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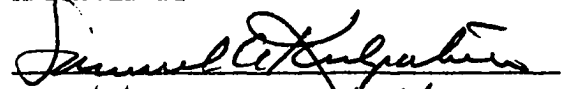
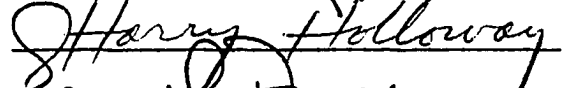
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1973

ISSUES, ISSUE PUBLICS, AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

APPROVED BY




DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

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ISSUES, ISSUE PUBLICS, AND ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Thoughts and theories about democracy have flourished for ages in the minds of men. Definitions and lists of attributes abound and are the focus of much debate among scholars and nonscholars alike. Almost without question, however, it is assumed that some form of popular control must exist over the creation of the public policy that guides, shapes, and even controls the lives and destinies of a democracy's citizenry. Elections and the electorate which participates in them are generally considered crucial to the process of government "by the people, for the people, and of the people." Traditional democratic theory has portrayed the electoral process as a vital part of democracy and has both expected and visualized the individual voter to be the possessor of certain characteristics supportive of his role in that process. As Berelson has described it: "On the basis of an informed and carefully reasoned set of personal preferences and an accurate perception of the various candidates' positions, the voter is expected to vote for those candidates who best reflect his personal preferences."¹ In other words, the voter is expected to know the issues, know the

¹Bernard Berelson, "Democratic Theory and Public Opinion," Public Opinion Quarterly, XVI (Fall, 1952), 313-30.

candidates' positions on these issues and make this the basis for his vote choice.

The question that has continuously captured the attention of students of politics concerns the voter's ability to meet the above expectations. Prewitt and Nie note that "a persistent theme in centuries of debate between those dubious about the merits of the democratic form of government and those optimistic for its prospects involves a judgment about the citizen's ability to make rational and informed choices in the voting booth."¹

The most serious questioning of traditional assumptions about the voter occurred with the advent of techniques designed to secure knowledge about the individual and his attitudes. The earliest excursions into electoral analysis reflected the methodological advances of the time and utilized, primarily, aggregate data--official election returns and census data. Relationships between specific individuals and a set of opinions resulted only from inference. With the initiation of survey techniques based upon probability sampling, new avenues of analysis were opened which allowed scholars to connect specific individuals with sets of opinions and to make inferences about a large national population from a relatively small sample.² Scholars began to speak of an electorate and a voter who did not meet the expectations of traditional democratic theory, and early studies established certain beliefs

¹Kenneth Prewitt and Norman Nie, "Review Article: Election Studies of the Survey Research Center," British Journal of Political Science, I, 479-502.

²Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Behavior (2nd ed.; Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc., 1970), p. 17.

about the voter which became the foundation for future research.

Pomper states: "In broad terms, political scientists have found voters to have limited interest in politics, to be strongly attached to their traditional parties and social groups, and to lack ideological coherence in their views of political issues." Voters' perceptions of issues and of links between issue preferences and party choice were said to be, at best, weak.¹

Despite the force with which much of the earliest research was presented, debate over the true nature of the American voter has not subsided. Prewitt and Nie have noted that, if anything, debate has become more intense.² Kessel has stated: "Issue voting, it appears, has been rediscovered once again."³ A collection of American Political Science Review articles recently focused upon and noted the presence of issue voting to an extent much greater than past research would indicate.⁴

¹Gerald M. Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968," American Political Science Review, LXVI (June, 1972), 415. (Hereinafter referred to as "Confusion to Clarity.") See also: Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign (3rd ed.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954); Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller, The Voter Decides (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1954); and Angus Campbell, et. al., The American Voter (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960).

²Prewitt and Nie, "Review Article," p. 490.

³John H. Kessel, "Comment: The Issues in Issue Voting," APSR, LXVI (June, 1972), 459. (Hereinafter referred to as "Issues in Issue Voting.")

⁴See: Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," 415-28; Richard A. Brody and Benjamin I. Page, "Comment: The Assessment of Policy Voting," APSR, LXVI (June, 1972), 450-58 (hereinafter referred to as "Assessment of Policy Voting"); Richard W. Boyd, "Popular Control of Public Policy: A Normal Vote Analysis of the 1968 Election," APSR, LXVI (June, 1972), 429-49; and Kessel, "Issues in Issue Voting," 459-65.

It is probable that at least two factors have combined in perhaps an inseparable manner to lead to the difference in findings about voting behavior and to the perception that "on probably no other question have the last two decades of empirical survey work produced such a lively, if inconclusive, discussion": One factor suggests the possibility that issues may vary over time in their impact on voting behavior and elections. Hence, evidence of differing amounts of issue voting from one period to another may simply reflect actual changes that have occurred in the electorate. On the one hand, that portion of the literature which established a basic foundation of beliefs about the voter and painted a rather unflattering picture of him as being pushed and swayed in his vote decision by factors little related to issues was the creation of the 1950's, and this period of time is often characterized as being primarily apolitical in nature. On the other hand, most of the studies suggesting a greater role for issues in voter choice were conducted during the 1960's, perhaps a time of greater issue awareness.¹

The degree to which one can attribute differences in the findings of two separate decades of researchers to actual change is made less certain by the existence of a second factor which has undoubtedly been present in all research efforts at all times: The advancement of new methodological techniques of analysis has been a constant in the formulation of new, and the shedding of old, conclusions about the nature of voting behavior. New survey questions, variations in old

¹Boyd, "Popular Control of Public Policy," p. 429. See also Steven R. Bennett, "Consistency among the Public's Social Welfare Policy Attitudes in the 1960's," Midwest Journal of Political Science, (August, 1973), forthcoming.

ones, methodological innovations, interpretations and reinterpretations of existing techniques, all have contributed to the inconclusiveness which surrounds the study of voting behavior today.

This paper is concerned primarily with the impact of issues upon the electoral system rather than upon individual vote choice. However, in order to approach that subject, one must understand something about issues and individual vote choice. Thus, the following survey of literature will include a critical evaluation of studies dealing with individual voting behavior as well as voting behavior at the systems level. The survey begins with some basic origins of voting behavior research and includes studies emphasizing candidate image, issue orientations, issue publics, and electoral change.

Foundations of Voting Behavior Research

Four of the studies leading to today's most accepted viewpoints on voting behavior can be divided somewhat by time and more so by the conceptual language and orientation utilized. The first two works were produced by scholars at Columbia University, and the dominant orientation was sociological.¹ That is, those factors focused upon as being determinants of voting behavior were social and environmental. According to Lazarsfeld, et. al., "a person thinks, politically, as he is socially. Social characteristics determine political preference."² The remaining two studies were the work of a group of scholars at the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center--an institution whose influence in the field of voting behavior has been matched by none--and

¹Dreyer and Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Behavior, p. 21.

²Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, The People's Choice, p. 27.

were more social-psychological in nature.

In 1954, the Survey Research Center group authored The Voter Decides. This was the first major voting behavior study to utilize a nationwide sample survey. Of several themes evident in the book, one is of primary interest. It concerns the motivation of a voter's candidate preference. It is suggested that three variables make up the attitudes most immediate to the individual's vote decision: party identification, issue partisanship, and candidate partisanship.¹ Each of these three was positively correlated with the other and with the individual's vote choice. The study suggested that candidate partisanship played an important role in electoral change during the 1948-1952 period. Along with a number of specific criticisms of the study's method of operationalizing "issue partisanship," goes a charge that the study failed to address the relative impact of each of its major independent variables on individual voting behavior. Sears concludes that the study does not "give us either a quantitative comparison of the power of these several dimensions nor a causal sequence."²

¹Campbell, Gurin, and Miller, The Voter Decides. The party identification variable was derived from a question which asked each respondent to indicate his party loyalty and its strength. This yielded codes ranging from "strong Republican" through "independent" to "strong Democrat." Codes were set up for "weak Democrats" and "weak Republicans" also.

Issue orientation or partisanship was seen as the extent to which the respondent took a consistently Republican or Democratic Party line on four selected campaign issues. Also part of the measurement was accuracy of the voter's perception of policy differences between the two parties on two given issues.

Using the open-ended question of "what do you like/dislike about the candidates," a quantitative score was obtained for candidate partisanship by a simple subtraction process--anti responses from pro responses or vice versa.

²David O. Sears, "Political Behavior," in The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. V, ed. by Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (2nd ed.: Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1969), p. 321.

Between the publication of The Voter Decides and The American Voter a study appeared in which some attempt was made to measure the relative impact of several "partisan attitudes" on voting behavior. Party identification was measured as in previous studies, but "issue-partisanship" and "candidate image" were now completely products of the open-ended questions concerning likes and dislikes of the parties and candidates. As is indicated by Table 1, partisan identification was

TABLE 1

SIMPLE AND PARTIAL CORRELATION FOR BIPARTISAN ATTITUDES

Attitudes	Simple Correlation	Partial Correlation
Party Identification	+0.59	+0.42
Domestic-Issue Partisanship	.48	.23
Foreign-Issue Partisanship	.38	.20
Orientation to Eisenhower	.35	.16
Orientation to Stevenson	.23	.12

found to be the most influential variable with issue partisanship placing second.¹ While the attempt to measure the relative impact of various partisan attitudes is not to be criticized in itself, the operationalization of "issue partisanship" detracts from the ability to determine the true nature of issue impact on vote choice. The crucial elements in the setting up of this concept seem quite clearly to emphasize "partisanship" over "issues."

Undoubtedly, the study having the single greatest impact on the

¹Angus Campbell and Donald E. Stokes, "Partisan Attitudes and the Presidential Vote," in American Voting Behavior, ed. by Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1959), p. 356.

direction and content of voting behavior research at both individual and electoral system levels has been The American Voter. Once again, it is a work produced by the SRC. One has only to note the vast number of citations of this work by political scientists and others, as well as the seemingly almost automatic acceptance of the study's major conclusions, to be aware of its importance.¹

Though it builds on past efforts (such as the above mentioned work of Campbell and Stokes), The American Voter makes some changes and one in particular which, I suggest, has turned out to be the most significant step in the history of voting behavior research. I refer to the SRC's conception of party identification. Instead of viewing partisan identification as simply one of several variables which cumulatively contribute to explained variance in voting behavior, it (party identification) is seen as a psychological attachment to a party and, in the words of Campbell, et. al., "as a supplier of cues by which the individual may evaluate the elements of politics."² Primary among the elements of politics which the individual evaluates are candidates and issues. The authors describe their research efforts as follows:

In Chapter 4 we treat the impact of political attitudes on the individual's partisan choice at the polls. We will see that this choice springs immediately from a matrix of psychological forces, and that by taking account of attitudes toward six discernible elements of politics [candidate orientations, domestic issues, foreign issues, group responses, parties as managers of government],

¹Pomper, in a very recent work, has noted that "because of the excellence with which the Michigan studies have been conducted and presented, we have tended to overgeneralize the findings of such studies as The American Voter. We have assumed that this superb analysis of the 1950's is a study of the electorate of all time." Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," p. 427.

²Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, p. 128.

we can explain quite well the individual's choice between rival parties or candidates.¹

These six variables were utilized in statistical routines that yielded a quantitative measure of the impact of their combined influence on voter choice.² Originally, party identification was not included within the set of variables used in the regression analysis that produced the above results. As indicated, party identification was viewed by SRC as antecedent to the six measures of attitudes toward the "elements of politics." When incorporated into the statistical model, the amount of variance explained was increased by less than two per cent in both 1952 and 1956.

The manner in which the SRC incorporated party identification into their voting behavior model is the chief criterion for acceptance of the study's findings. At no time do Campbell, et. al., offer much evidence for the role they have envisioned for party identification other than its strong association with other variables--including the vote. While strong associations are to be sought between variables, discovery of the same does not prove causality. It does appear that the SRC's approach is a plausible one but hardly a proven one. Natchez describes the SRC's approach and conclusions as follows:

What has resulted is a series of well-defined empirical relationships. Many of these, of course, are vital to an accurate understanding of the American Electorate. . . . Nevertheless, many of the inferences about the meaning of voting decisions for the political process seem to have been accepted unnecessarily--accepted more because they followed from the general research

¹Ibid., p. 40.

²Multiple R = .72 for 1952 and .71 for 1956. This yields total explained variances of 51.8 and 50.4% respectively for the two years. Ibid., p. 140.

orientation of the SRC than from an explicit model of voting.¹

Natchez contends that though the SRC model is plausible, it basically remains at the level of plausibility.

Plausibility . . . "in distinction to compelling evidence, is found when an interpretation is consistent with one set of data. . . . It also implies that alternative interpretations equally consistent with these data have not been systematically explored. . . ."2

While the SRC "model" may be plausible, the viewing of party identification as both antecedent to and, simultaneously, subsequent to one's attitudes about the "elements of politics" (candidates and issues), is, to this writer, equally plausible. Indeed, most of the "evidence" presented by the SRC scholars could easily have supported this latter version.

Pomper has criticized some specific aspects of The American Voter as well as the SRC's way of viewing the relationship between party identification and other political attitudes. He contends that the six-component model of voter choice, described above, is not an independent test of issue voting. Instead, it is "based upon the same open-ended questions [what like about Democrats/Republicans] used to demonstrate low ideological awareness among the electorate." Of the SRC conclusion or view on party identification as a causal factor in shaping attitudes and influencing the vote, Pomper points out that never in the book was the relative importance of party identification and policy attitudes statistically tested.³ Goldberg found the SRC

¹Peter Natchez, "Images of Voting: The Social Psychologists," Public Policy, XVIII (1970), 586.

²Ibid., p. 587.

³Gerald M. Pomper, "Rejoinder to 'Comments' by Richard A. Brody

model to be inadequate, that attitudes were not seen as exercising an independent influence upon the vote.¹ Finally, Pomper contends that though issues may be viewed by many researchers as only short-term influences, "distinct in their effect from partisan loyalty"--an analytically conventional assumption--this is an underestimation of the long-term effect of issues.² In fact, he points out, "one of the sources of party identification itself is policy attitude, and attitudes first evident in one election may continue to be relevant and influential in succeeding contests."³

Several of the chapters in The American Voter are of interest for what they say about the possibility of issue impact upon voting

and Benjamin I. Page and John H. Kessel," APSR, LXVI (June, 1972), 466. (Hereinafter referred to as "Rejoinder.")

¹Arthur Goldberg, "Discerning a Causal Pattern among Data on Voting Behavior," APSR, LX (December, 1966), 913-22.

²The terms "short-term force" and "long-term force" are two basic components in the SRC's discussion of a "normal vote." This concept, in essence, assumes that there can be established a "'normal or baseline' vote division to be expected from a group, other things being equal." Once this is established, one can calculate the amount of deviation from the norm of a group's vote in a specific election. Any particular vote, according to the SRC authors, consists of both long- and short-term components. The long-term component, all other things being equal, gives the vote of a respondent its stability over time. The short-term component causes fluctuations from the normal vote one would expect from a group given the normal impact of the long-term force. The SRC suggests that the long-term component is a "reflection of the distribution of underlying party loyalties, a distribution that is stable over substantial periods of time." The short-term component is described as "associated with peculiarities of that election"--notably candidates and issues. Overall, we can talk of a "normal" vote dependent upon party identification and deviations from the norm induced by certain "short-term forces," namely candidates and issues. Philip E. Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote," in Elections and the Political Order, by Angus Campbell, et. al. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. 9-39.

³Pomper, "Rejoinder," pp. 466-67.

behavior or what they say about other variables viewed as more important than issues--e.g., party identification.

In Chapter 3, "Perceptions of the Parties and Candidates," Campbell, et. al., make use of descriptive data to indicate how the voter "sees" the parties and candidates. Each respondent is asked to tell what he likes and dislikes about each of the two major parties and the major party candidates. These responses are then divided into several major categories such as "references to groups" and "references to domestic issues."¹ A number of tables are constructed which are used to indicate at least three things: (1) whether a particular category of responses was most favorable to the Democrats or to the Republicans, (2) whether the above situation changed from 1952 to 1956, (3) whether a particular category of responses was, overall, as important in 1956 as it had been in 1952. Table 2 is an example.

TABLE 2
REFERENCES TO SOCIAL WELFARE

	1952	1956
Pro-Democrat and Anti-Republican	421	259
Pro-Republican and Anti-Democrat	96	101
Total.	517	360

Source: Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, p. 47.

¹We are dealing in these tables with "responses" rather than respondents, and each individual was allowed to make a maximum of five responses to each question.

One specific criticism concerns not what the authors conclude from an analysis of these tables but what they do not even analyze. At no point is there any mention of the relative importance of each category of responses. Given a particular category from which tables are constructed and conclusions drawn, the question might be raised as to the contribution this category makes to the total number of responses. In short, should not conclusions be couched within the knowledge that a category of responses composes a given percentage of those responses made?

Kessel voices a criticism of the nature of the question utilized in this chapter. He notes that such a question may "elicit a certain amount of material about issues" and "allow analysis along several important cognitive dimensions," but that "since these questions do not ask specifically about issues, they stimulate fewer issue responses than comments about candidates and parties." In short, issue impact is underestimated through this form of question.¹

Chapter 4 of The American Voter contains the SRC's utilization of six dimensions of "partisan attitudes" to explain variance in voting behavior. As previously indicated, these dimensions were found to be strong predictors of vote direction. Party identification was viewed as causal to these partisan attitudes.

Several criticisms of the procedures and conclusions in this chapter are noted. First, Campbell, et. al., show that knowing the individual's evaluation along just one of the six dimensions can be an important predictor of his voting behavior and that knowing his

¹Kessel, "Issues in Issue Voting," p. 461.

attitudes on two dimensions increases this level of predictability. Yet, no attempt is made to get at the relative importance of each dimension. Instead, all of the dimensions are combined for a total impact on voting behavior.¹

Other primary criticisms have been voiced by Pomper, as previously indicated. Again, in brief, the six-dimensional variable is viewed by Pomper as underestimating issue importance. In fact, it is not an independent measure of issue voting. In addition, the dimensions are derived from a question which was also used to "demonstrate low ideological awareness among the electorate."² This is also the same set of questions Kessel has criticized for its inherent underestimation of issue importance.³

It is most interesting to note another thing about this section of The American Voter. The authors point out certain possible components of error in drawing the above conclusions. They ask, "what factors can explain the partisan choices of those for whom we were in error, particularly when behavior seems strongly to have contradicted the direction of partisan attitude?" One of the possible sources of error has to do with the statistical methods utilized. It is pointed out that the probability model used "assigns weights to the several partisan attitudes according to the strength of their association with the voting act across the entire electorate." Such an approach can easily "distort the relative importance of the several forces in the decision of a

¹Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 69-72.

²Pomper, "Rejoinder," pp. 466-67.

³Kessel, "Issues in Issue Voting," p. 461.

single individual." The example is given of a respondent who had favorable attitudes toward the Republican Party on a majority of dimensions but a highly unfavorable attitude toward the same party on just one of the dimensions--or even a single item within the dimension. It is suggested that this respondent may well base his vote decision on the one unfavorable attitude rather than on all the others combined.¹

We might say two things about the above discussion. First, if a respondent's attitudes are, as a whole, favorable in one direction, he will, with some degree of probability, be guided in that direction in his voting decision. But, secondly, if one of the dimensions--or even some single aspect of that dimension--is of particular salience for the respondent (above all the others individually or as a unit), he may, with an equal degree of probability, vote according to that single attitude. That is, we might utilize this one attitude as a predictor of voting behavior. This would be consistent with the major focus of this current study and its utilization of the concept of "issue publics." Briefly, "issue public" is a concept utilized to indicate that while individuals may not have opinions on a great range of issues, they may have an opinion about a single issue or a relatively small cluster of issues. By focusing upon the possible impact of "issues" on the individual, research might miss actual issue impact which exists through the respondent's attitudes on just one issue. Such is even the implication in the example just cited from The American Voter. Chapter Four of this paper utilizes this concept to get at issue impact on the systems level.

One final chapter seems quite relevant to this study. In

¹Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 75-76.

Chapter 8, conditions are described under which "issues" may affect voting behavior. The three basic conditions are (1) the respondent must be aware of an issue; (2) it must be an issue of some salience for the respondent; and (3) he must perceive some difference in party positions on the issue (one party's position must be viewed as closer to the respondent's own position).

The research of Campbell, et. al., indicates that: (1) The average level of issue familiarity with specific issues in 1956 was low. (One of every four respondents was familiar with fewer than two of sixteen issues.) If one adds as an additional component of familiarity, the necessity of the respondent's having some idea as to what the government is doing on or about the issue, the rate of familiarity decreases. (2) There is a variation of the intensity with which respondents care about an issue (salience). (3) The number of respondents who, having met the two previous conditions, perceive party differences on given issues, ranges from only 22 to 36 per cent. Overall, "many people fail to appreciate that an issue exists, others are insufficiently involved to pay attention to recognized issues, and still others fail to make connections between issue positions and party policy." This is sufficient for Campbell, et. al., to dismiss issues as an important factor in voting behavior. I have suggested earlier, and do so again, that these findings presented by the SRC authors point to the wisdom of focusing research efforts on the concept of issue publics. Campbell, et. al., allude to this potential source of impact when they state that those respondents meeting all three conditions "represent no more than a maximum pool within which the specified

issues might have conceivable effect."¹ They, however, do not investigate such a possibility. Though this paper does not focus upon these conditions as they relate to individual vote choice, it does make use of them as part of an effort to measure issue impact on the nature of electoral change (see Chapter 4).

Studies of voting behavior since The American Voter can basically be divided into those which follow the SRC lead and essentially confirm the role of party identification as the leading causal factor of voting behavior, and those which have begun to suggest a more important role (than previously indicated) for other factors--notably candidate image and issue orientation. Several works have indicated that "candidate image" is the primary short-term force that affects one's voting behavior, and a few scholars have suggested that the impact of issue orientation is not as diffuse as indicated by The American Voter and other works.

Candidate Image

One of the studies which has indicated an important role in voting behavior for candidate image is "Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency" by Donald Stokes. He uses a model which "treats the behavior of the individual voter as governed in an immediate sense by the direction and strength of his attitudes toward the several political objects he is asked to appraise"--candidates and parties.²

¹Ibid., pp. 182-83.

