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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

ACTIVITY, CERTAINTY, OPTIMISM, AND REALISM: THE VERBAL STYLE IN TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN COMMERCIALS

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

R. John Ballotti, Jr.
Norman, Oklahoma
1997

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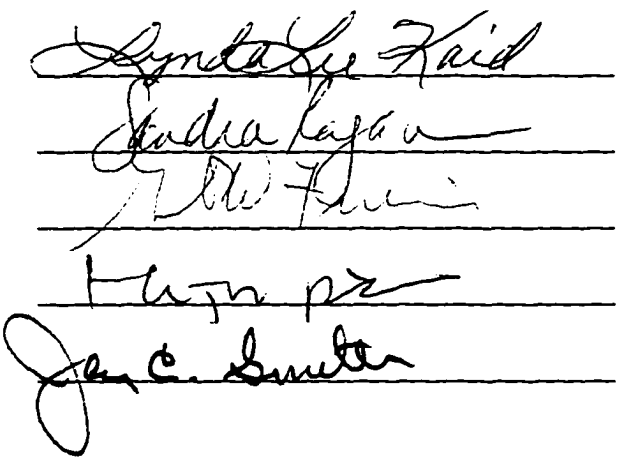
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ACTIVITY, CERTAINTY, OPTIMISM, AND REALISM:
THE VERBAL STYLE OF TELEVISED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN COMMERCIALS

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNICATION

BY



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With profound love, appreciation, and admiration this work is dedicated to my parents, Reynolds J. Ballotti, Sr. and B. Lorraine Ballotti, and my wife and daughter and son, Erin C. Ballotti, Brianna Lorraine Ballotti, and R.J. Ballotti, III.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	x
ABSTRACT	xi
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
Statement of Goals	2
II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND RESEARCH	6
Advertising and Motivation to Vote	6
History and Background of Political Spots	11
Political Advertising and Television	15
Television and Negative Campaign Advertising	19
The Presidential Campaign	25
Technology and the Campaign	32
Issue and Image Characteristics	35
National Interest Issues	36
Scholarly Research on Political Spots	40
Television and Campaign Advertising	42
Type and Length	43
Issue vs Image	46
Negative Campaign Advertising	48
Television News and Negative Campaign Commercials	51
Presidential Character and Verbal Style	55
Rationale	58
Current Study	59
RQ1	60
RQ2	60
RQ3	60
RQ4	60
RQ5	60
RQ6	60
III. METHODOLOGY	61
Major Dictionaries	65
Subdictionaries and the Semantic Components of Diction	66
Current Analysis	70

IV. RESULTS 76
Presence of Verbal Style Components..... 78
Activity and Non Incumbents..... 89
Components of Verbal Style for Incumbents.. 93
Components of Verbal Style for Political Parties..... 98
Components of Verbal Style Over Time..... 105
Components of Verbal Style for Winners and Losers..... 111
Correlation Coefficients 120
Summary of Candidate Verbal Style..... 121

V. DISCUSSION 126
Presence of Verbal Style Components..... 127
Activity and Non Incumbents..... 130
Components of Verbal Style for Incumbents.. 130
Components of Verbal Style for Political Parties..... 131
Components of Verbal Style Over Time..... 135
Components of Verbal Style for Winners and Losers..... 138
Correlation Coefficients 139
Milieu 141
Verbal Style 144
Comparison of DICTION: Speeches vs. Commercials..... 145
Limitations and Suggestions for Further Study..... 147

REFERENCES 151

APPENDIX 172
Semantic Components of DICTION 172
Notes... 173
Activity Subdictionaries..... 174
Certainty Subdictionaries... 180
Optimism Subdictionaries... 187
Realism Subdictionaries 193

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		Page
4.1	The Semantic Components of Televised Presidential Campaign Commercials: 1952-1992	77
4.2	Mean Score for Diction Variables	88
4.3	Mean Activity Scores for an out of Office Candidate or When no Incumbent is Running	92
4.4	Mean Scores for Certainty, Optimism, and Realism When an Incumbent or Incumbent Vice President is the Candidate	97
4.5	Mean Scores for DICTION Variables for Democrats and Republican	100
4.6	Activity, Certainty, Optimism and Realism Over Time	106
4.7	Mean Scores for DICTION Variables: Winners vs Losers	112
4.8	Correlation Coefficients	120
5.1	Comparison of DICTION: Speeches vs. Commercials	146

ABSTRACT

Presidential campaign commercials have been analyzed to determine their effectiveness with respect to length and style. However, to this point, no study has attempted to count and categorize the words used in the commercials. The current study analyzed 1178 televised presidential campaign commercials in terms of their activity, certainty, optimism, and realism.

The commercials were transcribed from video tapes to computer disk. The transcriptions were then submitted to a computer content analysis to count and categorize the words with respect to the four major variables. The four variables were constructed using the formulas prescribed by Hart (1984).

These variables identify a verbal style and differences between winners and losers, and between incumbents and nonincumbents, with respect to the words used in their campaign commercials. Most striking in the findings was the overall low use of certainty words in the advertisements. This indicates that DICTION may not provide the correct variables for analyzing and interpreting campaign commercials. It is suggested that other variables be designed to measure the persuasiveness of presidential campaign commercials.

Chapter I

Introduction

When two or more candidates run for the office of president of the United States the campaigns become expensive. In 1988, more than $100 million was spent by candidates Bush and Dukakis in their campaign for the Oval Office. Of this total, more than $77 million was spent on television advertising. The Bush campaign spent nearly $35 million while the Dukakis crusade spent almost $30 million on television advertising (Devlin, 1989). The 1992 presidential campaign witnessed an even greater flurry of spending. George Bush and Bill Clinton had general election campaign funds exceeding $131 million. The Federal Election Commission allowed each candidate to accept federal matching funds of $65.5 million (Abramson, Aldrich, & Rohde, 1994) and Ross Perot's third party candidacy added another $60 million to the already unparalleled total. Perot received no matching funds in 1992 and financed his campaign from his personal fortune (Devlin, 1993; Kaid, 1994).

In 1992, the Bush campaign spent nearly one third more on television advertising than it did in 1988. The 1992 advertising budget totaled $48.8 million, including $10.3

million donated by the Republican National Committee. Clinton spent nearly as much, $35 million in campaign money, and the Democratic National Committee added another $9 million. Ross Perot spent $40 million on campaign advertising between October 1 and election day (Devlin, 1993; Kaid, 1994). The three candidates spent more on campaign advertising in the 1992 presidential election, $132.8 million dollars, than the cost of the entire 1988 presidential election, $108.8 million (Devlin, 1989).

While these numbers certainly bring smiles to the faces of the staffs of production companies and managers of television stations, they also indicate an increase in the importance of campaign commercials. The increase in commercials and campaign advertising represents a significant change over the last 200 years in American presidential politics.

Statement of Goals

This dissertation will attempt to discover whether or not there is such a variable as verbal style that characterizes televised presidential campaign advertising. A review of related literature and research will provide a point of embarkation.

The investigation will commence with a discussion of the history and background of presidential elections and campaign advertising. This discussion will demonstrate why

presidential campaign commercials are important, how and why they developed, and their historical use. Further, this analysis will explore consumer motivations and how the candidate can exploit these motivations in campaign commercials. This section will also review the advertising philosophies of Rosser Reeves, considered the originator of televised political advertising, and show how his knowledge of product sales was easily adapted to presidential candidates and their televised campaign commercials.

A review of scholarly research on political spots will provide an overview concerning the types of research that have been conducted and what the resultant data has revealed about the content and effects of political spots. The review provides an opportunity to comment further on the findings of previous research--any weaknesses of the studies and additional information that might be added to the existing corpus of knowledge concerning televised presidential campaign advertising.

An analysis of presidential communication will offer insight into the verbal styles of presidential candidates and presidents speaking ex cathedra. Presidential character and specific issues contribute greatly to creating a verbal style for the president. Using the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism (Hart, 1984), scholars have analyzed the verbal representations of presidents and of

presidential candidates George Bush and Michael Dukakis in their campaign speeches of 1988. These four variables and the computer program DICTION (Hart, 1984) have been used to analyze verbal styles in presidential speeches. It is the intent of the current study to apply the four variables to campaign advertising in an attempt to isolate and identify verbal styles in campaign spots.

A number of research questions will be posited at the conclusion of the second chapter. Answers to these questions will be used to determine whether or not verbal style can be attributed to the candidates.

Chapter Three of this study will describe the methodology to be used to conduct the research. The computer program DICTION (Hart, 1984) provides a systematic content analysis of words used in the commercials. Once the words have been counted and deposited into specific subdictionaries, the major dictionary variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism will be created. The variables will be examined with Pearson Correlations to determine strength and direction between them.

Results of the data will be provided in the fourth chapter of the dissertation. These data will demonstrate the amount of each variable present in each commercial and help to determine whether a verbal style is present in campaign advertising and whether that style is transient and changes

depending on the status of the candidate (e.g., an incumbent, a member of incumbent party, or candidate of out of office party).

Concluding this study will be a discussion of the results. It is anticipated that certain data recurring in the specific types of commercials previously mentioned will lead to a conclusion that a verbal style is indeed present in televised presidential campaign commercials and that conditions in the milieu of the world and the United States during the campaign are responsible for varying degrees of each variable present in the ads.

Chapter II

Review Of Related Literature And Research

The desired outcome, for any presidential candidate, is to win the position; whether it be for the presidency of the local PTA, a small business association, or the United States of America. Whichever office is being sought, candidate advertising is crucial to the success of the ultimate winner. In the end, mass media advertising in general and television advertising is more important for the candidate running for the presidency of the United States than for the other two; however, local television advertising is often used to espouse the qualities of those candidates as well.

This chapter will review advertising in general and presidential campaign advertising in particular, discuss scholarly research conducted on political spots, provide definitions of presidential character and communication styles, and offer research questions that will guide this study.

Advertising and Motivation to Vote

Since the desired outcome of a presidential election is to become president of the United States, candidates employ various methods to motivate voters to accept their candidacy

and vote for them. The two most common methods of motivation are campaign speeches and advertisements. As Aristotle (1954) argues, rhetoric is defined as observing in any given event the available means of persuasion. Attempts at persuasion take place in both speeches and advertisements. But what exactly motivates a voter to cast a ballot for a specific candidate?

Humans employ precepts, proverbs, and normative propositions in elaborate, complex systems of folklore, theology, cosmogony, and metaphysics to help explain social existence (Pareto, 1933). These variables may not provide a faithful description of this existence but refer humans to symbolics--meaningful interpretations of the human condition "often it is through them alone that we manage to gain some knowledge of the forces which are at work in society--that is, of the tendencies and inclinations of human beings" (Pareto, 1933, p. xxvi). In other words, humans tend to make choices for specific reasons. Motivation research attempts to describe the factors responsible for such choices.

Motivation research seeks to identify the motives people use in making decisions. Motivation research attempts to get at the unconscious or subconscious mind of the individual because preference is generally not determined by factors of which the individual is aware (Cheskin, 1961; Dichter, 1964). In product advertising, the researcher wants

to know what motives contribute to consumer buying behavior? It is responses to motives that lead to the elimination of motives (Frederick, 1957). People are motivated by emotional and rational factors (Cheskin, 1959); motivational research is the branch of market research which concentrates on the "why" of buying (Dichter, 1964). What motivates people to buy or use a product or vote for a candidate?

Bernays (1952) maintains that "motives are the conscious and subconscious pressures created by the force of desires" (p. 138). These include but are not limited to self-preservation, ambition, pride, hunger, love of family and children, patriotism, imitativeness, the desire to be a leader, and love or play (Bernays, 1952). These concepts and others are the psychological raw materials every potential leader must account for in their endeavor to win the public to their point of view, to sell a product or get elected president of the United States. In advertising or promotion there are certain themes that must appeal to basic human motivations if they are to be successful (Fleishman & Cutler, 1955).

There is a linchpin between motivational research for product advertising and political advertising. The group depth interview(Goldman & McDonald, 1987) is used in motivational research and the focus group(Merton & Kendall, 1946) is used in research for political advertising.

In both cases, groups of "average" individuals are interviewed and asked a series of questions designed to determine their likes and dislikes and what product they would be willing to use to satisfy their needs. In focus group discussions for a political spot advertisement the interviewees respond by indicating what they like or do not like about a particular spot and how they feel the spot will play to the American public. Candidates, their campaigns, and campaign managers are constantly trying to find the approach that will motivate the electorate to respond positively to the candidacy.

What is the motivation to vote? Campbell, Gurin and Miller (1954) offer three approaches to answer the question. The first is "The Study of External Events." Research in any election will uncover at least one individual who will claim that their decision was not made until they heard a particular speech, saw a convincing television program (advertisement), or read something impressive about the candidate in a magazine or newspaper. The second is "The Study of Sociological Setting." This approach is closer to what can be termed appealing to "special interest groups." The presidential candidate attempts to appeal to certain groups of people by naming a specific person to the ticket. The third is "The Study of Intervening Variables." Additional information concerning voting behavior may be

gleaned by researching the attitudes, expectations, and group loyalties of the perspective voter. These commonly termed "psychological variables" intervene between the external events of the voters world and their ultimate behavior. These include:

1) Personal identification with one of the political parties.
2) Concern with issues of national government policies.
3) Personal attraction to the presidential candidate.
4) Conformity to the group standards of one's associates.
5) A sense of personal efficacy in the area of politics.
6) A sense of civic obligation to vote (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954, pp. 83-85).

All of these factors have significance when determining a motivation to vote. The first four not only stimulate the individual to vote, but influence the direction of vote. The last two influence the act of voting and not necessarily the direction of the vote (Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, 1954).

Alexander (1959) notes that the American voter has only "four choices: (a) Straight Democratic vote; (b) straight Republican vote; (c) split voting; and (d) refraining from voting" (p. 300). However, 3rd party candidates have offered

the voters a fifth choice. The candidacy of a strong Independent Party candidate has changed the view of the presidential election landscape in America and given voters another electoral option.

A voter might be motivated to cast a ballot for a particular candidate based on any one or all six of the factors posited by Campbell et al. (1954); however, it is incumbent on the prospective presidential candidate to advertise their candidacy in such a way as to maximize their strengths in the areas of concerns (motives) of the voter. The next section explores the history and background of political advertising.

History and Background of Political Spots

Often viewed as the most powerful and influential position in the world, "the presidency can be viewed as America's foremost political invention--one sometimes copied by newer nations but not successfully" (Koenig, 1965, p.58). As Will (1987) notes, American voters select a president on "the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of a year divisible by four" (p.170). Every four years since 1788 a presidential election has been held in the United States (Denton & Woodward, 1990). The election of a president is big business in the United States, and the big businesses of the mass media have done their part to continue the trend.

When George Washington was first selected president in 1788, and again in 1792, he was a unanimous choice of the electors (Wayne, 1992). But then, there was no other candidate for the office. Washington probably spent very little to advertise his campaign. However, when Washington refused a third term and Thomas Jefferson was nominated by the Anti-Federalists (Republicans) to run against John Adams and the Federalists, the two party campaign for the presidency began and with it came campaign advertising. This first contested race for the presidency was a harbinger of elections to follow. Both campaigns used newspaper stories, handbills, and pamphlets to smear the other candidate (Jamieson, 1992b). Campaign advertising and negative campaign advertising began in earnest over 200 years ago.

Presidential campaign advertising is not a twentieth century phenomenon. Moreover, negative campaign advertising did not begin with the 1960 Kennedy/Nixon campaign. Campaign advertising and negative campaign advertising have been part of American presidential politics since the first contested election. What has changed, however, is the technology for producing and distributing the ads.

Twentieth Century technology, the mass media, brought changes leading to a sophistication in campaign advertising that has aided campaigns in advancing their candidate while

attempting to discredit the opponent. Newspaper, radio, and television are generally acknowledged as the central mass media in presidential elections in the United States (Marshall, 1981). Newspapers are now considered part of the mass media.

Two hundred years ago newspapers were simply information sheets for business owners and the political elite (Hollander, 1985). Newspapers evolved from weeklies carrying business information to the select few to dailies carrying news to the public. With the mass appeal of newspapers it became apparent that this was a good vehicle for promoting, selling, and advertising a candidate for office or for condemning an opponent.

In 1920, radio entered as another mass medium in the political arena (Hollander, 1985). Radio provided its audience with live broadcasts of candidate speeches and the first exposure to spot advertisements (Diamond & Bates, 1988; 1992). But by the late 1940's another broadcast medium was on the horizon, one that would replace radio in its ability to bring the candidate right into the living room of the voter. By 1952, television and presidential politics were wed and have just celebrated their 44 year anniversary. This four decade union has all but eliminated radio from the ranks of the mass media that provides any control over voting behavior (Kraus & Davis, 1976), at least in

presidential campaigns. While traditional radio programming has slipped in its importance in determining voting behaviors, talk radio programming and it's influence has been on the rise in the 1990's. The press continues to provide information to high-interest voters, especially in local and nonpartisan issues (Kraus & Davis, 1976). But as contested presidential elections move into their third century in the United States, television and television spot advertisements have become important and indispensable Siamese twins to the presidential candidate. Although print and radio are still used during presidential campaigns, and the Internet is beginning to play a role in campaign communication, discussions about the use of "the media" usually begin and end with television (Hiebert, Jones, Lorenz, & Lotito, 1971, p.92).

Two factors can be seen as contributing to the increasing use of television advertising in presidential elections: the evolution of presidential primaries in the United States (Aldrich, 1980; Bartels, 1988; Davis, 1980; Marshall, 1981; Wayne, 1992), and the fact that television is a relatively inexpensive way to reach hundreds of thousands even millions of voters (Diamond & Bates, 1988, 1992; Jamieson, 1992b).

The Eisenhower/Stevenson campaign of 1952 was the first presidential campaign to use televised spot advertisements (Barkin, 1983; Diamond & Bates, 1988, 1992; Felknor, 1992; Jamieson, 1992b; Kraus & Davis, 1976; Lang & Lang, 1984; Trent & Friedenberg, 1991; Wood, 1988). Rosser Reeves of the Ted Bates Advertising Firm is the agency executive credited with conceiving the plan to use spot advertisements for Eisenhower (Diamond & Bates, 1988 & 1992; Jamieson, 1992b; Wood, 1988). Since 1952, the political spot advertisement has become a staple of presidential campaigns.

Political Advertising and Television

"Political advertising and political propaganda are undoubtedly as old as communication itself" (Kaid, 1981, p.249). Whether it is known as political advertising or political propaganda, it is only words and pictures unless a method for transmitting the message is present (Ellul, 1965; Ewen, 1988; MacDonald, 1989). Certainly, in the last half of the twentieth century, television has been the main channel for the transmission of political ideas and images (Dinkin, 1989; Minnow, Martin, & Mitchell, 1973).

"Television has tended to personalize politics" (Meyrowitz, 1985, p.222). "Television brings politicians right into the living rooms and lets voters form their own impressions, rather than voters having to depend on what local party bosses, union leaders, church spokesman, or

business chiefs say" (Smith, 1988, p. 36). Part, if not most, of what an electorate gets to see of a candidate during the campaign comes from commercials. The idea of product spot advertising was conceptualized by Reeves in 1948 (Aden, 1989; Diamond & Bates, 1988, 1992; Wood, 1988) and he is often credited with originating campaign advertising on television (Mickelson, 1989; Wood, 1988).

Reeves (1961) defines advertising as: "The art of moving an idea from one man's head into the head of another" (p.92). He argues that advertising could be considered successful by studying two variables: penetration refers "to the number of people who remember (and who do not remember) your current advertising" (p.10) and usage pull to "The number of customers in each group. The difference in these two figures shows how many have been pulled over to the usage of your product by your advertising" (p.10). Reeves continues his explanation of advertising success noting that a "too frequent change of your advertising campaign destroys penetration" (p.29), "the consumer tends to remember just one thing from an advertisement--one strong claim, or one strong concept" (p.34), and "you can actually decrease your competitor's penetration by using those advertising techniques and devices that increase your own" (p.37). Reeves brought these product advertising theories into the 1952 presidential race and forever changed the landscape of

American presidential campaigning.

"Reeves was the dean of the hammer-it-home school of advertising, the prince of the hard sell" (Diamond & Bates, 1988, p.39). He believed that if soap could be profitably sold using this formula, then so could a presidential candidate (Lang & Lang, 1984; Newman, 1994). The principle is fairly simple. Use campaign advertising to get an idea from your candidate to the voting public and convince the electorate to vote for your candidate. Keep the ads unequivocal and unambiguous and stick to one theme or issue in each ad. A candidate can use many examples to help describe the issue, but should stick to one issue at a time (e.g., use food prices, clothes prices, and increase cost of consumer goods in general to describe inflation). The candidate should also be ready to respond to an opponents advertisement in order to increase or maintain penetration.

Reeves was able to support his hypothesis in 1952 when he created the political spot advertisement for Eisenhower (Diamond & Bates, 1988). He used editing techniques to produce "Eisenhower Answers America," and helped Republican candidate Dwight Eisenhower defeat Democrat Adlai Stevenson in the race for President of the United States.

