identification.
- b. Status polarization is preeminent among population groups preoccupied with problems of domestic economy; it is minimized for persons concerned with foreign policy and for persons whose concern with politics is focused on the personal qualities of the candidates.
- c. Changes in an individual's status position have implications for his political behavior.
 - (1) Downward mobility is accompanied by hostility toward and withdrawal from politics.
 - (2) Upward mobility is associated with change in political predispositions but not necessarily with increased Republicanism
 - (3) Lack of stability in status position is associated with extremity of attitudes on issues of governmental policy.

D. Population density

1. Urban residents who are Democratic identifiers have a stronger attachment to party than do rural Democrats; Rural Republicans have a stronger attachment to party than do urban Republican identifiers.
2. Rural residents are more concerned with domestic issues and the personal characteristics of the candidates; urban residents are more concerned with foreign policy questions and the leadership and management aspects of the party image.
3. Urban residents are more structured in their partisanship; rural residents are more likely to demonstrate independence or non-partisanship on one or more of the political motives.
4. Change in place of residence is not accompanied by change in political predispositions
 - a. Persons moving from one region to another tend to maintain their former political allegiance (Southerners who move West remain Democrats)
 - b. People who move from country to city and from central city to suburb tend to be less like the populations they leave and more like the populations they join; their movement redistributes political partisans but does not induce change of partisanship in the moving individuals.

E. Other social characteristics

1. Age, as a personal characteristic with political significance, reflects the time period of a person's politicization. It is a mark of personal history rather than a contemporary indicator of the person's economic stake, status and political interests.
2. Sex, as a personal characteristic, has minimal political significance. The social role definition of women shapes their interests in politics (holding it at a low level and emphasizing its concern with the personal qualities of the candidates) but does not produce important consequences for political choice. The subordinate role of women in their families' concern over politics insures a high correlation between their vote and that of their husbands.
 - a. Aggregate vote differences between sexes (women's votes being more Republican than men's) are a function of age and marital status. Because of a higher death rate among men, there are more elderly females (many of them widows) than there are elderly males. At this point in the nation's history, elderly people are more Republican than the rest of the population, hence there are elderly female Republicans for whom there are no elderly male counterparts.
3. ~~§~~ Education, as measured by years of formal schooling, has minimal significance as a factor independent of the person's broader social and economic position. Its main contribution is to facilitate breadth of political involvement. Other things being equal, the person with more education is concerned about more aspects of politics, has a more highly differentiated and more intricately structured view of politics.

~~VIII. The economic base of voting behavior~~

4. Ethnic stuff of Dem's ?
5. Occupation in other than status terms ?

> ~~Answers to political affairs~~
Cognizance of political affairs ~~is taken~~ ^{is taken} only gradually as a person begins to vote, and tends to increase for a major portion of the individual's life. However, in accord with learning theory, the earliest perceptions are the most important in fixing loyalties to a party, & hence in determining ~~the~~ ^{the} evaluative structure which is likely to be imposed on the political. Furthermore, this early learning is ~~strongest~~ ^{strongest} fixed most firmly when first political perceptions are accompanied by strong affect. Thus periods of economic trauma leave their traces in an ~~aging~~ ^{aging} stratum of the electorate who have distinctive loyalties & evaluations ^{within the political} & environment.

VIII. The economic base of voting behavior

1. The extent to which economic concerns are translated into political predispositions and behaviors varies greatly with the intensity and the nature of the concern.

- a. Concern about personal economic well-being is less frequently translated into political terms than is concern about regional or national economic problems.
- b. Concern about personal economic problems is given a political significance only when the concern is pessimistic, tension-ridden--optimism about personal economic situation has little direct political translation.

(1) A sense of economic security and well-being "permitted" Democrats to support Eisenhower in 1952 and 1956 by making it unnecessary to be concerned about economic problems.

2. The nature of politico-economic concerns varies with the life experience of the individual.

- a. Persons who experienced the depression in terms of own deprivation and insecurity are more prone to give a political interpretation to economic problems than are persons with comparable contemporary economic perceptions and values who did not experience the impact of the depression.
- b. Persons who are below their parent's occupational or social status are more inclined to see a political significance in economic concerns than are persons whose inter-generational mobility is stable or upward.
- c. Persons whose present occupational status is least improved, from that with which they started adult life, ~~/1/~~ are most likely to provide a political interpretation of economic events; those who have experienced only moderate changes are least likely to have a political interpretation of economic problems.

*another dimension
of occupation*

3. The nature and extent of politico-economic concern is related to the immediate economic environment of the individual
 - a. Residents of agricultural counties were, in 1956, more concerned with the economic consequences of the election than were other persons.
 - b. Residents of counties with low per capita income were more likely to favor governmental aid to education, support for medical care and guarantee of employment.
 - c. Residents of heavily industrial counties were more likely to have a negative image of the Republican party's association with big business, were less likely to favor exclusive handling of public power and housing by private industry; attitudes toward governmental guarantee of job opportunities were related to the then present level of employment in these counties.

4. The economic base of politics relates almost exclusively to domestic policy; foreign aid and overseas military support were not connected to personal or national economic problems.

*+ concern
over economic well-being
even where no unemployment
had been personally suffered -*

IX. The political environment and the individual.

1. The political environment conditions the way in which individual's motives are translated into political behavior.
 - a. Motives for voting are less frequent and significantly weaker among minority voters in a county than among majority voters; party identification plays a more significant role for minority voters than for majority voters.
 - b. Vote intentions are less stable among minority adherents in a county than among majority adherents; more potential minority supporters either fail to vote or vote for the majority.
 - c. Vote intentions are less stable among voters who expect their candidate to lose the election; lack of congruence between a person's own intention and his expectations of his candidate's success result in a higher drop-out and a greater amount of switching from intention to vote.