²Six attitudinal dimensions were utilized. These were "(1) attitude toward the Democratic candidate as a person; (2) attitude toward the Republican candidate; (3) attitude toward parties and candidates which relates to the benefit of various groups; (4) attitude toward the parties and candidates which relates to domestic policy; (5) attitude which relates to foreign policy; (6) attitude which relates to the

Stokes is led to focus on attitudinal variables of candidate image and issue orientation in voting behavior because, he states, "this relationship introduces more dynamism into contests for the presidency than the stability of party identification or of the social bases of party preference might lead us to expect." The mechanics of Stokes' research efforts are simple. He charts each attitudinal dimension over time (1952-1964) against whether (and how much) it favors one party or the other. His conclusions as to the relative importance of each dimension are based upon the amount of fluctuation from election to election. That is, one dimension may have greater fluctuation over time than another (move back and forth across a scale ranging from favor Democrats to favor Republicans). The two candidate image dimensions showed the greatest fluctuation of all six dimensions utilized. Stokes states, "it is therefore evident that the dynamism of popular attitude is peculiarly tied to the emergence of new candidates for the presidency." He then states, "the fluctuations of electoral attitudes over these elections have to a remarkable degree focused on the candidates themselves." The impact of party identification is not dismissed but any shift "in the relative assessment of the parties" over time "is moderate by comparison with the change induced by succeeding pairs of candidates." Stokes recognizes that his conclusions go against the established findings in voting behavior research--particularly against the role that has been suggested for party identification. But, he concludes, "this source of change [candidate image] has in fact brought spectacular

general performance of the parties in the nation's affairs." Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements of Contests for the Presidency," APSR, LX (March, 1966), 19-28. (Hereinafter referred to as "Some Dynamic Elements.")

shifts of presidential voting despite the fact that over the same period there has been almost no perceptible shift in the single most important type of response disposition, the electorate's enduring party loyalties."¹

Though this work by Stokes may be a step in the right direction, it seems to exaggerate the importance of candidate image. Natchez points out that while the "volatile" nature of candidate image is clear, Stokes has not shown the extent of its relative magnitude. Natchez maps each of the six dimensions according to their relative importance in each of the presidential elections from 1952 to 1964 and discovers that candidate image, while volatile, is not of more relative importance than several other dimensions. In fact, as Natchez points out, attitudes toward the Democratic candidates have been among "the least significant of the components." Any importance by the Republican candidate has been matched, election for election--in terms of magnitude--by the dimension of "group benefits." What Stokes failed to consider was that "what a candidate gains on the basis of one component may be counter-balanced by losses on another." Natchez points out that "implicit in Stokes' analysis is the concept that because of their relative stability, the other dimensions are not relevant to the candidate or his campaign for election victory."²

Richard Boyd, in research on voting defection, also attributes some importance to the variable of candidate image. Boyd's "defectors" are those who vote contrary to their party identification, a situation

¹Ibid., pp. 19-27.

²Natchez, "Images of Voting," pp. 574-77.

that seems to be on the constant increase. He found that cross pressure between an individual's party identification and his attitudes toward (1) the political parties themselves, (2) the candidates of the parties, and (3) various issues, were strongly associated with voting defection. After noting that party identification is "a cognitive anchor" for the attitudes of a great many voters, thus limiting the possible impact of other attitudinal components, Boyd points out that "at times . . . forces arise which move some men to acquire attitudes that conflict with their party identification. When they do, these political attitudes tend to prevail over this identification." The element most responsible for variance in voting defection is attitudes toward the candidates. Issues rank second to candidate orientation. Of this set of findings, Boyd speculates that maybe "candidates affect the outcome of specific elections, while issues and their relation to historical events affect the distribution of party identification." Candidate image or appeal, then, is found by Boyd to be the primary factor in inducing an individual to desert his "usual" party for another.¹

Issue Orientation

Issue orientation, or respondent's attitudes toward issues, has not fared too well until relatively recently in most research on voting behavior. However, as Ellsworth points out, "recent studies suggest that the role of public policy issues in deciding electoral outcomes should not be dismissed" (emphasis mine). Ellsworth, himself, notes

¹Richard W. Boyd, "Presidential Elections: An Explanation of Voting Defection," APSR, LXIII (June, 1969), 509-10. In a more recent work, Boyd utilizes different techniques to arrive at an important role for issues in voter choice. This study, "Popular Control of Public Policy," will be mentioned in more detail later in this review.

that of the six dimensions of partisan attitudes which the SRC found to be highly correlated with voting behavior in the 1952 and 1956 presidential elections, two are "directly related to questions of foreign and domestic policy." He also views two other dimensions as being "closely related to public policy questions." In short, only two of the six dimensions have no obvious issue content.¹

V. O. Key, in an effort to prove that the voter was more rational in his voting behavior than given credit, painted a portrait of "an electorate moved by concern about central and relevant questions of public policy, of governmental performance, and of executive personality." Focusing on three classes of voters--standpatters ("those who vote for the candidate of the same party in successive elections"), switchers (those who change their party vote from one election to the next), and new voters--Key is able to show that not only do switchers "move from party to party in a manner that is broadly consistent with their policy preferences" but that standpatters "are already where they ought to be in light of their policy attitudes." While voters may judge "political elements"--such as issues--retrospectively, as Key finds, they nevertheless do respond to policy issues.² Party identification is not dismissed by Key, but he contends that for standpatters policy preferences often reinforce party loyalty. If policy preferences come into conflict with party loyalty, this increases the probability that the voter will defect (switch).³

¹John W. Ellsworth, "Policy and Ideology in the Campaigns of 1960 and 1964: A Content Analysis," (unpublished manuscript).

²V. O. Key, Jr., The Responsible Electorate: Rationality in Presidential Voting 1936-60 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. vii-xii.

³Ibid., p. 150.

Deriving a conclusion of policy impact on voting behavior from the fact that one's stand on issues corresponds to his choice of sides in an election is obviously an inference. But, it is a conclusion no more dependent upon inference than the SRC's evaluation of the role of party identification.

Froman and Skipper have suggested an important role for issues through their research on the importance of beliefs underlying party identification. They contend that "party identification is based, to a significant extent, on certain beliefs about various issues and problems that are associated with one political party or the other." Given the situation where choice is to be made, the voter will favor one party over another on the basis of "certain salient beliefs" that "he feels distinguish between the two parties or the candidates of the two parties." Congruence between party identification and respondent attitudes is the norm. When there is incongruence, Froman and Skipper find that the voter will tend to choose on the basis of his attitudes. In short, party voting is an expression of one's beliefs.¹

One of the conditions set forth by the SRC as necessary to issue impact on voting behavior was a perception by the respondent "that one party represents the person's own position better than do the other parties." Among those who were familiar with a given issue and felt

¹Lewis A. Froman, Jr., and James K. Skipper, Jr., "An Approach to the Learning of Party Identification," POQ, XXVII, No. 3 (1963), 473-80. In order to test their hypothesis, Froman and Skipper presented the respondent with an opportunity to choose between "his party's" candidate with whom the respondent disagrees on an issue and "the other party's" candidate with whom he agrees. It must be noted that the respondent was presented a hypothetical situation, not a real one. The data showed that 59% of all respondents chose issues over party on all of the issues and 87% made a similar choice of issues over party on four of the six issues.

strongly about it, many (40-80%) did not in 1952-1956 perceive any party differences. This led to an SRC conclusion of little possible issue impact on voting behavior.¹ Pomper, in a more recent study, presents different findings. Since 1950, he points out, drastic changes have taken place and voters have a much greater tendency to perceive party differences on many issues and "to agree on the relative ideological positions of the parties."² He suggests that the explanation for this change from the 1950's lies in the events and campaigns of the 1960's. These events "made politics more relevant and more dramatic to the mass electorate."³ Of the 1964-1968 elections, Pomper states: "While the voters did not respond ideologically in the full sense of the term, they did respond to the specific issues presented to them, and they did align their partisan loyalties far closer to their policy preferences."⁴

As part of the Comparative State Elections Project, a number of scholars have suggested a greater role for issue orientation than normally indicated. Kovenock, et. al., presented the respondent with an opportunity to locate himself and the 1968 presidential candidates on nineteen campaign issues. Most respondents were able to "locate themselves quite meaningfully." The study found that while party identification was an important influence on the vote, it was "no more important and probably less important than the issues." This leads Kovenock, et. al., to conclude that "in the moment of truth in the polling booth, how

¹Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 182-84.

²Gerald M. Pomper, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System? What, Again?" The Journal of Politics, XXXIII (1971), 916-40. Hereinafter referred to as "More Responsible Two-Party System.")

³Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," p. 421. ⁴Ibid., p. 425.

the parties and the candidates look on the issues seems the most relevant cue for much of the American electorate."¹

Several studies, in examining the voter process of candidate evaluation, have indicated some importance for issue orientation. Weisberg and Rusk point out that "political attitudes were important in the 1968 election." Using the technique of multidimensional scaling, they find that issue orientation forms one of two dimensions important in evaluating candidates. Though party identification was, as usual, found to be probably the most important evaluational dimension, Weisberg and Rusk state:

Issues apart from traditional partisan identification were critical in the determination of attitudes toward several of the candidates. The electorate did adapt to changing circumstances in its evaluation of the candidates.²

Weisberg and Rusk, in yet another study of voter evaluations of presidential candidates (1970 style), point out that "in the 1968 election study, the public gave notice that a new issue area was an object of their concern"--urban problems, civil rights, Vietnam, law and order, etc. The year 1970 was found to be a virtual repeat of 1968. Like the 1968 study, two dimensions were discovered along which voter attitudes toward the candidates lay. Party identification was one of the dimensions. A cluster of issues formed the other. The major difference between the 1968 and 1970 findings is that in 1968 the two dimensions

¹David M. Kovenock, Philip L. Beardsley, and James W. Prothro, "Status, Party, Ideology, and Candidate Choice: A Preliminary Theory-Relevant Analysis of the 1968 American Presidential Election" (a working paper prepared for the Eighth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Munich, Germany, August 31-September 5, 1970, a preliminary paper with published works forthcoming).

²Herbert F. Weisberg and Jerrold G. Rusk, "Dimensions of Candidate Evaluations," APSR, LXIV, 1167-85.

were relatively independent of one another, indicating the importance of each as separate items. In 1970, a high correlation between the two dimensions existed. Weisberg and Rusk suggest that perhaps this difference is based upon 1970's being an "off year" where "party" overshadows "issues." But they conclude:

What is all the more remarkable is that despite this partisan climate in an off-year election, the issue dimension was still clearly visible in the electorate's mind. There are enough tensions in the system to preclude total reliance on party even in an off-year election.¹

In a theoretical piece, "Party Identification and the Party Votes: A Suggested Model," Dixon notes the consensus of the literature that "the overwhelming majority of American voters" are influenced in their voting behavior largely by party identification. In a footnote, however, he states:

It should be noted, however, that the relationship between party identification and presidential voting is less clear. There have been three landslide presidential victories since 1952 and two extremely close ones. This variation in the winning candidates' margins indicate substantial shifting in the electorate's voting patterns. Yet the proportional breakdown of voters by the respective partisan labels has remained virtually unchanged over the past two decades. Thus, it would appear that the presidential vote is more influenced by "short term" variables than underlying partisan attitudes.²

Though no attempt was made to establish causality between issue attitudes and vote choice, Kirkpatrick and Jones, in a study of the 1968 election, have illustrated quite well a close association between the two elements. In an examination of the attitudes of respondents toward

¹Herbert F. Weisberg and Jerrold G. Rusk, "Perceptions of Presidential Candidates: A Midterm Report" (a paper presented at the 1971 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago, Illinois, September 7-11, 1971), pp. 22-26.

²Warren A. Dixon, "Party Identification and the Party Vote: A Suggested Model," Social Science Quarterly, LI (December, 1970), 706.

a number of structured issue questions, significant differences of opinion were found among the three groups of Humphrey, Nixon, and Wallace voters. In most cases, this pattern held stable while controlling for region. Respondents were also asked to name a "most important problem" facing the nation that the government should handle. Here, too, significant differences were noted in the type of problem mentioned by each voting group. Scales measuring dimensions of liberalism/conservatism and internationalism/isolationism were created; and the differences between vote groups were once again significant.¹

Earlier, note was taken of a rather recent collection of articles in the American Political Science Review which dealt with issue voting. All in all, these studies indicated a substantial role for issues in electoral behavior. One of them, by Pomper, is essentially a re-work of another article and the results have been noted previously in this survey of literature.² To reiterate briefly, Pomper has focused on the voter's perceptions of parties and policies, and found "an increase in voter consciousness during the 1956-1968 period." The American Voter had established the absence of linkages between issue preferences and party identification as well as little awareness by the voter of party differences on issues. Pomper's research enabled him to conclude that "party identification meant something by 1968 other than a traditional reaffirmation: It was now related to the policy preferences of the voter." He also noted an increased awareness of

¹Samuel A. Kirkpatrick and Melvin E. Jones, "Vote Direction and Issue Cleavage in 1968," SSQ, LI (December, 1970), 689-705.

²Pomper, "More Responsible Two-Party System." See p. 23 of this paper.

party differences on issues over that found by The American Voter.¹

Brody and Page assimilate from various sources what would appear to be the elements required for policy voting by an individual. They suggest that "given these elements, an influence of policy on voting is said to be present when the voter's comparative evaluation of the candidates or his vote or both are independently affected by the relative proximity of the candidates to his position on issues that are for him salient." In short, the voter should vote for the candidate most proximal to him on the issues. This, the authors find to be true. They raise the question, however, of whether this is really policy voting or the result of persuasion (respondent's own issue position is formed around the position he believes is held by the candidate he favors) or projection (voter projects his own issue feelings onto candidate he favors).²

Boyd utilized the normal vote concept of Converse in a unique fashion to relate issues to the vote. He was able to conclude that "beliefs about Vietnam, race and urban unrest, and Johnson's performance as president were all highly related to the vote in 1968."³

Issue Publics

An avenue of exploration which has recently been utilized at both the individual and systems levels and which has indicated more issue impact than generally accepted, involves the concept of "issue publics." This concept was first suggested to students of voting

¹Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," pp. 416-19.

²Brody and Page, "Assessment of Policy Voting," pp. 450-58.

³Boyd, "Popular Control of Public Policy," pp. 429-49.

behavior by Converse as he studied the nature of belief systems in the mass public. He sought to verify hypotheses concerning the presence or absence of a well-structured belief system--ideology--in the "mass public" compared to the same among "elites." He raised the question of whether an individual's attitudes on one issue would be related to attitudes on other issues. In short, how much constraint exists among an individual's attitudes on a number of issues?

The findings of this study indicate a low level of ideology among members of the mass public. Converse points out that "large portions of an electorate do not have meaningful beliefs, even on issues that have formed the basis for intense political controversy among elites for substantial periods of time."¹ However, Converse notes near the end of his study that perhaps another approach would be productive. Rather than assume that all respondents must have some opinion on all or many issues--opinions that we can examine to reach conclusions about the existence of an ideology--it should be recognized that given any particular issue, many respondents can be said to not belong to that particular "issue public." Those who do belong to it are those who have some interest in it, and it is only among members of an issue public that the issue can have any political impact.²

¹Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in Ideology and Discontent, ed. by David E. Apter (New York: Free Press, 1964), pp. 206-61, (hereinafter referred to as "Nature of Belief Systems").

²Ibid., p. 246. Several studies of recent origin have purported to find more evidence of ideology among voters than did Converse. See: John C. Pierce, "Party Identification and the Changing Role of Ideology in American Politics," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIV (February, 1970), 25-42; John Osgood Field and Ronald E. Anderson, "Ideology in the Public's Conceptualization of the 1964 Election," POQ, XXXIII, (Fall, 1969), 380-98; Norman R. Luttbeg, "The Structure of Beliefs among

Very few scholars have actually utilized the concept of "issue publics" in their efforts to understand voting behavior. Two such efforts stand out: One is by Natchez and Bupp.

Noting the findings of Converse concerning ideology, they contend that while consistency among attitudes on various issues may not be present for most respondents (ideology), this is less important than "the saliency of particular opinions." In short, "voting behavior is much more a function of high issue saliency than of consistency among opinions." Thus, Natchez and Bupp call for a research focus upon "issue publics."¹ Though their efforts lead them to conclude that "the data clearly vindicate the center's [SRC] own emphasis on candidate image and party identification," they also find "firm support for the hypothesis that the causal importance of the issue public notion has been at best underestimated by the SRC."²

The operationalization of any concept is often a difficult process but always a necessary step. Natchez and Bupp set the requirement for membership in an issue public as "having an opinion on a politically relevant issue." It has been suggested that structured

Leaders and the Public," POQ, XXXII (Fall, 1968), 398-409; and Bennett, "Consistency."

Also, although only tangentially focused upon ideology, consistency within cognitive structures (including issue objects) has recently been found to be relatively high in the American electorate. See: Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, "Political Attitudes and Behavior: Some Consequences of Attitudinal Ordering," Midwest Journal of Political Science, XIV (February, 1970), 1-24; and Samuel A. Kirkpatrick, "Political Attitude Structure and Component Change," POQ, XXIV (Fall, 1970), 403-407.

¹Peter B. Natchez and Irvin C. Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," Public Policy, XVI (1968), 409-37.

²Ibid., p. 436.

(closed-ended) questions do not elicit a high amount of spontaneity on the part of the respondent. That is, it is somewhat probable that a question accompanied by a list of suggested replies is "psychologically cheap" to the individual. To avoid this pitfall, Natchez and Bupp utilized an unstructured (open-ended) question which asked the respondent to name what he thought was the most important problem facing the nation that the government should handle. From the responses, nine issue publics were isolated which the authors felt were "politically relevant" ones.¹

The questions asked and hypotheses tested in this study are of sound value in the study of voting behavior at any level. However, at least one defect in the research procedures detracts from the overall value of the work. Since it has been implied by scholars like Converse that the information level of an individual is a key factor in his ability to respond to issues, Natchez and Bupp related information level to issue publics. An attempt was also made to discover the relationship between issue public membership and the propensity to "switch" the vote from one party to another over successive elections. In the latter case, the research showed that those not in a politically relevant issue public were more likely to stand pat between 1960 and 1964.² These findings, however, are adversely affected by what appears to be a methodological oversight: Included within the "issue publics" entity are only those respondents meeting criteria for membership in that public. The membership of the general electorate, however, was set at all respondents not in a particular issue public isolated

¹Ibid., p. 421. ²Ibid., pp. 422-26.

for analysis. It would seem that Natchez and Bupp have not realized that those outside of a specific "politically relevant" issue public may belong to another such public. Purifying each of the groups taking part in comparisons might well alter the authors' findings.

One of the latest studies focusing upon issue publics (though the term itself is not emphasized) is by RePass. He, like Natchez and Bupp, and for the same reasons, makes use of the open-ended questions asking what the respondent feels is the most important problem facing the nation that the government should handle. RePass offers a number of conclusions that often are in conflict with previous research. Unlike Stokes, who found "candidate image" to be so dynamic over several elections, RePass finds a great variation in issue concerns from 1960 to 1964. He attributes the difference in findings to a difference in the questions presented to the respondents. Unlike the "most important problem" question utilized by RePass, Stokes relied upon the question which asked about the respondent's likes and dislikes about parties and candidates. RePass contends that thus "parties, rather than issues, were the object of reference for the respondent."

RePass also found a greater capacity for the respondent to perceive party differences on issues than previous research indicated.¹ Not only could respondents (60% on 19 of 25 issues) perceive party differences, but they often saw one or the other parties as best able to handle certain issues. This is significant in terms of possible issue impact on individual behavior as well as impact upon the nature of electoral change as The American Voter indicated. Upon controlling

¹For an exception, see Pomper, "More Responsible Two-Party System," pp. 916-40.

for party identification, RePass found the expected tendency for party identifiers to perceive their party as best able to handle an issue but noted that "a strong strain toward a correct perception of party positions was also evident."¹

Overall, RePass noted an important role for issue orientation in voting behavior. Creating a variable called "issue partisanship" from the number of issues upon which a respondent took a stand and from whether on these issues he perceived a party difference, RePass included it along with party identification and candidate image in a multiple regression. This indicated that candidate image, party identification, and issue partisanship influenced voting behavior in that order of importance. However, says RePass, "the remarkable thing that emerges from this analysis is that salient issues had almost as much weight as party identification in predicting voting choice."²

This somewhat detailed review of the literature dealing primarily with individual vote choice leaves a picture of the role of issues as not a terribly flattering one. Since the nature of issue impact at the systems level--in terms of the balance of party strength--must be somewhat a derivative of issue impact upon the individual's vote choice, no better picture for the system can be expected. That is, if issues do not affect or influence the individual's vote choice, they cannot affect the balance of party strength. Thus this survey of voting behavior studies tells us something about both possible levels of issue impact. A brief time, however, is devoted to noting studies which have

¹David E. RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," APSR, LXV (1971), 389-400.

²Ibid., p. 400.

spoken somewhat directly to the nature of electoral change.

Issues and Electoral Change

Some portion of the literature at the systems level revolves around the development of the "normal vote concept" and classification of elections based upon that concept.¹ Essentially, the normal vote concept tells us that in any given election, the vote split for the major political parties will reflect the people's standing commitment to the parties, given the absence of any short-term forces. The short-term forces are seen as consisting basically of issues and candidate image. The classification of elections, developed by those who formulated the normal vote concept, is supposed to indicate a general pattern in the way voters are affected by one or another of the elements comprising the "normal vote." In a "maintaining" election, for example, people basically vote their party identification. There is an absence of short-term forces--i.e., issues, candidate image--working in contrary directions to party identification. In a "deviating" election, the impact of party identification is reduced by the presence of certain short-term forces, whatever they might be. In this election, the "majority party" (on the basis of party identifiers) loses support (votes at the polls) because something causes the voter to deviate from what he would do if only party identification was influential in his

¹Converse, "The Concept of a Normal Vote." See also: Angus Campbell, "Surge and Decline: A Study of Electoral Change," in Elections and the Political Order, by Campbell, et. al., pp. 40-62; Campbell, "A Classification of the Presidential Elections," in Ibid., pp. 63-77; and Donald Stokes, "Party Loyalty and the Likelihood of Deviating Elections," in Ibid., pp. 125-35 (hereinafter referred to as "Party Loyalty.")

decision.¹ The nature of electoral change, then, depends upon the relative impact of party identification and short-term forces.

It is obvious, if one accepts the normal vote concept as, at least, a useful organizing tool, that the extent of electoral change or balance of party strength at the polls is directly related to the presence or absence of short-term forces. The question then becomes one of which of the two most notable forces--issue orientation and candidate imagery--exhibits the most influence on collective behavior. Even here, issues have not fared too well as scholars such as Converse² and Stokes³ have noted. Both have suggested the importance of candidate image over issues. Stokes' analysis covers several election periods and he concludes that "the fluctuations of electoral attitudes over these elections have to a remarkable degree focused on the candidates themselves." He notes that changes in people's attitudes about "the several stimulus objects of presidential politics [led chiefly, of course, by candidate image] in this span of years have been quite enough to bring about a change of party control."⁴

The American Voter dealt primarily with individual vote behavior but at times touched upon the systems level. It noted a failure on the part of the American electorate to meet certain conditions thought to be necessary to issue impact on individual voting behavior. One of the conditions involved the ability of an individual to perceive

¹Campbell, "Classification of Presidential Elections," pp. 63-77.