The spots featured Eisenhower answering questions posed by "everyday Americans." Each spot featured a camera shot of a man or women asking candidate Eisenhower a question

pertaining to an election issue. After each question, the camera shot switched to Eisenhower providing an answer to the question. Fair enough; except that the answers Eisenhower provided, 40 in all, were recorded on September 11, 1952 at the Transfilm, Inc. Studio on West 43rd Street in Manhattan, and the questions were recorded some time later by "everyday Americans" recruited from visitors to Radio City Music Hall. In both instances, answers and questions were written by Reeves and were read by the questioners and Eisenhower from cue cards. Reeves then edited and matched answers to questions (Diamond & Bates, 1988; Wood, 1988).

Reeves also decided to purchase time between popular television shows airing in 1952. This proved prophetic. Most popular shows produced in the early 1950's were sponsored by one major advertiser. These programs had large national audiences, and purchasing ad time after the end of one show and before the beginning of the next provided maximum coverage for a minimal cost (Diamond & Bates, 1988; Wood, 1988). Using these time buying techniques, Reeves targeted 844,320 voters in 62 counties in 12 states as those he needed to convince to vote for Eisenhower to gain the 249 electoral votes needed to ensure victory (Wood, 1988).

Even though the techniques employed by Reeves seem commonplace and obvious by today's standards of advertising and time buying, they were considered revolutionary in 1952 and ushered in new dimensions in presidential campaigning. While Reeves was considered the prince of the hard sell and successful in his techniques, there is little, if any, literature associating his political campaign spots for Eisenhower with negative advertising. However, any discussion of presidential campaign advertising would not be complete unless the topic and philosophy of negative commercials was addressed.

Television and Negative Campaign Advertising

Since 1964, two men have been clearly associated with negative campaign advertising: Tony Schwartz and Roger Ailes. Schwartz, a recording and sound specialist, produced the Daisy spot for the 1964 Johnson campaign (Diamond & Bates, 1988; Jamieson, 1992b). Ailes, "the dark prince of negative advertising" (Colford, 1988, p.67), was head of the Bush Media team during the 1988 campaign (Devlin, 1989).

Schwartz believes that "the real question in political advertising is how to surround the voter with the proper auditory and visual stimuli to evoke the reaction you want for him, i.e., his voting for a specific candidate" (Schwartz, 1973, p.93).

The famous Daisy Girl commercial produced by Schwartz featured a young girl counting daisy petals and pausing at nine. At this point, the countdown for a nuclear test is heard culminating in a nuclear explosion. The spot ends with Johnson imploring humans to love one another and an announcer asking people to vote for Johnson on November 3. Nowhere in the spot is Goldwater's name mentioned, but as history records, many people clearly associated the threat of nuclear war with Goldwater (Diamond & Bates, 1988). Although the ad only ran once it was successful because it played on the fear and anxiety of the public (Kaid & Johnston, 1991; Kern, 1989).

Ailes controlled the campaign advertising for George Bush in his 1988 presidential election campaign against Michael Dukakis. His job was to put as much ideological distance between Bush and Dukakis as he could (McCarthy, 1988). Although he did not produce all the television commercials, he had creative control over them.

The 1988 election featured negative ads produced for both candidates. "George Bush aired thirty-seven ads, of which fourteen could be labeled negative [and] Dukakis aired forty-seven ads, with twenty-three of those being negative" (Devlin, 1989, p.406). Commercials produced and sponsored by third parties also figured prominently in the 1988 election.

These third party producers were independent sponsors (Kaid & Boydston, 1987) not directly under control of the campaign.

Two memorable commercials from the 1988 campaign were produced for Bush, the "Revolving Door" and "Willie Horton." Both ads were aimed at Dukakis's weak stand on the death penalty issue and his weekend furlough program for prisoners. The "Revolving Door" featured a number of prisoners walking in line out of prison through a revolving prison gate and a voice over audio reminding the viewer that Dukakis vetoed the death penalty as governor of Massachusetts and gave weekend furloughs to first-degree murders not eligible for parole. During this ad "268 escaped" was superimposed after the furlough statement. This added feature led many viewers to wrong conclusions about the number of escaped murderers and was the product of Ailes (Devlin, 1989).

The "Willie Horton" ad is important because it was produced and sponsored by a third party. The National Security Political Action Committee produced an ad that associated Dukakis's weekend furlough program with a black murderer, Willie Horton, who jumped furlough, raped a Caucasian Maryland women, and attacked her fiancee (Jamieson, 1992b). Even though Ailes is not credited with this ad, it certainly went a long way in putting ideological

distance between George Bush and Michael Dukakis.

In 1992, Bush aired 32 ads, of which 18 or 56.3 percent were negative while Clinton aired 39 spots of which 27 or 69.2 percent were considered negative (Kaid, 1994). "Having both candidates produce more negative than positive ads and especially having presidential candidates air a 50/50 ratio of positive/negative ads is a high watermark in negative ad emphasis in a presidential campaign"(Devlin, 1993, p.288). In 1992, Perot aired only 19 spots none of which were considered negative(Kaid, 1994). Frank Greer of Greer, Margolis, Mitchell, Grunwald (GMMG) headed the Clinton advertising campaign and "in 1992 no one in advertising was as close to the president nor a part of the inner circle of advisors nor entrusted with command-decision-making responsibility as Roger Ailes had been in 1988" (Devlin, 1993, p.277).

Because of the high percentage of negative ads produced and aired in the 1992 presidential election, including those produced by incumbent Bush, the 1992 presidential campaign can be considered the most negative in history (Kaid, 1994), although it now appears that the 1996 presidential campaign may exceed the negativity of 1992 (Kaid, in press). Even though the ads in the 1992 race were considered negative based on their attacks, none seemed nearly as severe as the personal attack ads produced in the 1988 campaign.

The Clinton advertising team developed three types of negative ads "which in order of popularity, were documentary-style testimony refutation ads, response ads, and ads that focused on individual problems in particular states or regions" (Devlin, 1993, p.275).

The refutation ads were the most common and featured Bush making a promise. For instance, "Read my lips. No new taxes." Then text from a "credible source" (e.g., Washington Post, Wall Street Journal) would be displayed describing how the president signed the second biggest tax increase in history while an announcer read the text. As Greer noted, the rationale for this type of ad grew from focus group identification with the ad telling the truth rather than considering them to be negative (Devlin, 1993).

Because of public sentiment toward the Bush campaign of 1988, his 1992 strategists, the November Company, were charged with creating negative ads that were not deemed as unfair or unfounded as those of the 1988 campaign. Since ads seen as taking a serious or deliberative tone criticizing Clinton were viewed in the same light as some of the 1988 ads, humor was used to attack Clinton. In one ad "Guess," bluegrass music played as speeded-up frames highlighted a negative look at the Clinton record, depicting him as the "Serial Taxer of Arkansas." Other negative ads created by the Bush team featured the "man on the street" approach

where an announcer asks a supposedly unknown person to respond to a question, usually a question that allows for some ranking of the candidate (e.g., debate winner, candidate believability, etc.). Perhaps the most negative ad created by the Bush team in 1992 was the "Trust" ad. This ad was considered negative more for the picture of Clinton rather than for what was said in the ad. The spot begins with a close up of a mans's eyes and nose, then the camera zooms out to reveal an unflattering image of Clinton. As this is happening an announcer proclaims "He said he was never drafted. Then he admitted he was drafted. Then he said he forgot being drafted...The question then was avoiding the draft. Now for Bill Clinton it is a question of avoiding the truth" (Devlin, 1993, p.281). The visual power of this ad came from the transformation of the picture to affect a film negative.

Even though the percentage of negative ads aired by both major party candidates in the 1992 presidential race was greater than that of any other presidential campaign, neither candidate seemed to attempt the outright character assassination of the other as was done in the 1988 contest.

This brief look at negative campaign advertising was conducted for two reasons. The first was to introduce the topic and the second was to demonstrate how evolving technology has aided in the creation and distribution of

negative political advertising. Somehow it is hard to imagine that when Thomas Jefferson or John Adams supporters attacked their rivals that the same pathos was generated from a handbill or newspaper story as was created by the stark reality of the two black and white television ads used by the Bush campaign in 1988 or the computer generated technology used in 1992.

The Presidential Campaign

Perhaps the easiest way to come to an understanding of a presidential campaign and the importance of campaign commercials to it is to structure a discussion that takes the candidate from the experiences of the preprimary through the primary campaign to the nominating convention, the general election campaign, and finally to the steps of the White House on Inauguration Day.

Journalist Arthur Hadley (1976) calls the interval between the election of one president and the start of the first primary to determine the next presidential candidates "the invisible primary." This political contest has many of the same features that characterize the contests that eventually take place in the actual state primaries. The differences between the two types of primaries is that the "invisible" one takes place behind the scenes as far as the general public is concerned, whereas the American voter is

very conscious of the regular primaries (Watson & Thomas, 1988).

The "invisible primary" presents an opportunity for the would-be presidential candidates to determine whether their candidacy is viable. Hadley (1976) emphasizes the "psychological" factor. The candidate must decide whether or not they are willing to withstand the arduous process needed to win. The process involves long absences from home, long hours on the campaign trail, and many short, sometimes sleepless, nights. For instance, Walter Mondale withdrew from the 1976 presidential race in November of 1974 maintaining he did not have an overwhelming desire to be President (Hadley, 1980; Watson & Thomas, 1988).

It is during this invisible primary phase that the presidential candidate assembles a campaign staff and begins to plan the strategy of the campaign and build a constituency (Herzberg & Peltason, 1970). This constituency is a large group of workers that are willing to do advance work necessary to organize states for the upcoming primaries and caucus-conventions.

Another major factor in this early phase, and perhaps the most important, is how the would-be candidates fare with the media. "As columnist Russell Baker notes, the members of the media are the 'great mentioner,' the source of name

recognition and favorable publicity" (Watson & Thomas, 1988, p.36). Adverse comments can seriously damage a candidacy. Jerry Brown was never taken seriously in his bids for the Democratic party nomination because of press labels of "spacey" and "far out." Gary Hart and Joseph Biden's 1988 campaigns were stopped during the "invisible primary" (Thomas, Pika, & Watson, 1994) and announcements of historical adverse health were partly responsible for Paul Tsongas leaving the 1992 campaign in April of 1992 (Trent, 1994).

The "invisible primary" is also the time when the candidate raises funds to begin the campaign. With the proper name recognition and finance committee participation, the candidate will raise enough money to begin the campaign. If the candidate has early successes, then the money should continue to flow into the campaign coffers (Herzberg & Peltason, 1970).

No other democracy in the world has a presidential election that compares to the presidential electoral process in the United States. As Watson and Thomas (1988) label it, the presidential election process in the United States is often referred to as the "World Series" of electoral politics. In no other democracy do so many people cast ballots directly for a single office holder. Virtually no other campaign lasts as long as United States Presidential

campaign and none involve as many people, take as long, or cost as much. Further, no other electoral contest receives as much coverage from the mass media as does the American presidential campaign (Watson & Thomas, 1988). This process begins with the announcement of candidacy and the primaries and caucuses leading to the nominating convention.

George Will (1987) describes the presidential campaign as the opposite of a running river:

> But most campaigns are the reverse of that. They start out muddy and become clarified and clarifying. In the crucible of competition learn their own minds and the public's mind. And both minds are shaped as well as discovered in the process (p.170).

In this statement, Will describes the importance of communication in the campaign. The voters learn about the candidate and the candidate learns about the voters. The candidate has their set of preconceived issues and themes to campaign around, but indeed, if they are to be effective, they must listen to the voters and address their needs. This happens to a large extent in the prenomination primaries and caucuses. However, much more indeed takes place in the months preceding the nomination.

Just as takes place during the general election, when one candidate attempts to demonstrate differences between their candidacy and their opponents, the nomination campaign

performs the same functions in an intraparty venue (Pika, Mosley,& Watson, 1992). As Trent and Friedenberg (1991) point out, an important function of these early campaign stages is to provide voters with information about the candidates. Television advertising thus becomes an important part of the surfacing process for candidates (Gold, 1986).

The nomination campaign is a long, winnowing process (Arterton, 1978; Matthews, 1978) during which candidates from each party attempt to separate themselves from other party hopefuls and secure the nomination. The nomination phase could actually be considered to be more important than the election phase (Matthews, 1974; Sigelman, 1991). As Austin Ranney notes, "the parties' nomination process eliminate far more presidential possibilities than do the voters' electing process" (Ranney, 1974, p.71).

The general election campaign is much more structured than the nomination campaign. During the general election, the campaign is usually one on one. The candidate from the Republican party runs against the candidate nominated by the Democratic party, unless there is a viable third party candidate on the ballot as there was in 1992 when Ross Perot campaigned for the presidency. During the nomination campaign, any number of aspirants may be seeking the nomination from one party. The nomination campaign is one against many rather than one against one as in the general

election. The general election has a rather short and well defined campaign period (from Labor Day in early September to election day in early November). The nomination campaign can be rather long and is usually not as well defined. The nomination campaign begins when one hopeful announces their intentions. Although it may not be a formal announcement, some candidates begin testing the waters immediately after an election, especially those from the out of office party. For instance, shortly after the 1992 election, it became known that Bob Dole and Jack Kemp would be interested in running for the Republican nomination in 1996. Shortly after the Republicans gained simultaneous control over both houses of Congress, during the 1994 off year election, Speaker Newt Gingrich became an aspirant as did Senator Phil Gramm. Although none formally announced, the prenomination campaigning began for the Republican party shortly after George Bush lost the 1992 election. The general election takes place in all 50 states concurrently; the nomination campaigns and elections take place in stages as states hold primaries and caucuses. Party nominees can use the party name, and party machinery to generate votes and money during the general election campaign. During the nomination phase, when numerous candidates from the same party are running for the nomination, each must develop their own unique method for generating support (Watson & Thomas, 1988).

Once the primary and caucus season is completed, another ritualistic event (Nimmo & Combs, 1983) in presidential politics commences. The party's hold their nominating conventions. Over the last 42 years and 11 presidential campaigns, the national party nominating conventions have been doing less nominating while the primaries and caucuses have been doing more. In the six presidential election campaigns since 1968, neither party has held a nominating convention while not knowing who the nominee was to be before the convention began. Basically, the effects of the primary and caucus season have been to elect a party nominee before the convention.

In this age of the "teleconvention," the nominating conventions seem to fulfill three functions: first, they celebrate the candidacies of their nominee's; second, they provide an illusion of national unity; and third, they offer expressions of compromise and unity (Nimmo & Combs, 1983). Although the actual general election campaign begins after the national nominating conventions, both major party candidates have been selected and known months before. Possibly the greatest surprise to come from the nominating conventions is the announcement of a vice-presidential running mate. Once the conventions have adjourned, the campaign begins and the candidates (and their running mates and wives and campaign staffs) begin criss-crossing America

attempting to gain enough support to capture the 270 electoral votes needed to win the presidency.

Before continuing with the general election phase of the campaign, it might be prudent to investigate some of the technologies that are available to the candidates to help spread their campaign messages.

Technology and the Campaign

There is no dearth of commercials during presidential campaigns. Many begin early in the primary season and last through the day before the general election. The change in campaign commercials can be directly linked to the technologies used to produce and deliver them. The emergence of technology in politics can be traced to the computer and advances in computer technology (Hershey, 1984). The computer aids in the organization of "campaign information systems, including scheduling, advance and headquarters operations, finance, volunteer activity, research, demographic targeting, and most important, voter communication" (Meadow, 1984, 141). The computer is also largely responsible for changes in production techniques used in campaign commercials. Enhancement of colors, morphing of images, and print and picture graphics are just a few of the changes traceable to advancements made in computer technology.

The evolution of broadcast technology has also been responsible for changes in presidential campaign commercials. As video recording and play back equipment have evolved, lag time between an attack and response has been reduced (Roddy & Garramone, 1988). As television technology has evolved, so has opportunities for advertising. Once thought to be nearing extinction as a political advertising tool (Meadow, 1984), new television technology has increased its ability to communicate. Such technological sophistication as cable television, video cassettes, video discs, fiber optics (thin glass "wires" that carry many channels of information), direct satellite-to-home broadcasts, and the marriage of computer, television, and the telephone (Meyrowitz, 1985) have dramatically increased opportunities for candidates to engage in electorate communication. In the not to distant future, interactive cable systems will allow a voter to request a specific advertisement or speech to be aired in their home, office, airplane, boat, train, or space shuttle ocular and auditory entertainment screen. Obviously, voter contact is at the core of campaign communication and advertising, and door to door canvassing and telephone communication are still viable techniques for spreading the candidate's name and message. But as technologies continue to develop and become more

sophisticated, campaign advertisements can be produced and directed toward a more targeted audience as well as the general electorate. After all, regardless of the technology employed, the basic premise to campaign advertising is to get the candidate's name and face recognized by the voter. Once this is accomplished, the candidate's message must also be delivered to the voting public. The end result of the campaign is to get the candidate identified with their message and elected.

When the quest for the presidency commences after the nomination phase is completed, the candidates encounter a different set of problems. Winning the nomination was the first hurdle; winning the general election is the second. "The rules change as the electoral college and the campaign finance legislation relating to general elections shape the way the fall campaign will be waged" (Watson & Thomas, 1988, p.67). No longer is the candidate faced with many opponents from their own party, but only one candidate from the other party--unless, as in 1992, a strong third party candidate enters the race. New appeals must be developed to campaign against only one candidate from the opposing party. Usually the audience doubles in terms of voters who participate in the primary season. The candidates must develop some strategy to capture the supporters of those candidates that lost the party nomination as well as trying to appeal to

those of the opposing party whose candidate did not win the nomination. "Politics is a business of building coalitions. It involves tamping down differences and stressing commonalities" (Murphy & Schneier, 1974, p.83). Complicating the entire situation is the fact that the new expanded phase of the presidential campaign is compressed into a relatively short period of about ten weeks (Watson & Thomas, 1988).

The communication technologies used in the general election campaign are the same as those used in the prenomination phase of the candidacy, with one exception. Television campaigning becomes a more effective medium. The candidate is now trying to appeal to millions of voters nation wide and the most effective method of reaching this vast number of people in a relatively inexpensive way is through the telecast medium.

Issue and Image Characteristics

As the campaign progresses from the surfacing stages of the preprimary, through the primary, nomination, and general election stages, one item remains constant. The candidate is constantly attempting to sell their image and the issues they deem important to the electorate (Huseby, 1983). This selling job is principally completed through campaign speeches and campaign advertisements. Image has generally referred to the personal characteristics of the candidate(Joslyn, 1980; Kain & Sanders, 1978; Louden, 1994;

Shyles, 1984), for instance, the visual likeness, (e.g., hair color, height, weight, etc.). Issue has referred to specific policy stances (Joslyn, 1980; Kaid & Sanders, 1978; Louden, 1984; Shyles, 1983), for instance, a candidate's position on tax increases, or jobs, or roads. While the physical characteristics of a candidate certainly contribute to their chances for election, the issues on which they campaign would seem to be equally, if not more, important.

National Interest Issues

Traditionally there have been four policy areas from which campaign issues are determined: international involvement, economic management, social benefits, and civil liberties. International involvement refers to issues influencing American involvement overseas on such matters as commitments to foreign governments, defense spending, foreign aid, and intervention in foreign wars. Nuechterlein (1978, 1991) identifies these areas as "public interest" issues. In terms of foreign policy management, Nuechterlein offers defense interests, economic interests, world order interests, and ideological interests as the issues he identifies with "basic national interests." (Nuechterlein, 1978, p.4). These interests describe how the United States is to compete in the international arena. Defense interests include the defense of the United States and its constitutional system from threat of attack by a foreign

state or government. Economic interests involve increasing foreign trade and protecting United States exports. World order interests describe an international political and economic process in which the United States, its citizens, and commerce can operate peacefully outside its borders. Ideological interests involve the "promotion abroad of U.S. democratic values and the free market system" (Nuechterlein, 1991, p.17). Although closely aligned to public interest, domestic internal issues, the basic national interests, contain the themes generally referred to as foreign policy issues.

Economic management concerns the ability of the federal government to manage the economy through its level of spending, and economic controls, and it considers the power of the federal government. Social benefits involve programs that protect the public from adverse circumstances such as health care, social security, education, etc. Civil liberties encompasses those areas including civil rights, police power, busing, and life style questions (Kessel, 1980). From these four areas any number of campaign issues might be generated.

During the Eisenhower administration, issues of interest included traditional concerns such as welfare, relations between labor and management, and foreign policy issues involving two new threats--the spread of communism

and the atomic bomb. During the 1960's, specific issues embraced concerns over civil rights and the Vietnam War. In 1968 and again in 1972, civil rights and Vietnam were joined by "such new matters as crime, disorder, and juvenile delinquency--sometimes refereed to collectively along with race problems as 'social issues'"(Thomas, Pika, & Watson, 1994, p.81).

In the 1980's, more social problems, including poverty and the elderly, found their way into the presidential races, as did the economy, unemployment, inflation, and taxes. The 1980's also featured the Iran hostage crises and such specific topics as the Iran-Contra controversy and the stock market crash of 1987. Other controversial issues during the 1980's included business regulation, government aid to the poor, income leveling laws, South Africa disinvestment, verified nuclear freeze, defense budget, abortion rights, school prayer, affirmative action, death penalty for murder, hiring homosexuals, and hand gun control (Graber, 1989).