2. Political institutions, experienced as local conditions on voting, affect the individual's voting behavior.
 - a. Residence requirements disfranchise some citizens who are highly motivated politically; although most people who cannot meet residence requirements are generally not involved in any form of community social activity, a visible minority of potential voters are excluded from voting by local and state eligibility requirements.
 - b. The form of the ballot influences a person's vote.
 - (1) Stevenson lost votes because of the ability of some voters to split their ballots more easily than others; the Democratic identifiers voted more heavily for Stevenson (and the entire Democratic slate) in straight ticket states than in states with "office group" ballots.
 - (2) More split tickets were cast in states that facilitate straight ticket voting than in states that make such a vote more difficult.
 - c. In states where presidential primaries were held there was less tendency for motivated voters to fail to vote than in states with no primary; the level of political involvement was higher among voters from states with primaries than among voters from states that did not hold primaries.

X. The individual: personality characteristics and basic beliefs

A. Sense of personal competence and political efficacy

1. People who do not see individual political behavior as efficacious tend not to participate politically.
2. Sense of political ineffectiveness is part of a broader personal dimension of sense of personal incompetence.
3. Sense of ineffectiveness is associated with perceptions of candidates and views on governmental policy.

B. Resistance to change

*vs. more
"radical" opinions*

- ← {
1. Resistance to change is greatest among the less privileged social categories.
 2. Resistance to change is associated with policy orientations and direction of political choice; it is the general basis of political conservatism.
 3. Resistance to change is associated with sense of personal incompetence.

C. Sense of Civic Duty

1. A strong sense of civic duty is shared by all but the lowest status groups.
2. Sense of civic duty is most closely related to political participation among the persons least involved with the parties, issues and candidates.
3. Among low status groups, sense of civic duty is strongest among rural residents, weakest among central city metropolitan residents.

D. The authoritarian personality

1. There is little evidence that authoritarianism, as measured by standard AE items, contributes significantly to an explanation of voting behavior.
 2. There is some tendency for authoritarians to be more concerned about the personal qualities of the candidates and less concerned about issues.
- 1952
Kul? →

Multivariate weights here?

SECTION FOUR: THE ELECTION

XI. The partisanship of the vote choice

- A. The presidential vote is determined in large part by the psychological forces discussed in Section Two.
 1. The combined party, issue and candidate forces account for a large part of the presidential vote decision in any election.
 2. The addition of socio-economic variables to the study of national voting does not add any significant amount to the explanatory power of the psychological forces; the major function of socio-economic analysis of voting is to explain variations in the party, issue and candidate motives, not to provide an independent explanation of the vote.

- B. Voters organize their ballots in many different ways and different combinations of partisan motives result in these different ballot patterns.
 1. Candidates' influence on voting behavior may affect partisan voting at the presidential level without having a great impact at the congressional and local level.

C. The presidential preference of non-voters reflects a time lag^s in the reaction of uninvolved citizens to political events.

*or whoever's
in power?* }

1. Non-voters' preferences divide more in accord with those of voters four years earlier than with those of voters expressed in a contemporary election.

2. The politically inert oscillate more extremely, over time, than do the politically active: the politically involved and active citizens react more swiftly but less violently to events while the non-participants (or the less involved, in the more general statement of the case) react more slowly but more extremely.

XII. Political participation

A. The distribution of political participation is highly skewed; a few people are very active, most are active only through voting on election day, a few do not participate at all.

B. The extent of participation is associated with extent of motivation; the greater the number of motives (as inferred from responses to the parties, issues and candidates) the greater the participation rate.

C. Ambiguity of political motives results in ambiguous, unstable (unpredictable) political behavior; conflict among selected motives leads to withdrawal and non-participation.

D. Participation is greatly influenced by psychological factors which do not have clear partisan implications; sense of political efficacy and sense of civic duty promote participation.

1. The efficacy and duty factors are most highly related to participation among persons otherwise not involved in politics.

E. The most active citizens form the link between the external world of political stimuli and the less active, less involved portion of the electorate.

1. Campaign solicitation by the political parties reaches very few people, results in contact with people already committed to a partisan position, and makes very few converts.
2. Exposure to the mass media of communications is much higher among the active participants; campaign activity conducted through the mass media reaches the politically active rather than the politically inert citizens.

*Nothing
more on mass
media?*

XIII. The campaign and the vote decision.

- A. Campaign events tend to solidify previous intentions rather than change them.
- B. It is extremely rare that a single campaign event or even a combination of campaign events evokes strong reaction from the public.
- C. Campaigns differ in the time at which voting decisions are made.
 1. Time of decision is associated with strength of motivation.
 2. Early decisions are associated with clarity of motivation.
 3. Late decisions result either from conflict in motives or from lack of motivation, especially lack of party identification.

SECTION FIVE: SUMMARY

IV. Elections and electors

*Need
here?*

- A. American presidential elections may be described by the relative strength of different political motives which move the electors.
- B. A suggested typology of elections.

IV. The future of political man

- A. The future of political motives
- B. Trends in sense of efficacy and citizen duty.

XVI. Stability and change in American politics

- A. The South
- B. Suburban politics
- C. Minority groups
- D. Population movements: inter-regional and rural-urban migration
- E. Status changes and social mobility
- F. The national politics of foreign policy
- G. Government and the domestic economy.