²Philip E. Converse, "Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes," in Elections and the Political Order, by Campbell, et. al., pp. 136-57. (Hereinafter referred to as "Information Flow.")

³Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements." ⁴Ibid., p. 27.

party differences on an issues, and the authors of The American Voter stated that "if our findings suggest only a modest articulation between party policy and voter response, they raise questions as well concerning the issue significance that may be ascribed to national elections." They later add: "If there was no prior consensus among the voters as to the respective party positions, there can be no clear issue outcome: the victorious party may have drawn support equally from both opinion camps."¹ In essence, this last statement is saying that if everyone sees no difference between the two parties on an issue or that one of the parties is not closer to the electorate's own issue stance, it would seem highly unlikely that the balance of party strength could be altered.

The logic of the SRC position just described seems valid--that the conditions are necessary to issue impact. However, more recent works have indicated a greater ability of the electorate to make a connection between issues and party.² Pomper has noted a drastic change from the 1950's period where voters were not apparently able to perceive of parties as representing policy differences, to 1968 where they could discriminate between the two major parties quite well. His suggestion is that events of the 1960's "served to make politics more relevant and more dramatic to the mass electorate."³ It may be noted that this is in keeping with the possibility that the 1950's were basically

¹Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 183-87.

²Key, The Responsible Electorate, pp. 123-48; Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity;" RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice."

³Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," p. 421.

apolitical in nature.¹

Key put forth a study that speaks directly to the question of electoral change and party strength. He suggested that voters may be divided into three groups: standpatters (those who vote for the candidate of the same party in successive elections), new voters, and switchers (those who vote for a different party's candidate over two successive elections).² If one notes that logically standpatters cannot cause a change in party strength, that new voters have shown the tendency to divide their support equally among the major party candidates over the last three decades,³ then switchers--who by definition must affect party strength in some amount--become important to the nature of electoral change. Key concluded, in contradiction to many past studies,⁴ that switchers are not as uninterested and uninformed in politics as made out to be and that they appear to be policy motivated in their actions.⁵

Butler and Stokes, in a study of British elections, have developed a theoretical framework for assessing the impact of issues on electoral change. They hypothesize a set of conditions necessary for issue impact and suggest that the greatest amount of impact will be achieved when all conditions are met. The three conditions are based upon those set forth by The American Voter for individual voting

¹Bennett, "Consistency."

²Key, The Responsible Electorate.

³See Philip E. Converse, et. al., "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," in Elections and the Political Order by Campbell, et. al., pp. 78-124.

⁴Sears, "Political Behavior."

⁵Key, The Responsible Electorate, p. 104.

behavior. Butler and Stokes have reformulated these conditions to apply to a systems level. Their findings indicate that if an issue public meets all required conditions, the issue will affect relative party strength. Unfortunately, while the model suggested seems to offer a substantial hope for getting at issue impact, Butler and Stokes fail to employ adequate tests for verification. Only one example was presented in which an issue public met all three conditions. No attempt was made to examine issue publics which met less than all of the conditions. There are, in addition, several specific criticisms of the methodology of the study,¹ but this does not subtract from its overall value as a theoretical piece.²

From the accounts above, one might summarize voting behavior literature by characterizing it as plentiful but overall basically inconclusive in its findings. Whether the voter, thought to play a vital role in the functioning of the American democracy, is swayed in his vote choice by issues or other factors such as candidate image and party identification, and whether issues are, on the whole, important to the democratic process of leadership selection remain debatable questions. Many studies have offered evidence to the largely nonissue nature of man's vote decision and have extended this view to the nature of party strength and electoral change. While some more recent studies have challenged the work of the past, they themselves suffer enough shortcomings to warrant also the label of inconclusive. Thus, electoral

¹Some questions exist, for example, about their equating "salience" of an issue with cognition size (number of respondents aware of the issue). See Chapter Four of this paper for further discussion.

²David Butler and Donald Stokes, Political Change in Britain (College ed.; New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1971), pp. 166-95.

behavior offers a rich territory for further research.

Research Design

As the survey of literature makes clear, there are two areas for research within the broad arena of electoral behavior. On the one hand, many studies have attempted to determine factors influential in individual voting behavior. On the other hand, some effort has been directed toward understanding electoral behavior at the systems level. Though this paper does not deal specifically with the impact of issues upon individual vote choice, it does focus upon one particular concept potentially conducive to research at that level--issue publics. Chapters Two and Three explore the nature of the concept extensively. The general hypothesis of the paper--that under specific conditions issues play an important role in electoral change--is tested in Chapter Four. Here, too, the "issue publics" concept is important. Thus, at this point, some discussion of it takes place.

As the survey of literature indicated, some scholars, in a search for new and more accurate ways of isolating the impact of issues upon electoral behavior and the electoral system, have focused upon a concept first suggested by Converse as he studied the nature of belief systems in the general public. Converse found a clear lack of constraint among the idea elements of most individuals. In fact, on many issues only a relatively few individuals were found to actually even have an opinion. These may be said to belong to individual issue publics. The importance of such a recognition lies in the notion that "it is only among 'members' of any given issue public that political effects of a controversy will be felt (where such 'effects' include . . . writing of

letters to the editor, the changing of votes and the like)."¹ Natchez has concurred with this line of thought and states: "Any analysis that focuses on the electorate as a whole will tend to underemphasize issues and events in favor of forces which affect the entire electorate with about equal strength."² In other words, any given issue may well capture the opinions of a number of individuals without being the subject of attitudes by the entire electorate. And, only within that aggregation of persons having the opinion, can that issue mean anything to the process of the vote decision.

Of crucial importance to the notion of issue publics is the concept of "salience." The criterion for belonging to an issue public involves not just cognition (awareness that the issue exists) but salience. While an issue must be within an individual's cognitive map, it too must be somewhere within an area of "affective centrality." That is, of a number of opinions or attitudes that exist within a cognitive structure, some will be "important" to the individual while others will not. One might compare this to the concentric circle of waves obtained when a pebble is tossed into the water. (See Figure 1.) That object closest to the center will most feel the shock of energy as it pushes outward. Through the process of energy dissipation, the closer to the periphery an object lies, the less it is subjected to the existing energy force. In terms of the individual member of the electorate, this means he must be somewhere within that total concentric circle (issue public) for an issue to have any impact on behavior. Then, the extent

¹Converse, "Nature of Belief Systems," p. 245.

²Natchez, "Images of Voting," p. 555.

Recall that one of the conditions for issue impact upon the nature of electoral change set forth by Butler and Stokes¹ was a skewness toward high issue salience across the range of those who belonged to a particular issue public. It would be, in short, difficult for an issue that was not of concern to anyone to be of any impact on the balance of party strength. Though this was not the only condition suggested, it certainly was an important foundation for any others. Natchez and Bupp have clearly indicated the potential this line of thought holds for future research in voter choice,² while Butler and Stokes have ~~done the~~ same for the systems level.

Something of the flavor and importance of the issue public concept can be seen in the manner in which it is operationalized. The criterion for belonging to an issue public is having an opinion on an issue that is salient to the respondent. Prior to 1960, a respondent's attitudes on various issues was thought to be captured through structured (closed-ended) questions. Once the question was posed, the respondent could indicate his feelings by choosing one of the categories of answers accompanying a given question. In 1960, the SRC began to ask an unstructured (open-ended) question which called for the respondent to name a problem facing the nation that the government should handle. It has been suggested by a number of scholars that the structured questions are "psychologically cheap" for the respondent.³ That is, it is much less difficult to choose from among ready-made answers than to

¹Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 166-95.

²Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters."

³Ibid., p. 421.

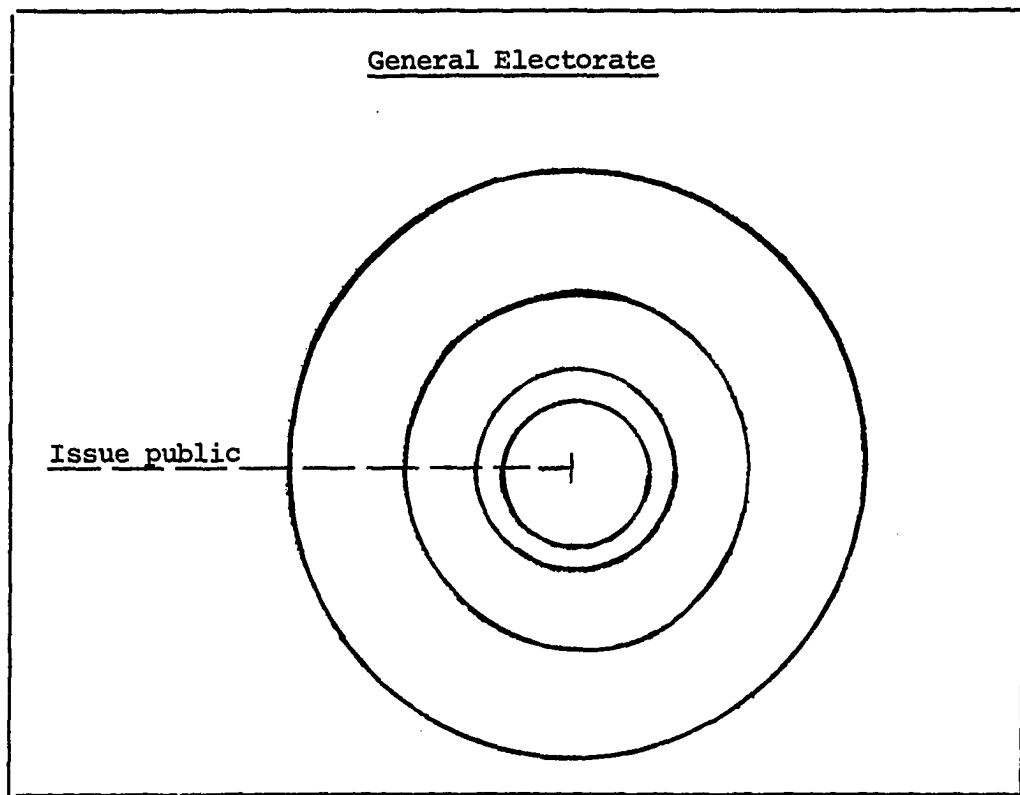


Fig. 1--Concentric circle representation of issue salience impact

of the impact is at least partially determined by the centrality of the issue in importance to the individual. It should be noted, too, that the failure of an individual to be anywhere within one concentric circle (issue public) does not preclude his being in another and thus subject to the impact of that issue. In sum, a particular issue may affect the vote choice of an individual without his having to have consistency among a set of opinions on several issues or even opinions on more than one issue alone. This holds importance, also, for the nature of electoral change. The amount of change in party strength should be directly proportional to the proximity of the circle's center (high salience). That is, the more salient the issue is for the electorate, the greater is the probability that it will have an impact.

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¹Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 166-95.

²Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters."

³Ibid., p. 421.

have to suggest one. The unstructured "most important problem" question is thus said to encourage spontaneity and a more accurate indication of the true issue attitudes of respondents. This question also probably captures attitudes on some issues that, while important to a respondent, are not captured by the set of structured questions.¹ To isolate a given issue public from the general public, one needs only to group together responses naming a particular problem. The naming of a problem by the respondent when asked to do so is considered sufficient to place him within an issue public. While levels of salience are important, the analysis treats this as a separate variable. Further details of the operationalization process will be included in Chapter Two, where the concept is first utilized.

A brief description of the plan of analysis may aid in understanding the overall aims of this study: Though some small amount of work has been accomplished in which the focus has been upon issue publics, no more than a superficial attempt has been made to describe this tendency of the American electorate to divide itself into various groupings around single issues.² If the American people have been concerned with issues important, perhaps vital, to their electoral behavior, what are these issues? Lubell notes a change in the public mood over the past years with some issues seemingly vanishing from the public mind and several new ones assuming their place.³ What have been the important issues to various segments of the citizenry during the 1960's, a time frequently characterized as turbulent and fraught with turmoil?

¹RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 392. ²Ibid.

³Samuel Lubell, The Hidden Crisis in American Politics (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1971).

War has been fought, sit-ins and demonstrations made vogue, presidents and presidential candidates assassinated, universities and other public institutions threatened, the young turned against the old, the haves against the have nots. Have these things been of central importance to the society or to segments of the population? Have there been differences in patterns of issue concerns among age and racial groups, income and educational levels? If the 1960's have marked the turning point in the progression of youth to the arena of political activity and power, has some particular issue or cluster of issues captured their concern? Have blacks reflected the civil rights struggles of the 1960's by belonging primarily to issue publics of that nature? Have economic issues or social welfare issues been salient for individuals of a given income or educational level? Have there been issue concerns that went beyond the boundaries of such groupings as age, race, income and education? Chapter Two will examine the nature of issue publics over the past three election periods in an attempt to answer these questions. It is hypothesized that the issue concerns of the mass public and selected social groupings brought about by issues and events in the real world, will be reflected in the birth, growth, and/or decline of issue public membership representing those concerns.

Chapter Three is designed to perform what might be labeled as a "purification" of the issue public concept. Members of a given issue public will, by definition, be concerned with at least one issue. Authors of The American Voter have suggested that an understanding of the voter's choice-making process must involve knowing how he evaluates certain elements of politics, notably political parties and candidates. In what way is the issue public concept compatible with this line of

thought? Do members of a particular issue public tend to evaluate parties and/or candidates in issue terms? Do issue oriented individuals in general (members of one or more issue publics for whom those issues are salient) evaluate in issue terms these elements thought to be important in the electoral process? If the answer is "no," what meaning does this have for either or both of these two lines of analysis?

A number of scholars have suggested the existence within the electorate of an "attentive public." Almond contends that there is an attention division of labor in our political system. Some people pay a great deal of attention to politics while others pay little, if any. A four-tier hierarchy is pictured in which each level depends upon the amount of attention devoted to politics. The amount of attention displayed ranges from very low by the general public to the tremendously high level of the elites of government. The attentive public, while not as involved with politics as the elites of government, pay considerably more attention than does the general public. Almond characterizes the attentive public as more interested in politics and issues than the general public and much more informed.¹ Key seems to be referring to the same "public" as Almond but stresses information levels.² Devine, in one of the most extensive uses of the concept, suggests the inclusion of not only "attention" (how much) but measures of psychological involvement with politics and participation levels.³ Regardless of the

¹Gabriel A. Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy (2nd ed.; New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1960), p. 138.

²V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), pp. 85-89.

³Donald Devine, The Attentive Public: Polyarchical Democracy (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1970), pp. 46-47.

variation noted, the concept is obviously meant to imply the existence of a class of individuals quite different in their attachment to politics than the general electorate or mass public. Once again the questions become: One, are members of a given issue public to be found overlapping with those in the "attentive public"? Two, how are "issue oriented" individuals related to levels of attentiveness? Overall, are we, by bringing together the three concepts and examining intersectional patterns, to find some commonality in issue attachments or does each of the approaches or conceptualizations possess some quality that makes it distinct from the others. Though present in this research is the general hypothesis that "issue orientation" is positively related to the tendency to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms and to "attentiveness," it essentially can be classified as an exploratory effort. That is, while certain hypotheses may be tested, a general exploration into the relationships between different "issue-carrying" vehicles is conducted. Each of the three concepts being examined, have been utilized in some fashion to get at the presence or absence of issues upon electoral behavior. That of "issue publics" forms the basis for each chapter of the entire dissertation. This chapter seeks to understand any relationship that might exist between each of the three concepts and particularly between issue publics and all others.

Chapter Four assesses the impact of issues upon the balance of party strength in our electoral system. The primary question to be answered in this chapter is if, and under what conditions, issues may indeed affect the balance of party strength.

A model developed by Butler and Stokes for analysis of electoral change in Great Britain is utilized to test the general hypothesis that

under certain specified conditions issues can exert an influence upon the nature of electoral change in the United States. These authors single out issue publics and hypothesize that an issue can only, and will only, have its greatest impact when certain conditions are met. Essentially, these conditions require the existence of an issue public of substantial size whose members' opinions are skewed in a single direction and whose perceptions of the parties' stand on that issue clearly favor one party over the other. Electoral change is viewed in terms of party strength which in turn means vote switching. Of three basic groups of voters--new, standpatters (those remaining with a single party from one election to the next), and switchers--the latter group has apparently infused the most change in electoral contests. Thus, Butler and Stokes related vote switching to membership in issue publics meeting none, some, or all of the prescribed conditions.

In this chapter, the model is tested by isolating issue publics from the general electorate, noting the extent to which each public meets or fails to meet the conditions necessary to issue impact, and noting the degree of association between "successful" (meeting the above conditions) issue publics and vote switching. Answers are sought to whether issue publics in general meet the above conditions; whether a specific public meets or fails to meet the conditions; but most importantly, whether there are more switchers¹ in an issue public which meets all of the necessary conditions than in a public which meets less than all (or meets all of them less well than another).

The final chapter, as is common, is devoted to a summary and

¹As will be more fully explained in Chapter Four, in some instances analysis will have to focus upon "switching responses" rather than switchers.

the presentation of that which the writer hopes will finally "pull things together."

Methodology Design

Probably the most normal procedure for explanations of methodology in a dissertation is to include it as part of the introductory chapter. The most desirable procedure in this case, however, is to describe the operationalization process of each variable within the framework of the particular chapter in which it is to be utilized. Such an approach to organization is necessary to the dissertation since details of methodology are often crucial in creating a departure from previous research.

CHAPTER II

ISSUE PUBLICS, 1960-68: A LONGITUDINAL ANALYSIS

Introduction and Methodology

With the role of issues in electoral behavior being central to the scope of the paper, this chapter focuses upon past issue concerns of the American electorate. Specifically, for each of the three SRC election surveys conducted during the 1960's, the nature of existing issue publics is noted and described. As previously indicated in the paper, a most promising avenue of exploration into issue voting has been established in the concept of "issue publics." This concept rests upon an awareness that there may be numerous issues on which many people do not hold an opinion. It is suggested by scholars such as Converse, Natchez and Bupp, and RePass that it is possible for a single issue to be influential in electoral decisions for those who cluster around that issue.¹ Butler and Stokes have utilized, with some success, the concept in their model of issue impact at the systems level,² and Chapter IV of this paper offers a similar approach. The 1960's are singled out for several reasons. First, the 1950's have been much examined by scholars and note taken as to the relative lack of issues meaningful enough to

¹Converse, "Nature of Belief Systems;" Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters;" and RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice."

²Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain.

the public to arouse great controversy. Indeed, this era has been described by some as being basically apolitical.¹ The 1960's, however, have been characterized as

years of increasingly pervasive and bitter political strife. Near the end of the period, disruptions reached epidemic proportions, and the level of conflict rose to heights almost unparalleled in this century. As the decade drew to a close, evidence from polls and surveys pointed to a resurgence among the American people of intense and bitter political cleavages.²

Thus the 1960's period seems a logical point of focus for this chapter.

A second reason for selecting the 1960's concerns the availability of a tool for operationalizing the "issue publics" concept. The criterion for belonging to an issue public is having an opinion on an issue that is salient to the respondent. In 1960, the Survey Research Center began to include within each survey an open-ended question which called for the respondent to name the problems that he personally felt the national government should try to take care of. As previously discussed, some feel that this type question is a more accurate indication of an individual's issue concerns than the normally utilized structured one because of the open-ended question's greater propensity to elicit issue attitudinal spontaneity from the respondent. That is, the structured question presented to the respondent for his issue position a pre-selected list of choices and, thus, possibly an opportunity for a psychologically cheap answer.³ In the 1950's the open-ended question was not available in SRC surveys. Thus, this longitudinal

¹Boyd, "Popular Control of Public Policy," p. 429. See also Bennett, "Consistency."

²Bennett, "Consistency."

³Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," pp. 420-21. See also RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," pp. 390-91.

analysis of issue publics must, of necessity, be confined to the 1960's.

Questions from which issue publics are operationalized have been drawn from the three surveys of 1960-68. The isolation of issue publics is a simple operation in which one has only to note the number of responses representing specific issues or small clusters of issues.¹ Though the wording of the question changed slightly in 1964 to reflect problems that the respondent felt the government should stay out of and again in 1968 whereby this was eliminated, the basic thrust of the question has remained unchanged.²

¹The tendency of the SRC to place almost every single response under a separate code has not been allowed to alter or destroy certain amounts of natural parsimony that existed at the time of the respondent's offerings. Thus, in a number of instances this study categorizes two or more individual response "codes" into one issue heading (e.g., specific references to public disorder and general references to the same).

²The 1960 question was worded as follows: "What would you personally feel are the most important problems the government should try to take care of when the new president and congress take office in January?" (Up to three responses were coded.)

The wording was changed in 1964 to the following: "As you well know, there are many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. The question is: What should be done about them and who should do it?"

"We want to ask you about problems you think the government in Washington should do something about and any problems it should stay out of. First what would you personally feel are the most important problems the government should try to take care of when the new President and Congress take office in January?" (Additional questions solicited responses concerning second and third most important problems.)

"Now, are there any problems at home or abroad that the government in Washington has gotten into that you think it should stay out of? This would include problems the President, the Congress, or the Supreme Court have tried to handle that you think they should have stayed out of." (Additional questions solicited responses concerning second and third most important problems.)

In 1968, the wording was as follows: "As you well know, the government faces many serious problems in this country and in other parts of the world. What do you personally feel are the most important problems the government in Washington should try to take care of?" (Additional questions solicited responses concerning second and third most important problems.)

In addition to noting the issue concerns of the general public, considerable attention is given to the relating of issue publics and certain social groupings. That is, in addition to noting those issues that have captured the deep concerns of the general public, some attention will be paid to the special interests of the young and the old, the poor and the wealthy, blacks and whites, and the educated and uneducated. Four variables are constructed from appropriate questions in each election survey: race, age, education, and income. Each variable, with some categorization, is examined for the nature of its issue concerns.¹

The most important raison d'etre for this particular chapter concerns the reliability of the issue public concept as an instrument for measuring the extent and nature of actual mass public issue concerns. If the concept has validity, there should be a relationship between the rise and decline of issue publics and the rise and decline of actual issues and events. That is, the creation of new or the growth or decline of existing publics should be reflective of the nature of the issues and events present to that point. For example, the existence and size of an "unemployment" issue public should be witness to the unemployment situation at a given time (past or present to the issue). A longitudinal analysis allows ample opportunity for testing a hypothesis along this line.