The dominant issues in the 1992 election were the economy, deficit, social issues, and taxes (Kaid, 1994). Other issue areas highlighted during a presidential campaign generally refer to candidate qualifications, usually determined by experience in office. This is commonly

referred to as candidate characteristic (Thomas, Pika, & Watson, 1994).

Clearly, the issues featured in the presidential elections since 1952 fall under the rubric of one of the four policy areas. Obviously the issues that are salient to each election are determined by the political climate or milieu at the time.

As previously mentioned, campaign advertising has been around as long as there have been contested elections. But with the introduction of new electronic technologies (e.g., radio, television, computers, interactive media, etc.), the production, distribution, and consumption of political campaign commercials has been altered dramatically. Every presidential election year, the American public is deluged with televised campaign commercials beginning with the primary and caucus season leading to the nominating convention and culminating in a sprint from Labor Day to the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. These races, and more specifically the advertisements aired during these races, have led to numerous academic investigations into their effects, changes in broadcast news coverage of elections (Newman, 1994), and realignment of the strategy of general election campaigning (Diamond & Bates, 1992; Foster & Muste, 1992).

Scholarly Research On Political Spots

As Nimmo and Sanders (1981) note, the growth of research in the field of political communication grew steadily from the early 1950's to 1972. The study of political communication became interdisciplinary after the 1952 election and within 20 years at least 1,000 entries were noted by Sanders, Hirsh, and Pace (Nimmo & Sanders, 1981). Two years later, Kaid, Sanders, and Hirsh (1974) listed more than 1,500 studies in their bibliography. By 1981, research was beginning to focus on specific areas of the political campaign and Kaid (1981) provided a review of "Political Advertising." Kaid and Wadsworth (1985) added to the burgeoning field with their compilation of studies: "Political campaign communication: A bibliography and guide to the literature: 1973-1982." Johnston (1990) supplied a "Selective Bibliography of Communication Research 1982-1988," reviewing more than 650 studies including 47 listed under "Political Advertising." Louden (1989) has rendered the most extensive "Political Advertising Bibliography" with more than 200 entries.

Research in political advertising has taken various directions. Some studies have investigated the content of the message in the ads (Joslyn, 1980), others focused on presentation styles of political spots (Elebash & Rosene, 1982; Kaid & Davidson, 1986), as well as effects on voters

(Atkin, Bowen, Nayman & Sheinkoph, 1973; Atkin & Heald, 1976) and interaction studies designed "to examine the interaction between some combination of effects, presentation style, and content" (Aden, 1989, p.9). Shyles. (1984), Kaid and Sanders (1978), Mansfield and Hale (1986), and Garramone (1984) provide examples of interaction studies.

Studies of political spots have employed four fairly distinct methods: rhetorical/descriptive approach (Benson, 1981; Rudd, 1986); the content analysis approach (Buss & Hofstetter, 1976; Joslyn, 1980); the survey approach (Prisuta, 1972); and the experimental design approach (Cundy, 1986; Garramone, 1985; Kaid & Sanders, 1978).

Although research on political campaigns has fostered such models as "limited effects" (Berelson, Lazarsfeld, & McPhee, 1954; Lazarsfeld, Berelson, & Gaudet, 1944), "agenda setting" (Cohen, 1963; McCombs & Shaw, 1972), and "uses and gratifications" (McLeod & Becker, 1981), these models or approaches all presuppose that the audience is viewing ads for some specific purpose. However, at the time of this writing, this author is not aware of any program that is aired at a specific time every four years providing the audience with continuous presidential campaign commercials. Therefore, it would seem that research designed to determine why an audience watches or attends to a specific program is

not directly germane to an analysis of the words used in a campaign commercial. Such an analysis might provide data that could ultimately be used to identify a "verbal style" employed by the candidate in the commercial.

Television and Campaign Advertising

The transmission of persuasive information to the electorate (Kessel, 1980; Minow, Martin, & Mitchell, 1973) is the goal of every presidential campaign. Television appearances provide the channel by which a candidate may place their view before a potentially large audience (Minow, Martin, & Mitchell, 1973). Though campaign advertisements are not generally acknowledged as being the main cause for victory or defeat, media consultants agree that they can make some difference (Chagall, 1981; Polsby & Wildavsky, 1991; Sabato, 1981). A consultant is considered a specialist in political campaign communication and Napolitan (1972) argues that there are only three steps to winning an election: first, define the message to be communicated by the candidate to the electorate; second, select the methods for transmission of the message, and third, "implement the communication process" (p.2). Once the issues have been determined and the channel for delivering the message is selected, the best and most efficient method for distributing the communication is through campaign advertising. In presidential elections, every means of

advertising is available: "television, radio, print advertising and brochures, billboards, direct mail, computers, professional telephone campaigns, rallies, meetings, speeches"(Napolitan, 1972, p.3). Advertisements contribute to name identification (Polsby & Wildavsky, 1991; Sabato, 1981) or can help improve a wounded image; they can focus on campaign issues (Graber, 1989; Joslyn 1984; Kern 1989; Polsby & Wildavsky, 1991); or they can be used to attack an opponent. This is often referred to as negative advertising.

Academic research on televised political campaign commercials to determine what might contribute to their effectiveness has focused on the type and length of commercials, issues versus image commercials, and negative campaign commercials. Though other variables have often been researched, as previously noted, these three would seem to support a study focusing on the verbal style used by a candidate to address issues of international involvement, economic management, social benefits, and civil liberties (or attempt to create or maintain a presidential image to the electorate).

Type and Length

The "commercial type of a spot" generally refers to whether or not the advertisement is issue or image oriented. The length of a spot refers to the amount of time, usually

in seconds, it takes the spot to run. In a study conducted in 1974, Kaid and Sanders (1978) found that viewers evaluated candidates higher based on their issue spots and that image spots result in greater recall of the content of the commercial. Also, in terms of voting behavior, the 60 second issue spot scored higher than other combinations. These results, 22 years after Rosser Reeves claimed that a short spot would be remembered more than a long speech, (Atkin, et. al., 1973) appear to vindicate Reeves.

Other research on the effects of political campaign advertising reveal that spot advertising is effective in reaching a vast majority of the electorate (Atkin et al., 1973), and that "political advertising has a strong effect on voting intention in a low involvement race but not in a high involvement race" (Rothschild & Ray, 1974, p.281).

Again, research in political advertising found that radio and television advertising can improve the electorate's knowledge about the candidate, increase emphasis on issues and candidate's attributes, stimulate voter interest in the campaign, make the candidate appear more personable, and strengthen the polarization evaluations of the candidate (Atkin & Heald, 1976).

These studies demonstrate that political commercials can and do have an effect on the electorate; however, Donohue (1973-74) cautions that viewers interpret

commercials from their own field of reference and can read meaning into spots based on their own predisposed beliefs. These beliefs grow from an individual's culture and value systems. "For strongly held values the individual will seek information congenial to his values and will interpret information in a manner congenial to the values" (Devine, 1972, p.9). Biocca offers a psychological definition when he describes the message as being the blueprint of the psychological process. "Upon exposure the viewer builds a message--not always the one intended by the blueprint, but always one influenced by it" (Biocca, 1991a, p.6). The viewer provides closure and meaning to the ad based on their own semantic experiences. Donohue's findings, Devine's explanation, and Biocca's definition tend to support Schwartz (1973) and Nimmo and Combs (1983) in that consumers of commercials create their own reality concerning the product based on previous experiences.

Coding for type and length of a commercial is valuable in determining whether or not candidates use a certain vocabulary or words to address specific issues or build on or improve their image in an advertisement and what types of words are used in commercials of varying length (e.g., 60, 30, 10, second advertisements).

Issue vs Image

"Political campaigns are periods of time during which candidates for public office transmit information to potential voters in an attempt to create support for one's candidacy and to convince voters that they should vote a particular way on election day"(Joslyn, 1980, p.92). In most cases, 60, 30, and 10 second political spot advertisements contain information directed toward political issues or candidate image. Political spot advertising provides significant information to voters (Patterson & McClure, 1976).

Even though the distinction between issue and image ads is sometimes hazy at best (Biocca, 1991b) and some politicians seem to use issue ads to build on their image (Cronkite, Liska, & Schrader, 1991; Rudd, 1986), there is a large body of literature describing differences in the issue/image controversy (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1985).

For the most part, issue information spots have been easier to quantify than image information spots (Shyles, 1986). Joslyn (1980) found issue information present in about three-quarters of the 156 ads he analyzed. Issue usually refers to "specific policy" stands of the candidate (Kaid & Sanders, 1978, p.60). Alternately, image can have two meanings: a) The physical likeness of the candidate (e.g., how much they look like themselves if compared to

photographs) or b) The character attributes of the candidate (Roddy & Garramone, 1988; Shyles, 1984; 1986). More recently, with computer enhancements such as morphing, both qualities might have to be identified in a single commercial.

Nimmo and Savage (1976) argue that a candidate's image consists of how the electorate perceives the candidate. These perceptions include any subjective knowledge held by voters about the candidate's image and information transmitted by the candidate that contributes to image. In terms of campaign strategies, successful incumbents use strategies and advertising techniques designed to enhance their image, while successful challengers employ strategies that will improve their image by demonstrating the weakness in the incumbents past performances (Wadsworth & Kaid, 1987).

Various research projects have analyzed issue and image commercials. Shyles (1983) was able to identify campaign issues from televised spot advertisements, while Garramone (1983) was able to determine that the motivation for attending to a commercial correlated highly with issue knowledge or image formation. In certain circumstances, issues can be used to influence image formation (Rudd, 1986). Rudd's data seems to provide an ideal segue to negative campaign advertising. Using issues to influence

image, however, is not always determined to have negative connotations even if used in attacking an opponent.

It became clear in the 1988 campaign that both candidates, especially George Bush, used issue ads to create an unfavorable image of Michael Dukakis (e.g., soft on crime, weak on environment, etc.). Again, although to not as great an extent as in 1988, in the 1992 presidential election, the Bush campaign used certain campaign issues in an attempt to destroy the credibility and image of Bill Clinton (e.g., marital infidelity, draft evasion, etc.).

Research on issue and image has focused on those variables of the ad that the researcher has used to label it issue oriented or image oriented. As yet, the actual word selection in the advertisements have not been studied and researchers have not investigated the average number of words used in identifying them as issue or image oriented. In addition, word selection in determining the negative or positive valence of an ad has not been investigated.

Negative Campaign Advertising

Negative campaign advertising can be defined as advertising aimed at attacking the image of the other candidate personally, attacking the issues of the other candidate, or attacking the party of the other candidate (Garramone, 1984; Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991; Surlin & Gordon, 1977). Merritt (1984) offers this comparison between

negative political advertising and comparative advertising.

> Both comparative and negative advertising name or identify the competitor. But while comparative advertising identifies the competitor "for the purpose of claiming superiority," negative advertising identifies a competitor for the purpose of imputing inferiority. And unlike comparative advertising, negative advertising need not even mention anything about the sponsor's attributes (Merritt, 1984, p.27).

Johnson-Cartee and Copeland (1991) identified implied ads, comparison ads, and direct ads as types of negative campaign advertisements. The first type is the implicative ad. This ad involves implication and can be associated with the ads used by the Clinton campaign against President Bush. The advertisement uses implication or innuendo about the opponent, but does not rely on a direct attack.

The second type of negative ad is considered a comparative ad. The commercial involves a direct comparison between the candidates. This type of advertisement explicitly exposes the weakness of the opponent. An incumbent office holder is more prone to use a comparative ad to demonstrate that his qualifications exceed those of his rival.

The third type of negative ad is described as the assaultive ad. The assualtive ad directs a personal attack on the character of the opponent, their motives, associates, or actions. There is usually little or no comparison to the orginator of the advertisement (Gronbeck, 1985; Hellweg, 1988; Pfau & Burgoon, 1989). In any event, a negative ad can be considered an attack ad (Jamieson, 1992a; Pfau & Kenski, 1990).

Kaid and Johnston (1991) provide a current analysis and discussion of "Negative Versus Positive Television Advertising in U.S. Presidential Campaigns 1960-1988." Analyzing 830 television spots acquired from the Political Commercial Archive at the University of Oklahoma, Kaid and Johnston discovered that although the 1988 presidential race was considered the most negative in broadcast history [in terms of commercial content], it was no more negative than the previous two campaigns. However, the ads in the 1988 campaign frequently appealed "to voters' fears" (p.53). And although the 1992 presidential campaign, at the time of this writing, is considered the most negative in terms of the shear volume of negative ads run during the campaign, it is the verbal content and video graphics included in the commercials that is of interest in the current study.

Various research projects have analyzed a number of variables pertaining to negative campaign advertising. Trustworthiness in the content of the commercial is increased when a negative ad is sponsored by a third party (e.g., Political Action Committee) rather than the candidate or the candidate's political party (Garramone & Smith, 1984). Three other studies dealt with independent sponsorship and backlash or boomerang effect (Garramone, 1984 & 1985; Kaid & Boydston, 1987). These studies determined that independent sponsorship of an ad reduces the amount of backlash toward the attacking candidate. Roddy and Garramone (1988) also discovered that issue-attack response to a negative attack ad is more effective than image-attack.

Television News and Negative Campaign Commercials

The American electorate get the bulk of their campaign information from television (Gilbert, 1972; Kern, 1989; Simons & Stewart, 1991). This campaign information comes in the forms of paid political spots and "free TV" (Diamond & Bates, 1992; Simons & Stewart, 1991). An argument concerning which is more important is a moot point. Each provides its own kind of information. The paid spot is used and controlled by the candidate. The advertisement is designed to appeal to more potential voters than it offends. But candidates must be careful in their representations and claims in advertisements. As the American public becomes

more sophisticated, they demand more accountability from their politicians (Diamond & Bates, 1992; Smith, 1987).

Because, the paid political spot allows the candidate the freedom to express their views, correctly or incorrectly (Simons & Stewart, 1991) and the consumer may get a "slanted picture of the candidate, paid media is important to give balance" (interview with Michael Kaye in Diamond & Bates, 1992, p.393). Network news, has been accused of spending to much time reporting on the "horserace," who is winning the race, rather than on the issues involved (Garner, Gobetz, Kaid, Leland, Scott, & Whitney, 1990; Graber, 1989). But when reporting on the substance of the race, the press will select an issue to cover (Diamond & Bates, 1992). Kern (1989) argues in favor of "mediality." She maintains that news coverage is the most important phenomenon on the air--more so than the ads or the actual race they are covering. The news sets the agenda for information appearing in political ads.

Regardless of whether network news acts as a gatekeeper or agenda setter for political commercials, the fact remains that presidential candidates are getting an enormous amount of free advertising from the fourth estate, and the Republicans would appear to be more astute at generating this "free press" than the Democrats (Simons & Stewart, 1991).

Free press can come in various forms. The "bonafide" news story is easily adaptable to an incumbent and on occasion a challenger too. For instance, during the 1984 presidential campaign, President Reagan was seen on all three major networks (ABC, NBC, & CBS) taking part in a variety of Fourth of July celebrations. At the same time, Walter Mondale, his opponent, was seen working trying to build coalitions among special interest groups. The image telecast here was of Reagan enjoying the National Holiday, while Mondale was attempting to win favor from special interest groups (Schram, 1987).

Further evidence of the "free press" comes from news coverage of the actual advertisement. This coverage usually involves newscasters viewing the ad on air and then spending time discussing the merits of the ad with one or more campaign experts in the studio or by remote. Garner, et al.(1990) in a content analysis of newscasts, discovered: (a) that network news had increased its coverage of political television commercials for the six elections from 1972 through 1988, especially 1988; (b) the coverage and discussion of commercials occurred during the early stages of the newscast; (c) that news coverage focused more on negative ads than on positive advertising; and (d) that it was a toss-up as to which was responsible for the other. For instance, did negative commercials lead to more news

coverage and discussion or did the amount of coverage and reporting lead to more negative commercials? In any event, the 1988 Bush and Dukakis campaign set the standard for negative campaign ads and the amount of news devoted to covering and discussing the ads. Quite clearly, televised campaign commercials during presidential elections have demonstrated a propensity for dictating the amount of "free press" coverage allocated to the candidate.

Although there have been an enormous number of scholarly studies conducted on televised political campaign advertising since the 1952 elections, these studies have been responsible for data which attempts to describe the ads in terms of their issue or image stance, whether they might be considered negative or positive, or success due to length of commercial. Principally, these studies have not attempted to describe the verbal style that might be attributed to the candidates running for office or an incumbent reseeking the office. This verbal style could also be responsible for describing or identifying the character of the candidate or incumbent. The current study looks at specific words used in campaign advertisements and attempts to demonstrate a verbal style present in the ads that may be responsible for success or failure at the polls.

Presidential Character and Verbal Style

Barber (1972) argues that there are four types of presidential character: active-positive, active-negative, passive-positive, and passive-negative. These four types generate from two baselines. The first is *activity-passivity,* the second is *positive-negative affect.* The *activity-passivity* baseline describes how much energy the president invests in the office, while *positive-negative affect* describes how the president feels about what he is doing as president.

A president exhibiting active-positive characteristics is one who is very active (busy) in their role as president and enjoys what it is they are doing. There is a congruence or consistency associated with the character of an active-positive president. Active-negative character would seem to be a contradiction. However, it describes the character of a president who exhibits a great deal of energy in their role as president, but receives relatively little emotional reward for their efforts. The passive-positive president is easy to get along with, easy to please, and demonstrates concern for others. Their goals are to be well liked in response for being agreeable and cooperative rather than personally assertive. A passive-negative character seems consistent, but begs the question; why is a person, who does

little in the office and does not enjoy what they are doing there in the first place? The answer is that the passive-negative is oriented toward doing dutiful service. They are there because they think they ought to be. It is their duty to America (Barber, 1972).

The presidential character of the office holder can best be interpreted by the rhetoric or verbal style of the individual. How a president speaks and what words they use to describe or ameliorate an event determines what type of baseline characteristic they display. However, with the advent of the omnipresent mass media, a president is often best advised to weigh their character responses against the possible results of their iterations.

Hart (1977, 1984, & 1987) provides examples of presidential communication styles from an oratory or rhetorical perspective. Activity, certainty, optimism, and realism (Hart, 1984) are the four variables he uses to describe presidential verbal style. Through analysis of hundreds of speeches delivered by presidents Franklin Roosevelt through the first two years of Ronald Reagan's first term, Hart was able to isolate and identify activity, certainty, optimism, and realism as verbal variables present in presidential speech. Ballotti (1993) found no significant difference in the verbal style of presidential candidates, although activity, certainty,

optimism, and realism were present and a verbal style existed in the candidate campaign speeches of 1988.

It would follow that if verbal style can be identified and quantified by the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism in the speeches of presidents and presidential candidates, then there should be some traces of these variables in their campaign commercials. Activity words refer to motion, change, or the implementation of ideas. Contributing to activity are such subcategories as aggressiveness (fight, attack), accomplishment (march, push, start), while passive words (quiet, hesitate) and words referring to mental functions (decide, believe) detract from activity (Hart, 1984).

Certainty words indicate resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness. Leveling terms (all, everyone), collective nouns (bureau, department), and rigid verbs (will, shall), make for assured statements, while qualifying terms (almost, might), specificity (e.g., numerical citations), and first-person pronouns signaled an individual's refusal to speak ex cathedra (Hart, 1984).

Optimism is recorded in statements endorsing someone or something, offering positive descriptions, or predicting favorable occurrences. Praise (good, loyal, sweet), enjoyment (exciting, cheerful), or inspiration (courage, trust) contribute to optimism. Negative terms

(won't, cannot) and words of adversity (conflict, despair) detract from optimism scores (Hart, 1984).

Realism expressions refer to tangible, immediate, and practical issues. Realism factors include concreteness (building, family), present-tense verbs, spatial and temporal references (now, day, city, south) and person centered remarks (child, us). Complicated linguistic constructions (e.g., polysyllabic words)and past-tense verbs decrease realism scores (Hart, 1984).

Since activity, certainty, optimism, and realism exist in the speeches of presidents and presidential candidates, it would seem that these same variables would be present, at least to some extent, in the campaign commercials of the candidates for president of the United States. In endeavoring to contribute to the existing corpus of knowledge surrounding presidential campaign commercials, the heuristic value of the current study lies in its attempt to isolate and demonstrate that the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism exist in presidential campaign commercials and, thus, a verbal style can be attributed to them.

Rationale

Because Hart (1984) was able to use the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism to identify the verbal style of presidents based on their speeches and

because he felt the strengths and weaknesses of a president could be inferred from their speeches, it would seem that a study to determine what kind of verbal style is present in candidate campaign commercials could provide an opportunity to predict the future verbal style in their speeches should they be elected president as well as possible success or failure at the polls. Advertisements are an important link between the verbal style demonstrated by a president and that of the candidate. Researchers need to know more about the words used in commercials and the choices of words available for use in commercials that make advertisements successful or unsuccessful. Specific words demonstrate activity, certainty, optimism, and realism. These words need to be isolated and studied to determine their effectiveness.

Current Study

Thus far the review of relevant literature has demonstrated that candidate advertising can be a motivating factor in voting behavior. The review has highlighted the history and background of political spots, the importance of television in political advertising, negative campaign advertising, the presidential campaign, and scholarly research in political campaign advertising. The review concluded with an analysis of presidential character and verbal style attributed to presidential speeches and presidential campaign speeches. From this review, the

current study intends to demonstrate that verbal style exists in presidential campaign advertisements. This will be accomplished by answering the following research questions.