¹The categories for each variable are as follows: Race--whites and blacks. Age--20-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, and 70+. Education--none through 8th grade, 9th-11th, 12th, some college, and a college degree. Income--\$0-\$2,999; \$3,000-\$5,999; \$6,000-\$9,999; \$10,000-\$14,999; \$15,000 and above. For 1968, two further income categories are added--\$20,000-\$24,999 and \$25,000+.

Analysis

There are two questions for which answers are sought: (1) What issue publics exist in a given time period across members of the general public and specific social groupings; (2) what patterns of change and nonchange are evident in issue publics from a longitudinal viewpoint? Answers to these questions should speak to the chapter's basic hypothesis concerning validity of the issue public concept.

Issue Publics: 1960

It is obvious that the mass public in 1960 was concerned with a large number of issues or problems. Despite the collapsing of certain individual codes into single issue headings, a rather large number of issues remain. RePass has noted this failure of the public to group in any large numbers about a single issue.¹ Table 3 also illustrates this point rather well.

If the widespread attention of the American public in 1960 is obvious, so too is the direction of its focus. Separating responses into domestic and foreign affairs, we find over 61 per cent of the people mentioning the foreign affairs area. Key points out that going into the 1960's, our external relations saw the prevailing of "peace of a sort," but that certain aspects of the foreign situation were disquieting. He refers to such trouble areas as Cuba and the Far East and to events like that of the U-2 incident.² RePass notes that the seemingly overwhelming concern with foreign affairs problems was in keeping with the general heating up of the "cold war;" President

¹RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 391.

²Key, The Responsible Electorate, pp. 107-108.

Kennedy's deep public concern with this area; and, of course, the events such as U-2, sputniks, and anti-American rioting abroad.¹

TABLE 3

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1960, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public, ^a Domestic Affairs	Per- centage ^b	Issue Public, ^a Foreign Affairs	Per- centage ^b
Unemployment	7.0	Cuba	3.3
Education needs	1.5	Other trouble spots	1.4
Aid to the aged	2.3	U.S. should maintain	
Medicare	1.7	strength vis-a-vis Russia	
Other social welfare	2.3	and other communist	
Agriculture & natural		countries	12.0
resources ^c	6.1	U.S. should be less in-	
Labor problems, union-		volved	2.2
management relations ^c .	2.1	U.S. should be more in-	
Pro-integration	1.5	volved	4.9
Anti-integration	2.5	U.S. should negotiate with	
Other civil rights	2.3	Russia	6.8
Inflation, U.S. fiscal		U.S. should have more ag-	
policy	4.0	gressive policy	1.9
Taxes	3.0	National defense ^c	6.7
Other economic problems .	1.1	Other foreign policy	22.5
Other domestic problems .	1.2		
Total	38.6	Total	61.4
	Total (N) (1744)		

^aSee Appendix A for a more complete description of each issue public or area.

^bThe percentage given for each issue is based upon those actually listing a problem. Total sample N = 1954. Total N for those naming a problem = 1744.

^cThese should be labeled more appropriately issue "area." They are composed of numerous references that are individually too small (often containing only one individual) to be useful in any analysis. In the case of agriculture and natural resources, they did draw a significant 6.1% of the named issues. Labor and union-management relations managed to pull only 2.1% of those falling into any issue public.

¹RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 392.

Within the broad category of foreign affairs, the public's attention and concern spread over several relatively sizable specific issues in addition to a multitude of smaller issues which can be labeled simply as "general foreign affairs problems."¹ Overall, these issue groupings reflected the public's weariness with war, talk of wars, and their incessant hopes of peace. They also appear to have reflected an American awareness and fear of a growing Soviet challenge, if not threat, to the United States.²

There were some who felt that the Cuban situation and other trouble spots (Berlin, Middle East) were threats to peace (4.7%). A rather large group saw U. S. strength vis-a-vis communist countries as the surest tool of peace (12.0%), and another segment called for more U. S. involvement in world affairs (4.9%). There were those who sought peace through less U. S. involvement (2.2%) and through negotiation (6.8%). A rather small number of people expressed a desire for a more aggressive American policy towards Russia and other communist countries (1.9%). Finally, a host of other issues were mentioned which, because of the small size and often vagueness of reference of each, can be collectively labeled as "other foreign policy problems" (22.5%). When all of these items are combined with references to national defense (6.7%),

¹While small issue publics are inherently expected because of the very nature of the issue publics concept, it should be recognized that this might present some problems in interpretation because of the question of sampling error. Though the possibility of sampling error should be kept in mind, one can proceed in his analysis with the understanding that a given percentage is likely or probably the size indicated.

²Theodore C. Sorensen, "Election of 1960," in The Coming to Power: Critical Presidential Elections in American History, ed. by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. (New York: Chelsea House Publishers in association with McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972), p. 441.

the final total for foreign affairs problems reaches 61.4%. As indicated, the presence of these numerous foreign affairs issue publics seemingly reflects quite well the nature of foreign affairs problems and events of that time.

Of all the domestic issues in 1960, those relating to the economic welfare of the individual and/or country attracted the largest following: Unemployment showed a significant area of concern (7%) while inflation, American fiscal policy, taxes, and other economic problems combined for another 8.1%. All told, about one of every six individuals was concerned with economic matters. Within domestic issues this is roughly two of every three issues mentioned. Sorensen, in discussing the 1960 Nixon/Kennedy presidential election campaign, states:

Fate conspired against Nixon, as an economic slowdown of sizable proportions began to affect American industry across the country. It was the third recession in Eisenhower's eight years . . . and while it was not visible at the start of the campaign to those untrained in economics, its impact was felt by hundreds of thousands who lost their jobs or their overtime pay at a time that Kennedy was calling for greater economic growth and job development.¹

While economic matters--personal and national--were by far the dominant issues within the domestic realm, there were some other interesting issue publics. Though small in individual size, social welfare issues drew an overall response rate of 7.8%.² Civil rights followed closely with a 6.3% rate. Within this broad field, two specific issue publics stand out despite their lack of size--pro-integration (1.5%) and anti-integration (2.5%). Though analysis is made difficult by such small groupings, it can be noted that anti-integration responses

¹Ibid., p. 454.

²Included in this category are topics such as education needs, aid to the aged, and medicare.

outnumbered pro-integration ones and that the lack of any larger degree of concern with the general area of civil rights reflected the nature of the times. That is, at the time of the survey in 1960, the era of civil disobedience with its sit-ins and demonstrations had not fully arrived.¹ Americans had not yet been awakened to the dawn and the mood of the 1960's.

Issue publics and social groups. To deal in terms of the mass or general public only would run the risk of missing what might exist elsewhere at a different level. For example, the area of civil rights did not draw the expressed concern of many people in the general public in 1960. It has been noted above that the real dawn of the civil rights movement and controversy was only beginning at that time. However, when the mass public is broken into categories based upon race, one finds that only whites indicated little concern about civil rights problems. Blacks gave over 34% of their responses to this area. Ruth and E. Terrence Jones note that The American Voter hinted at the possibility of some segments of the population having heightened intensity of opinion on issues relevant to that segment's values. Jones and Jones attempt to pursue this line of thought and they formulate several hypotheses of which one in particular is of interest here. It states that "individuals belonging to groups which have more at stake in a particular issue will have a significantly greater tendency to have an opinion on that issue than those who do not have as much at stake." A number of sociological groups (e.g., blacks, poor, elderly) are isolated

¹The first sit-ins at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, took place in February of 1960. The survey from which this data is taken was conducted just slightly after that and before any great amount of public interest had been formulated.

and note taken on the extent of their interest in issues about which each group "might reasonably be highly concerned." Though findings did not support the hypothesis completely, the authors were willing to speak of partial support to the idea "that groups directly affected by an issue are more apt to have an opinion on that issue than groups not affected by the issue."¹

The next portion of this chapter will, then, be looking at patterns of differences and similarities among various social groupings---e.g., blacks and whites, old and young.

A number of differences in issue public positions existed in 1960 between blacks and whites. One might first note those that occur on a domestic-foreign affairs dimension. While the percentage of whites in foreign affairs issue publics reached 65.8%, blacks were overwhelmingly focused upon domestic problems (73.6%). The logic of this appears inescapable when one recalls the plight of the black in his own land and how distant foreign areas and problems must have seemed to him with problems so close at hand. And though the lot of the black race has been drastically improved since that year, he at no time (in 1964 or 1968) has appeared more concerned with foreign than domestic policy problems. Table 4 indicates this and other differences that existed between whites and blacks in 1960.

In addition to a slight difference in unemployment concerns, blacks expressed substantially more concern than whites over civil rights, labor problems, and, as indicated, much less concern with various aspects of foreign affairs. In the civil rights area, whites

¹Ruth Jones and E. Terrence Jones, "Issue Salience, Opinion-Holding, and Party Preference," Western Political Quarterly, XXIV (September, 1971), 501-504.

TABLE 4

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1960 BY RACE,^a FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% White	% Black
Domestic Affairs		
Unemployment	6.9	8.5
Education needs	1.6	0
Aid to the aged	2.3	2.1
Medicare	1.8	.7
Other social welfare	2.3	2.8
Agriculture & natural resources	6.4	.7
Labor problems, union-management relations	1.3	11.3
Pro-integration	.3	15.5
Anti-integration	2.4	3.5
Other civil rights	1.0	15.2
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.8	4.2
Taxes	2.8	4.9
Other economic problems	.9	2.8
Other domestic problems	1.0	1.4
Foreign Affairs		
Cuba	3.6	0
Other trouble spots	1.6	0
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia and other communist countries	12.9	2.8
U.S. should be less involved	2.3	1.4
U.S. should be more involved	5.0	3.5
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	7.4	.7
U.S. should have more aggressive policy	2.0	0
National defense	7.2	2.0
Other foreign policy	23.2	16.0
Total domestic affairs	34.8	73.6
Total foreign affairs	65.8	26.4
Total (N)	(1590)	(142)

^aAll respondents not clearly designated as white or black were excluded from analysis.

showed little concern at all compared to a black focus upon pro-integration and other general civil rights problems. Blacks' higher concern over unemployment than whites' seemingly followed from an

actual higher rate of black unemployment. The greater focus upon what has been labeled "labor problems" may well stem from black concern with such things as minimum wages and higher pay. In the area of foreign affairs, some 5.2% of those whites responding mentioned Cuba or another trouble spot around the world while no blacks did the same. Almost 13% of the whites felt that the United States should work for peace from a position of strength. Only 2.8% of the responding blacks felt in a likewise fashion. Whites (7%) indicated a desire to negotiate with Russia or other communist nations; blacks (.7%) made almost no mention of this. Finally, blacks (2.1%) were not nearly as concerned with national defense as were whites (7.2%). The meaning of all these differences is simply that blacks were most concerned with those problems that affected them most directly.

Two usually highly related social characteristics are education and income. This relationship continues for issue concerns. From Tables 5 and 6, one can see that there are many similarities in the nature of issue public memberships for these two characteristics. If, once again, focus is first upon a domestic/foreign affairs dimension, there is found a negative linear relationship between one's tendency to be concerned with domestic issues and high education and income. That is, as the level of education or income increases, the percentage of those falling into domestic issue publics decreases. On the whole, all levels of each characteristic (with just one exception--see Table 5) expressed majority concern with foreign affairs issues, in line with the mass public. As earlier indicated, there seemed to be much in the way of issues and events of that period to prompt such an alignment.

There were two instances in which individual groupings deviated

TABLE 5

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1960 BY EDUCATION, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 0-8th Grade	% 9-11th Grade	% 12th Grade	% Some College	% College Degree
Domestic Affairs					
Unemployment	9.1	8.5	7.9	3.8	.5
Education needs	2.2	0	1.5	3.2	0
Aid to the aged	5.1	.3	1.7	2.3	0
Medicare	3.0	.9	.4	1.4	2.6
Other social welfare	4.5	2.2	.4	2.3	2.1
Agriculture & natural resources	6.9	6.3	7.7	4.0	2.1
Labor problems, union- management relations	2.8	3.5	1.4	2.3	0
Pro-integration	1.6	3.5	.8	.9	1.0
Anti-integration	2.2	4.7	1.4	1.5	1.6
Other civil rights	2.8	3.2	3.0	1.6	0
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.6	2.8	4.4	6.5	3.1
Taxes	2.8	1.6	3.3	2.4	5.7
Other economic problems	.4	.9	1.2	1.5	2.6
Other domestic problems	.6	.9	.6	0	2.6
Foreign Affairs					
Cuba	.6	2.8	5.6	5.2	2.6
Other trouble spots	.8	1.9	1.2	.9	3.6
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia and other communist countries	7.1	11.9	16.0	11.5	14.3
U.S. should be less involved . .	2.0	4.1	2.4	.5	1.6
U.S. should be more involved . .	2.2	2.5	4.4	8.8	12.5
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	8.3	6.0	5.0	6.5	9.8
U.S. should have more aggres- sive policy	2.0	2.5	2.2	.5	1.6
National defense	5.3	6.0	7.0	10.2	7.4
Other foreign policy	23.7	23.0	20.7	21.4	22.8
Total domestic	47.8	39.3	35.7	33.9	23.9
Total foreign	52.2	60.7	64.3	66.1	76.1
Total (N)	(490)	(206)	(517)	(217)	(193)

from the norm for the entire characteristic. For education, those with eighth grade or lower education had the least amount of concern for

TABLE 6

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1960 BY INCOME, FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% \$0- 2,999	% \$3,000- 5,999	% \$6,000- 9,999	% \$10,000- 14,999	% \$15,000+
Domestic Affairs					
Unemployment	7.9	9.0	6.7	1.9	0
Education needs	0	2.0	1.5	3.2	1.1
Aid to the aged	6.3	2.0	.4	.6	0
Medicare	5.8	.5	.6	0	1.1
Other social welfare	5.2	1.9	1.7	0	0
Agriculture & natural resources	7.1	5.1	7.4	7.1	2.3
Labor problems, union- management relations	5.2	1.7	.6	.6	0
Pro-integration	2.6	1.2	1.5	.6	1.1
Anti-integration	4.5	1.9	1.5	4.5	0
Other civil rights	4.1	3.7	.7	.3	1.6
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	5.0	4.0	3.2	5.2	2.3
Taxes	3.4	2.5	2.8	3.2	5.7
Other economic problems	1.3	.6	2.2	0	4.6
Other domestic problems	0	.3	1.9	0	1.1
Foreign Affairs					
Cuba	.5	3.9	4.3	5.8	1.1
Other trouble spots	.8	.8	2.8	1.9	1.1
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia and other communist countries	5.2	11.5	16.0	11.6	26.4
U.S. should be less involved . .	1.6	2.8	1.9	3.9	0
U.S. should be more involved . .	1.0	4.3	5.8	11.6	9.2
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	3.9	8.5	7.1	4.5	9.2
U.S. should have more aggres- sive policy	1.3	2.3	.4	2.6	8.0
National defense	5.0	6.4	7.4	11.0	5.7
Other foreign policy	22.3	23.1	21.6	19.9	18.4
Total domestic	58.4	36.4	32.7	27.2	20.9
Total foreign	41.6	63.6	67.3	72.8	79.1
Total (N)	(382)	(644)	(462)	(155)	(87)

foreign affairs. Their level of concern (52.2%) was significantly below that of those with college degrees (75.1%) and some 14% below that for the group with just a high school education. (See Table 5.) The second instance of deviation occurred in income where the smallest amount of concern over foreign affairs came from the lowest income group. In fact, this group was the only one to express more concern over domestic problems than foreign affairs. While their level of concern for domestic issues stood at 58.4%, that of the highest income level fell to only 20.9%. (See Table 6.) As was the case with blacks, it may be suggested that low education and income individuals were most concerned about domestic problems because of the proximity of these matters to their immediate social and economic well-being. Something more will be said about this point momentarily in a discussion of some specific concerns of the many social groupings.

Another social characteristic of interest is that of age. Unlike the other characteristics, however, its patterns of concerns on a domestic/foreign affairs dimension are not so very neat. That is, while a majority of the members of each age level expressed concern over foreign affairs problems, the relationship between that concern and increasing (or decreasing) age is largely curvilinear. In Table 7 can be noted the rise in foreign affairs concern from the lowest age group (59.8%) to those in the 40-49 year range (69.0%) and then the decline in concern from that group to the oldest one--70 plus (57.6%). The least worried over domestic problems and the most concerned with foreign affairs are those between the ages of 40 and 49. One can only speculate as to the reasons why this is so. Perhaps these people are the most secure on the domestic front, as witnessed by one of the lowest

TABLE 7

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1960 BY AGE, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 20-29	% 30-39	% 40-49	% 50-59	% 60-69	% 70+
Domestic Affairs						
Unemployment	9.2	8.4	4.1	9.8	5.6	3.3
Education needs	.9	2.1	1.8	1.8	.5	.7
Aid to the aged	0	1.2	1.0	4.2	5.6	3.3
Medicare	0	1.0	.3	2.7	3.3	5.3
Other social welfare	0	1.2	1.5	4.7	1.9	6.0
Agriculture & natural resources .	5.7	5.0	7.1	4.5	5.6	11.9
Labor problems, union- management relations	.9	3.8	2.0	2.7	.9	0
Pro-integration	2.6	1.7	1.5	1.2	1.9	0
Anti-integration	2.2	2.4	2.3	2.7	3.3	2.0
Other civil rights	6.9	2.9	.7	.4	2.0	0
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy . .	6.6	4.1	4.0	2.7	2.8	4.6
Taxes	2.6	1.4	3.6	1.2	7.5	4.0
Other economic problems	1.7	1.0	.8	1.2	.9	1.3
Other domestic problems	.9	1.7	.3	.9	.5	0
Foreign Affairs						
Cuba	4.8	2.9	4.0	3.0	2.3	2.0
Other trouble spots	3.5	1.0	1.5	1.2	0	2.0
U.S. should maintain strength vis- a-vis Russia and other communist countries	15.3	12.6	14.2	11.9	9.9	2.6
U. S. should be less involved . .	3.1	3.1	1.5	2.1	1.4	2.0
U. S. should be more involved . .	0	7.2	6.6	4.5	3.3	4.6
U. S. should negotiate with Russia	5.7	5.0	7.4	9.8	6.6	6.0
U. S. should have more aggressive policy	0	1.0	2.8	1.8	1.4	4.6
National defense	10.0	7.6	6.4	4.2	5.6	7.3
Other foreign policy	17.4	21.7	24.6	20.8	27.2	26.5
Total domestic	40.2	37.9	31.0	40.7	42.3	42.4
Total foreign	59.8	62.1	69.0	59.3	57.7	57.6
Total (N)	(229)	(419)	(393)	(337)	(213)	(151)

percentages of concern over unemployment. Further, their lives may have been heavily touched by World War II, as observer or participant. Most importantly, these things may have helped to produce a concern in 1960

over the threats or potential threats to this country from the communist world. Thus, we see their concern with trouble spots like Cuba, their call for a strong United States, more American involvement to obtain peace, and negotiation with Russia and other communist nations. In addition, they show one of the higher age level concerns with national defense.¹ Though largely speculation, this same line of thought might also hold for those in the 30 to 39 age bracket, only less so.

Moving away from the domestic/foreign affairs arena, some of the following patterns can be observed for various social groupings: Unemployment was of substantial concern for all four social characteristics, but with that concern decreasing as an increase occurred in level of education and income (see Tables 5 and 6). Blacks were also more interested in the problem than whites (Table 4). Within the age category, those of an older age expressed the most concern over such matters as aid to the aged and Medicare (Table 7). One finds blacks showing greater concern over civil rights problems (34.2%) than whites (3.7%), higher income persons being more concerned over taxes than those with low income, and the like.

Within the realm of foreign affairs, those who were the more educated and wealthier had a greater tendency to be concerned over American strength vis-a-vis communist countries, over United States involvement in world affairs, over negotiation with communist countries, and even over an aggressive American policy towards communist nations,

¹Of this 6.3%, it should be noted that 2.3% applied to comments against more atomic bomb testing and for disarmament. The remainder concerned approval of a general buildup of forces, the maintenance of military superiority, and deploiment of a missile lag favorable to Russia.

than were those of lower education and income levels. In fact, issues touching upon maintenance of American strength, more United States involvement, and a strong aggressive policy accounted for over 53% of all issue responses made by those of the highest income level. This same group gave most of their concern in the domestic area to inflation and United States fiscal policy, taxes, and other economic problems. As indicated earlier, those of the lowest income level were the only ones not to give majority concern to foreign affairs matters. Instead, they voiced concern over such domestic problems as unemployment (7.9% compared to none for the highest income level) and a variety of social welfare issues (totaling 17.3% and compared to 2.2% for highest income level). All in all, these patterns plus those noted for the domestic/foreign affairs dimension, indicate that the public in 1960 seemed to have held the types of issue concerns that would be expected given the actual nature of issues and events of that time. This would appear to point towards the validity of the "issue publics" concept as a useful instrument for measuring issue concerns of the mass public. However, whether this holds true for other time periods remains to be shown and is the subject next under discussion.

Issue Publics: 1964

By the time of the SRC survey of 1964, the nation had been fully awakened to many of its problems at home, and domestic issues captured the concern of over 62% of those falling into some issue public. This complete reversal from 1960 (foreign affairs then stood at 61.4%) is easily explained by the four turmoil and crisis-filled years on the domestic front that followed: The civil rights movement brought the introduction and regularity of not only civil disobedience but

destruction and bloodshed in the form of riots. In addition, the presidential campaign of 1964 saw the stressing of domestic issues by both major party candidates¹ as well as George Wallace. In short, this four-year period marked full awareness by the American people that the nation could be destroyed from within perhaps as quickly and easily as from without. The awareness of and concern over the domestic scene also existed virtually across all levels of each social group under consideration.

Within the domestic category, changes in concern over certain specific issues took a logical form (see Table 8): Civil rights increased from 6.3% in 1960 to 19.9% in 1964. In addition, references were now being made in 1964 to the related problem of public disorder. This latter issue is an interesting one despite its small size. Containing references to crime, violence, trouble in the streets, race riots and bombings, only 3.3% of those in some issue public named this issue. No references had been made to it in 1960, but it would increase in concern over its 1964 position by about four times for 1968. It is suggested that the relatively small size of the public may be due to the public's inclination to speak in terms of civil rights even when concerned with such things as race riots. By 1968 this was to change substantially. All told, one in every five persons in 1964 indicated that problems in civil rights merited serious attention and concern.

¹Theodore White has indicated that Goldwater stirred (however negatively) the interest of the American people in the domestic affairs area. White, The Making of the President, 1964, A Signet Book (New York: The New American Library, 1965), pp. 351-53. RePass suggests that "the shift to domestic concerns in 1964 may be partly a reflection of a campaign in which issues that had divided the parties during the New Deal surfaced once again in the contest between Johnson and Goldwater." RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 392.

TABLE 8

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public, Domestic Affairs	Per- centage	Issue Public, Foreign Affairs	Per- centage
Unemployment	5.5	Vietnam	9.7
Education needs	2.0	Cuba	2.7
Aid to the aged	4.1	Other trouble spots	.9
Medicare	4.9	U.S. should maintain	
Poverty program	4.5	strength vis-a-vis	
Other social welfare	2.8	Russia and other com-	
Agriculture & natural		munist countries	2.7
resources	2.7	U.S. should be less in-	
Labor problems, union-		volved	.4
management relations . .	.8	Foreign aid	3.2
Civil rights, racial		U.S. should negotiate with	
problems ^a	19.7	Russia	.4
Pro-integration	8.4	U.S. should have more ag-	
Anti-integration	3.4	gressive policy	.1
References to Supreme Court	1.2	National defense	5.8
Public disorder	3.3	Other foreign affairs . . .	11.8
Inflation, U.S. fiscal			
policy	2.8		
Taxes	3.0		
Government control of			
business	.2		
States' rights	.7		
Other economic problems . .	1.4		
Other domestic problems . .	1.8		
Total	62.3	Total	37.7
	Total (N)		(1279)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

The idea that issue public membership may capture well the true issue concerns of the public appears to be supported by Theodore White's assessment of the months preceding the 1964 election (and this survey). He notes certain things which would fit quite well with the growth of a civil rights issue public and decline of an unemployment one. White writes of two great domestic areas that President Kennedy was dealing

with at the time of his death in 1963. These, he contends, had much to do with the outcome of the 1964 presidential race: One problem Kennedy worked hard upon was the American economy, and White concludes that out of Kennedy efforts emerged "the dominant domestic condition of the election of 1964--good times, prosperity, work, comfort on a scale no other civilization has ever known before." The second issue was civil rights, and White contends that "of all the motors in the campaign and politics of 1964, none was more important than this."¹ Though Kennedy did not live to see enactment of his proposed reforms in civil rights, he did propose them, make them public, and insist upon their passage. President Johnson carried these proposals forward and kept them before Congress and the public until their enactment.

Changes in levels of concern over other issues did occur from 1960 to 1964--aid to the aged (from 2.3% to 4.1%), Medicare (1.7% to 4.9%), more specific mention of poverty and need for poverty programs (4.5% in 1964), and inflation/fiscal policy (4.0% to 2.8%). These likely represented increased government action such as the establishment of a Medicare program, an increase in social security benefits, and a war on poverty.²

In the area of foreign affairs (Table 8), Americans were still concerned about various problems, but their concern in segments of this broad category changed drastically. As indicated, domestic issues were now considered more important and almost every specific foreign affairs issue suffered a drastic decrease in the percentage of those who

¹White, The Making of the President, 1964, p. 40.

²See RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," pp. 392-93.

considered it to be the most important problem facing the nation. The desire to "maintain American strength" fell from 12% to 2.7%, "negotiation with Russia" dropped from 6.8% to .4%, the call for more American involvement in world affairs slipped from 4.9% to 0%, and remaining foreign affairs problems drew only 11.8% in 1964 compared to 22.2% in 1960. Only national defense remained even near what it had been in 1960 (within 1%). Clearly, domestic issues were in the driver's seat in 1964 and with the exception of a single foreign affairs issue--Vietnam--were to remain there through 1968.

As noted above, a general orientation towards domestic problems existed among all social groupings singled out in this paper. With the exception of age, there were, however, significant variations across levels of each social characteristic (see Table 9).

As usual, one finds many similarities in issue concerns when focusing upon education and income groupings. Overall, a straight, negative linear relationship exists between both high education and income levels and membership in domestic issue publics. That is, the higher the education or income level, the less likely was an individual to belong to a domestic issue public. This is in keeping with similar findings for 1960--only there overall interest was in foreign affairs issues--what ought to be expected. In the analysis of issue publics in 1960, it was suggested that the low socio-economic status groups (education and income) should be expected to have greater domestic issue concerns because of their proximity to these problems. A brief look, momentarily, at some specific concerns of these low status groups will indicate that they indeed expressed concern over matters that could affect them most directly and not with foreign affairs.

TABLE 9

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964
BY RACE, AGE, EDUCATION, AND INCOME

Social Characteristics	% Domestic Affairs	% Foreign Affairs	Total (N) ^a
<u>Overall</u>	62.3	37.7	(1279)
<u>Race</u>			
White	59.1	40.9	(1161)
Black	90.0	10.0	(109)
<u>Age</u>			
20-29	61.4	38.6	(233)
30-39	59.1	40.9	(267)
40-49	60.5	39.5	(284)
50-59	61.6	38.4	(233)
60-69	65.1	34.9	(155)
70+	66.1	33.9	(105)
<u>Education</u>			
0-8th grade	75.7	24.3	(270)
9-11th grade	65.2	34.8	(242)
12th grade	56.7	43.3	(418)
Some college	54.3	45.7	(179)
College degree	54.3	45.7	(164)
<u>Income</u>			
\$0-2,999	77.6	22.4	(196)
\$3,000-5,999	65.5	34.5	(369)
\$6,000-9,999	56.9	43.1	(386)
\$10,000-14,999	55.9	44.1	(186)
\$15,000+	48.5	51.5	(96)

^aTotal N's for each social characteristic do not equal that for overall due to the losses suffered from the non-reporting of a respondent's characteristics (i.e., age, education, income). For race, there were several not classified as either black or white.

If consideration is given to the characteristic of race, the biggest distinction between levels of any social groupings is found.

Blacks overwhelmingly indicated concern over domestic problems and 1964 saw a 17% increase over their concern of 1960. This seems to have been reflective of an increased awareness of and concern for the nature of their lives in this nation. Whites gave majority concern to domestic issues (58.1%) but fell far short of the 90% figure for blacks. It is interesting to note that the greatest percentage change in interest from foreign affairs (1960) to domestic issues (1964) occurred for whites. Whereas blacks drastically increased their concern over domestic problems, whites switched sides completely. It would appear that events between 1960 and 1964--particularly civil rights activities--increased blacks' awareness of where they had been and where they wanted to go, while at the same time shocking whites into a realization that the civil rights area was an explosive one and one to which some attention had to be given.

What kinds of specific concerns were expressed in 1964 by those in each social grouping? For the most part, they mirror those that have been noted for the general public.¹ For some cases, there are exceptions. As previously indicated, the unemployment percentage for the general public dropped only slightly from 1960 to 1964. This minor change can be seen in a focus upon whites, whose level of concern dropped from 6.9% to 5.3%. Blacks, however, still suffering from a higher rate of unemployment than whites,² actually showed a small increase in their concern. The general pattern of reduction for

¹Complete tables of issue publics for each social characteristic can be found in Appendix B.

²Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1967), p. 26.

unemployment concern holds across all but the 40-49 year age group and across the levels of education up through high school. The pattern for income is mixed with the changes that occurred being slight. Overall, blacks were more concerned with unemployment than whites, young more than old, lower educated more than higher educated, and poorer more than wealthier. (See Table 10).

TABLE 10
UNEMPLOYMENT AS AN ISSUE IN 1964 BY
RACE, AGE, EDUCATION, AND INCOME

Social Characteristics ^a	%	Social Characteristics	%
<u>Overall</u>	5.5	<u>Education</u>	
<u>Race</u>		0-8th grade	6.7
White	5.3	9-11th grade	7.4
Black	11.9	12th grade	5.5
<u>Age</u>		Some college	6.1
20-29	8.6	College degree	3.0
30-39	5.6	<u>Income</u>	
40-49	5.3	\$0-2,999	10.2
50-59	6.9	\$3,000-5,999	4.1
60-69	3.9	\$6,000-9,999	6.2
70+	2.9	\$10,000-14,999	4.8
		\$15,000+	3.1

^aSee Table 9 for the total N for each social characteristic.

Concern over most social welfare problems showed a near linear relationship across levels of each social characteristic. Thus, Medicare, for example, ranges from 2.1% for the youngest to 8.6% for the oldest; 5.2% for whites to 2.8% for blacks; 8.9% for those with 0-8th grade education to 2.4% for those with college degrees, and 8.7% for the lowest income level to 2.1% for the highest. The poverty program

drew expected concern with the very eldest, the least educated, and the poorest individuals indicating the highest level of concern. Also, blacks expressed more concern than whites. (See Table 11.) As

Table 11

MEDICARE AND POVERTY ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 BY
RACE, AGE, EDUCATION, AND INCOME

Social Characteristics ^a	Medi-care %	Pover-ty %	Social Characteristics	Medi-care %	Pover-ty %
<u>Overall</u>	4.9	4.5	<u>Education</u>		
<u>Race</u>			0-8th grade .	8.9	6.7
White	5.2	4.3	9-11th grade .	5.4	5.4
Black	2.8	7.3	12th grade . .	3.8	3.8
<u>Age</u>			Some college .	2.8	3.9
20-29	2.1	4.7	College degree	2.4	2.4
30-39	3.7	4.5	<u>Income</u>		
40-49	4.2	3.9	\$0-2,999 . . .	8.7	6.1
50-59	5.2	3.4	\$3,000-5,999 .	3.3	5.4
60-69	9.7	4.5	\$6,000-9,999 .	5.7	4.7
70+	8.6	7.6	\$10,000-14,999	4.8	1.6
			\$15,000+ . . .	2.1	4.2

^aSee Table 9 for the total N for each social characteristic.

suggested more than once before, these patterns seem in keeping with the concerns one should expect from groups which are often directly affected by such problems as unemployment, poverty, and health care.

Another issue of interest, and one for which a general increase in concern from 1960 to 1964 has been noted earlier, is civil rights. For 1964, all social groupings increased their concern over civil rights problems. Table 12 indicates this generally uniform increase in concern across each social characteristic. It also indicates that in the

TABLE 12

CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE PUBLIC FOR 1960 AND 1964
BY RACE, AGE, EDUCATION, AND INCOME

Social Characteristics ^b	% Civil Rights ^a		% Pro- Integration		% Anti- Integration	
	1960	1964	1960	1964	1960	1964
<u>Overall</u>	6.3	19.7	1.5	8.4	2.5	3.4
<u>Race</u>						
White	3.7	17.6	.3	5.5	2.4	3.8
Black	34.2	45.0	15.5	38.5	3.5	0
<u>Age</u>						
20-29	11.7	25.8	2.6	10.7	2.2	3.0
30-39	7.0	23.6	1.7	10.9	2.4	2.6
40-49	4.5	20.4	1.5	7.4	2.3	6.0
50-59	4.3	15.0	1.2	7.7	2.7	1.7
60-69	7.2	11.6	1.9	3.2	3.3	3.2
70+	2.0	18.1	0	7.6	2.0	3.8
<u>Education</u>						
0-8th grade . . .	6.6	24.8	1.6	7.8	2.2	7.0
9-11th grade . .	11.4	21.1	3.5	11.2	4.7	4.1
12th grade . . .	5.2	17.9	.8	7.2	1.4	2.4
Some college . .	3.9	16.2	.9	7.3	1.4	1.1
College degree .	2.6	18.3	1.0	9.1	1.6	1.2
<u>Income</u>						
\$0-2,999	11.2	20.9	2.6	9.2	4.5	3.6
\$3,000-5,999 . .	6.8	22.0	1.2	10.0	1.9	4.6
\$6,000-9,999 . .	3.7	17.9	1.5	6.2	1.5	2.8
\$10,000-14,999 .	5.4	20.4	.6	10.8	4.5	2.2
\$15,000+	2.7	13.5	1.1	6.3	0	0

^aThe overall civil rights percentage for a group is composed of pro- and anti-inegration responses as well as some which do not clearly indicate a direction or preference.

^bSee Table 9 for the total N for each social characteristic.

specific aspects of the overall issue for which we can establish direction (pro or anti), some changes occurred. In the case of responses that can be labeled pro-integration, increase in concern generally matched the trend set by the mass public. In almost no social grouping do we fail to see a sizable increase over 1960. It is possible and probable that civil rights activities and the reform efforts of the Kennedy administration paid off in this greater outpouring of concern over and support of integration efforts. If we speak in anti-integration terms, it appears that most groups neither increased nor decreased substantially their concern in this area. What might be concluded from this data is that events and issues of that time period succeeded in at least awakening the social consciousness of many Americans while at the same time giving impetus to the anti-integration feelings of some. At any rate, people of many types were now feeling the impact of the civil rights movement.

In some cases, as usual, there are groupings within each characteristic who have more (or less) concern than their fellow travelers. Thus, one finds that blacks were much more attuned to this area in 1964 than were whites--including greater pro-integration attitudes. The young were more concerned than the old, part of which we can see directed toward pro-integration and part of which was expressed in terms void of any particular direction or preference (pro, anti, and general references). Within the realm of education, the range of differences was not great. Those with the lowest amounts of education did have the highest level of anti-integration responses, but this was well matched by pro-integration concern. The pattern of concern for levels of income was much like that of education, but with the

highest income group showing the least interest. It would be of interest to suggest the logic behind levels of concern by given groups; but with much of any response set unrevealing as to personal preferences (pro or anti), such becomes very difficult. It is likely that some groups--such as blacks--felt directly affected by the civil rights movement. Others, such as the young, may have expressed their somewhat natural tendency to be more concerned with civil rights causes than older people. Those of the lowest education level felt the greatest concern within educational groupings as a whole but with some apparently being pulled in one direction and others in another. Thus we see almost equal amounts of pro- and anti-integration concern. Undoubtedly, one of the factors involved in the high level of concern by those in the 0-8th grade range is that of race. It can be seen from Table 12 that blacks expressed a substantial amount of civil rights concern and that most of this represented a position of pro-integration. Absolutely no anti-integration responses were given by blacks.¹ Blacks, of course, would be heavily on the low education side and would undoubtedly account for some of the overall concern and much of that for pro-integration. Whites as part of their concern contributed all of the anti-integration responses. All in all, the general level of concern expressed over civil rights matters by low educated people--and any other groupings--was not void of logic.

In the realm of foreign affairs, a new issue had arisen since 1960--Vietnam. Overall concern stood at 9.7% with groups deviating from this figure in varying amounts (see Table 13). Concern over

¹There were some responses by blacks that were general references to civil rights and indicated no preference or direction.

Vietnam apparently reflected an increasing American involvement in that area plus the discussions of this in the presidential campaign of that year.

TABLE 13
VIETNAM ISSUE PUBLIC FOR 1964 BY RACE,
AGE, EDUCATION, AND INCOME

Social Characteristics ^a	%	Social Characteristics	%
<u>Overall</u>	9.7	<u>Education</u>	
<u>Race</u>		0-8th grade	6.3
White	10.3	9-11th grade	7.4
Black	3.7	12th grade	14.1
<u>Age</u>		Some college	8.9
20-29	15.9	College degree	8.5
30-39	10.1	<u>Income</u>	
40-49	9.9	\$0-2,999	3.1
50-59	6.4	\$3,000-5,999	11.1
60-69	7.1	\$6,000-9,999	12.2
70+	5.7	\$10,000-14,999	8.1
		\$15,000+	12.5

^aSee Table 9 for the total N for each social characteristic.

Because absolutely no mark of preference was attached to the issue by any respondent (at least the SRC did not separately record any pro- or anti-Vietnam responses), it is left to speculation as to why any one group expressed a particular level of concern. Blacks were significantly less concerned than whites over Vietnam, and this seems logical in view of expected black concern over their closer-to-home problems of social and economic well-being. The young were more concerned over Vietnam than older people. In fact, a nearly linear

relationship existed between issue public membership and age: The percentage of those expressing concern dropped as age increased. Again, this seems logical as the direct impact of the war probably decreased as one got older. Certainly it was younger people who were drafted, or lived under the threat of draft, and it was largely young people who fought the war. This is not meant to imply that all the younger individuals having concern over Vietnam were against the war, for this cannot be determined as indicated above. There were undoubtedly those with pro-Vietnam attitudes among this younger age group. One last observation on Vietnam as an issue, and that is that those of the very lowest income level showed a very low amount of concern. Like blacks, these people probably had their concern directed toward a better life at home rather than at a conflict as remote in distance as Vietnam.

Concern over Cuba and other trouble spots had begun to fade as of 1964 and this was generally true across the individual levels of each social characteristic. In most cases, the level of concern as a whole was simply too small in either 1960 or 1964 to draw any conclusions. Finally, concern over nearly every other specific foreign affairs issue dropped drastically from 1960 to 1964 across all groupings. National defense was an exception to this. Overall, it only slipped from 6.7% to 5.8% and for some specific levels of a social grouping, it actually increased (however, slightly in most cases).

The 1964 SRC survey was unique in its inclusion of a question designed to elicit information on what individuals thought the federal government should stay out of.¹ The above discussion (and relative tables) have been based solely upon that in which the federal government

¹See page 50 for the wording of this question.

should become involved. In general, the response rate to this "stay out of" question was meager. Well over 50% of the people simply made no response at all. However, of those that did, several interesting notes can be made: Over 12% of those responding felt the government should stay out of the civil rights area. On the basis of race, this issue public was composed entirely of whites. Though not specifically discussed earlier in reference to problems the government should handle, a slight number of people (1.2%) made reference to the U. S. Supreme Court in such areas as civil rights and prayer in schools (see Table 8). When emphasis was placed upon what the government should stay out of, references to the Supreme Court increased to 21% of those responding. Vietnam also drew some response to this question (15.6%) and so did foreign aid (11.7%) and states' rights (5.1%).¹

Since few studies of the issue concerns of the mass public and social groups have utilized the same type question for operationalizing the concept as has this one, it is difficult to offer any comparisons for the same time periods. Free and Cantril, in their well known work The Political Beliefs of Americans, attempted to get at the issue concerns of Americans by asking each survey respondent to indicate how worried he was about each of twenty-three listed issues or problems.² Findings for 1964 showed that Americans were "most concerned about a number of sweeping international problems," followed by concern "about certain substantive domestic problems and programs."³ This is obviously

¹See Appendix B for overall response rates to the question of what the government should stay out of.

²The pre-coded responses were: a great deal, considerably, not very much, and not at all.

³Free and Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans, pp. 51-53.

in direct contrast to the split in domestic/foreign affairs concern established for 1964 earlier by this chapter. It will be recalled that concern of a domestic affairs nature outweighed that for foreign affairs by almost 2 to 1. Why such radical differences between the two sets of findings? Though there may be many factors at work, one seems highly probable; and that relates to the type of question utilized to solicit issue concerns. In the Free and Cantril study, the individual was presented a list of issues and a structured set of responses. In the SRC survey, each person was asked to name the important problems that he personally felt the government should handle. The idea has been suggested that this open-ended type question best measured someone's issue concerns because it elicited a spontaneous, non-prompted reply. Structured questions and answers, it was noted, might have been psychologically cheap for the respondent to handle and thus produced distortions of one's true level of issue concern. Though the debate over this point has not stopped, it seems reasonable to assume that the nature of the question used in each study had some relationship to the differences in results. This paper has shown the existence of greater concern in 1964 for domestic affairs problems to be quite logically related to events and issues of that time. It would appear then that perhaps the structured type question of Free and Cantril does not as accurately measure the public's issue concerns. It is very interesting to note these authors' words as they point out that "despite the greater concern they [respondents] registered for international than for domestic affairs, a majority of Americans nonetheless felt it was more important to solve the problems here at home than those at the international level."¹

¹Ibid., pp. 75-76.

Issue Publics: 1968

If the period between 1960 and 1964 could be characterized as heavy with turmoil, the next four years would need some description to go beyond that. Theodore White best describes this time:

In 1965, and for the next three years, the gusts of history that swept through America were to stir and shake every value that middle-class protestant America had cherished for centuries. Riot, bloodshed and disorder were to stain every major American city; a mismanaged war in Asia was to shake the traditional discipline of patriotism, most of all among the college children that middle-class America had bred. The vast and visionary expansion of Johnson's Great Society, coupled with the cost of war in Asia, were to unleash a slow, then speedier inflation that eroded the values of thrift and shivered the planning of all who worked on fixed income salaries or looked forward to pensions. Most of all, manners and morals seemed unbound by the sweeping permissiveness of a Supreme Court which, apparently, found Bible-reading in schools illegal, but pornography permissible in or out of class. America was approaching a time when the clash of its two great cultures, the old and the new, was to burst in the political arena to fill the air with an entirely new rhetoric.¹ [Emphasis mine]

Samuel Lubell describes the voters of 1968 as impatient for action on issues. He further comments that "probably the most important single fact about the voters in 1968 was their intense emotional involvement in issues, an impatience that exceeded anything I have encountered in any previous presidential election."²

The nature of these comments was reflected in the responses made to the question in 1968 of what the individual personally thought the most important problem facing the nation to be. People's concerns were channeled primarily into two areas--civil rights/public order and Vietnam. Whereas in the past, either domestic or foreign affairs problems held dominant, 1968 marked a point at which the split over these

¹White, Making of the President, 1968, p. 40.

²Lubell, The Hidden Crisis in American Politics, pp. 47-48.

two areas was almost even and people's concerns focused largely upon one or two issues from each side. The two percentages for domestic and foreign affairs were 49.5% and 50.5% respectively, and two issues alone comprised most of each side. Vietnam made up 43.2% of the 50.5% foreign affairs figure while the civil rights/public order issue area accounted for over 28% of the 49.5% domestic affairs figure. (See Table 14.)