RQ1. Are the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism present in the televised campaign commercials for presidential candidates?

RQ2 Is activity present to a greater degree in the spots of the out of office candidate or when no incumbent is running?

RQ3 Are certainty, optimism, and realism present to a greater degree in spots for an incumbent or an incumbent party candidate (e.g., sitting vice president)?

RQ4 Do commercials for Republican and Democratic candidates differ in terms of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism?

RQ5 Do presidential campaign commercials differ over time in terms of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism?

RQ6. Do the campaign commercials of winners and losers differ in terms of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism?

Chapter III

Methodology

Since this study attempts to identify specific verbal variables in presidential campaign advertisements and determine if a verbal style may be attributed to the candidate's commercials, the words used in the advertisements must be counted, categorized, and analyzed. The research procedure selected to perform this task is content analysis. "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952, p. 18).

Objective and systematic are key elements of the definition (Kaid & Wadsworth, 1989). There can be little bias attributed to the counting of words. A target word is either in the script or it is not. This completely eliminates any subjective decision making on the part of the researcher. The objective results of content analysis can be attributed to the systematic procedures inherent in the content analysis approach.

Because of the sheer volume of campaign advertisements analyzed in this study, nearly 1,200, a computer program was selected to assist in the analysis. The advantage of using a

computer to perform the content analysis is its ability to handle great quantities of verbal information (Hart, 1984). The theories behind DICTION (Hart, 1984) were implemented in this study, although the actual word sorting and counting was performed by the computer program WORD CRUNCHER.

Various computer based programs dating back to the 1960's have analyzed political rhetoric and made content analysis and word counts available to researchers. Each has its advantages and limitations. The GENERAL INQUIRER (1966) provides an analysis of phrases and offers the user a sense of the context of the words used, but the program is complicated and requires a great deal of reanalysis by the user before computerized examination is undertaken (Hart, 1984).

C.L.A.S.(1971) provides statistics for type of language used (e.g., characters in word, type of sentence, and diversity measures), but C.L.A.S. contains no dictionaries and no researcher flexibility. It has a passage capacity of 1,000 words (Hart, 1984).

TEXAN (1971) has characteristics similar to C.L.A.S., although it has a small capacity for reporting word-frequency statistics. It has one dictionary equal to one hundred words, a passage capacity of 1,000 words, and provides virtually no semantic or syntactic analysis and

"only one 'special word list' (i.e., dictionary) usable" (Hart, 1984, p. 107).

S.L.C.A. (1976) offers 102 dictionaries with no theoretical maximum passage capacity. S.L.C.A. is linguistically oriented and can provide much verbal information about a specific passage. However, the passages must be pretagged and data interpretation is encumbered by an excessive amount of theoretical baggage (Hart, 1984)

THESAURUS (1981) is an extremely large program which uses all of Roget's categories or a selected subset in the search. There are from 8 to 1,040 dictionaries available in THESAURUS with no theoretical maximum passage capacity. It tends to be atheoretical, expensive to use, and has a complicated category system (Hart, 1984).

TOGETHER (1976) has no dictionaries and no theoretical maximum passage capacity. It is a program which tracks occurrences of word pairs selected in a priori design by the researcher. TOGETHER requires researchers to be very familiar with sampled text, all of it's searches are text-specific, and there is no normative data to be interpreted by the researcher (Hart, 1984).

When they were created, each of the listed programs provided the researcher with opportunities to glean more, or additional, data from the sample text. However, as noted in each instance, various limitations were placed on the

acquisition or interpretation of results.

In 1984, Hart released DICTION. This program was composed of 28 dictionaries and had a passage maximum limit of 500 words. DICTION is a "vocabulary-based program focusing on four general features of language: Activity, Certainty, Optimism, and Realism" (Hart, 1984, p. 108). There are still certain limitations inherent in DICTION. Its search words are built for contemporary American public communication (Hart, 1984). DICTION was developed to provide an "unemotional" and "unbiased" count of words used by the chief executive when making speeches while conducting their day-to-day public business. Using DICTION, Hart examined more than 800 speeches. These included more than 400 from presidents Truman through Reagan and another 389 from corporation executives, social activists, political candidates, and religious leaders. The non-presidential sample was comprised of speeches delivered between 1945 and 1975 and represented the universe of issues which concerned contemporary Americans at the time (Hart, 1984).

In order to describe the verbal style of a president, certain variables need to be isolated. The four variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism were created as major dictionaries, while rigidity, leveling, collectives, power factor, numerical frequency, qualification, self-reference, variety, praise, satisfaction, inspiration,

adversity, negation, aggressiveness, accomplishment, communicativeness, intellectuality, passivity, symbolism, embellishment, familiarity, spatial awareness, temporal awareness, present concern, human interest, concreteness, past concern, and complexity (Appendix) are the subdictionaries that contain search words used to create the major dictionaries.

Major Dictionaries

Major dictionaries were compiled keeping in mind four questions that have often been asked of American presidents.(a) "How 'dynamic' is the presidency in question, how much momentum does the president generate, and how quickly can he select alternative courses of action" (Hart, 1984, p 15)? (b) "How does the president use 'power,' when and why does he do so, and does he cope well when power is denied him" (Hart, 1984, p 15)? (c) "What sort of emotional 'resilience' is evident in the White House, is that resiliency imparted to the president's followers, and does the president show that he can withstand the rigors of everyday political life" (Hart, 1984, p 15 (d) "How 'practical' is the president, how clear and well documented is his political vision and how capable is he of translating that dream into reality" (Hart, 1984, p 15)?

The answers to these questions provide the bases for the development of activity, certainty, optimism, and

realism as the four major variable dictionaries. As previously described: activity refers to motion or change or the implementation of ideas; certainty indicates resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness; optimism is recorded in statements endorsing someone or something, or in offering positive descriptions or predicting favorable occurrences; and realism expressions refer to tangible, immediate, and practical issues (Hart, 1984).

Subdictionaries and the Semantic Components of DICTION

The 28 word lists present in the Appendix comprise the more than 3,000 search words used in the DICTION program. These subdictionaries are identified and defined as *follows*. *Rigidity*: all forms of the verb "to be" are treated as indicators of complete certainty. *Leveling:* includes words that ignore individual differences or distinctiveness. *Collectives*: are singular nouns that connote plurality and function to decrease specificity. *Power Factor:* "A measure of code restriction; a high Power Factor indicates repeated use of a finite number of terms. Calculated by Hart to be a measure of linguistic 'contentedness'" (Hart, 1984, p 294).

Numerical Frequency: includes any numerical reference that serves to specify facts in a given case. (These include both numerals and verbal constructions). *Qualification:* is defined as the use of ambivalent or conditional words

employed by the speaker in an attempt to sidestep verbalization. *Self-Reference:* "Signals one's refusal to speak ex cathedra and willingness to acknowledge the limitations of one's opinions. (Includes all first-person pronouns)" (Hart, 1984, p 294)).

Variety: employs Johnson's (1946) type-token ratio. When the total different words in the passage are divided by the total words in the passage, a type-token ratio is generated. A high TTR represents a speaker's unwillingness to be repetitive and indicates a desire for linguistic precision. *Praise:* the verbal affirmations of a particular person or concept. *Satisfaction:* includes words that are usually associated with a positive, affective state. *Inspiration:* "Abstract virtues deserving of universal respect" (Hart, 1984, p 294).

Adversity: these words give reference to negative feelings or dangerous events. *Negation:* is demonstrated by the use of verbal constructions designed to deny. *Aggressiveness:* these words describe or identify assertiveness or competition. *Accomplishment:* indicates movement or completion of a task. *Communicativeness:* describes social interaction. *Intellectuality:* involves words that connote cerebral or reflective behavior. *Passivity:* includes words that imply a lack of motor or

psychic activity. *Symbolism:* "a list of the nation's sacred terms, containing both designative as well as ideological language" (Hart, 1984, p 294).

Embellishment: the selective ratio of adjectives to verbs. Boder (1940) argues that a heavy use of adjectives or adjectival constructions "slows down" a verbal passage. *Familiarity:* involves "operation" and "direction" words described by Ogden (1968) as being the 750 most often encountered. *Spatial Awareness:* the words used to refer to geographical boundaries or physical distances. *Temporal Awareness:* "Terms that fix an event or person within a specific time frame" (Hart, 1984, p 295).

Present Concern: a list of present-tense verbs most often occurring in daily conversation. *Human Interest:* borrows from Flesch's (1951) belief that concentration on human beings in speech gives the discourse a life-like quality. *Concreteness:* "physical objects, sociological or geographical units, or natural forces" (Hart, 1984, p 295).

Past Concern: past-tense constructions of the present-tense verbs alluded to in present concern. The 28th subdictionary in the DICTION program is *Complexity*. *Complexity* measures the average number of characters-per-word in a particular passage. This number is also known as MLU or Mean Length of Utterance. This principle, also from

Flesch (1951), maintains "that linguistic convolutions make it difficult for listeners to extract concrete meaning from a dense statement" (Hart, 1984, p 295).

Once the words have been sorted, counted, and placed in a particular subdictionary, the major dictionary variables are created by a series of mathematical calculations. Following is a list of the calculations used to create the variables.

Activity = [Aggressiveness + Accomplishment + Communicativeness] - [Intellectuality + Passivity + Embellishment]

Certainty = [Rigidity + Leveling + Collectives + Power Factor] - [Numerical Frequency + Qualification + Self-Reference + Variety]

Optimism = [Praise + Satisfaction + Inspiration]- [Adversity + Negation]

Realism = [Familiarity + Spatial Awareness + Temporal Awareness + Present Concern + Human Interest + Concreteness] - [Past Concern + Complexity] (Hart, 1984, pp 293-294).

When the calculations are completed, raw scores or normative data for each variable are obtained. The researcher then interprets these scores to give definition

and meaning. The scores demonstrate how much or how little of each variable (dictionary) is present in each speech. Statistical tests can then be performed to test for significance.

Current Analysis

The current study is grounded in the theoretical suppositions of DICTION and the use of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism variables to describe verbal style. Although the DICTION program was not available for use at the time of this project (the construction of the PC version was not completed), the author borrowed heavily from the principles of DICTION to complete the research. The computer program WORD CRUNCHER was used to perform the sorting and counting of the words in the advertisements used in this study. All other mathematical calculations performed by DICTION were conducted by the author using a calculator.

The research sample of spot ads, 60 seconds or less, comes from the campaigns of candidates for the office of President of the United States from 1952 through 1992. Transcriptions of 1,178 advertisements were used in the analysis. However, in 1952, one Stevenson advertisement of five minutes was included in the sample. In order to retain the integrity of using only advertisements that were 60 seconds or less, this ad was reduced to the equivalent of five one minute spots by dividing the word total by five.

Since only word selection was being counted and analyzed, the total number of spots analyzed for Stevenson in 1952 became 17 instead of 13.

The same holds true for Eisenhower in 1956. Only five advertisements for his campaign were available. These were all five minute ads. Once again, in order to preserve the integrity of the spot ad, the total words transcribed in each ad were divided by five. Therefore, the total word count in Eisenhower 1956 is equivalent to the words used in 25 one minute ads. The total word count in the study, 137,401, will be reported as if it came from 1,202 advertisements rather than 1,178. The difference is Stevenson, 1952, 17 advertisements rather than 13 and Eisenhower, 1956, 25 advertisements rather than five. The advertisements used in this study were acquired from the Political Commercial Archive of The Political Communication Center at the University of Oklahoma.

In order to perform word counts, the verbal representations of each advertisement were transcribed from the individual video tape containing the advertisements of the candidate. Each commercial was identified by the cassette number of the video tape and then the number that identified the spot on the tape. For example, the spot identified as "The Man from Abilene" for Dwight Eisenhower's 1952 campaign was listed as number four (4) on video tape

one (1). When the transcription was done on this spot it was identified as R001 #0004 (reference cassette number one and the fourth spot on the tape). All other spots transcribed for the candidates were identified in the same manner with their individual codes.

Each tape came with a catalogue sheet identifying the spots by candidate, advertisement number, and advertisement location number on the tape. The spots were then selected by length, 60 seconds or less, and transcriptions of the verbal content of each spot were made. Included in the transcriptions and also analyzed in the study was the text presented on signs, posters, graphics, and superimpositions in the ads as well as the verbal content of announcer voice overs.

Certain designations were used to identify the speakers in the advertisements. The letter "A" was used to identify announcer, "C" was used for candidate, and "O" was used for other, any speaker not the announcer or candidate. Likewise, designations were made for the scripted words used in the spots. "S" was used for sign, "P" was used to describe poster, "G" for graphic, and "SI" for superimposition.

Each new sentence or change in speaker turn was identified by its letter designation and a new line of script started. Where "talk overs" occurred, the sentence was stopped and the talk over interjected on its own line

and then the thoughts of the original sentence were completed on another new line. The text of graphics and superimpositions were coded and included in the verbal text. This coding technique was developed for the current study and also to assist in data collection for future research. This study attempted to analyze all the words, spoken or written, present in the televised spot ads of the candidates for president of the United States from 1952 through 1992.

Once the transcriptions were completed, the text was submitted to the computer program WORD CRUNCHER for the alphabetizing and counting of words. Twenty-two submissions were made, one for each candidate, containing the transcribed text. WORD CRUNCHER then listed the unique words in the commercial text by alphabetical order with the number of occurrences or hits in the text. For example if the word "a" appeared in the text 44 times, WORD CRUNCHER listed it in two columns. Column one contained the word "a," column two "44."

The researcher then took the DICTION word lists in the Appendix (p. 172) and compared each to the individual verbal output of each candidate as presented by WORD CRUNCHER. In all, 28 word counts were conducted 22 times in order to generate the raw totals needed to create the individual DICTION dictionaries.

Since advertisements were identified by numerical designation and the letter "a" was used to identify announcer voice overs, upon completion of the word sorting and counting, the researcher went through each advertisement and subtracted the number of announcer designations of "a" as well as the advertisement identifying numbers so as not to inflate the total word count and the numerical frequency count.

Because of the vast number of commercials analyzed in this research project, the minor dictionary word lists were created by using average scores. For instance, the total number of hits or DICTION words present in the subdictionary of "accomplishment" (See Appendix) for Eisenhower, 1952, was 54. This total was divided by 32, the number of Eisenhower ads in 1952, and the resulting value of 1.69 was used in the formula to calculate the Activity dictionary score for Eisenhower, 1952. This procedure was followed in the calculation of all subdictionary scores, and ultimately all major dictionary scores in this study. Therefore, the scores reported in Chapter IV represent the average number of DICTION words present in each commercial for each candidate.

When the word counts were completed and the totals for each of the 28 subdictionaries were available, the major dictionaries were created using the formulas presented

earlier. In order to insure the accuracy and reliability of the mathematical calculations used to create each major dictionary, from the addition of the raw score totals in the subdictionaries to the calculations creating the major dictionaries, each was performed by the researcher, checked by a second person, and rechecked by a third person. When any scores differed from the researcher's, those anomalies were checked and corrected, if necessary, and then resubmitted for verification until all three scores matched.

When the major dictionaries of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism had been created from the word counts, the resulting data was available for analysis and interpretation in order to answer the six research questions generated for the current study.

Pearson r's were performed on the variables to calculate the strength and direction between them. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to perform the calculations. The results of the data analysis are presented in Chapter IV.

Chapter IV

Results

Data from the content analysis performed by WORD CRUNCHER provided the basis for the computations needed to produce the DICTION variables. Table 4.1 illustrates the results of the content analysis. Ronald Reagan's campaign of 1980 used the most spot advertisements 60 seconds or less (187); with the most words (18,021); and characters (80,723). Adlai Stevenson's campaign for the presidency in 1956 used the fewest ads, (12); with the fewest words, (1,339); and fewest characters,(6,064).

The six research questions posed for this project result in a test for the presence of DICTION words in televised presidential campaign spot advertisements and the degree to which they are used by incumbents or nonincumbents, Democrats or Republicans, and winners or losers. A correlation coefficient matrix was used to help explain the generated results.

Table 4.1

The Semantic Components of Televised Presidential Campaign Commercials: 1952-1992

Candidate/Year	Advertisements	Words	Characters
Eisenhower/1952	32	2,179	9,582
Stevenson/1952	17**	2,195	8,805
Eisenhower/1956	25*	2,821	11,969
Stevenson/1956	12	1,339	6,064
Kennedy/1960	60	7,726	34,395
Nixon/1960	51	5,704	25,767
Johnson/1964	29	2,765	12,391
Goldwater/1964	55	8,266	36,392
Nixon/1968	68	8,613	37,776
Humphrey/1968	24	4,459	18,718
Nixon/1972	24	3,558	15,650
McGovern/1972	43	5,472	23,651
Carter/1976	72	9,237	41,087
Ford/1976	130	16,424	71,402
Reagan/1980	187	18,021	80,723
Carter/1980	104	12,072	52,575
Reagan/1984	75	7,832	35,212
Mondale/1984	40	3,402	14,572
Bush/1988	34	3,121	14,006
Dukakis/1988	44	4,256	18,791
Clinton/1992	46	4,651	20,821
Bush/1992	30	3,288	13,700
Totals	1,202	137,401	604,049
Overall mean per commercial		114	503
Overall mean per word			4.4

** 13 Stevenson ads calculated as 17
* 5 Eisenhower ads calculated as 25

Presence of Verbal Style Components

"Are the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism be present in the televised campaign commercials for presidential candidates?" was the first question posed: The totals of the analysis as presented in Table 4.2 summarize some interesting findings. First, overall, activity was present in the commercials at an occurrence of 1.18 words per ad. However, as the table indicates, Eisenhower, 1956; Nixon, 1960; and Goldwater, 1964; did not have a positive average score for activity. Clinton, 1992, had the highest average score for activity, 3.20; while Nixon, 1960, had the lowest, -1.30.

An example of Clinton's use of activity words is in the following spot from the 1992 campaign.

> Candidate: I want you to believe that we can make America work again.
>
> Announcer: He knows we can do it. He knows we must because we can't afford four more years of the same and that's what it's all about. It's time to unite this country for change. No easy or simple solutions, but a plan to jump start our economy. Put people first with education, job training, health care we can afford. Together we can get this country moving again. It won't be easy, but let's get to work.
>
> Announcer: Clinton, Gore. For people, for a change.

Graphic: Clinton, Gore. For people, for a change.*

The use of such words as work, change, start, and moving help to demonstrate motion and change, the necessary ingredients for activity.

As previously noted, the DICTION variables are created by adding and subtracting word counts from the various subdictionaries. Because of this, some candidates received negative scores for certain variables. This does not mean that the words were not present, only that their commercials contained more words that detracted from the variable than words that contributed to it in a positive manner. Such was the case for Richard Nixon during the 1960 presidential campaign. His overall negative activity score does not imply that he did not have activity words present in his commercials, but that he used more words that were associated with the subdictionaries of *Intellectuality, Passivity,* and *Embellishment*. These words detract from activity. Following is the transcript of a commercial for the Nixon campaign of 1960.

Announcer: While Senator Kennedy relies on political speech-making to win the White House, President Eisenhower thinks other qualities are more important in a presidential candidate.

Other: There are four key qualities by which I think

America would like to measure the candidates in this election. They are: character, ability, responsibility, experience. From eight years of intimate association, I know Richard Nixon has these qualities. I know he will use these qualities wisely and decisively and so will Lodge. This is why I trust and believe that the American people will elect this splendid team on November eighth.

Announcer: Along with the President, all of America is going for Nixon and Lodge. Vote for them on November eighth.

Announcer: They understand what peace demands.

Sign: They understand what peace demands.*

In this commercial, such words as think, thinks, believe, and understand detract from activity.

Certainty scores are the most interesting in Table 4.2. Overall, the candidates averaged less than one certainty word in their commercials (-.56) as 14 of the 22 candidates ended with negative average scores. However, Eisenhower, 1956; Kennedy, 1960; Nixon, 1960; Goldwater, 1964; Nixon, 1968; Humphrey, 1968; Carter, 1976; and Reagan, 1980 and 1984; exhibited a positive average number of certainty words in their commercials. The candidate with the highest average score for certainty was Kennedy, 1960 (2.65) and the lowest average score was Bush, 1992 (-4.43). Certainty scores could

indicate a refusal to change or compromise. A high negative score indicates tendency to not want to change, lower scores more willingness to compromise.

Kennedy's rather high positive certainty score indicates his resoluteness in standing firm for his beliefs concerning the future direction of the United States, both at home and in the political climate of world. The following commercial from the 1960 presidential campaign of John Kennedy is a good illustration of the use of certainty in his commercials.

> Poster: John F. Kennedy Speaks
>
> Candidate: I'm asking each of you to be pioneers towards that new frontier. My call is to the young in heart, regardless of age, to the stout in spirit, regardless of party, to all who respond to the scriptural call, be strong and of good courage. Be not afraid neither be dismayed. For courage not complacency is our need today. Leadership not salesmanship and the only valid test of leadership is the ability to lead and lead vigorously. All mankind waits upon our decision. A whole world looks to see what we shall do. And we cannot fail that trust and we can not fail to try.
>
> Announcer: We shall try and with John F. Kennedy we shall succeed. Vote for Kennedy for President.*

Words such as is, be, leadership, all, whole, shall, and world contribute to high certainty scores.