Many of the issues of 1964 attracted little concern in 1968: Unemployment concern was down from 5.9% to 1.2%, aid to the aged down from 4.1% to 1%, Medicare down from 4.9% to .2%, agriculture and natural resources down from 2.7% to 1.1%, taxes down from 3.2% to 2.3%, Cuba down from 2.7% to 0, maintenance of U. S. strength down from 2.7% to a nominal amount, and the like. (See Table 14 for 1968 percentages and Table 8 for those of 1964.) In short, only Vietnam and the civil rights/public order issue areas drew any substantial amounts of concern. Together, these areas captured the concern of over 70% of all the responses made to the "most important problem" question. As indicated, the Vietnam issue stood at 43.2%, an increase of over 33% since 1964. While concern for the specific issue of civil rights dropped substantially from 1964 (19.9% to 9.3%), this is merely a shift away from the more formal area of civil rights (e.g., voting rights, equal access to public accommodations)--in which progress had been partially made since 1964--to the related problems of public disorder. Thus we see an increase in specific references to public disorder (e.g., law and order) from 3.1% in 1964 to 16% in 1968. As indicated above, a combination of civil rights and references to public disorder (and/or public order) reached a substantial percentage of 28.1%. A few other domestic issues are worthy of mention. Poverty still concerned a small number of

TABLE 14

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1968, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public, Domestic Affairs		Issue Public, Foreign Affairs	
	%		%
Unemployment	1.2	Vietnam	43.2
Education needs	1.2	Other trouble spots	.8
Aid to the aged	1.0	National defense	1.1
Medicare	.2	Other foreign policy ^b	5.4
Poverty program	4.4		
Housing	1.4		
Other social welfare	1.1		
Assistance to Negroes	1.2		
Agriculture & natural resources	1.1		
Labor problems, union- management relations	.5		
Civil rights, racial problems ^a	9.3		
Pro-integration	2.4		
Anti-integration	.9		
Public disorder	16.0		
Other public order items	2.8		
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.4		
Taxes	2.3		
Other economic problems	.7		
Other domestic problems	1.7		
Total 49.5		Total 50.5	
Total (N) (1508)			

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

^bMany of those issues which had dropped so drastically from 1960 to 1964 now decreased further in 1968 to a point where most drew less than 1%. Thus, for 1968 references to such items as maintenance of U.S. strength, negotiation with Russia, and the like, are brought together under the heading of "other foreign policy" problems or issues.

people (4.4%) as it had in 1964 (4.5%). The inflation and fiscal policy issue rose slightly from 2.8% to 3.4%. Taxes, though suffering a loss from 1964, still drew the thoughts of 2.3%. It is probable that people had not so much lost their concern for these areas, as it had

been captured by the more controversial and dynamic issues noted above.

Many scholars, in addition to journalists like White, have noted the dominant issues of 1968. Weisberg and Rusk state: "In the 1968 election study, the public gave notice that a new issue area was an object of their concern, one that centered on such problems as the plight of the cities, civil rights, Vietnam, protest, law and order."¹ (Emphasis mine.) Richard Boyd notes the importance of Vietnam, urban unrest, race, and social welfare for 1968. Of central importance to an analysis of the 1968 election, he contends, are "beliefs concerning urban unrest and race."² (Emphasis mine.) Finally, Scammon and Wattenberg, in what has proven to be an excellent insight into the 1968 election, write of the emergence of a new issue area that they label the "social issue." While the American people still concern themselves with traditional issues of the economy and the like, they were in 1968 "beginning to array themselves politically along the axes of certain social situations as well. These situations have been described variously as law and order, backlash, anti-youth, malaise, change, or alienation."³ (Emphasis mine.) Scammon and Wattenberg further describe the social issue by noting its elements: Crime-- organized and in the streets. Nixon stressed this in his acceptance speech for the nomination and in his campaign. Race--this included not only the usual issue of civil rights but race riots and overall public

¹Weisberg and Rusk, "Perceptions of Presidential Candidates."

²Boyd, "Popular Control of Public Policy," p. 429.

³Richard M. Scammon and Ben J. Wattenberg, The Real Majority, Capricorn Edition (New York: Coward, McCann & Geoghegan, Inc., 1971), p. 20.

disorder (riots had taken place almost continuously since Harlem in 1964 and Watts in 1965). Kidlash--described in Scammon and Wattenberg's own words, "among a highly publicized segment of young America, hair got long, skirts got short, foul language became ordinary, drugs became common, respect for elders became limited, the invasion and sacking of offices of college administrators became the initiation rite--and adults became fearful and upset." Values--permissiveness in such areas as pornography and sexual behavior. Vietnam protests--which took the form of not only demonstrations but such activities as the burning of American flags and invasion of governmental facilities to pour blood on draft records. In sum, say Scammon and Wattenberg:

All these elements acted on one another and on the American voter. The social issue was in full flower. It may be defined as a set of public attitudes concerning the more personally frightening aspects of disruptive social change.¹

How did specific social groups react to this most trying period of time? Did whites, for example, have different concerns than blacks? Were the young most concerned with Vietnam as might be expected? Did education and income relate in any particular way to issues such as public disorder and Vietnam? These and other questions will be the focus of the next section of this paper.

Table 15 illustrates some of the differences that existed between the concerns of blacks and whites. While the overall figures for the "civil rights/public order" issue area were almost equal for both groups, variations occurred within that broad category. That is, blacks and whites tended to separate the broad issue area into two more narrowly focused issues. On the one hand, whites gave much less concern

¹Ibid., pp. 40-43.

TABLE 15

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1968 BY RACE,^a FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% White	% Black
Domestic Affairs		
Unemployment	1.0	4.3
Education needs	1.2	1.4
Aid to the aged	.9	2.2
Medicare	.3	0
Poverty program	4.0	8.7
Housing	1.2	3.6
Other social welfare	1.2	0
Assistance to Negroes	1.2	1.4
Agriculture & natural resources	1.2	0
Labor problems, union-management relations	.3	2.2
Civil rights, racial problems ^b	8.4	15.9
Pro-integration	1.6	8.0
Anti-integration	1.0	0
Public disorder	16.1	10.1
Other public order items	2.7	2.9
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.4	2.9
Taxes	2.2	2.2
Other economic problems	.9	0
Other domestic problems	2.3	.2
Foreign Affairs		
Vietnam	43.9	37.0
Other trouble spots	.8	.7
National defense	1.1	.7
Other foreign policy	5.7	3.6
Total domestic affairs	48.5	57.8
Total foreign affairs	51.5	42.2
Total (N)	(1352)	(138)

^aAll respondents not clearly designated as white or black were excluded from analysis.

^bIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

specifically to "civil rights" (8.4%) than to public disorder (16.1%).

Blacks on the other hand, indicated most concern for civil rights

(15.9%) and less for public disorder (10.1%).¹ Blacks were much more concerned with several issues which, as indicated, whites had shifted their concern away from--unemployment, housing, and poverty. They also were somewhat less concerned with the war in Vietnam.

Age characteristics reflected primarily the general picture of the mass public--see Table 16. Across the range of age levels, concern with unemployment, educational needs, aid to the aged, Medicare, housing, and the like, approximated the sample average. As for the major issues established as most significant in 1968, some observations are interesting. As in the past, the younger one was, the more concerned he was with the civil rights issue. Though the percentages are truly small, if we examine some of the elements of this issue, we see that the youngest was the most pro-integration and the oldest most anti-integration. In terms of public disorder, concern appeared fairly even. Concern over the Vietnam situation was essentially uniform across age levels with a low of 41.5% and a high of 50%.

Only a few issues need be singled out in a discussion of education. One of these is poverty. In general, the least educated were the most concerned. However, those with a college degree almost matched the lower educated people in their concern. (See Table 17.) It seems reasonable to assume that those most directly affected by poverty--the undereducated--and those most in a position to be unaffected and yet understand what might be done about it--the highly educated--would show the most concern. Concern about civil rights was shown by all

¹Both groups expressed about the same level of concern over some items included under public order and not directly connected to "public disorder."

TABLE 16

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1968 BY AGE, FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 20-29	% 30-39	% 40-49	% 50-59	% 60-69	% 70+
Domestic Affairs						
Unemployment	1.1	1.4	1.5	1.2	1.4	.7
Education needs	1.4	1.4	2.4	.4	0	.7
Aid to the aged	0	0	.6	1.6	2.8	2.1
Medicare	0	0	0	.8	.9	0
Poverty program	6.1	4.2	5.2	4.8	1.4	3.4
Housing	.7	1.7	1.5	2.4	.9	1.4
Other social welfare	.3	1.3	1.2	1.6	.9	1.4
Assistance to Negroes	1.4	1.4	1.8	0	1.4	.7
Agriculture & natural re- sources	.7	0	1.8	.8	2.8	.7
Labor problems, union- management relations	.3	.3	.6	0	1.4	.7
Civil rights, racial problems ^a	13.9	10.0	9.3	6.0	8.0	6.2
Pro-integration	3.9	2.8	2.4	1.2	1.4	2.1
Anti-integration	.7	1.0	1.2	.4	.9	1.4
Public disorder	13.5	17.7	12.7	20.9	14.6	11.8
Other public order items	1.4	2.7	4.5	2.0	4.2	.7
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	2.1	4.8	3.9	2.8	3.3	2.7
Taxes	1.8	2.1	2.1	3.6	2.4	2.1
Other economic problems	.7	0	.3	2.0	1.4	0
Other domestic problems	1.4	2.4	3.7	1.6	1.5	2.3
Foreign Affairs						
Vietnam	44.6	42.0	41.5	41.5	43.1	50.0
Other trouble spots	1.1	1.0	.9	.8	0	.7
National defense	1.1	.7	1.5	.4	1.4	1.4
Other foreign policy	6.4	4.9	3.0	4.8	6.2	10.3
Total domestic affairs	46.8	51.4	53.1	52.5	49.3	37.6
Total foreign affairs	53.2	48.6	46.9	47.5	50.7	62.4
Total (N)	(280)	(288)	(330)	(248)	(211)	(146)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

educational levels, but with the least amount attributed to those with the least education. Public disorder drew a high level of concern among

TABLE 17

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1968 BY EDUCATION, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 0-8th Grade	% 9-11th Grade	% 12th Grade	% Some College	% College Degree
Domestic Affairs					
Unemployment	1.8	.4	1.9	1.4	0
Education needs	.9	1.1	1.2	.5	2.5
Aid to the aged	1.2	.7	1.2	.9	0
Medicare	.9	0	.2	0	0
Poverty program	6.1	5.2	3.7	2.8	4.5
Housing	2.1	2.2	.2	.5	3.5
Other social welfare	1.5	2.2	.4	.9	1.0
Assistance to Negroes	1.2	1.5	.6	.9	2.5
Agriculture & natural resources	1.5	.4	1.4	1.4	.5
Labor problems, union- management relations	2.1	.4	0	0	0
Civil rights, racial problems ^a	7.8	6.7	10.1	12.4	9.9
Pro-integration	1.8	.7	2.9	1.8	5.0
Anti-integration	1.5	.7	1.2	.5	0
Public disorder	9.7	14.1	18.8	16.5	16.2
Other public order items	2.7	2.6	2.4	3.5	3.5
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	1.2	2.2	3.2	4.2	8.0
Taxes	3.3	3.3	2.1	.9	1.5
Other economic problems	.6	0	.8	1.4	1.0
Other domestic problems	1.1	3.3	1.5	1.8	3.8
Foreign Affairs					
Vietnam	47.0	47.8	42.3	44.0	32.7
Other trouble spots	.6	.4	.6	.9	2.0
National defense	1.2	.7	1.4	.5	1.0
Other foreign policy	5.5	4.8	6.0	4.6	5.9
Total domestic affairs	45.7	46.3	49.7	50.0	58.4
Total foreign affairs	54.3	53.7	50.3	50.0	41.6
Total (N)	(330)	(270)	(485)	(218)	(202)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

all the levels except those with 0-8th grade education. They, perhaps, surprising to some, indicated somewhat less concern in this area. It

appears that this group forsook any substantial concern over the above issues to focus upon Vietnam, where they maintained one of the highest levels of concern of any education level. Looking at Vietnam, we find that generally the highest education levels express the least amount of concern. This is particularly true of those with a college degree.

An examination of income levels reveals a situation where amount of concern over most issues appears to be distributed in a random fashion (see Table 18). Only three issues drew enough responses to merit attention here. First there was civil rights where no significant differences in levels of concern occurred until the \$20,000 and above range. Those at this high income level may well have felt the least threatened by civil rights activities or been positively impressed by the civil rights movement. The variations in public disorder concern across the income levels offers no neat pattern with an up and down fluctuation occurring as we move from low to high. In terms of Vietnam, without knowing whether respondents were expressing pro- or anti-Vietnam feelings, interpretation is difficult as usual. We can only note that those of the lowest income groups expressed the most concern, and it could be either pro or con.

To summarize the situation as it relates to what issues the mass public and some of its subgroups were concerned about in 1968, we can note that essentially most members of the mass public fell into two or three issue publics--namely civil rights, public disorder, and Vietnam. Individual levels of the social groups singled out for this study--e.g., blacks and whites, poor and wealthy--largely matched the general public in its direction of concern but did reflect concern over issues of specific importance to them. For example, blacks showed more

TABLE 18

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1968 BY INCOME, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	Percentage						
	\$0- 2,999	\$3,000- 5,999	\$6,000- 9,999	\$10,000- 14,999	\$15,000- 19,999	\$20,000- 24,999	\$25,000+
Domestic Affairs							
Unemployment	.9	1.0	1.3	1.3	3.3	3.4	0
Education needs	.9	.3	1.1	2.6	1.1	0	2.0
Aid to the aged	3.2	1.0	.9	0	0	0	0
Medicare	.9	.3	0	.3	0	0	0
Poverty program	3.6	5.6	3.7	3.6	6.6	10.3	2.0
Housing	1.4	1.3	1.5	1.3	0	6.9	2.0
Other social welfare	1.4	1.0	1.6	1.0	0	0	0
Assistance to Negroes . . .	.9	1.6	1.1	1.3	1.1	0	2.0
Agriculture & natural resources	.5	1.3	.9	1.6	1.1	3.4	0
Labor problems, union- management relations . . .	.9	.7	.9	0	0	0	0
Civil rights, racial problems ^a	9.9	8.8	9.1	10.5	12.1	3.4	6.1
Pro-integration	4.1	2.6	2.4	1.6	1.1	0	2.0
Anti-integration	1.4	.7	1.3	.7	1.1	0	0
Public disorder	8.1	15.4	20.4	17.4	12.1	17.2	14.2
Other public order items . .	1.4	2.9	2.7	3.3	4.4	3.4	2.0
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	1.4	2.0	3.4	4.2	4.4	13.7	10.2
Taxes	1.8	3.6	2.6	1.3	3.3	0	2.0
Other economic problems . .	.5	.3	.4	1.6	0	0	2.0
Other domestic problems . .	.9	1.0	1.7	2.6	1.1	.4	4.6
Foreign Affairs							
Vietnam	52.7	44.7	39.8	41.3	37.4	31.0	36.7
Other trouble spots	.9	.7	.6	.7	3.3	0	0
National defense	1.4	1.6	.6	1.0	1.1	0	2.0
Other foreign policy	6.8	4.9	5.8	3.0	7.7	6.9	12.2
Total domestic	38.2	48.1	53.2	54.0	50.5	62.1	49.1
Total foreign	61.8	51.9	46.8	46.0	49.5	37.9	50.9
Total (N)	(222)	(304)	(462)	(305)	(91)	(29)	(49)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

concern for poverty, unemployment, and housing than did the general public. High income groups were worried about inflation and the country's fiscal policy. All in all, though, concern over issues in 1968 was captured by just the two or three issues mentioned above (civil rights, public disorder, Vietnam).

Issue Publics: 1960 to 1968, an Overview

The decade of the 60's will long be remembered for the changes it brought and wrought in the American society. While it is sometimes change that is condemned by many, it would appear to be irreversible. Perhaps the greatest area of change has been social, and particularly of a civil rights nature that has finally allowed a segment of our society to pull within reach of rights denied to them for decade after decade. It seems likely that blacks will no longer ignore their concern over basic civil rights; and as long as substantial resistance continues to the full recognition of those rights, there should be a civil rights issue public. Whether society manages to speak to a host of other societal problems will determine the existence and size of the public disorder issue public which had its inception in the early 60's and its birth during the four years prior to 1968. The social issue referred to here is essentially that one described by Scammon and Wattenberg. This issue with its many component parts is a difficult one to analyze and even more so to forecast. One could see it coming with the first regularity of civil disobedience, watch it grow with United States involvement in a war that in the beginning basically only the young spurned (and in the end nobody seemed to want except the policy makers who kept it going), see it symbolized in the hate and distrust of those

with long hair who often took to the streets in protest of the war and other social ills and those who exemplified the opposite of many traditional values of our society--clean mind, clean body, hard work, patriotism--or watch it institutionalized by the election of an individual who played the social issue theme to perfection.

It may be mere speculation, but probably many a political eye is focused upon the possibilities of party realignment based upon the social issue. Scammon and Wattenberg suggest that either party might and can capitalize on the social issue, but they note:

It is a thorny and complex matter for Democrats. For the social issue, as perceived by the voter, is deeply intertwined with the whole racial problem in America. And the National Democratic Party is perceived by the voter as being champion of blacks over recent years.

Whether Democrats could split off the race issue from the rest of the social issue remains to be seen.¹ The importance of the social issue as a lasting thing is described by Scammon and Wattenberg:

There is no evidence that it will go away. It is with us now, and if someone sees the decade ahead without voter perception of racial problems, crime as an issue, student disruption, pot, pornography, morals, school integration, and raucous dissent, let him speak up.²

Concern over economic issues such as unemployment, inflation, and taxes have on the whole gone down from 1960 to 1968. These "pocket-book" issues will draw concern somewhat proportional to the nature of the times. That is, as prosperity increases, unemployment goes down, taxes remain stable or decrease, and the like, people's concerns will turn elsewhere. Individual groups, to the extent they are most directly affected by an issue, will likely continue to express concern in that

¹Scammon and Wattenberg, The Real Majority, pp. 284-86.

²Ibid., p. 282.

area. For reasons too complex to be described here, blacks continue to be most affected by such economic issues as unemployment and thus continually show their concern over the area.

Finally, there is the matter of war and, to some extent, American foreign policy. Scammon and Wattenberg describe this area of concern and suggest that Americans will react electorally to another war.

Not usually a major political issue, this changes if American soldiers, particularly drafted soldiers, are dying somewhere. Perhaps the most accurate single statement that came from the Vietnam protesters was emblazoned on a placard held aloft at the Chicago convention. It read: Not with my life, you don't.¹

In short, war as an issue public will continue in existence as long as war itself--or perhaps even the threat of war--continues.

Analysis of data from three SRC surveys spanning the decade of the 1960's seems quite clearly to indicate that the "issue publics" concept correlates strongly with the actual issue concerns of the American people. In most cases, patterns of concern for the population as a whole were quite clear and interpretable. They showed that the expected usually took place with, for example, civil rights and public disorder concern keeping pace with the civil rights explosion and its offsprings of civil disobedience and violence. Various levels of several social characteristics were associated with issue concerns; and, while often a lack of responses indicating citizen preference hampered interpretation, there was ample evidence to relate membership by those in a given social grouping to an expected issue public. The data strongly support the conclusions by Jones and Jones that a given social grouping (e.g., young people, blacks) will show a greater interest than

¹Ibid., p. 283.

than the general public in those issues that directly affect the group's values.¹

There appears to be reason to prefer the use of the open-ended, "most important problem" question to the commonly used structured one as a means of measuring the issue concerns of an individual or the mass public. The validity of the "issue publics" concept seems substantiated to the point of its continued use and undoubtedly at both the individual and systems level. In the next chapter, it will be examined from a different perspective, but one which will perhaps add to its attractiveness as a research variable.

¹Jones and Jones, "Issue Salience, Opinion-Holding, and Party Preference," pp. 501-504.

CHAPTER III

ISSUE PUBLICS, POLITICAL ATTENTIVENESS, AND THE EVALUATIONS OF PARTIES AND CANDIDATES

In Chapter One the concept of issue publics was introduced and note taken of its actual and potential use in voting behavior research. Chapter Two, as part of an overall effort to fully understand the nature of the concept, successfully related the rise and fall of various issue publics to the fluctuations in actual real-world events and situations. Such might be characterized as an effort to purify a concept potentially significant to the pinpointing of issue impact on vote choice and, of course, on the balance of party strength. This chapter continues to focus upon the idea of "issue publics" by exploring the relationship that might exist between it and other concepts utilized in public opinion and electoral behavior research. Specifically, the "issue publics" concept is examined with respect to two others--"attentiveness" and "party/candidate evaluations"--and the presence or absence of interrelationships are noted.

The concept of attentiveness stems from the many attempts by scholars to give meaning to the term "public" in public opinion. In addition to establishing that there exists no "general public" of public opinion but instead many issue publics, a number of works have suggested other types of "publics." Thus, we see various classificatory schemes which usually contend that the total citizenry can be divided

into various levels or publics depending upon each's physical and psychological involvement in the holding and formation of public opinion. Almond, for example, visualizes the total public as consisting of a general public--not too informed about nor involved in politics; an attentive public--which is both informed and involved; and an elite grouping described as "the articulate policy-bearing stratum of the population."¹ From Rosenau comes basically the same stratification scheme except that within the mass public can be found "attention groups." (See Figure 2.) Like the mass public, the "attention group"

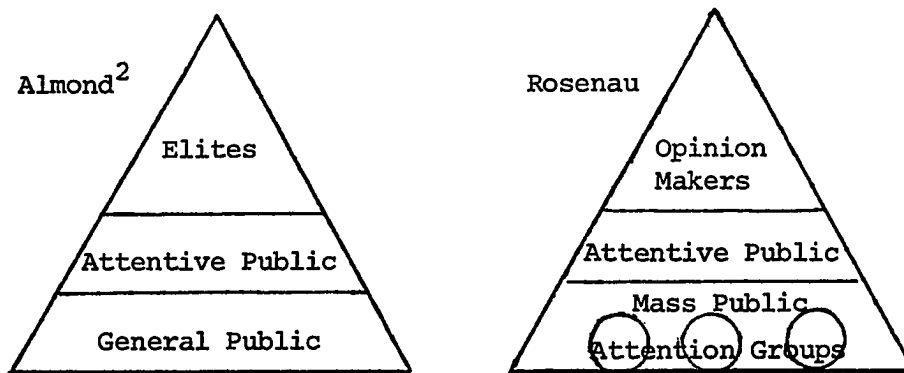


Fig. 2.--Almond and Rosenau's Opinion and Policy Process Structures

is normally passive and disinterested but it acquires

structure as an aroused group whenever an issue arises that directly affects their common interests. . . . Their entrance into public debate is then sudden and impulsive, and confined exclusively to the single issue which provoked them. . . . Once the issue has subsided, these attention groups disband . . . returning to the status of unorganized and passive segments of the mass public.³

¹Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy, pp. 138-39.

²The top tier of Almond's hierarchy actually contained two separate categories of persons: (1) policy and opinion elites and (2) legal or official policy leadership.

³James N. Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: An Operational Formulation (New York: Random House, 1961), pp. 33-37.

Rosenau's "attentive public" is characterized as being interested, informed and active in the realm of foreign policy issues.¹ The elite level, of course, possesses all of these qualities but has the added distinction of being opinion-makers (as opposed to just opinion-holders). Numerous other studies have focused upon one or more of these various stratas and particularly upon mass public/attentive public comparisons.² It is these latter two levels or stratas which are of particular interest in this chapter.

The second concept to be related to that of issue publics is the evaluation of parties and candidates. The American Voter has contended that:

If we are to understand what leads the voter to his decision at the polls we must know how he sees the things to which this decision relates. In casting a vote the individual acts toward a world of politics in which he perceives the personalities, issues, and the parties and other groupings of a presidential contest. His image of these matters may seem at times exceedingly ill-formed, but his behavior makes sense subjectively in terms of the way these political objects appear to him. As a result, measuring perceptions and evaluations of the elements of politics is a first charge on our energies in the explanation of the voting act.³

To get at the electorate's perceptions of these "elements of politics" a special set of questions was utilized which called for one's likes and dislikes of each party and candidate. From the responses, The American Voter was able to isolate categories of references to specific issues, groups, parties, and the like. Further manipulation allowed the

¹By activity, Rosenau refers to letter writing and "other forms of amateur opinion-submitting." Ibid., p. 40.

²Carl C. Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process," Western Political Quarterly, XXV (June, 1972), 165-82; Sears, "Political Behavior," pp. 324-28; Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 85-93, 185-202, 428-31.

³Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, p. 42.

determination of whether responses overall and specific categories of responses were more favorable to one party (or candidate) than another.¹ Also from these responses was created what The American Voter called "six dimensions of individual partisan feeling." These involved attitudes toward each major party candidate, domestic and foreign policy issues, parties as managers of the affairs of government, and group-interest (e.g., Democrats are good for labor). The dimensions were found to have substantial predictive power in terms of voter choice.² Other studies have continued to utilize the "evaluations" approach in their effort to judge relative influence of several factors in an individual's voting behavior.³ For example, Hetrick has turned to these evaluations to isolate what he calls a "policy-motivated public." He characterizes it as an extension of the "attentive public" concept because some within that group possess sufficient motivation to be more active than others within it. Respondents are viewed as policy-motivated if a certain amount of their evaluations of parties and candidates contain references to policy issues.⁴

As indicated, this chapter concerns the manner in which three concepts, all bearing some attachment to issues, relate to each other. A number of specific questions and hypotheses can be noted: How does membership in a single issue public relate to one's tendency to be politically attentive and/or to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms. It is hypothesized that simple membership (without

¹Ibid., pp. 46-59. ²Ibid., pp. 66-75.

³Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements;" see also Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process."

⁴Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process," pp. 166-67.

regard to salience of the issue) in a single issue public will show no relationship--negative or positive--to either political attentiveness or "evaluations." It would seem logical that any given issue public--e.g., Vietnam, public disorder, unemployment--might contain representatives of all levels of attentiveness (viewing the mass public/attentive public not as two separate static groups but more as an attentiveness/nonattentiveness continuum). It is when the question of issue "salience" is considered that a different hypothesis arises. Knowing that it is possible for some individuals to belong to more than one issue public, each with its own level of salience, it is suggested that this--"issue orientation"--may be related positively to political attentiveness and issue based evaluations of parties and candidates.

Each of the three concepts being dealt with requires some explanation of its operationalization process. Before doing this, it should be noted that the research covers the 1964-68 time period and utilizes data from each of the two appropriate SRC surveys.¹

Three separate measures dealing with one's issue involvement are constructed. One deals with simple issue public membership and the other two are variations of an "issue orientation" index. The method of arriving at issue public membership has been described previously in Chapters One and Two. There it was noted that the issue publics concept is normally derived from responses to a question which asked each respondent to name a problem which he personally felt was the most

¹The 1964 and 1968 SRC surveys were selected because only they offered the opportunity to construct a more general measure of issue orientation than simply counting the number of problems mentioned by a respondent. In 1960 no salience question was included for the "most important problem" areas.

important problem facing the nation that the government in Washington should try to take care of. To name a problem was to possess membership in an issue public. On this basis, a number of issue publics have been isolated for analysis from both SRC surveys.¹

The key element in distinguishing the other two issue involvement measures from one another is salience--or at least what constitutes salience. In addition to a most important problem, each respondent was asked to name a second and third most important one. An additional question followed which called for a level of concern over the problem named.² Most scholars utilizing the issue publics concept have stressed the need to consider issue salience but have not really agreed upon a way of measuring it. Some apparently have felt that simply to name a problem indicated salience.³ Others have turned to the follow-up questions showing how concerned the respondent was about the problem he had mentioned. RePass, for example, imputes some degree of salience to the respondent's ability to name a problem when asked but limits most of his analysis to issues "that the respondents felt were of high salience." He found that when this was left undone, respondents were not as able to perceive party differences on issues and gave many more

¹In several instances, issue "areas" were created from combining several rather specific codes in which the N was too small for suitable analysis.

²1964: Just how strongly would you say you feel about this [most important problem to be faced]: Are you extremely worried about it, fairly worried, or just quite interested in it?

1968: Just how strongly would you say you feel about this [most important] problem: Are you concerned about it, fairly concerned, or only a little concerned?

³Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," p. 421; Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 181-87; and Brody and Page, "Assessment of Policy Voting," pp. 455-56.

"don't know" answers.¹ The second of the measures of issue involvement or orientation for this chapter is based upon the assumption that the naming of a problem indicates salience for that matter. It also assumes that a person who names three problems, when given the opportunity, is more issue oriented than someone who mentions less than that. Thus, a variable (# problems) is created with scores ranging from 0 to 3.

In order to bring salience more directly into the picture, another variable is set up based upon responses to the level of concern question. A number of steps are involved in the mechanics of operationalizing this variable. First, a system of weighting is applied based upon the assumption that both the level of salience for an issue and the problem level (most important, 2nd most important, etc.) should be taken into account. For example, high salience on problem one would receive a greater score than high salience on problem two. Also, high salience at problem three scores greater than medium salience at problem one. Figure 3 represents the weighting process. The second step is carried out by simply adding together a respondent's weighted scores from those issues he mentioned. The variable is completed by adding in the number (0 to 3) of problems named. The final product is an index of issue orientation with a range of 0 to 27. (0 represents no issue salience and 27 represents high salience on three issues.)

The next major concept in this chapter that requires some discussion is that of "political attentiveness." Despite the slight variations in meaning from study to study, it would appear to designate

¹RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 393.

Problem Level	Salience Level	Weight
P1	High	9
P2	High	8
P3	High	7
P1	Medium	6
P2	Medium	5
P3	Medium	4
P1	Low	3
P2	Low	2
P3	Low	1
None	None	0

Fig. 3.--Weighting process for Issue Orientation Index

a class of people within the general citizenry which exhibits some degree of attachment to politics not in the ordinary. This attachment has variously been viewed in terms of political interest, information, and participation.¹ Devine, as part of an effort to relate attentive public policy attitudes to policy output, suggests that "the general criteria for judging attentiveness would include: (1) interest in politics generally, (2) interest in national election campaigns, (3) attention to political conversation, (4) self-exposure to political information, (5) engaging in political activities, and (6) caring about elections and voting."² He notes that from the various SRC surveys, a large number of separate items or questions could be extracted to cover

¹Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy; Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy; Devine, The Attentive Public; and Harry K. Girvetz, "Democracy," in Democracy and Elitism, ed. by Harry K. Girvetz (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).

²Devine, The Attentive Public, p. 46.

the six listed criteria. It is from responses to these questions that several attentiveness measures will be constructed for this chapter. Basically, three probable elements of attentiveness are represented by the measures created. The first is that of interest. In both the 1964 and 1968 surveys two "interest" variables are readily available. One deals with general attention to government and public affairs and the other with attention to national election campaigns. Though the wording of the questions from which each measure is taken changed from 1964 to 1968, the changes do not appear to be of such a nature as to affect the questions' general thrust.¹

A second way of viewing attentiveness is through what Devine labels as "exposure to political information." For a number of surveys the SRC has asked questions which are designed to indicate the amount of attention paid to political campaigns through each of four mass

¹These questions were worded as follows:

Attention to Government and Public Affairs

1964: Some people seem to think about what's going on in government all the time whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government all of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all.

1968: Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all. (Emphasis mine.)

Attention to Political Campaigns

1964: Some people don't pay too much attention to election campaigns. How about you--were you very interested in this campaign, fairly interested, just slightly interested, or not interested at all.

1968: Some people don't pay much attention to the political campaigns. How about you, would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year. (Emphasis mine.)

media--newspapers, television, radio, and magazines.¹ Though exposure to political information through some form of the mass media may be reflective of one's level of attentiveness, it remains unsettled as to just how an appropriate measure should be constructed. That is, should one concentrate on the extent to which individual media are followed² or consider only the number of media followed?³ Logic would seem to say that if it's accurate to view as more attentive those who follow a given media (e.g., television) more than some who do not or those who follow campaigns in four media forms rather than some lesser number, then accuracy would be improved by combining the two approaches. Thus an index of attentiveness can be created based upon the number of media followed and the level of attention given to each. This results in a score range of zero (no attention through any of the media) to sixteen (highest amount of attention through all four media).

The final item in the attempt to operationalize political attentiveness concerns participation. Rosenau suggests that "in terms of concrete action, probably a substantial proportion of the attentive public frequently writes to decision-makers or engages in other forms of amateur opinion-submitting."⁴ For a number of years, the SRC has

¹The form of each question is typified by the following wording: "We're interested in this interview in finding out whether people paid much attention to the election campaign this year. Take newspapers for instance--did you read about the campaign in any newspaper? How much did you read newspaper articles about the election--regularly, often, from time to time, or just once in a great while?"

²Devine, The Attentive Public, pp. 46-53.

³Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," p. 423; Dreyer and Rosenbaum, Political Opinion and Behavior, pp. 401-403.

⁴Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, p. 40.

asked respondents about their participation activities. The form of these activities include talking to people to show them how they should vote, attending political meetings, working for a political party, belonging to a political club, wearing a campaign button, and writing letters to officials as well as to editors.¹ For this chapter, a simple index is constructed by noting whether a given activity is performed and then summing across the seven possible participation forms. Thus, a respondent not participating at all will receive a score of zero and someone engaging in all activities will score seven. Because of the generally low participation rates by the sample as a whole, the scores for this index will be skewed. Nevertheless, one can still determine if those scoring the highest on this index (the most attentive) relate in some particular fashion to the measures of issue orientation.

The final concept to need some operationalization explanation is that of party and candidate evaluations. As noted earlier, these evaluations are in response to a series of SRC open-ended questions which asked the respondent for his likes and dislikes of both major political parties and their candidates.² The overriding interest in

¹The questions were worded as follows: Talking: "During the campaign did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for one of the parties or candidates?" Political meetings: "Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, or dinners, or things like that?" Party work: "Did you do any other work for one of the parties or candidates?" Political Clubs: "Do you belong to any political club or organizations?" Campaign Button: "Did you wear a campaign button or put a campaign sticker on your car?" Letters to Officials: "Have you ever written to any public officials giving them your opinion about something that should be done?" Letters to Editors: "Have you ever written a letter to the editor of a newspaper or magazine giving any political opinions?"

²The wording of the question concerning the likes and dislikes of the two major parties is identical for the two surveys used in this chapter: "I'd like to ask you what you think are the good and bad

these evaluations for this chapter is their issue content and, of course, how this relates to issues and the issue-publics concept. The typical manner in which the evaluation responses have been utilized is evident in a study by Stokes. He categorizes each response along six dimensions representing "(1) attitude toward the Democratic candidate as a person; (2) attitude toward the Republican candidate as a person; (3) attitude toward the parties and candidates which relates to the benefit of various groups; (4) attitude toward the parties and candidates which relates to domestic policy; (5) attitude which relates to foreign policy; and (6) attitude which relates to the general performance of the parties in the nation's affairs." Since there were both pro and con multiple responses, Stokes was able to arrive at a quantitative measure of the extent to which a given category of responses favored one party over another.¹ Most research efforts utilizing the evaluations have, as indicated, worked along this line.² There are two studies which bear mentioning at this point. One, by William

points about the two parties. Is there anything in particular that you like about the Democratic Party?" This wording was repeated for "don't like" and for the Republican Party. Up to five responses were coded.

For the candidate question, the wording is the same for the major party candidates over the two surveys: "Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the two candidates for president. Is there anything in particular about [Johnson, Humphrey, Nixon, Goldwater] that might make you want to vote for him? Is there anything in particular about [Johnson, etc.] that might make you want to vote against him?" In 1968 an additional question was added to reflect the candidacy of George Wallace: "As you probably know, George Wallace is also a candidate for president this year. Is there anything in particular about Wallace which might make you want to vote for him? Is there anything in particular about Wallace that might make you want to vote against him?" Up to five responses were coded.

¹Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements," p. 20.

²For other studies see: Campbell, *et. al.*, *The American Voter*; Donald Stokes, Angus Campbell, and Warren E. Miller, "Components of Electoral Decision," *APSR*, LII (June, 1958), pp. 367-87.

Shaffer, questions whether the so-called six dimensions are really that. In other words, do they actually reflect different dimensions of attitudes? Shaffer, utilizing factor analysis, notes that for most of the elections checked all six components loaded highly on one factor. He consistently, without much explanation, labels this a party favoritism factor and ultimately concludes that "all six components reflect but one dimension of attitude--party support."¹ In contrast to this study is one by Hetrick who centers his efforts to isolate a "policy-motivated public," upon the responses evaluating parties and candidates. He uses only the first response by an individual and classifies it as policy or non-policy. If a person gave at least five responses out of the eight possible and any one of them was policy based, he was placed in the "policy-motivated" public. Hetrick then relates the policy-motivated vs. general public variable to voter turnout and other forms of political participation.² It is this study that probably comes the closest to part of what will be accomplished in this chapter. Hetrick, it is clear, does feel that there are different dimensions to the individual's evaluations of parties and candidates. It is also the position taken in this chapter.

As noted before, the primary interest in these evaluations of parties and candidates is in the amount of issue content in each. In order to measure this, a relatively simple procedure is followed. First, each response given is classified as being either issue or non-issue in nature. Then it becomes a matter of just counting the number

¹William R. Shaffer, "Partisan Loyalty and the Perceptions of Party, Candidates, and Issues," Western Political Quarterly, XXV (September, 1972), pp. 424-33.

²Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process," pp. 167-82.

of issue responses for each respondent. Since up to five responses per question (for eight questions) were coded, a total score of forty is possible. Or if it is desired to construct separate measures for the evaluation of parties and candidates, each score range possible would be zero (complete nonissue) to twenty (complete issue). Because many people did not offer any response or failed to make multiple responses, the actual range of scores will be skewed toward the lower end of the scale. They will not cluster at zero, the nonissue position, but they will not run high. The actual range of scores for party evaluations, for example, runs from 0 to 11 in 1964 with a mean of 2.51 and standard deviation of 2.02.¹ These measures for both parties and candidates are particularly suited to cross-tabulation against measures of issue orientation.

Deciding what constitutes an issue oriented response from the many different ones offered by respondents is like a game in which each player uses his own judgment on whether he has scored. Thus, one study may see much less issue content in the same set of evaluations than another. For this reason, some explanation of the procedure followed in this paper in arriving at issue content seems in order. The SRC in their coding procedures suggest certain categories into which all responses can be placed (see Figure 4). The primary division of these responses for this chapter is along an issue/nonissue line. However, some useful information can be obtained by also separating responses according to whether they are largely candidate image, issue,

¹Party evaluations for 1968 produced a range of scores from 0 to 15 with a mean of 3.28 and a standard deviation of 2.29. Candidate evaluation scores for 1964 and 1968 stood at 0-9 and 0-10 respectively. The means and standard deviations for these measures were as follows: 1964--1.97 and 1.79, 1968--1.67 and 1.68.

or party related. Once this process is completed, it remains an easy task to then classify upon an issue/nonissue basis.

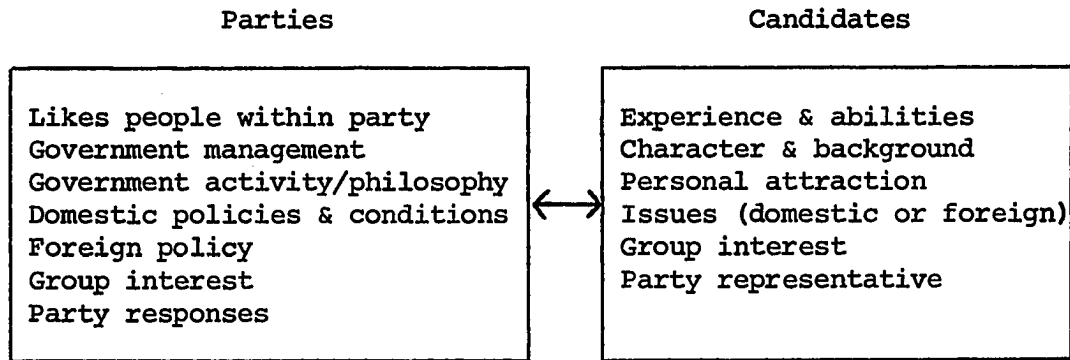


Fig. 4.--SRC division of party and candidate evaluations

Whether the object of evaluations is a party or candidate, two of the above SRC categories--references to domestic and foreign policy issues--are, without question, issue based. Little problem exists there. Those that are labeled as "group-interest" do not present the same obvious label of issue based as do the just mentioned categories. In fact, they traditionally have not been viewed in issue terms. These responses link the likes and dislikes of parties and candidates to the welfare of certain groups--e.g., they're good for the working man, labor, blacks. Though one can only speculate what lies behind such a response, there appears to be just as much reason to assume its issue relatedness as not. Thus, such a response is placed into the "issue orientation" category along with those which more clearly belong there.

Other responses placed into the "issue orientation" category are those which refer to government activity (e.g., economic and social welfare activity), government philosophy (e.g., humanistic, liberal, conservative), and the like. It is recognized that the procedure thus far represents a quite liberal perception of what constitutes an issue

based response. However, it can be suggested that these latter responses lean more closely toward issue orientation than they do toward candidate image or party orientation.

Both the evaluation of parties and candidates produce some responses which can be classified as "candidate image." Those which stem from party evaluations indicate that a party is liked or disliked because of the respondent's feelings about a person or persons within the party--e.g., Eisenhower, Goldwater, Johnson. Those coming from candidate evaluations refer to personal attributes such as experience, character, and personal attraction.

Finally, there are those responses that are clearly "party related." These contain references to a traditional vote or loyalty, to the party organization, to party trust, and the like. While most of such responses occur in party evaluations, some exist for candidates also. In sum, all responses made can be placed into one of three categories--candidate image, party orientation, and issue orientation. As mentioned before, these responses can easily be additionally divided on an issue/nonissue basis.

Three concepts have been discussed which could be described as having actual or potential issue attachment. It is perhaps appropriate at this point, before turning to an analysis of the manner in which the concepts relate to each other, to describe them as they existed in 1964 and 1968. In short, were people concerned with issues, were they politically attentive, and to what extent did they evaluate parties and/or candidates in issue terms?

Beginning with issue involvement, one can find support for Converse's contention that we should recognize "the fractionation of

the mass public into a plethora of narrower issue publics."¹ In 1964 only 18.2% of the citizenry did not have membership in some issue public and 1968 saw a drop to just 2.6%. This can be sharply contrasted with the figures for those who belonged to three issue publics (27.2% in 1964 and 47.6% for 1968). (See Table 19.) It is interesting

TABLE 19

NUMBER OF PROBLEMS MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS IN 1964 AND 1968

Number of problems	% 1964	% 1968
Zero	18.4	2.6
One	24.4	12.3
Two	30.1	32.3
Three	27.2	52.6
Total ^a	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1571)	(1556)

^aPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

to note the differences between 1964 and 1968. It is obvious that people were more issue involved in 1968. Almost twice as many belonged to three issue publics in 1968 as in 1964. If attention is turned to the "issue orientation" index where salience is made a more direct consideration, the same contrast exists. Thus, those showing high salience on three issues were 8.1% in 1964 and 39.7% in 1968 (see Table 20).² People did appear to be somewhat issue involved in 1968.

Americans showed a fair amount of issue involvement in 1964

¹Converse, "Nature of Belief Systems," pp. 206-61.

²If we isolate only those who scored 27 on this measure, the percentages stand at 4.3% for 1964 and 27.2% for 1968.

TABLE 20

LEVELS OF "ISSUE ORIENTATION" FOR 1964 AND 1968

Issue Orientation Scores ^a	% 1964	% 1968
0	18.4	2.6
1-7	20.6	5.6
8-14	25.7	12.7
15-21	27.3	39.4
22-27	8.1	39.7
Total ^b	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1571)	(1556)
X ^c	10.96	19.49
S.D. ^d	7.79	6.93

^aThe original range of scores from 0 to 27 has been collapsed into several categories.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^cThis figure is the mean issue orientation score for the total electorate.

^dStandard deviation for issue orientation scores.

and a substantial amount in 1968. What proportions of these same people generally paid attention to politics? Because no consensus seemed to exist on how to measure attentiveness, several approaches were taken, resulting in a number of variables. Tables 21 through 24 give indication of the public's level of attentiveness. If the measure of attentiveness is the amount of attention paid to presidential campaigns, then there is a bigger attentive public than one would be led to suspect by such scholars as Rosenau and Key (see Table 21). Key estimates the size of the group to be about a fifth of the electorate; and Rosenau, dealing only with foreign policy issues, suggests 10%.¹

¹Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 85; Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, pp. 39-45.

Devine's definition of attentiveness called for him to count within the attentive public only those who offered the most extreme response indicating attention--e.g., very interested, follow public affairs most of time.¹ Using this approach on the attention-to-campaign variable would still result in a rather large attentive public. Perhaps because the question is tied to a specific campaign, it is picking up members of the attentive public as well as some who are simply stimulated by a single campaign. In short, as a single measure it would not appear to be the best indication of political attentiveness. In any case, it should be interesting to relate it to measures of issue involvement.

TABLE 21

ATTENTION TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, 1964 AND 1968

Attention to Political Campaigns ^a	% 1964	% 1968
0	5.2	--
1	17.6	20.8
2	35.7	40.4
3	41.5	38.8
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1447)	(1545)
$\bar{x}^b$	2.14	2.18

^aFor the exact wording of these questions see page 104 of this paper. The individual attention codes in the table have the following meanings: 1964--3 (very interested), 2 (fairly interested), 1 (just slightly interested), 0 (not interested at all). 1968--3 (very much interested), 2 (somewhat interested), 1 (not much interested). No response was available in 1968 which could be scored as 0.

^bMean "attention" scores for the general electorate, 1964 and 1968.