With respect to his low certainty score, George Bush, used more words in his commercials from the certainty subdictionaries of *Numerical Frequency, Qualification, Self-Reference,* and *Variety.* Words from these lists tend to diminish certainty. The following commercial demonstrates a lack of positive certainty words in the campaign commercials of George Bush in 1992.

Superimposition: On Integrity. October 1992.

Other: If you're gonna be president you have to be honest.

Other: Bill Clinton's not tell anything honestly to the American people.

Other: I don't think he's honorable, I don't think he's trustworthy.

Other: One minute he said he didn't, next he said he did.

Other: I wouldn't trust him at all to be Commander in Chief.

Other: He dodged the draft. He can't be straight on anything.

Other: Bill Clinton seems to be for everything that everybody asks for.

Other: I think there's a pattern and I just don't trust Bill Clinton. I can't trust anything he says.

Superimposition: To Be Continued.*

In this commercial words such as 1992, if, and I detract from certainty.

The scores for optimism were nearly as startling as those for certainty. The overall average score of .81 represents an average score of less than one word per commercial. Eight candidates; Eisenhower, 1956; Johnson, 1964; Humphrey, 1968; Nixon, 1972; McGovern, 1972; Mondale, 1984; Bush, 1988; and Bush again in 1992 exhibited negative average scores for optimism. The highest average optimism score per commercial was found in the Reagan campaign of 1984 (4.46), while the lowest score came from the Mondale campaign of 1984 (-1.70).

An example of campaign advertisements that proved successful for Ronald Reagan in 1984 was his "Morning in America" theme. Following is one ad from that series.

Announcer: Its morning again in America. Today more men and women will go to work than any other time in our history. With interest rates at about half the record highs of 1980 nearly 2,000 families today will buy new homes, more than at any time in the past four years. This afternoon 6,500 men and women will be

married and with inflation at just half of what it was four years ago they can look forward with confidence to the future. Its morning again in America, and under the leadership of President Reagan our country is prouder, stronger, and better. Why would we ever want to return to where we were just four short years ago?

Graphic: President Reagan Leadership That's Working.*

The optimistic themes present in this spot are highlighted by the use of such words as work, confidence, better, and working.

Walter Mondale in 1984 was campaigning against a popular incumbent, Reagan, and his commercials tended to exhibit more words from the optimism subdictionaries of *Adversity* and *Negation* both of which detracted from optimism scores. Following is an example.

Announcer: Mr. Reagan's undersecretary of defense once said this about a nuclear attack. "Everybody's going to make it if there are enough shovels to go around..." "Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and throw three feet of dirt on top..." T.K. Jones. Mr. Reagan himself has opposed every nuclear arms agreement ever since the bomb went off. No wonder he has never achieved one. It's time to think about how deep a hole were digging for ourselves. Mondale, he's fighting for

your future.

Graphic: Mondale, Ferraro.*

Words such as attack, no, never, and fighting detract from optimism. It would seem that a presidential candidate would want to be optimistic in their campaign commercials, but many were not.

Realism averaged 37.30 words per commercial. No candidate exhibited negative scores for the realism variable. The highest average score(67.62) was posted in the Humphrey campaign of 1968; while the lowest score (19.90) came from Eisenhower's 1952 campaign.

The variable of realism refers to tangible, immediate, and practical issues (Hart, 1984). Humphrey, as a sitting vice president and a member of the incumbent party, more than doubled the average score for realism in his campaign commercials of 1968. The following spot is an example of Humphrey's prolific use of realism words.

Poster: A pre-recorded political program.

Candidate: I've been reading that Hubert Humphrey ought to be his own man, that's exactly what I am. It boils down to what Humphrey thinks. I'll let the others think for themselves, write for themselves, speak for themselves. I've never known to be inarticulate and on occasion I have a good idea.

Announcer: Vice President Humphrey answers questions at

the National Press Club in Washington.

Candidate: I've noticed that most presidents are just that. They really don't take orders from vice presidents or from anybody else. My son is in this audience. I don't ask him to live his father's life. I ask him to live his life. The President of the United States has not asked me to live his administration when I am privileged to have the Humphrey administration. Hubert Humphrey as Vice President is a member of a team. Hubert Humphrey as President is captain of a team. There's a lot of difference.

Poster: Humphrey.*

The use of such words as to, be, his, man, am, let, for, themselves, are, son, from, him, live, father's, president, states, have, has, and in contribute to positive realism scores.

When reporting the realism scores for Eisenhower, 1952, it should be remembered that these were the first spot advertisements created for a presidential campaign and, of the 32 spots analyzed for this study, 28 had fewer than 60 total words. All ads contained some realism but many were not nearly as long as future presidential campaign advertisements. An example of "Eisenhower Answers America" follows.

Poster: Eisenhower answers America.

Announcer: Eisenhower answers America.

Other: The Democrats have made mistakes, but aren't their intentions good?

Candidate: Well, if a driver of your school bus runs into a truck, hits a lamp post, drives into a ditch, you don't say his intentions were good, you get a new bus driver.*

Words such as America, Democrats, his, say, their, you, and your help contribute to realism.

The answer to Research Question One is that activity, optimism, and realism were present in the commercials. The variable of certainty was not present in enough spots to generate a positive average. That is not to say that certainty words are not present in commercials, just that not enough were used to generate a positive number when averaged.

Table 4.2

Mean Scores for DICTION Variables

Candidate/Year	Activity	Certainty	Optimism	Realism
Eisenhower/1952	1.69	-1.60	-.44	19.90
Stevenson/1952	.53	-1.07	.35	35.69
Eisenhower/1956	-.55	.98	1.60	39.90
Stevenson/1956	1.53	-1.36	1.58	26.15
Kennedy/1960	.96	2.65	3.94	46.76
Nixon/1960	-1.30	2.57	2.58	34.63
Johnson/1964	1.72	-3.46	-.42	31.78
Goldwater/1964	-.57	1.95	2.43	48.66
Nixon/1968	.38	1.16	.54	45.13
Humphrey/1968	2.45	1.17	-.54	67.62
Nixon/1972	2.68	-2.53	-.92	51.61
McGovern/1972	2.04	-2.96	-.98	43.63
Carter/1976	1.80	1.89	.67	42.13
Ford/1976	.00	-2.06	1.75	41.49
Reagan/1980	1.35	.26	1.50	31.39
Carter/1980	.58	-.21	1.70	38.70
Reagan/1984	.74	1.04	4.46	34.79
Mondale/1984	1.28	-1.29	-1.70	25.84
Bush/1988	1.08	-.29	-.37	26.56
Dukakis/1988	1.82	-.40	1.12	28.52
Clinton/1992	3.20	-4.41	.46	28.88
Bush/1992	2.65	-4.43	-1.47	30.92
Overall Means	1.18	-.56	.81	37.30

Activity and Non Incumbents

"Is activity present to a greater degree in the spots of the out of office candidate or when no incumbent is running (e.g., Nixon, 1960; Humphrey, 1968; and Bush, 1988 were incumbent vice presidents during their campaigns)?" was the second research question asked in the study. As Table 4.3 illustrates, there were 12 such cases. The average activity score computed for the twelve candidates was 1.33. The average activity score for the total sample of 22 candidates was 1.18.

Eight of the 12 scores were above the variable mean, while four were not. Eisenhower and Stevenson, 1952, represented the only race where both candidates were out of office. Stevenson, 1952 (.53) recorded the only score not equal to the mean as a candidate running when no incumbent was running for the office. Kennedy, 1960 (.96); Goldwater, 1964 (-.57); and Nixon, 1968 (.38) were all out of office candidates.

The highest activity score recorded belonged to Clinton, 1992, (3.20) words per commercial. The lowest score belonged to Goldwater, 1964, (-.57). Clinton's 1992 activity scores were analyzed on pages 78-79. A look at a sample from the Goldwater campaign should demonstrate his lack of activity words or words detracting from activity present in his commercials.

Other: I'm Mrs. Hestler and I have a question for Barry Goldwater. I'm concerned about Communism and its spread throughout the world. You know as the years go by they gain more ground all the time and as time goes on the matter is going to get much worse. I would like Mr. Goldwater to tell me his thoughts and ideas on how we can stop the spread of Communism throughout the world.

Candidate: Well the first thing we can and should do is to rebuild and revitalize our whole system of alliances. The top priority must go to repairing the damage done by this administration to the great North Atlantic Treaty Organization, which to me is the greatest peace keeping force ever devised by free men. Our allies will know that once again America wants to work with them as equal partners in the cause of freedom and peace.

Announcer: In your heart, you know he's right. Vote for Barry Goldwater.

Poster: IN YOUR HEART...YOU KNOW HE'S RIGHT. VOTE FOR BARRY GOLDWATER.*

In this commercial, "go" and "goes" contribute to activity while "stop" detracts from activity. Goldwater used 55 spot ads during the 1964 campaign and not enough words contributing to activity were used in all of them to provide Goldwater with an overall positive activity score.

Mean scores indicate that words included in the activity dictionary were used more often in the spots for out of office candidates or when no incumbent is running.

Table 4.3

Mean Activity Scores for an out of Office Candidate

or When no Incumbent is Running

Candidate/Year	Activity Score	Out of Office or no Incumbent
Eisenhower/1952*	1.69	1.69
Stevenson/1952*	.53	.53
Eisenhower/1956****	-.55	
Stevenson/1956**	1.53	1.53
Kennedy/1960**	.96	.96
Nixon/1960***	-1.30	
Johnson/1964****	1.72	
Goldwater/1964**	-.57	-.57
Nixon/1968**	.38	.38
Humphrey/1968***	2.45	
Nixon/1972****	2.68	
McGovern/1972**	2.04	2.04
Carter/1976**	1.80	1.80
Ford/1976****	.00	
Reagan/1980**	1.35	1.35
Carter/1980****	.58	
Reagan/1984****	.74	
Mondale/1984**	1.28	1.28
Bush/1988***	1.08	
Dukakis/1988**	1.82	1.82
Clinton/1992**	3.20	3.20
Bush/1992****	2.65	
Overall Mean N = 22	1.18	N=12 1.33

**** Incumbent President
*** Incumbent Vice President at time of campaign
** Out of office candidate
* No incumbent running in election

Components of Verbal Style for Incumbents

"Are certainty, optimism, and realism present to a greater degree in spots for an incumbent or an incumbent party candidate (e.g. sitting vice president)?" was the third research question addressed in this study.

Table 4.4 compares the individual candidate scores to the overall aggregate score for the variables of certainty, optimism, and realism with designation for the candidates who were incumbents or members of the incumbent party, that is, sitting vice president at the time of the campaign.

Since 1952, seven elections have been contested by incumbents and three involved elections contested by sitting vice presidents. As demonstrated earlier, certainty did not register an overall positive score. The average score of the ten candidates included in this research question was -.72. This total was lower than that for the entire sample -.56. The highest score recorded in this category came from Richard Nixon, 1960, a sitting vice president (2.57). The lowest score recorded came from George Bush, an incumbent, in 1992, (-4.43).

As previously noted, the highest score for certainty came from the John Kennedy campaign of 1960 so it is not altogether surprising that the second highest certainty score would come from the same campaign. An example of a commercial from the 1960 Nixon campaign will demonstrate his

resolve as well.

Candidate: What is the most important issue confronting the American people in this election campaign? There's no question about the answer that I have found in traveling all over this nation. Above everything else, the American people want leaders who will keep the peace without surrender for America and the world. Henry Cabot Lodge and I have had the opportunity of serving with President Eisenhower in this cause for the last seven and a half years. We both know Mr. Kruschev. We have sat opposite the conference table with him. We know what peace demands. We will keep America the strongest nation in the world and we will couple that strength with firm diplomacy. No apologies. No regrets. Always willing to negotiate for peace, but never conceding anything without getting a concession in return.

Announcer: Vote for Nixon and Lodge November eighth.

Poster: NIXON & LODGE They understand what peace demands.*

Words such as campaign, all, will, everything, world conference, anything, and nation all contributed to Nixon's high certainty score as an incumbent vice president running for the presidency. Previously, President Bush's low certainty score in 1992 was analyzed on pages 82-83.

Optimism scores were nearly the same. The total average score for the ten candidates was .84. The overall mean score was .81. The highest optimism score was posted by Ronald Reagan, an incumbent, in 1984, 4.46. The lowest optimism score was registered by George Bush in 1992, -1.47. Analysis of Reagan, 1984, is found on pages 83-84. Following is an example of a Bush 1992 commercial.

> Other: He said he was never drafted. Then he admitted he was drafted. Then he said he forgot being drafted. He said he was never deferred from the draft. Then he said he was. He said he never received special treatment. But he did receive special treatment. The question then was avoiding the draft. Now, for Bill Clinton, it's a question of avoiding the truth.
>
> Sign: Time, why voters don't trust Clinton.*

In this example, the word "never" detracted from Bush's optimism score.

All of the ten candidates included in this question recorded positive realism scores. Their average score, 39.80 was higher than the overall average score of 37.30. The highest realism score was recorded by sitting vice president Hubert Humphrey in 1968, and reported on pages 85-86. The lowest score came from the George Bush, 1988, campaign when he was also a sitting vice president 26.56.

Other: I, George Herbert Walker Bush...

Candidate: I George Herbert Walker Bush...

Announcer: How does a man get to this point in his life? How does one man come so far? Maybe for George Bush it began when he became the youngest pilot in the Navy. Or perhaps it began this day in 1944, when he earned the distinguished flying cross for bravery under fire.

Candidate: I will bare true faith and allegiance to the same.

Announcer: Wherever it began, it continued when he took his family off to Texas and started and built a successful company. It continued when he was elected to Congress. Selected to serve as U.N. ambassador and emissary to mainland China, and later run the C.I.A. The more you learn how George Bush got this far, the more you realize that perhaps no one in this century is better prepared to be President of the United States.*

In this spot, words such as does, to, this, he, Navy, for, family, off, was, is, president, and states contributed to realism.

Results of Research Question Three demonstrate that incumbent candidates or incumbent vice presidents who become candidates do use more optimism and realism words in their commercials but fewer certainty words.

Table 4.4

Mean Scores for Certainty, Optimism, and Realism When an Incumbent or Incumbent Vice President is the Candidate

Candidate/Year	Certainty	Optimism	Realism
Eisenhower/1952	-1.60	-.44	19.90
Stevenson/1952	-1.07	.35	35.90
Eisenhower/1956*	.98	1.60	39.90
Stevenson/1956	-1.36	1.58	26.15
Kennedy/1960	2.65	3.94	46.76
Nixon/1960**	2.57	2.58	34.63
Johnson/1964*	-3.46	-.42	31.78
Goldwater/1964	1.95	2.43	48.66
Nixon/1968	1.16	.54	45.13
Humphrey/1968**	1.17	-.54	67.62
Nixon/1972*	-2.53	-.92	51.61
McGovern/1972	-2.96	-.98	43.63
Carter/1976	1.89	.67	42.13
Ford/1976*	-2.06	1.75	41.49
Reagan/1980	.26	1.50	31.39
Carter/1980*	-.21	1.70	38.70
Reagan/1984*	1.04	4.46	34.79
Mondale/1984	-1.29	-1.70	25.84
Bush/1988**	-.29	-.37	26.56
Dukakis/1988	-.40	1.12	28.52
Clinton/1992	-4.41	.46	28.88
Bush/1992*	-4.43	-1.47	30.92
Incumbent's Mean	-.72	.84	39.80
Overall Mean	-.56	.81	37.30

**Incumbent President

* Incumbent Vice President at time of campaign

Components of Verbal Style for Political Parties

"Do commercials for Republican and Democratic candidates differ in terms of activity, certainty, optimism and realism?" was the fourth research question addressed in the current study. Data presented in Table 4.5 was used to answer these questions.

Once again the results were mixed. Democratic candidates averaged more activity words than Republican candidates (1.63 to .74 per commercial). The Democratic average was greater than the overall mean (1.63 to 1.18 words per commercial), while the Republican average was less (.74 to 1.18 words per commercial). Clinton's average of 3.2 words per commercial in 1992 set the standard for the Democrats and Richard Nixon in 1972 averaged 2.68 words per commercial to lead the way for the Republicans. An example of a Nixon 1972 spot follows.

> Poster: POLITICAL BROADCAST
>
> Announcer: He has brought home over 500,000 men from the war and less than 40,000 remain, none engaged in ground combat. He has overhauled the draft laws and made them fair for everyone, black and white, rich and poor. He certified an amendment giving 18 year olds the right to vote. He has created an economy that is growing faster than at any other time in years, the rate of inflation has been cut in half. He has taken a

strong stand for equal education, but against massive busing as a means of accomplishing this. He has named common sense judges to the supreme court. He has gone to China to talk peace with Mao Tse-Tung. He has gone to the Soviet Union to talk peace with Leonid Breshnev. For four years President Nixon has responded to the needs of the people.

Announcer: That's why we need President Nixon, now more than ever.

Poster: President Nixon. Now more than ever.*

In this example, words such as brought and gone contributed to President Nixon's activity score. The example of Clinton's activity score was presented on pages 78-79.

Table 4.5

Mean Scores for DICTION Variables for Democrats and Republicans

Candidate/Year	Activity	Certainty	Optimism	Realism
Eisenhower/1952*	1.69	-1.60	-.44	19.90
Stevenson/1952**	.53	-1.07	.35	35.69
Eisenhower/1956*	-.55	.98	1.60	39.90
Stevenson/1956**	1.53	-1.36	1.58	26.15
Kennedy/1960**	.96	2.65	3.94	46.76
Nixon/1960*	-1.30	2.57	2.58	34.63
Johnson/1964**	1.72	-3.46	-.42	31.78
Goldwater/1964*	-.57	1.95	2.43	48.66
Nixon/1968*	.38	1.16	.54	45.13
Humphrey/1968**	2.45	1.17	-.54	67.62
Nixon/1972*	2.68	-2.53	-.92	51.61
McGovern/1972**	2.04	-2.96	-.98	43.63
Carter/1976**	1.80	1.89	.67	42.13
Ford/1976*	.00	-2.06	1.75	41.49
Reagan/1980*	1.35	.26	1.50	31.39
Carter/1980**	.58	-.21	1.70	38.70
Reagan/1984*	.74	1.04	4.46	34.79
Mondale/1984**	1.28	-1.29	-1.70	25.84
Bush/1988*	1.08	-.29	-.37	26.56
Dukakis/1988**	1.82	-.40	1.12	28.52
Clinton/1992**	3.20	-4.41	.46	28.88
Bush/1992*	2.65	-4.43	-1.47	30.92
Democratic Mean	1.63	-.86	.56	37.79
Republican Mean	.74	-.27	1.06	36.82
Overall Mean	1.18	-.56	.81	37.30

** Democratic Presidential Candidates
* Republican Presidential candidates

The Certainty scores indicate that the Republican candidates averaged more certainty words per commercial than did the Democratic candidates, but neither averaged one word

per spot. Republicans averaged -.27 words per advertisement, while the Democrats averaged -.86. The overall mean score of -.56 demonstrates that Republicans used nearly 25 percent more certainty words on average, and the Democrats used nearly one third less than the average. Although neither set of candidates spent a great deal of air time indicating their resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness, the Republicans managed to offer a few more indications than the Democrats.

In 1960, John Kennedy averaged the most certainty words in his commercials, 2.65, pages 81-82. In 1992, Bill Clinton used more words that detracted from certainty and had the highest negative score for Democrats, -4.41. The following is an example.

> Graphic: The Clinton Plan/Welfare to work.
>
> Candidate: For so long, government has failed us. And one of it's worst failures is welfare. I have a plan to end welfare as we know it. To break the cycle of welfare dependency. We'll provide education, job training, and child care. But then those who are able must go to work, either in the private sector or in public service. I know it can work. In my state we moved 17,000 people from welfare rolls to payrolls. It's time to make welfare what it should be a second chance, not a way of life.*

In this example, words such as I, but, my, can, second, and 17,000 detract from certainty.

Richard Nixon, in 1960, averaged more certainty words in his commercials than any other Republican, 2.57; and in 1992 George Bush averaged more words detracting from certainty, -4.41. The analysis for Nixon is found on page 94, while the analysis for Bush is on pages 82-83.

The Republicans were nearly twice as optimistic in their ads as were the Democrats. Republicans averaged 1.06 words of optimism in their commercials, while the Democrats averaged only .56 words. The overall mean for the 22 candidates was .81 words per commercial. The Republicans averaged nearly 25 percent more optimism words per spot than the overall mean. The Democrats averaged nearly 25 percent less than the overall mean.

John Kennedy was the most optimistic Democrat, averaging nearly 4 words per commercial in the 1960 campaign. The following demonstrates his use of optimism.

> Candidate: One of the things that I believe are of greatest concern for us as Americans is the question of full employment, whether every American who wants a job can find one at decent wages. That must be a national objective. This Fall, we've had more people out of work than we've had since the recession of 58 and the recession of 1954 and unless this administration or a

new administration are prepared to go to work, we're going to have more people out of work in the winter of 1961. I believe we can do better. I believe our national policy should emphasize full employment. I believe a progressive administration. I believe the things for which the Democratic party stands for can put this country back to work. I ask your help in this campaign for full employment, for a stronger America, for a working America.

Announcer: Vote for leadership in the 60's. Vote for John F. Kennedy.*

Words expressing Kennedy's optimism in this commercial include concern, employment, work, better, and working.

Ronald Reagan was the most optimistic Republican candidate. He was, in fact, the most optimistic of all presidential candidates. In 1984, he averaged nearly 4.5 words of optimism per commercial. An example of Reagan's optimism results was presented on pages 83-84.

Democrats averaged nearly one more word of realism in their commercials than did the Republicans, 37.79 to 36.82. The overall mean was 37.30, indicating the Democrats tended to be a bit more pragmatic than the Republicans. Hubert Humphery's average of 67.62 words, leading Democrats and all candidates, of realism was presented on pages 85-86. The Republican candidate with the highest average realism score,

51.61, was Richard Nixon in the 1972 election campaign. Following is an example.

> Announcer: In 1976 Senator George McGovern said he was not an advocate of unilateral withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam. Now, of course, he is. Last year, the Senator suggested regulating marijuana on the same lines as alcohol. Now he says he's against legalizing it and says he always has been. Last January, Senator McGovern suggested a welfare plan that would give a thousand dollar bill to every man, woman, and child in the country. Now he says the thousand dollar figure isn't right. Throughout the year he has proposed unconditional amnesty to all draft dodgers. Now his running mate claims he proposed no such thing. In Florida he was pro busing. In Oregon he said he would support the anti busing bill in Congress. Last year, this year. The question is, what about next year?
>
> Poster: Democrats for Nixon.*

Nixon's average realism score was increased by the use of such words in his commercials as in, senator, he, he's was, of, says, against, give, to, in, has, says, congress, and is.

Evaluation of the data in Table 4.5 results in a split for Research Question Four. The Democrats averaged slightly more words per commercial for the variables of activity and

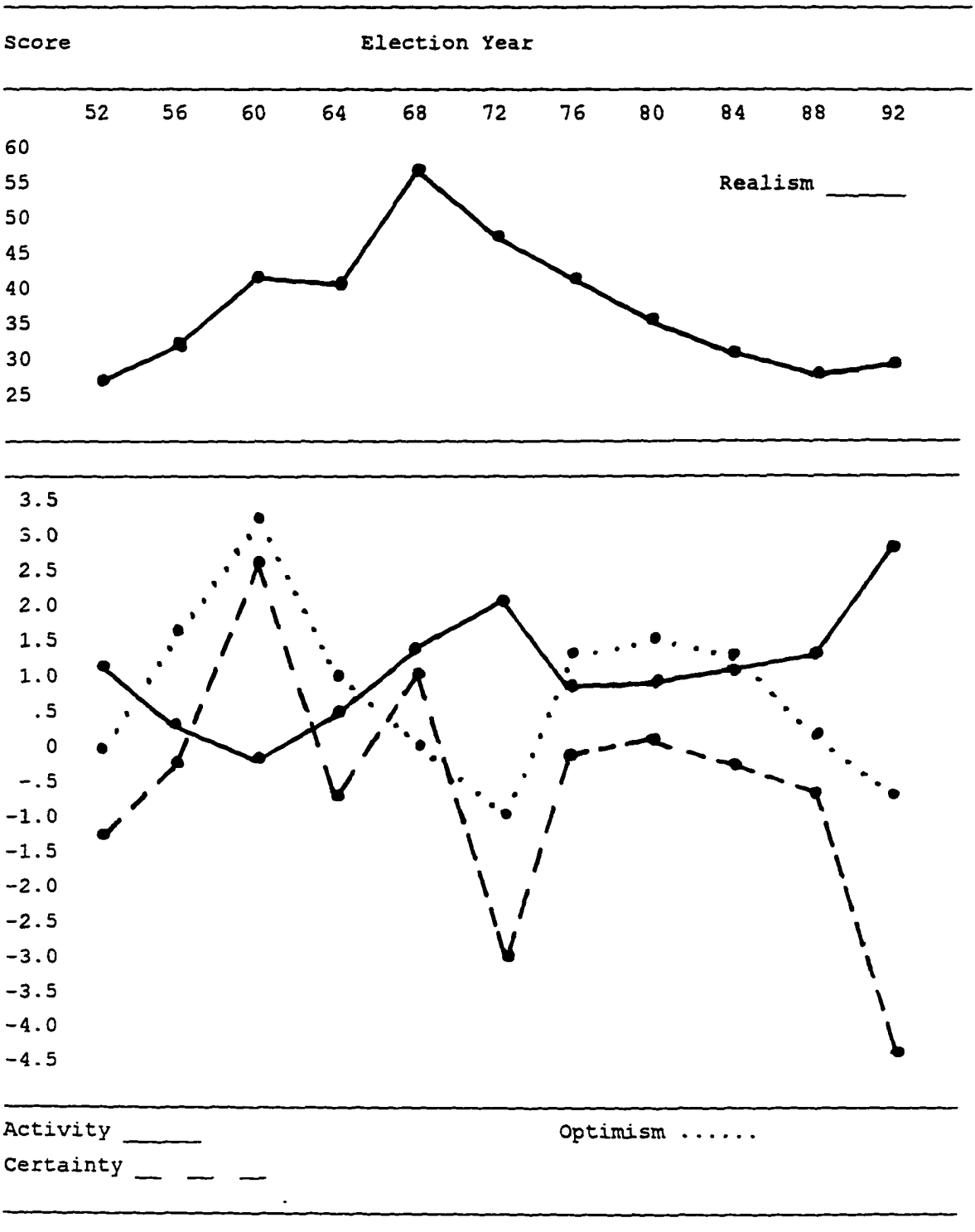
realism, and the Republicans averaged a bit higher in certainty and optimism. The smaller negative score for certainty, however, is hardly enough to claim overwhelming use of resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness in their ads.

Components of Verbal Style Over Time

The fifth research question in this study investigated potential changes in DICTION scores that may be the result of the passage of time that is, did campaign commercials change in the amount of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism words over the 40 year span, 1952-1992? Table 4.6 indicates that variable scores have changed during each election.

Table 4.6

Activity, Certainty, Optimism, and Realism Over Time



Scores for both presidential candidates from each election from 1952-1992 were averaged to create the variable scores graphed in Table 4.6. The variable of realism recorded the most words used in the commercials and will be reported first. The realism graphline is located in the upper portion of Table 4.6.

Realism scores show an increase in word use during the Eisenhower/Stevenson campaigns of 1952 and 1956; from 27.80 words in 1952 to 33.03 words per commercial in 1956. Use of realism words continued to increase during the Kennedy/Nixon campaign of 1960 to 40.70 words per commercial. The use of words contributing to realism remained virtually the same in 1964 when Johnson/Goldwater averaged 40.22 words per campaign advertisement. The highest average total of realism words employed in campaign commercials came in 1968 when Nixon/Humphrey averaged 56.38 words per spot.

After the 1968 presidential campaign realism scores began to drop. In the Nixon/McGovern 1972 election campaign realism word use averaged 47.62 words per spot. In 1976 Carter/Ford averaged 41.81 realism words per commercial, and in 1980 Reagan/Carter only 35.05 realism words per campaign advertisement. The downward trend continued through the next two election campaigns. In 1984, Reagan/Mondale averaged 30.32 realism words in their campaign commercials, and in

1988 Bush/Dukakis averaged only 27.54 realism words per spot. However, the trend toward fewer realism words in commercials seems to have changed a bit as Clinton/Bush in 1992 averaged 29.90 realism words in their campaign advertisements.

The bottom portion of Table 4.6 contains the graphs for the variables of activity, certainty, and optimism. Activity will be reported first.

In 1952 Eisenhower/Stevenson averaged 1.11 words of activity in their spot advertisements. In their 1956 campaign that total fell to .49 words per commercial. The average use of activity words fell to a low of -.17 words in the 1960 Kennedy/Nixon campaign when more words detracting from activity were used in their commercials than those that contributed to it. In 1964 Johnson/Goldwater averaged .58 words of activity in their commercials, while Nixon/Humphrey averaged 1.42 words in 1968. The use of activity words jumped in 1972, during the Nixon/McGovern campaign when each spot averaged 2.36 words. This increase stalled in 1976, during the Carter/Ford campaign, to .90 activity words per spot. There was a slight increase in 1980, when Reagan/Carter averaged .97 words of activity in their commercials. The increase continued in 1984, as Reagan/Mondale averaged 1.01 words of activity in their campaign commercials. In 1988 Bush/Dukakis averaged 1.45

activity words per commercial, and the highest average activity score came from the Clinton\Bush 1992 campaign 2.93 words per campaign advertisement.

Certainty scores will be reported next. It should be noted that in 8 of the 11 elections analyzed in this study more words detracting from certainty were used in the commercials than those words contributing to the variable. Therefore, these scores are reported as negative averages.

In 1952 Eisenhower/Stevenson averaged -1.34 words of certainty in their commercials. In 1956 this total rose to -.19 words per advertisement. The highest positive certainty score was recorded in the 1960 Kennedy/Nixon campaign 2.61 words per commercial. In 1964 Johnson/Goldwater averaged -.76 certainty words per spot, and in 1968 the average Nixon/Humphrey campaign commercial contained 1.17 words contributing to certainty. The 1972 Nixon/McGovern campaign featured commercials that averaged -2.75 words of certainty, and in 1976 Carter/Ford averaged -.09 certainty words in their spots. The 1980 Reagan/Carter campaign aired advertisements that averaged .03 words of certainty, and during the 1988 Bush/Dukakis campaign certainty scores averaged -.35 words per commercial. The lowest average certainty scores were generated in the 1992 Clinton/Bush race. The spots in this presidential campaign averaged -4.42 words of certainty per commercial.

Average optimism scores include three campaigns where more words detracting from optimism were used in the commercials than those words contributing to the variable. Once again, these scores are reported as negative numbers.

In the first presidential race analyzed in this study Eisenhower/Stevenson 1952 averaged -.05 words of optimism in their spots. In 1956 this average rose to 1.59 words per campaign commercial. The 1960 Kennedy/Nixon average optimism score was 3.26 words per spot. This was the highest total recorded in the 11 elections. In 1964 the average optimism score dropped to 1.01 words per advertisement during the Johnson/Goldwater race. The only election campaign to generate an average score of zero optimism words per commercial was the 1968 Nixon/Humphrey campaign. During the 1972 Nixon/McGovern campaign more words detracting from optimism were used in the spots generating an average optimism score of -.95. Optimism scores rebounded in 1976 when Carter/Ford averaged 1.21 optimism words per commercial, and in 1980 that number increased to 1.60 optimism words during the Reagan/Carter race. The average slipped to 1.38 words of optimism per spot in the 1984 Reagan/Mondale campaign and to .38 words of optimism in the 1988 Bush/Dukakis election. The average use of optimism words fell to a negative number in 1992 during the Clinton/Bush campaign when -.51 words of optimism were used

in each spot.

Research Question Five results illustrate that average use of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism words did change during each presidential election from 1952-1992.

Components of Verbal Style for Winners and Losers

The sixth and last research question posited in this study was whether or not activity, certainty, optimism, and realism would be present to a greater degree in the campaign commercials of the winners than of the losers.

As Table 4.7 illustrates, the winning candidates in the 11 presidential elections, 1952 to 1992, averaged more words of activity, certainty, and optimism than the losing candidates. Winners outscored losers 1.40 to 1.00 in activity; -.40 to -.74 in certainty; and 1.00 to .62 in optimism. However, the losing candidates averaged approximately 2 more words of realism in their commercials than did the victors, 38.35 to 36.26.

Table 4.7

Mean Scores for DICTION Variables:

Winners Versus Losers

Variable	Winners N = 11	Losers N = 11
Activity	1.40	1.00
Certainty	-.40	-.74
Optimism	1.00	.62
Realism	36.26	38.35

The analysis and comparison of commercials involves advertisements selected from the Lyndon Johnson campaign of 1964 and Gerald Ford campaign of 1976 for activity. The commercials representing certainty come from the 1988 campaign of George Bush and the 1972 campaign of George McGovern. Optimism samples were selected from Jimmy Carter's 1976 candidacy and Michael Dukakis's commercials from 1988. The examples for realism come form Richard Nixon's 1972 campaign and Hubert Humphrey's 1968 campaign.

Lyndon Johnson's 1964 average for activity was 1.72 words per commercial. This is slightly more than the 1.40 average for winning candidates. Following is an example of activity present in a 1964 campaign commercial for Johnson.

Announcer: On at least seven occasions Senator Barry Goldwater said that he would change the present Social Security System. But even his running mate, William Miller, admits that Senator Goldwater's voluntary plan would destroy your Social Security. President Johnson is working to strengthen Social Security. Vote for him on November third.

Poster: Vote for President Johnson on November third.*

The words that contributed to activity in this ad are: said, change, destroy, and strengthen.

Perhaps the most astonishing score in the entire study came from the Gerald Ford campaign of 1976. President Ford averaged no (0) activity in his commercials. The following example may provide an explanation.

Other: There's a change that's come over America. A change that's great to see. We're living here in peace again. We're going back to work again. It's better than it used to be. I'm feelin' good about America.

Candidate: Today America enjoys the most precious gift of all. We are at peace.

Announcer: We are at peace with the world and at peace with ourselves. America is smiling again and a great many people believe the leadership of this steady dependable man can keep America happy and secure. We know we can depend on him to work to keep us strong at

home. We know we can depend on him to work to ease tensions among the other nations of the world. We know we can depend on him to make peace his highest priority. Peace with freedom. Is there anything more important than that?*

In the 1976 presidential campaign Gerald Ford aired 130 advertisements with a net score of zero for activity. In the previous example, the word "change" adds to activity and appears twice, while the words "believe" and "keep" detract from activity scores. The net score for activity is zero.

In 1988 when vice president Bush ran for the presidency, his commercials averaged -.29 for certainty. His score was slightly more than the -.40 average for winners. Following is an example of a 1988 George Bush campaign commercial featuring the words that detract from certainty.

Sign: The Experience

Candidate: For seven and a half years, I've worked with a great President. I've seen what crosses that big desk. I've seen the unexpected crisis that arrives in a cable or young aids hand. So I know that what it all comes down to this election is the man at the desk. Who should sit at that desk? My friends I am that man.

Graphic: George Bush Experienced Leadership for America's Future.*

The words that detracted from certainty in this ad

included: seven, half, I, should, and my.

In 1972, George McGovern averaged -2.96 certainty words in his commercials--more than the -.74 average for all presidential losers. It offers an opportunity to analyze one of his campaign commercials in light of its use of words that detract from certainty.

Other: My nephew was killed over in Vietnam about two years ago, we're in Russia now to help develop their country, and the Chinese want Nixon to stay in power here. Why?

Candidate: Personally I think it was a good thing that the president went to Peiking. I think it is a good thing we're trying to improve our relations with Russia. But why do we say that 15,000,000 people in North Vietnam are a greater threat to the United States because they're communist, than 8,000,000,000 in China or 300,000,000 in Russia. This is the thing that doesn't make sense.

Other: I wonder if Nixon...I've never voted for a Republican until he came along and stopped the war, which he didn't.

Candidate: Well, you know who you're going to vote for?

Other: George McGovern.

Poster: McGovern

Announcer: McGovern. Democrat, for the people. The

people are paying for this campaign with their hard earned dollars, so send what you can to McGovern for President Washington, D.C..

Poster: McGovern for President Washington, D.C.*

The words in this commercial that detracted from certainty included: my, two, I, think, 15 million, three, and 100.

Jimmy Carter averaged .67 words of optimism in the 1976 campaign. An example will demonstrate how he contributed to the winner's overall average score for optimism.

Candidate: I don't claim to be better than anyone else, I've got a lot to learn. I'm just like you all, I worked almost all my life, manual labor. My folks have been in Georgia 200 years, nobody in my daddy's family ever finished high school before me. I grew up on a farm during the depression years, we didn't have electricity or running water, but I had a good life and I learned the government can be effective. I'm not afraid of government. It's not effective now, it's drifting. We don't have any long range commitments or predictable policies in agriculture or energy or education or environmental equality or transportation even foreign affairs. That needs to be done. If I'm elected it's going to be done. And you can depend on that.

Announcer: (Superimposition: Jimmy Carter) Vote for Jimmy Carter. A leader, for a change.*

In the previous example, the words better, good, effective, and education contributed to optimism.

Candidates who lost their bid for the presidency averaged .62 words of optimism in their campaign commercials. In the 1988 presidential campaign, Michael Dukakis averaged 1.12 words of optimism per advertisement. The following example offers a representation of optimism used in Dukakis commercials.

Announcer: Leadership, it's taking charge, taking responsibility, Michael Dukakis balanced ten budgets in a row and still cut taxes five times. Leadership, it's making life better. He increased workers income at twice the national rate and pioneered the first universal health care program in the country. That's why American governors both Democrat and Republican, voted Michael Dukakis the most effective governor in the nation. Michael Dukakis for President, let's take charge of America's future.*

The words that contributed to optimism in this commercial are: responsibility, leadership, and better.

The analysis of realism words concludes the discussion on average scores between winners and losers. In this case, two ads previously analyzed will be revisited. In 1972,

winning candidate, Richard Nixon, averaged 51.61 words of realism compared to the winners average score of 36.26. Following is an example of a Nixon campaign commercial from the 1972 campaign demonstrating his use of realism words.

> Announcer: In 1967, Senator George McGovern said he was not an advocate of unilateral withdrawal of our troops from Vietnam. Now of course he is. Last year the Senator suggested regulating marijuana on the same lines as alcohol. Now he says he against legalizing it and says he always has been. Last January Senator McGovern suggested a welfare plan that would give a thousand dollar bill to every man, woman, and child in the country. Now he says the thousand dollar figure isn't right. Throughout the year he has proposed unconditional amnesty to all draft dodgers. Now his running mate claims he proposed no such thing. In Florida he was pro busing. In Oregon he said he would support the anti busing bill in Congress. Last year, this year. The question is, what about next year? Poster: Democrats for Nixon.*

Again, the words contributing to realism in the previous advertisement are: in, senator, he, was, of, is, says, against, has, give, to, his, he, and congress.

Presidential losers averaged more realism words than the winners. In 1968, Hubert Humphrey averaged 67.62 realism

words per spot. The following represents Humphrey's propensity for referring to the immediate, tangible, and practical issues.

Poster: A pre-recorded political program.

Candidate: I've been reading that Hubert Humphrey ought to be his own man, that's exactly what I am. It boils down to what Humphrey thinks. I'll let the others think for themselves, write for themselves, speak for themselves. I've never known to be inarticulate and on occasion I have a good idea.

Announcer: Vice President Humphrey answers questions at the National Press Club in Washington.

Candidate: I've noticed that most presidents are just that. They really don't take orders from vice presidents or from anybody else. My son is in this audience. I don't ask him to live his father's life. I ask him to live his life. The President of the United States has not asked me to live his administration when I am privileged to have the Humphrey administration. Hubert Humphrey as Vice President is a member of a team. Hubert Humphrey as President is captain of a team. There's a lot of difference.

Poster: Humphrey.*

The words that contribute to realism in the previous commercial are: been, to, be, his, man, am, let, for,

themselves, on, at, in, are, take, from, son, is, him, live, administration, of, have, and president.

The results presented in Table 4.7 indicate that average word selection and use between winners and losers was not very different. Whereas individual candidate average scores differed to some extent, the overall averages remained fairly close.

Correlation Coefficients

Pearson's r was computed on the four major variables to test for strength and direction of variable correlation in an attempt to explain the results in the research questions. Table 4.8 illustrates the results of the correlation matrix.

Table 4.8

Correlation Coefficients

	Activity	Certainty	Optimism	Realism
Activity	1.00 (22) p = .	-.63 (22) p = .01*	-.58 (22) p = .01*	-.04 (22) p = .86
Certainty		1.00 (22) p = .	.63 (22) p = .01*	.37 (22) p = .09
Optimism			1.00 (22) p = .	.09 (22) p = .68
Realism				1.00 (22) p = .

p < .05

Significant correlations exist between activity/certainty, activity/optimism, certainty/activity, certainty/optimism, optimism/activity, and optimism/certainty. The correlation coefficients reveal a strong negative relationship between activity/certainty and between activity/optimism. Further, a strong negative correlation exists between certainty/activity and a strong positive correlation between certainty/optimism. A fairly strong negative correlation exists between optimism/activity and a strong positive correlation exists between optimism/realism.

Summary of Candidate Verbal Style

Commercials produced for Eisenhower/Stevenson 1952 campaign demonstrate that Dwight Eisenhower averaged more activity words than the overall average 1.69 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -1.69 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.44 to .81; and nearly half as many realism words 19.90 to 37.30. Adlai Stevenson, on the other hand, used fewer activity words .53 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -1.07; fewer optimism words .35 to .81; and fewer certainty words 35.69 to 37.30.

When the two candidates met again in 1956, the scores changed. Eisenhower's commercials averaged less activity words than the overall average -.55 to 1.18; more certainty words .98 to -.56; more optimism words 1.60 to .81; and more

realism words 39.90 to 37.30. The spot ads for Stevenson in 1956 averaged more activity words than the overall average 1.53 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -1.36 to -.56; more optimism words 1.58 to .81; and fewer realism words 26.15 to 37.30.

In 1960, John Kennedy averaged fewer activity words than the overall average .96 to 1.18; more certainty words 2.65 to -.56; more optimism words 3.94 to .81; and more realism words 46.76 to 37.30. His opponent, Richard Nixon averaged fewer activity words -1.30 to 1.18; more certainty words 2.57 to -.56; more optimism words 2.58 to .81; and fewer realism words 34.63 to 37.30.

During the 1964 presidential campaign, Lyndon Johnson averaged more activity words per commercial (1.72 to 1.18) than the overall average; fewer certainty words -3.46 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.42 to .81; and fewer realism words 31.78 to 37.30. The commercials for Barry Goldwater averaged fewer activity words -.57 to 1.18; more certainty words 1.95 to -.56; more optimism words 2.43 to .81; and more realism words 48.66 to 37.30.

In 1968, the commercials for Richard Nixon averaged fewer activity words than the overall average .38 to 1.18; more certainty words 1.16 to -.56; fewer optimism words .54 to .81; and more realism words 45.13 to 37.30. Commercials for Hubert Humphrey averaged more activity words than the

overall average 2.45 to 1.18; more certainty words 1.17 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.54 to .81; and more realism words 67.62 to 37.30.

When Richard Nixon ran for re-election in 1972, his commercials averaged more activity words than the overall average 2.68 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -2.53 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.92 to .81; and more realism words 51.61 to 37.30. The commercials for George McGovern averaged more activity words 2.04 to 1.18 than the overall average; fewer certainty words -2.96 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.98 to .81 and more realism 43.63 to 37.30.

The 1976 presidential campaign featured commercials from Jimmy Carter employing an average activity word use greater than the overall average 1.80 to 1.18; more certainty words 1.89 to -.56; fewer optimism words .67 to .81 and more realism words 42.13 to 37.30. Gerald Ford averaged no activity words in his 1976 commercials .00 to 1.18 against the overall average; fewer certainty words -2.06 to -.56; more optimism words 1.75 to .81; and more realism words 41.49 to 37.30.

In 1980, the commercials for Ronald Reagan averaged more activity words than the overall activity average 1.35 to 1.18; more certainty words .26 to -.56; more optimism words 1.50 to .81; but fewer realism words 31.39 to 37.30. The commercials for Carter, running for re-election,

averaged fewer activity words than the overall average .58 to 1.18; more certainty words -.21 to -.56; more optimism words 1.70 to .81 and more realism words 38.70 to 37.30.

Ronald Reagan ran as an incumbent in 1984 and his commercials averaged fewer activity words than the overall average .74 to 1.18; more certainty words 1.04 to -.56; more optimism words 4.46 to .81 and fewer realism words 34.79 to 37.30. His opponent, Walter Mondale, averaged more activity words in his commercials than the overall average 1.28 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -1.29 to -.56; fewer optimism words -1.70 to .81 and fewer realism words 25.84 to 37.30.

George Bush, a sitting vice president, ran for the presidency in 1988 against Michael Dukakis. The commercials for Bush averaged fewer activity words than the overall average 1.08 to 1.18; more certainty words -.29 to -.56; fewer optimism words -.37 to .81 and fewer realism words 26.56 to 37.30. His opponent averaged more activity words than the overall average 1.82 to 1.18; more certainty words -.40 to -.56; more optimism words 1.12 to .81; and fewer realism words 28.52 to 37.30.

The general election of 1992 was the last election analyzed in this study. The commercials for Bill Clinton averaged more activity words than the overall average 3.20 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -4.41 to -.56; fewer optimism words .46 to .81 and fewer realism words 28.88 to 37.30. In

his incumbent bid for re-election, the commercials for George Bush averaged more activity words than the overall average 2.65 to 1.18; fewer certainty words -4.43 to -.56; fewer optimism words -1.47 to .81; and fewer realism words 30.92 to 37.30.

Chapter Four has presented results of the DICTION analysis of televised presidential campaign spot advertisements. Data were used to answer six research questions. Included in these results were correlation coefficients to test the strength and direction of the relationships among variables in order to offer further explanations for the findings. Discussion of these findings follows in Chapter V.

* The transcripts of commercials used for analysis in Chapter IV were provided from presidential campaign commercials acquired from the Political Commercial Archive in the Department of Communication at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

Chapter V

Discussion

The intent of the current study was to determine if a verbal style could be identified in televised presidential campaign advertising and if the content of this style could be explicated. Six research questions were posited as a means of determining if a verbal style did indeed exist. This chapter will discuss the data with regard to the six research questions. It will conclude with a section on the limitations of the current study and recommendations for future research.

Remembering that activity refers to motion or change or the implementation of ideas; certainty indicates resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness; optimism is recorded in statements endorsing someone or something, or in offering positive descriptions or predicting favorable occurrences; and realism expressions refer to tangible, immediate, and practical issues (Hart, 1984); it is possible to offer explanations concerning why each candidate generated their scores.

Presence of Verbal Style Components

Research Question One attempted to determine if the variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism could be isolated in televised presidential campaign commercials. Because Hart (1984) found these variables in presidential speeches and Ballotti (1993) found them to be present in presidential campaign speeches, it was felt that they would be present, to some degree, in presidential campaign spot advertisements.

Table 4.2 illustrates that the variables were indeed present; however, certainty words were used so sparingly or words detracting from certainty were used so frequently that a negative average score resulted. However, the positive scores of activity, optimism, and realism do demonstrate an overall verbal style. Individual candidate verbal style is discussed later. It should be noted that the variables were originally selected to detect verbal style in the speeches of elected presidents and the reasoning behind them. The four questions designed for their construction were to reflect the verbal style of a president while governing the United States of America. Relying on this reasoning, then, it becomes clear that, to a certain degree, a campaign advertisement would include some amount of activity. Challengers would want to advertise their intentions to change the status quo and incumbents would want to advertise

their intentions to change to continue the growth of their administration. The results in Table 4.2 indicate that, on average, presidential candidates use activity words in their campaign advertisements. This illustrates the desire to be considered the candidate of action and change.

The overall positive average score for optimism demonstrates that the presidential candidates employed a verbal style in the commercials that was upbeat and positive in their representations. These attributes are not altogether inconsistent with Reeves'(1961) philosophy of picking a selling feature (theme) and sticking with it. Being upbeat and positive in the advertisements about a candidate's plans for the future of their administration is definitely a positive verbal style.

Realism was the third variable that generated a positive average score. There were no negative realism scores recorded. The average word use in the commercials analyzed for this project was 114. Of that total, 37 were words recorded in the realism dictionaries. Since realism refers to tangible, immediate, and practical issues (Hart, 1984), it is not surprising that these words would be the most heavily used in the commercials. The verbal style most associated with realism describes candidate commercials designed to discuss and focus on the main issues and themes of the campaign.

The variable of certainty was the lone anomaly in this first research question. Certainty recorded a negative score. However, in terms of commercials and what commercials are trying to accomplish, the low certainty score is not really surprising. Certainty words indicate resoluteness, inflexibility, and completeness (Hart, 1984)--an almost unflinching refusal to compromise or negotiate. These may be positive characteristics in the speeches of the person elected to lead the nation, but not so respected in commercials designed to sell the candidate to the public. A candidate must have themes and issues to campaign on, but not appear so reified as to not be able to adapt to changing philosophy or rationale. A low certainty score could be perceived as a positive. It demonstrates the candidates' willingness to compromise.

The verbal style constructed from the results of Research Question One demonstrate that presidential campaign commercials use words that denote action and change, are optimistic in their portrayal of the issues and themes of the candidate, designate topical issues, and allow the candidate room for equivocation.

Activity and Non Incumbents

Research Question Two focused on the amount of activity words present in the commercials of candidates who were out of office or when no incumbent (including sitting vice president) was running. Results from Table 4.3 confirm that commercials for candidates who are not in office or sitting vice presidents do indeed contain more activity words. This verbal style is consistent with the previous discussion of activity. Candidates who do not directly represent the incumbent party have a verbal style in their advertisements that attempts to indicate to the electorate that they belong to the party of change.

Components of Verbal Style for Incumbents

Research Question Three was directed toward the incumbent or incumbent vice president. Centering around the variables of certainty, optimism, and realism, the third research question addressed the amount of each variable present in the commercials for the incumbent candidates. Since a low certainty score would indicate a candidate's willingness to compromise or change, it becomes problematic as to whether a high certainty score and a refusal to change or compromise is better or worse than the ability to equivocate. The results demonstrate that the verbal style exhibited by incumbents allowed for more equivocation. This could possibly be the result of experience in the White

House and an understanding that compromise to get results is better than unyielding behavior and possible failure.

The results for optimism show that incumbents use more words of optimism in their commercials than challengers. Here again, experience would dictate that painting rosy pictures for the future and a necessity to stay the course can provide a brighter future than focusing on the negative. The incumbents demonstrated more optimism in their commercials than the overall average.

Incumbents use more than 2.5 words of realism in their commercials than do challengers. These scores would seem to fall in line with the definition of realism. Incumbents and incumbent vice presidents, in attempting to retain control of the office, would be expected to use words that indicate they are on top of the events facing America and are ready to act.

Components of Verbal Style for Political Parties

Research Question Four was designed to detect differences in verbal style between Democratic and Republican candidates. As Table 4.5 illustrates, the Democratic candidates averaged more activity words in their commercials. This could be explained by the fact that in seven of the eleven elections the Democratic party offered the out-of-office candidate and, as Research Question Two illustrates, the out-of-office candidate averages more

activity words than the incumbent.

Once again, the scores for certainty offer more room for interpretation. Democrats had an overall lower average word use than Republicans and less than the overall mean. Conclusions from these scores indicate that Democratic candidates used a verbal style in their commercials that portrayed them as being more likely to avoid conflict. That is, they tried to be less resolute and inflexible. Republicans also averaged a negative number in the certainty variable, indicating that they too demonstrated a propensity to avoid conflict, but their average word use was 25 percent greater than the overall mean and nearly .6 of a word more than the Democrats.

These totals would seem to align with conventional wisdom concerning the parties. The Democrats call themselves the party of the people. Certainty words demonstrate a certain stubbornness. For an organization that prides itself on providing help to the common citizen, to use words in a commercial that might alienate or turn off a potential voter would be nonproductive. Republicans, on the other hand, have been shackled with the moniker of being elitist and less likely to compromise. Therefore, it could be interpreted that the Republican candidate might be less likely to equivocate.

The certainty scores are very problematic. When Hart (1984) created the variable, he was attempting to demonstrate strength and character in the president through the verbal style presented in presidential speeches. The characteristics American citizens might admire in their leader may be the same characteristics that turn them off in a candidate (e.g., an unwillingness to compromise and be strong in the face of adversity). But election results (more Republican victors than Democrats) would seem to indicate that the voters do prefer more stubbornness in their presidential candidates.

Republican candidates averaged more words of optimism in their commercials than did the Democrats. There are at least a couple of reasons that can explain this phenomenon. First, the Republicans virtually owned the White House between 1952 and 1992, winning seven of the eleven elections, and during this span not one Democratic incumbent president was re-elected. However, Johnson (1964) did serve out the rest of Kennedy's term and win one of his own but refused to run again in 1968. It would seem that Democratic presidents during the four decade span were merely speed bumps in the Republican control of the White House. Therefore, the Republican candidates might have been more optimistic and expressed this optimism in their commercials because of their prior successes. It would seem the voting

public tended to side with the views of the Republican candidates.

The second reason may be a bit more revealing. Because the Republican party has been so successful at the presidential polls, the Democrats needed to campaign against them rather than for themselves. It seems the Democratic candidates spent more time discussing what was wrong with America than with what was right and how they could make it better. Nowhere is this better exemplified than in the 1984 Reagan/Mondale race. This campaign was highlighted by Reagan's "Morning in America" theme and how bright the last four years had been and how much better the next four years would be. Reagan's average optimism score was the highest recorded, 4.46. Mondale, on the other hand, had the lowest average score recorded, -1.70. The average difference score of 6.16 words per commercial indicates that Mondale's verbal style in his commercials was not very optimistic. The fact that so many Democratic candidates were out of office candidates might explain the lack of optimism in the verbal style in their commercials.

Democrats used more words of realism in their commercials than Republicans. However, the Democratic dominance could easily be explained by Humphrey's 1968 score. His average score of 67.62 was nearly 21 words more than the next highest Democratic average, Kennedy, 1960,

46.76. Since realism refers to tangible, immediate, and practical issues, it would be expected that scores between party candidates would be close. Election issues are usually germane to both parties and the decision of the electorate often comes down to the fiscal mood of the United States at the time of the election and which candidate can offer the best economic package. Here again, the Democrats, being the people's party, would be expected to score higher in attempting to be all encompassing.

Components of Verbal Style Over Time

Research Question Six was interested in any linear changes in DICTION variables. Did the amount of DICTION present in campaign commercials change over time? As Table 4.6 demonstrates the amount of DICTION present in campaign commercials did in fact change with each election.

Various explanations could be given for the changes; two will be addressed here. First, as technology has changed the ability to respond to an opponent's ads has increased. A comparison of the first campaign to use televised spot advertisements Eisenhower/Stevenson, 1952 and the last campaign analyzed in this study Clinton/Bush, 1992 will aid in understanding the importance of technology to the candidates.

The Clinton/Bush, 1992 activity score was the highest reported in the eleven elections. As determined from

Research Question Two, the out of office candidate averages more words of activity per commercial than the incumbent or incumbent vice president. It is not surprising, then, that Clinton would have a higher average score than Bush. However, with the technology available in the 1992 campaign and the ability to respond to an opponents ads almost instantly, it is not surprising that both the candidates ended with high average activity scores--in fact, the highest average for any election. It is possible that, as the Clinton campaign began airing ads and the Bush campaign responded and vice-versa, activity scores increased. Each advertisement, feeding off the content of the opponents previous commercial, attempted a response. As Clinton activity scores increased, so did those of Bush.

The higher realism score for the Clinton/Bush campaign could just be an artifact of the sheer number of ads and words compared. In 1992, Clinton alone had nearly as many commercials to be analyzed as Eisenhower/Stevenson, 46 to 49; and used more words, 4,651 to 4,374. When the Bush totals are added, it nearly doubles the 1952 totals. In both elections, the candidates were certainly addressing the tangible, immediate, and practical issues germane to the campaign. The volume of ads and word totals are possibly more responsible for the difference in realism scores than advancements in technology. However, advancements in

technology are partly responsible for the larger number of ads.

The certainty scores are another matter. Both elections recorded negative average certainty use. The Clinton/Bush campaign averaged nearly three times fewer certainty words, indicating they were more likely to compromise or change opinion than were Eisenhower/Stevenson. Here again, technology could have played a part in determining the outcomes. In 1952, the Eisenhower Answers America ads were recorded to let the public know how candidate Eisenhower felt about the issues of defense, war, unemployment, inflation, etc. His views were recorded and aired with virtually no chance to demonstrate his concern with changing his mind on those issues. Likewise, Stevenson recorded his commercials advocating his views. These commercials left little room for the candidates to equivocate and respond to their opponents charges--therefore, using fewer words that might indicate a propensity for change. In the 1992 campaign, both candidates had the ability to respond to their opponents ads. These responses offered them an opportunity to not so much change but modify their stands on issues. In doing so, fewer words of certainty would be used.

Average scores for optimism words in the two elections also ended with negative values. Eisenhower/Stevenson averaged more words but not quite one tenth of a word per

commercial and Clinton/Bush less than a half of a word commercial. Here again, response time could be the intervening factor. The 1952 campaign was more restricted in terms of advertisements and their airing. In 1992, the candidate's ability to create ads, not use them, and create new ads provided the flexibility to respond. If the tenor of the campaign is such that the candidates are responding to an unfavorable ad, then it is possible that the word selection will not be very optimistic.

The second possible reason for the varied scores is the belief that the milieu of the world and United States has the greatest bearing on presidential election campaigning. This philosophy will be discussed later in detail. With regard to Research Question Five the world and the United States was quite different in 1952 than 1992 and these differences could be responsible for the different scores.

Components of Verbal Style for Winners and Losers

Research Question Six for this study alleged that activity, certainty, optimism, and realism would be present to a greater degree in the campaign advertisements of winners than losers. On average, the scores were almost identical. These results may be attributed to the fact that campaign issues are generally the same for both candidates, they employ campaign managers to direct the campaign, and

the words selected to discuss the issues are virtually the same. The only real differences are in the fiscal beliefs of the candidates and how they expect to implement the changes (activity). Individually, winners averaged slightly more activity, certainty, and optimism words, while the losers held an edge in realism. The realism score is partially due to Humphrey's 1968 total. But it could also be explained in the fact that losers spent too much time trying to convince the electorate that the problems (issues) were worse than they actually were--or, at least, the electorate was not persuaded into believing these claims of the candidate.

Correlation Coefficients

Results from the correlation matrix demonstrate that as activity words increase in commercials, certainty and optimism words decrease--suggesting that the candidates spoke of change, but were willing to compromise and that the aforementioned change was not described in positive terms. These scores are not really startling when put in the context of a commercial. Usually when a candidate addresses an issue, it is in terms of what action they will take to ensure change or that change is needed. In doing so, the language indicates that they are somewhat willing to compromise to attain the goal and rarely speak in positive terms when discussing their opponent with regard to the changes.

When certainty word use goes up, activity words decrease and optimism word use increases. These findings are not surprising either when put in the context of the campaign commercial. When candidates use words demonstrating their refusal to compromise, they are probably less likely to advocate change as much as steadfastness to belief. When candidates are resolute and inflexible in their verbal styles (high in certainty), they are usually using this certainty to show they are not flinching from their support of a person, an issue, or in predicting a favorable future or outcome.

When words of optimism go up, activity words go down. Again, this is not surprising. When thinking of commercials, the candidate advocating change will usually not offer praise of his opponent or opponent's stands on issues. The positive correlation between optimism and certainty indicates that when candidates offer praise, it is unequivocal. This is nearly the opposite of optimism/activity. For instance, if a candidate is willing to endorse a person, program, or issue, they are four square behind it.

Thus far, the discussion of results has focused on the six questions--trying to describe the results in terms of variable use with regard to technology and fiscal ideology. However, it is believed that more salience can be brought to

the discussion of results if the focus includes a brief look at the environment of the world and United States at the time of the elections.

Milieu

Because the results were so close in terms of research question six and because the variable scores were so close among winners and losers and incumbents and non incumbents, another factor contributing to party ideology must be considered. This researcher believes that the milieu of the world and United States at the time of the election plays a significant role in determining the issues of the campaign. And primarily because both candidates campaign on the same issues, there may be very little difference in the words they use to advertise their support or rejection of the issue. An examination of world and national crises facing the electorate during the four decades between 1952 and 1992 (e.g., Korean police action, cold war, Vietnam, civil rights, law and order, etc.) should aid in understanding the results.

Dwight Eisenhower came to prominence as a World War II hero after a war weary nation had suffered through World War II and Korea. He offered a plan of peace and prosperity. Perhaps his greatest asset was that he ran on the Republican ticket. America had experienced global war for six of the previous eleven years under Democratic rule and Eisenhower

offered an alternative. Eisenhower faced Stevenson again in 1956 and, by this time, the General had proven himself as a politician and was re-elected.

During the 1950's, the cold war with Russia escalated and the Republican administration did not appear to meet the challenges. In 1960, John Kennedy offered the voters a young and vigorous choice to uphold freedom abroad, defend America against foreign aggression, and spur economic and scientific development. Lyndon Johnson inherited an office vexed with social problems. The Vietnam War, civil rights, and national unrest plagued his administration. If his Republican opponent, Barry Goldwater, had not advocated such drastic measures as a military victory in Vietnam (Converse, Clausen, & Miller, 1968; Hart, 1984) and a negative vote on the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Will, 1987), Johnson might not have been elected.

In 1968, Richard Nixon campaigned tirelessly for law and order. The televised riots at the Democratic National Convention all but secured his victory as the law and order president. But in 1972 came Watergate and shortly thereafter the only man to serve as President of the United States who had not been elected to the office. Through a series of events Gerald Ford was appointed Vice President and then became President when Nixon resigned following the Watergate investigations. Ford's job was then to patch up the

Republican Party at home and the reputation of the United States abroad. That task was just too difficult to accomplish and Jimmy Carter, offering change and honesty in governmental politics, was able to defeat Ford in 1976. But Carter had his problems: inflation, Iran, and a perceived lack of respect abroad for America. In 1980, Ronald Reagan offered a strong defense and pride in America to the electorate and victory followed. In 1984, Reagan continued his pride in America campaign, and he overwhelmingly defeated Walter Mondale who ran a more negative "what's wrong with America campaign."

In 1988, George Bush successfully separated himself from Reagan's coattails and campaigned on Michael Dukakis's weak stands on defense and capital punishment. However, in 1992, Bill Clinton slowed down the Republicans and defeated Bush in a battle over the economic direction of the United States.

This analysis of the milieu of the world and the United States during the 11 election campaigns between 1952 and 1992 briefly describes the issues faced by the presidential candidates during their campaigns. Perhaps the events surrounding the election and how the candidates react to the events are as important in determining the outcome of the election as are the fiscal ideologies of the candidates.

Verbal Style

Results from the content analysis of presidential campaign advertisements using the DICTION variables of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism are present in campaign commercials and a certain verbal style can be generalized to the candidates. Out-of-office candidates average more activity words when describing the changes they will make if elected. Incumbents or incumbent vice presidents running for office are less likely to use words in their advertisements that do not allow them to compromise; they are optimistic in their campaign pledges and promises; and these pledges and promises are focused on solving immediate and practical problems.

Democrats use more activity words, are more likely to sound compromising, are less likely to be optimistic, and speak more to immediate problems in their advertisements than Republicans. Since 1952, televised campaign commercials for presidential candidates have undergone changes with respect to the four variables. Advertisements for Clinton/Bush in 1992 averaged more activity words, fewer certainty words, fewer optimism words, and more realism words than those of Eisenhower/Stevenson 1952. In the eleven elections between 1952 and 1992, winners averaged more activity words, more certainty words, and more optimism words than losers; but the losers averaged more realism

words.

Although it is possible that a particular candidate might have a pet theme or issue to campaign on, as previously discussed, the specific themes and issues in a campaign are shared by the candidates and thus help to explain the closeness of scores in activity, certainty, optimism, and realism; and the verbal style associated with televised presidential spot advertisements.

Comparison of DICTION: Speeches vs. Commercials

Hart (1984) used activity, certainty, optimism, and realism, to describe the verbal style of presidents based on their speeches. The same variables are used in the current study in an attempt to describe a verbal style associated with presidential campaign commercials. Table 5.1 offers a comparison of the variables between speeches and advertisements, and ranks them in order of their average number of words used in each. The comparison is between the variable scores from presidential speeches of presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon, Carter, and the first two years of Reagan's first term, 1981-1982 (Hart, 1984); and their campaign commercials. President Ford is omitted because he did not win a campaign for the presidency. The comparison is between the commercials of winning candidates and their presidential speeches.

Table 5.1

Comparison of DICTION: Speeches vs. Commercials

Variable	Speeches	Rank	Commercials	Rank
Activity	203.33	2	1.32	2
Certainty	185.68	4	.06	4
Optimism	217.70	1	1.01	3
Realism	192.52	3	38.39	1

This comparison of variables indicates that presidents, in their speeches, use more words of optimism than of the other variables. This optimism is directed toward action they are taking or plan to take (activity). The optimism and activity expressed in speeches involves themes or issues of topical interest to the audience (realism), and finally, presidential speeches include words that demonstrate the resolve or firm commitment of the office holder.

Variable words, or the number of variable words, used in presidential campaign commercials, on the other hand, differ slightly from words used in presidential speeches. Advertisements use more words that address the themes and issues of interest to the audience (realism). Words used to discuss these issues demonstrate the action to be taken by the candidate (activity) and are often optimistic when discussing the plan or outcome of the plan. Moreover, as

with presidential speeches, words describing the inflexibility of the individual are used less often than others.

However, as Table 5.1 further demonstrates the difference between the number of words describing activity and optimism in commercials is very small indeed. So small, in fact, that in terms of ranking them for discussion purposes they are virtually equal in number. This overall closeness between activity and optimism in commercials is not surprising. It would be expected that presidential candidates would want to sound optimistic when offering change to the electorate or that the plan or action proposed be described in optimistic terms. Once again, with the exception of Ford 1976, who was virtually appointed president, the commercials analyzed and presented in Table 5.1 all came from the campaigns of winning candidates.

Limitations And Suggestions For Future Study

When a project such as this takes a year and a half to reach completion, it is often difficult to acknowledge limitations existed in the study; however, altruism aside, there are some areas that warrant mention. The first is, of course, not having the DICTION program available to do the word sorting and counting. Although the researcher took precautions to retain the integrity and reliability of the DICTION method of operation (and there is absolutely no

reason to suspect WORD CRUNCHER did not do what it is designed to do, alphabetize word lists and count the words), the availability and use of DICTION would have aided in the final analysis.

On the other hand, using the variables designed to analyze the verbal style present in the speeches of elected presidents may not be the best way to analyze the commercials of presidential candidates. Activity, certainty, optimism, and realism help to show the verbal style of presidents and offer an opportunity to infer character from their speeches, but a different lexicon of words and dictionaries might be constructed to analyze the persuasibility of ads. These major dictionaries could be designed to detect words that contribute to source credibility or ethos, and success in mass media advertising campaigns. This lexicon could include activity, certainty, optimism, and realism as subdictionaries and use them to infer verbal style and character as well as persuasibility of the advertisement.

It should be noted that Hart studied the verbal style of presidents and generated his data from speeches delivered by the individual president. The current study analyzed the verbal style present in campaign commercials, many of which did not have the presidential candidate speaking. Thus the candidate actually inherited the style from the people

speaking on his behalf. Further research should attempt to isolate those commercials that feature copy delivered by the candidate only in an attempt to demonstrate a more direct correlation between the candidate and the verbal style portrayed in the commercials. Future research might also remove the nonverbal copy present in the current study. As important as signs, posters, graphics, and superimpositions are to the commercial and to the success of the candidate, they cannot be considered part of the verbal style of the candidate.

Advertisements classified as issue or image or negative or positive could have their words submitted to DICTION analysis for comparison and analysis, and the amount of DICTION present in advertisements of varying length could also be tested. The possibilities for future research using the DICTION variables or others are limitless.

It became apparent that attempting to analyze and discuss the individual variables as a whole did a disservice to the concept. Any further study conducted using the DICTION variables or multiple variables of analysis might use them individually and not collectively.

The current study analyzed the ads and compared them to other campaign advertisements. Future research should include the transcriptions of product advertisements (e.g., dish soap, automobiles, clothes, food, etc.) and test

for the presence of activity, certainty, optimism, and realism in these ads. With this comparison, the researcher could determine if the amount of each variable present in the campaign ads is indeed a high or low score with respect to advertising a product.

Hart studied presidents through the language they used in their public speeches. This study attempted to apply the same variables to presidential campaign commercials. Results indicates that the variables are present, to some degree, in the commercials and a verbal style constructed. However, it would be difficult to predict a winner based on their DICTION scores alone.

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APPENDIX

SEMANTIC COMPONENTS OF DICTION

Notes

1. On the following pages, asterisks (*) indicate homographic terms. Counts for such terms were differentially weighted within the various subdictionaries by applying statistical norms for usage of those terms. Thus, for example, when the word "state" was used in a given passage, 33.3% of its occurrences were recorded in the Activity subdictionary termed Communicativeness (as in "Please state your opinion") and 33.3% of its occurrences were recorded in the realism subdictionary termed Concreteness (as in "the state of California"). Had DICTION contained a subdictionary called Philosophical Abstraction, the remaining 33.3% of the occurrences of "state" would have been assigned to that variable (as in "the state of uncertainty"). (Hart, 1984, p. 293)

2. The following subdictionary word lists were extracted from *Verbal Style And The Presidency: A Computer-based Analysis, Roderick Hart, 1984.* Except the current study added some numbers to Numerical Frequency.

Activity Subdictionaries

Accomplishment

accomplish
accomplished
accomplishes
achieve
achieved
achieves
*advance
advanced
advances
*approach
approached
approaches
attempt
attempted
attempts
became
become
becomes
began
begin
bring
brings
brought
build
builds
built
came
carried
carries
carry
*change
changed
changes
come
comes
conclude
concluded
concludes
continue
continued
continues
deliver
delivered
delivers
establish
established
establishes
expand
expanded
expands
explore
explored
explores
find
finds
follow
followed
follows
found
get
gets
go
goes
gone
got
grew
grow
grows
hit
hits
improve
improved
improves
*leap
leaped
leaps
*leave
leaves
*left
*march
marched
marches
*move
moved
moves
plunge
plunged
plunges
*produce
produced
produces
pull
pulled
pulls
*push
pushed
pushes
ran
*reach
reached
reaches
*rise
rises
*run
send
sends
sent
*start
started
starts
strengthen
strengthened
strengthens
strive
strives
strove
*thrust
thrusted
thrusts
tried
tries
try
*walk
walked
walks
went
*work
worked
works

Aggressiveness

abolish
abolished
abolishes
arrest
arrested
arrests
attack
attacked
attacks
break
breaks
broke
confront
confronted
confronts
compete
competed
competes
defend
defended
defends
destroy
destroyed
destroys
eliminate
eliminated
eliminates
fight
fights
force
forced
forces
fought
hurt
hurts
kill
killed
kills
oppose
opposed
opposes
overcame
overcome
prevent
prevented
prevents
reduce
reduced
reduces
reject
rejected
rejects
resist
resisted
resists
ruin
ruined
ruins
strive
strives
struggle
struggled
struggles
take
takes
took
wreck
wrecked
wrecks

Communicativeness

inform	recommend
informed	recommends
informs	report
insist	reported
insisted	reports
insists	respond
invite	responded
invited	responds
invites	said
listen	say
listened	says
listens	speak
*mention	speaks
mentioned	spoke
mentions	taught
negotiate	teach
negotiated	teaches
*order	tell
ordered	tells
orders	testifies
persuade	testify
persuaded	told
propose	urge
proposed	urged
proposes	urges
publish	write
published	writes
read	wrote
reads	

Embellishment

Sum of "Praise" and "Adversity" category (adjectives) divided by sum of "present Concern" and "Past Concern" categories.

Intellectuality

*believe
believed
believes
choose
chooses
compare
compared
compares
comprehend
comprehended
comprehends
concentrate
concentrated
concentrates
consider
considers
decide
decided
decides
discover
discovered
discovers
*doubt
doubted
doubts
examine
examined
examines
expect
expected
expects
forget
forgets
forgot
interpret
interpreted
interprets
knew
know
knows
learn
learned
learns
pray
prayed
prays
prove
proved
proves
*realize
realized
realizes
recognize
recognized
recognizes
remember
remembered
remembers
solve
solved
solves
studied
*studies
*study
think
thinks
*thought
understand
understands
understood

Passivity

acceptable	*maintain	remain	surrenders
acceptably	maintained	remained	tame
accept	maintains	remains	tired
accepted	meek	*rest	tolerate
accepts	meekly	rested	tolerated
agreeable	mild	rests	tolerates
agreeably	mildly	*safe	*wait
*calm	moderate	safely	waited
calmly	moderately	same	waits
careful	normal	satisfactory	
carefully	normally	satisfied	yield
cautions	passive	secure	yielded
cautious	passively	*set	yields
cautiously	*patient	sit	
contend	patiently	sits	
continue	*pause	*sleep	
continued	paused	sleeps	
continues	pauses	slept	
*delay	peaceful	slow	
delayed	peacefully	*stable	
delays	permanent	stand	
dormant	permanently	stands	
*fixed	preserve	*stay	
gentle	preserved	stayed	
gently	preserves	stays	
gradual	*quiet	*still	
gradually	quietly	stood	
hesitantly	*refrain	stop	
hesitate	refrained	stops	
hesitated	refrains	stopped	
hesitates	regular	submit	
keep	regularly	submits	
kept	relax	submitted	
*lay	relaxed	*surrender	
*lays	relaxes	surrendered	

Certainty Subdictionaries

Collectives

*administration
alliance
army
*association
*board
brotherhood
bureau
cabinet
campaign
church
city
civilization
committee
community
company
conference
congregation
congress
council
country
day
decade
department
economy
education
enemy
family
food
generation
globe
government
*group
housing
humanity
industry
leadership
legislation
legislature
majority
man
mankind
military
minority
month
movement
nation
navy
*organization
*party
police
*press
property
*public
*race
republic
society
staff
*state
union
week
world
year

Leveling

all
any
anybody
anyhow
anyone
anything
anyway
anywhere
each
entire
everlasting
evermore
every
everybody
everyone
everything
everywhere
least
most
none
nothing
only
whole

Numerical Frequency

billion
billions
eight
eighteen
eighth
eighty
eighteenth
eleven
eleventh
fifteen
fifteenth
fifth
fifty
first
five
forty
four
fourteen
fourth
half
hundred
hundreds
million
millions
nine
nineteen
ninety
nineteenth
ninth
one
second
seven
seventh
seventeen
seventy
seventeenth
six
sixth
sixteen
sixty
sixteenth
ten
tenth
thirteen
thirteenth
thousand
three
third
twelfth
twelve
twentieth
twenty
two

Power Factor

Number of nouns or noun-derived adjectives (appearing three or more times per passage) X their number of occurrences divided by 10.

Variety

Type-token ratio: number of different words in passage Divided by total words in passage.

Qualification

*about
almost
although
appears
but
can
could
feel
feels
guess
guessed
guesses
hesitate
hesitated
hesitates
hope
hoped
hopes
I'd
if
*may
*might
much
ought
perhaps
seem
seemed
seems
should
some
somebody
someone
sometime
somewhat
somewhere
think
thinks
though
*tried
tries
try
unless
wonder
wondered
wonders
would

Rigidity

am
are
be
been
*being
he's
I'll
I'm
is
it's
shall
she's
was
were
*will

Self-Reference

I
I'd
I'll
I'm
me
mine
my
myself

Optimism Subdictionaries

Adversity

adversary
adversaries
afraid
aggression
alienation
alone
anger
angry
annoyed
annoying
anxious
assault
assaults
attack
attacks
bad
battle
blame
burden
burdens
challenge
challenges
coercion
combat
conflict
conflicts
contempt
contemptible
contrary
controversy
cowardly
crime
crises
crisis
cruel
danger
dangers
dangerous
deadly
death
deaths
difficult
deficit
deficits
depression
despair
despaired
desperate
desperation
dislike
disliked
dislikes
disease
diseases
disgust
disgusted
disgusting
dispute
disruption
doubts
enemies
enemy
envy
evil
evils
failure
false
fear
fears
fight
fighting
fights
grief
guilt
hate
hated
hateful
hates
hating
hatred
hazard
horrible
hostile
hostilities
hostility
hunger
illegal
illness
illnesses
impossible
injuries
injury
jealous
jealousy
loneliness
lonely
loss
losses
obstacle
obstacles
offensive
opponents
opposition
painful
panic

Adversity Cont.

panicked
panics
peril
perils
pity
poor
poverty
problem
problems
rash
rebellion
recession
resistance
resistances
revolution
risk
risks
ruin
sacrifice
sacrifices
sad
sadness
scare
scared
sick
sickness
sicknesses
sorrow
starvation
strife
struggle
struggles
stupid
suffering
terrible
terrified
terror
threat
threaten
threatened
tragic
trouble
troubles
ugly
unfair
unemployment
vice
war
warfare
wars
weapon
weapons
weak
weakness
weaknesses
worry
worrying
worried
worse
worst
wrong

Inspiration

ability
assistance
authority
*beauty
brotherhood
charity
comfort
commitment
*concern
confidence
courage
dedication
democracy
determination
devotion
dignity
*duty
education
*employment
exploration
friendship
faith
freedom
health
*help
*honor
hope
humanity
independence
initiative
inspiration
integrity
justice
knowledge
leadership
liberty
*love
patriotism
patience
peace
power
pride
principle
productivity
progress
prosperity
prudence
*reason
*respect
responsibility
rights
*sacrifice
safety
sense
success
*support
thrift
thrust
truth
values
virtue
wisdom
*work
working

Negation

aren't
cannot
can't
didn't
doesn't
don't
hasn't
haven't
isn't
neither
never
no
none
nor
not
nothing
nowhere
without
won't
wouldn't

Praise

alert
beautiful
best
better
blessed
bright
*clean
*clear
conscientious
correct
*dear
easy
effective
*fair
*fine
*free
generous
genuine
good
great
happy
healthy
holy
important
innocent
*kind
laudable
loyal
mighty
moral
necessary
noble
perfect
positive
powerful
profitable
reasonable
*right
safe
smart
special
splendid
strong
successful
sweet
true
valuable
wise
wonderful

Satisfaction

amaze
amazed
amazement
bravery
care
cared
cares
caring
cheer
cheerful
comfort
comfortable
confident
courage
delight
delighted
determination
determined
enjoy
enjoyed
enjoys
enjoyment
excite
excited
excitement
exciting
friendly
friendship
fun
funny
glad
grateful
gratitude
happily
happy
hope
hopeful
hoping
joy
liking
love
loved
loving
pleased
pleasure
pride
proud
safe
safely
secure
security
surprise
surprised
surprising
welcome
welcomed

Realism Subdictionaries

Concreteness

*administration
Africa
*air
aircraft
America
Americans
*arms
armament
armaments
army
automobile
Asia
bank
bank
banks
bible
*board
boards
brother
brothers
*building
buildings
car
cars
child
Catholics
cent
cents
chairman
chairmen
children
Christians
church
churches
cities
citizen
city
college
colleges
committee
committees
communist
communists
computer
computers
congress
congressman
congressmen
congresswoman
congresswomen
council
councils
countries
country
*criminal
criminals
democrats
doctor
doctors
dollar
dollars
earth
enemies
enemy
Europe
*face
faces
factory
family
families
farmer
farmers
father
fathers
*fellow
fellows
field
fields
fire
fires
floor
food
friend
furniture
*globe
governor
governors
gun
*hand
hands
heart
hemisphere
home
homes
hospital
house
houses
housewife
human
humans
*jet
jets
Jew
Jews
king
kings
*land
lands
lady
ladies
lawyer

Concreteness Cont.

lawyers
leader
leaders
letter
letters
market
markets
mayor
mayors
member
members
money
moon
*mother
mothers
nation
nations
navy
Negro
Negroes
neighbor
neighbors
office
offices
officials
partner
*people
peoples
*plane
planes
*plant
plants
police
person
persons
president
presidents
prisoner
prisoner
prisoners
*press
Protestants
railroad
railroads
*relative
relatives
republicans
river
rivers
room
rooms
*school
schools
*senator
*ship
ships
sister
sisters
soldier
soldiers
son
sons
*state
states
station
stations
student
students
sun
table
taxpayer
taxpayers
teacher
teachers
*train
trains
troop
troops
union
unions
university
universities
valley
valleys
veteran
veterans
voter
voters
water
weapon
weapons
wife
wives
woman
women
worker
workers
world
worlds

Familiarity

about
across
after
against
am
among
at
are
be
been
before
between
by
came
come
comes
did
do
does
done
down
for
from
gave
get
gets
give
gives
given
go
goes
gone
got
had
has
have
he
he'd
he'll
her
in
is
keep
keeps
kept
let
lets
made
make
makes
of
off
on
put
puts
said
say
says
see
sees
seem
seemed
seems
send
sends
sent
take
takes
taken
through
to
took
under
up
was
went
were
with

Human Interest

aunt
baby
boy
brother
child
cousin
dad
daddy
daughter
family
father
fellow
folks
friend
gentleman
girl
guy
hers
he's
him
himself
his
husband
lady
man
mister
mother
Mr.
Mrs.
nephew
niece
our
ourselves
parent
people
she'd
she'll
she's
sir
son
their
theirs
them
themselves
they
they'd
they'll
they're
us
we
we'd
we'll
we're
wife
woman
you
you'd
you'll
your
yours
you're
yourself
yourselves

Past Concern

became
brought
called
changed
did
done
failed
fought
gave
kept
knew
lived
made
needed
provided
required
said
stated
told
took
wanted
went
wrote

Present Concern

become
becomes
bring
brings
*call
calls
*change
changes
come
comes
do
does
fail
fails
*fight
fights
give
gives
go
goes
keep
keeps
know
*live
lives
make
makes
*need
needs
provide
provides
require
requires
say
says
*state
states
take
takes
tell
tells
want
wants
write
writes

Spatial Awareness

aboard
*area
areas
*capital
capitals
cities
city
*close
closer
communities
community
continent
continents
countries
country
distance
distances
district
districts
domestic
earth
east
eastern
everywhere
far
farm
farms
federal
*field
fields
foreign
frontier
globe
hemisphere
here
home
homes
homeland
homelands
inch
inches
indoor
international
island
islands
isolate
isolated
isolation
land
lands
local
locale
locales
location
locations
mile
miles
national
nation
nations
nationwide
near
neighborhood
neighborhoods
northern
outdoor
outside
*place
places
private
privately
properties
property
*public
publicly
region
regions
remote
remotely
republic
republics
room
rural
societies
south
southern
space
spaces
sphere
spheres
*states
street
territories
territory
there
town
towns
universe
urban
valley
valleys
vicinity
west
western
where
world
worlds
zone
zones

Temporal Awareness

age
ages
ago
already
always
ancient
begin
begins
beginning
brief
century
day
decade
decades
delay
delays
duration
during
early
end
epoch
epochs
era
eras
finally
first
forever
former
future
generation
generations
hour
hours
hurry
immediate
immediately
immortal
instant
instantly
late
minute
minutes
modern
moment
moments
month
months
morning
mornings
never
next
new
night
nights
noon
now
occasional
occasionally
old
past
perpetual
perpetually
prompt
quick
quickly
recent
recently
remember
remembered
sometime
sometimes
soon
stop
sudden
suddenly
summer
temporary
then
time
today
tomorrow
tonight
tradition
traditional
until
wait
waited
week
weeks
when
while
winter
year
years
yesterday
young

Symbolism

America	law
American	laws
country	nation
Democracy	peace
freedom	people
government	rights