Perhaps one is more attentive if he follows a campaign closely

¹Devine, The Attentive Public, p. 46.

through one or more of the media. Table 22 presents mass media index scores for 1964 and 1968. There was a slightly greater media usage in

TABLE 22

MASS MEDIA INDEX, 1964 AND 1968

Mass Media Index Scores ^a	% 1964	% 1968
0	3.4	3.3
1-4	18.0	21.8
5-8	34.8	37.4
9-12	31.9	29.1
13-16	11.7	8.5
Total ^b	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1449)	(1333)
$\bar{X}^c$	7.95	7.46

^aSee pages 104-105 for the procedure involved in constructing this index. The total range of scores (0-16) has been collapsed into the categories shown.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^cMean "mass media" score for general electorate, 1964 and 1968.

1964 than 1968, but the amount was small (means for 1964 and 1968 stood at 7.95 and 7.46 respectively). Overall, the means could be considered on the low side, barely reaching half their potential. This likely stems from the tendency of many people to utilize two specific media--television and newspapers--to the exclusion of the others. Table 23 shows the usage rates for each media. Overall, we do find a small group of people who not only follow a campaign in the two most popular media--television and newspapers--but in others as well. The size of these groups, 11.7% for 1964 and 8.5% for 1968, is well within the realm of what has been suggested for the attentive public (Key, Rosenau). Whether these are to be called just that is interesting but not

TABLE 23

RATE OF USAGE FOR INDIVIDUAL MEDIA, 1964 AND 1968

Attention Score	Newspapers		Radio	
	% 1964	% 1968	% 1964	% 1968
0 ^a	21.6	24.5	52.0	59.3
1	5.9	6.9	.2	.1
2	18.3	18.7	12.4	12.0
3	14.2	12.6	22.9	16.6
4	40.0	37.2	12.5	12.4
Total ^b	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1437)	(1322)	(1444)	(1335)
$\bar{x}^c$	2.45	2.30	1.44	1.22

Attention Score	Magazines		Televison	
	% 1964	% 1968	% 1964	% 1968
0 ^a	60.7	64.3	10.9	10.8
1	.6	.2	.1	.2
2	12.8	13.3	14.9	13.1
3	16.2	11.6	34.3	34.2
4	9.8	8.9	41.4	41.7
Total ^b	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1446)	(1340)	(1448)	(1340)
$\bar{x}^c$	1.14	1.00	2.95	2.80

^aFor newspapers, each score corresponded to the following amounts of usage: 4 (regularly), 3 (often), 2 (from time to time), 1 (just once in a great while), 0 (no usage). For all the other media, scoring represented how many times each was utilized: 4 (good many), 3 (several), 2 (just one or two), 1 (indeterminate frequency), 0 (no usage). It should be especially noted that the score of 1 does not exactly match for newspapers and the remainder of the media. However, since the percentage of those falling into this scoring category is often nominal, the index itself is relatively unaffected.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^cMean usage score for general electorate, 1964 and 1968.

overwhelmingly so. How this level of attention (13-16 range) relates to issue orientation is of interest.

The two previous measures of attentiveness dealt with presidential campaigns. The next one has a more general orientation in that it refers to the attention paid to government or public affairs whether an election is being held or not. Including within the attentive public only those respondents who expressed the highest level of attention results in a group of a size more nearly like that which has been suggested by Rosenau, Key, and others. The figures are also stable over the two election periods with just over 30% showing a great deal of interest in government and public affairs. (See Table 24.)

TABLE 24

ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1964 AND 1968

Attention to Public Affairs ^a	% 1964	% 1968
1 ^b	11.2	17.6
2	16.9	18.7
3	41.6	30.7
4	30.3	33.0
Total	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1447)	(1344)
$\bar{X}^c$	2.91	2.79

^aSee page 104 for the exact wording of these questions.

^bThe lowest level of attention has been scored 1 and the highest 4.

^cMean "attention to public affairs" scores for the general electorate, 1964 and 1968.

As noted before, Rosenau and others have suggested that members of the attentive public are more likely to engage in such activities as

writing letters to editors and government officials and working in political campaigns than those in the general or mass public. From SRC questions asking each respondent whether he had participated in a certain political activity, an index has been created. Relatively simple, it is a total of the number of activities in which one engages. Table 25 indicates the range of index scores for both 1964 and 1968

TABLE 25
PARTICIPATION INDEX FOR 1964 AND 1968

Participation Index Scores ^a	% 1964	% 1968
0 ^b	54.4	51.6
1	26.1	26.6
2	11.5	11.5
3	4.0	5.9
4	1.9	2.4
5	1.4	1.6
6	.6	.4
7	.1	.1
Total ^c	100.0	100.0
(N)	(1448)	(1346)
$\bar{X}^d$	.80	.87

^aSee page 106 of this paper for construction of the index.

^bEach score represents the total number of activities engaged in by a respondent.

^cPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^dMean participation scores for general electorate, 1964 and 1968.

and Table 26, the level of activity for each participation form. From Table 25, it can be seen that the nonparticipation rate for both election years was quite substantial. If we combine these people with those engaging in only one other activity, the vast majority of the

electorate is accounted for (80.5% for 1964 and 78.2% for 1968).

Table 26 shows that the most common form of participation (other than voting--which is not part of the index) is talking with someone about the campaign. This is followed by the wearing of campaign buttons and letter writing to government officials. The remaining activities drew little response.

TABLE 26

PARTICIPATION RATES FOR SELECTED ACTIVITIES, 1964 AND 1968

Activity ^a	% 1964	% 1968
Talk	27.3	32.9
Political meetings	8.5	8.7
Party work	5.2	5.8
Political club	4.0	3.4
Campaign buttons	16.5	14.8
Letters--officials	16.9	19.8
Letters--editor	3.3	2.1

^aFor the exact nature of each activity, see page 106 of this paper.

The last concept to be described in terms of its existence in 1964 and 1968 is the evaluations of parties and candidates. Since these evaluations have been utilized frequently in voting behavior research, it is informative to ascertain the extent to which they might be issue based. Also, as the following discussion will show, they do seem to be somewhat reflective of the campaigns and election outcomes. Table 27 focuses solely on the amount of issue content in the evaluations, and Table 28 on issue content relative to other types of responses (i.e., candidate image and party). It should be recalled that the description of what constitutes issue content includes "group interest" responses

TABLE 27

ISSUE CONTENT PERCENTAGES FOR 1964 AND 1968^a

Evaluation Direction ^b and Object ^c	% 1964	% 1968
Like Democrats ^d	67.8	65.8
Dislike Democrats	65.3	63.6
Total issue content--Democrats ^e	66.9	64.6
Like Republicans	62.7	64.7
Dislike Republicans	56.4	64.7
Total issue content--Republicans	59.1	64.7
Total issue content--parties ^f	63.5	64.7
Like Johnson	32.0	
Dislike Johnson	29.4	
Total issue content--Johnson	31.2	
Like Goldwater	43.6	
Dislike Goldwater	49.6	
Total issue content--Goldwater	47.6	
Total issue content--candidates, 1964	39.2	
Like Humphrey		33.5
Dislike Humphrey		29.5
Total issue content--Humphrey		31.6
Like Nixon		34.2
Dislike Nixon		28.0
Total issue content--Nixon		31.6
Total issue content--candidates, 1968		31.6
Total issue content--parties & candidates ^g	49.0	46.5

^aThe percentage represents the number of responses considered issue based of all responses actually made.

^bDirection refers to whether the evaluations were called for in terms of likes or dislikes of a given object.

^cObject refers to whether it is one of the parties or candidates that is the focus for the evaluations.

^dThe percentage figure for each object and a single direction is listed separately (e.g., like Democrats).

^eFor each object a total issue content percentage is given which combines data from likes and dislikes (e.g., total issue content--Democrats).

^fAn issue content percentage is calculated for each class of objects (i.e., parties and candidates).

^gTotal issue content percentage for all objects--parties and candidates combined.

TABLE 28

ISSUE, CANDIDATE, AND PARTY CONTENT PERCENTAGES FOR 1964 AND 1968

Evaluation Direction And Object	1964			1968		
	% Issue ^a	% Can- didate	% Party	% Issue	% Can- didate	% Party
Like Democrats	67.8	7.2	25.0	65.8	9.9	24.3
Dislike Democrats	65.3	6.7	28.0	63.6	9.8	26.6
Like Republicans	62.7	12.0	25.3	64.7	12.1	23.2
Dislike Republicans	56.4	13.8	29.8	64.7	12.3	23.0
Like Johnson	32.0	59.2	8.8			
Dislike Johnson	29.4	60.3	10.3			
Like Goldwater	43.6	50.0	6.4			
Dislike Goldwater	49.6	38.5	11.9			
Like Humphrey				33.5	55.4	11.1
Dislike Humphrey				29.5	53.0	17.5
Like Nixon				34.2	57.6	8.2
Dislike Nixon				28.0	60.1	11.9

^aSee pages 109-111 of this paper for the manner in which responses were classified.

and others outside of the domestic and foreign policy categories traditionally set up. Thus, estimates of issue content are likely to be somewhat on the liberal side. (Group interest responses, as a proportion of issue content, range from as low as 5% to as high as 40% per object being evaluated--e.g., like Democrats.)

There are a number of interesting observations that can be made from the data in Tables 27 and 28. First, the amount of issue content is substantial whether the focus is upon parties or candidates. Though the figures for candidates are much lower than for parties, they are nevertheless not small (the lowest being in reference to disliking Johnson--29.4%--and disliking Nixon--28%). A second observation concerns the disparity between the two sets of evaluations in terms of

issue content. Why is it that there is about twice as much issue content for party evaluations as for candidates? Perhaps it has something to do with the nature of the objects being evaluated. It has been suggested by Kessel that

. . . since these questions do not ask specifically about issues, they stimulate fewer issue responses than comments about candidates and parties. Therefore, analyses based upon this data set tend to underestimate the effects of issues.¹

Though Kessel did not distinguish, in these remarks, between party and candidate, it seems that such a distinction might be made and that parties might be viewed as objects more conducive to elicitation of issue-based responses. When one is asked about the likes and dislikes of a candidate, he is probably being encouraged to think in terms of personal candidate attributes. After all, he has been asked about a person. On the other hand, parties are inanimate, nonperson objects and likely do not encourage thoughts of candidate attributes. In short, while the evaluative object's being a party may not stimulate issue responses, it offers a greater opportunity for such to occur than with evaluations of candidates. Figures from the two tables seem to fit such an interpretation.

In addition to the above items, there are some things that appear to be reflective of the 1964 and 1968 elections. In 1964, of those responses concerning Democrats, 62% were favorable whereas only 42.8% were for the Republicans. For that same year, the evaluations of Johnson were 67.8% favorable to 34.5% favorable for Goldwater. All in all, this was certainly in line with the 1964 election outcome. The same can be said for 1968 where the evaluation figures illustrate the

¹Kessel, "Issues in Issue Voting," p. 461.

closeness of that race. Here just 0.1% separated favorable evaluations of the Democratic and Republican parties, and Nixon was viewed only slightly more favorably than was Humphrey (Table 29). One final comment,

TABLE 29
EVALUATION OBJECT BY FAVORABLE PERCENTAGE

Object	% 1964 ^a	% 1968
Democrats	62.0	46.8
Republicans	42.8	46.7
Johnson	67.8	
Goldwater	34.5	
Humphrey		50.9
Nixon		57.4

^aPercentage refers to favorable response rate for a given object.

and that is that the low figures for favorable evaluations of both parties and candidates could be reflective of an election in which the public simply did not care much for the party choices offered to them. There was much talk about the quality of candidates for 1968, and it has been noted that "immediately after the 1968 presidential election, only 43 percent of the American electorate chose any of the three candidates who had been on the ballot when asked whom they would pick as President if they could choose any living person active in politics."¹

What has been said thus far about issue content of the party and candidate evaluations was couched in terms of the responses actually made to the "like and dislike" questions. The measure of issue content

¹Marian D. Irish and James W. Prothro, The Politics of American Democracy (5th ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1971), p. 226.

utilized later in this chapter has a range of scores reflective of the number of issue based responses out of all possible ones. Since there are four questions about the parties (like and dislike for two parties) and five possible responses per question, the issue content score for parties can run from 0 to 20. The same would be true for candidate evaluations. More will be said about this measure in its first use later in the chapter. Suffice it to say now that because of a tendency of respondents not to make responses, the scores will run extremely low.

Since the concept of issue publics is the focal point of this chapter and the dissertation itself, it seems an appropriate spot to begin analysis of the relationship between measures of issue involvement and the other concepts described above. It may be recalled that three separate measures of issue involvement were constructed. One was based solely upon issue public membership with no consideration of salience other than that inherent in the naming of a "most important problem." It was hypothesized that membership in a given issue public would not be related to high attentiveness or high issue evaluations of parties and candidates. It is meant by this that issue publics should not show particularly high levels of attentiveness or issue content evaluations and that variation in scores (or levels of measurements) is likely to occur across the range of publics. A table showing for each issue public mean levels of attentiveness and issue content evaluation indicates findings along this line (see Table 30). For no single measure does the mean deviate significantly from that of the electorate as a whole, and variations across the range of issue publics exist but are small. Since there was very little known of the internal composition of any given public (i.e., salience level), little reason existed

TABLE 30

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 AND 1968 BY SELECTED MEASURES OF
ATTENTIVENESS AND PARTY/CANDIDATE EVALUATIONS

Issue Public	$\bar{X}$ Att'n. Polit. Camp. ^a	$\bar{X}$ Att'n. Public Affrs. ^b	$\bar{X}$ Mass Media ^c	$\bar{X}$ Par- ticipa- tion ^d	$\bar{X}$ Issue Content Parties ^e	$\bar{X}$ Issue Content Cand. ^f
1964						
Unemployment	2.10	2.72	7.89	.52	3.11	2.38
Aid to the aged	1.87	2.79	7.92	.67	2.42	2.16
Medicare	2.22	2.91	8.04	.72	2.40	2.62
Poverty	2.12	2.82	7.91	.54	1.95	1.67
Agriculture & natural resources	2.14	2.88	7.70	.82	2.65	1.84
Civil rights	2.07	2.88	7.94	.69	2.46	2.34
Public disorder	2.18	2.87	8.07	.94	2.32	1.97
Economic, business, & consumer	2.17	3.07	7.88	.82	2.26	1.66
Foreign affairs & national defense	2.33	3.16	7.99	.71	2.87	2.12
1968						
Poverty	2.07	2.78	7.19	.74	3.19	1.54
Civil rights	2.20	2.82	7.17	.81	3.22	1.62
Public disorder	2.33	3.15	7.60	.95	3.17	1.59
Vietnam	2.19	2.91	7.44	.88	3.39	1.72
Other foreign affairs . . .	2.16	2.80	7.68	.88	3.42	1.70
General public mean--1964 .	2.14	2.91	7.95	.80	2.51	1.97
General public mean--1968 .	2.18	2.79	7.46	.87	3.28	1.67

^aAttention to political campaign scores range from 0-3 for 1964 and 1-3 for 1968. For this latter year a response was not available representing no attention.

^bThe range of scores for 1964 and 1968 was 1-4.

^cMass media index had a range of scores from 0-16 for 1964 and 1968.

^dThe range of participation scores was 0-7 in both election years.

^eWhile the possible range of scores for both years could be 0-20, 1964 saw an actual range of 0-11 and 1968 one of 0-15.

^fThe same potential range applied to both parties and candidates, 0-20. The actual score range for 1964 stood at 0-9 and 1968 at 0-10.

to expect some particular pattern such as unusually high attentiveness; and that is what was found.

The second major hypothesis of this chapter suggested, in essence, that a combination of issue public membership and salience would be positively related to political attentiveness and to issue-based evaluations of parties and candidates. That is, the more issue involved and the more salience issues had for a respondent--as measured through his membership in one or more issue publics of some salience to him--the more politically attentive he would be and the more likely to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms. Two possible measures of issue orientation were suggested with the key difference being whether and to what extent either was capturing issue "salience": (1) "number of problems" (range = 0-3), (2) issue orientation (range = 0-27). A careful examination of the relationship between the two measures reveals that they reflect essentially the same thing. That is, one can at least for 1964 and 1968 get at a person's level of issue orientation through either of these measures. There are some differences between the two, and the "issue orientation" index may well best capture the question of salience. However, for 1964 and 1968 the differences seem slight (the simple correlation stands at .79 for 1964 and .91 for 1968). The similarity that exists between the two measures stems from the nature of the index construction and the manner in which those naming different numbers of problems attached salience to each problem listed. From Table 31 we see that those naming only one problem (those in only one issue public) scored very low on the issue orientation index. Respondents naming two problems fell into the two middle segments of the issue orientation index. Those scoring in the 8-14 range (43.5%) had

TABLE 31

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY NUMBER OF PROBLEMS, 1964

Issue Orientation	Number of Problems			
	0	1	2	3
0-7	100.0	66.9	14.2	0.0
8-14	--	33.2	43.5	16.1
15-21	--	--	42.2	54.1
22-27	--	--	--	29.7
<u>Total %^a</u>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
<u>X</u>	0.0	6.88	13.47	19.25

^aPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

either high or medium salience for the first problem named but low for the second one. Scores in the 15-21 range (42.2%) meant, for a respondent, high salience for problem one and high or medium for problem two. When focus is upon those in three issue publics (naming three problems), it is clear that these people held overall a high level of concern for all problems named. Some 29.7% in this category either expressed high concern over all problems they mentioned (H-H-H) or altered the salience level to medium at problem three. Though not presented in table form, the situation for 1968 showed the same patterns, with even somewhat of a closer similarity between the two measures. To sum up, it can be seen that the more problems named by a person, the higher will be the score on the issue orientation index. The similarity of the two measures is reflected in the manner to which they relate to political attentiveness and party/candidate issue content evaluations. As will be evident in the upcoming discussion, the "issue orientation" index constantly elicits higher attentiveness and evaluation scores than the

"number of problems" index. However, the differences are small. Since these two issue orientation indices produce essentially the same thing, only one of them--"issue orientation"--will be completely related to the other concepts (e.g., attentiveness). However, to illustrate this question of measurement likeness, the "number of problems" index will be referred to from time to time.

To return to the hypothesis that high issue orientation will be positively related to high levels of political attentiveness and the tendency to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms, it (the hypothesis) would appear to be confirmed. While some of the various measures may show a stronger relationship to issue orientation than others, all relationships are statistically significant at the .001 probability level by the chi-square test. Whether the particular measure under consideration is one of attention to political campaigns or participation, it positively relates to issue orientation. Perhaps a good point at which to begin illustrating these relationships is with those variables that refer to the amount of attention paid to a presidential election campaign. Table 32 shows that while figures for the two election years differ, the pattern of association is clear for both: the more issue oriented an individual is, the more attention he pays to a given presidential campaign. This is clear from both the pattern of opinion distribution in Table 32 and the increase in mean attention scores in a movement from low to high issue orientation. While it is clear that the degree of association between issue orientation and campaign attention is not strikingly large, both the simple correlation and gamma indicate a substantial relationship.

It was earlier noted that both the "issue orientation" and

TABLE 32

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ATTENTION TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, 1964 AND 1968

Attention Presidential Campaign	Issue Orientation 1964				Issue Orientation 1968			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27 ^a	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0 ^b	8.8	3.8	1.0	3.3	-- ^c	--	--	--
1	24.0	15.9	13.0	7.4	59.2	37.6	18.4	9.9
2	40.1	36.6	34.3	19.7	34.4	41.6	45.2	36.5
3	26.9	43.8	51.6	69.7	6.4	20.8	36.5	53.6
Total % ^d	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(545)	(372)	(399)	(122)	(125)	(197)	(609)	(614)
X	1.85	2.20	2.37	2.56	1.47	1.83	2.18	2.44

$\chi^2 = 128.3^e$	$r = .25$	$\chi^2 = 215.7$	$r = .39$
$P < .001$	$\gamma = .360$	$P < .001$	$\gamma = .472$

^aFor Pearson's r , the full range of scores, 0 to 27, was utilized. This holds true for all tables involving this issue orientation measure. See pages 103-104 for the nature of the index construction.

^b0 indicates no attention and 3, high attention.

^cThere was not a response option made available to respondents in 1968 which would be reflective of no attention.

^dPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^eAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

"number of problems" indices would yield similar results when related to measures of attentiveness and other concepts. A comparison of the means from Table 33 (number of problems) and those from Table 32 (issue orientation) indicates this similarity. In all instances, the means are not substantially different, with those of "issue orientation" yielding always slightly higher results.

The nature of the association just described does not change appreciably with a shift in focus to the next attentiveness measure.

TABLE 33

TABLE OF MEANS FOR NUMBER OF PROBLEMS BY ATTENTION TO
POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS, 1964 AND 1968

	Number of Problems			
	0	1	2	3
1964 $\bar{X}$	1.71	1.98	2.24	2.44
1968 $\bar{X}$	1.33	1.75	2.10	2.37

Presidential campaigns are still the subject matter for this variable, but the emphasis now becomes one of how extensively each respondent follows the campaign through a variety of mass media. Once again, the percentage distributions and means differ from survey to survey (see Table 34) but both indicate that the higher one's issue orientation, the greater his tendency to follow a presidential campaign closely through various media. Specific attention may be drawn to those columns representing the lowest and highest orientation levels. Here it can be seen that in 1964 a substantial 35.5% of the lowest issue oriented people also fall into a category of the lowest media usage. As one moves toward more media usage, the figure eventually decreases to only 3.7%. This type flow in percentage sizes is even more clear for 1968. Over 53% of the lowest issue oriented people fall into the lowest media usage category while only 3.1% claim high media usage. If focus is upon those in the highest issue orientation position (22-27), we see that they are less likely to be found in the lowest media usage category and more likely to be found with the highest media usage. This is true for both 1964 and 1968.

TABLE 34

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY MASS MEDIA USAGE, 1964 AND 1968

Mass Media Index	Issue Orientation 1964				Issue Orientation 1968			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0-4	35.5	17.4	13.9	9.7	53.6	39.5	23.8	16.9
5-8	44.5	33.2	33.1	24.5	34.0	40.1	39.0	35.3
9-12	16.2	35.1	37.6	44.7	9.3	16.0	30.5	34.9
13-16	3.7	14.2	15.6	21.1	3.1	4.3	7.6	11.8
Total % ^a	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(487)	(373)	(399)	(123)	(97)	(162)	(541)	(533)
$\bar{X}$	6.26	8.35	8.91	9.82	5.20	6.10	7.56	8.27
$\chi^2 = 178.2^b$ $r = .24$ $\chi^2 = 105.2$ $r = .27$ $P < .001$ $\gamma = .392$ $P < .001$ $\gamma = .322$								

^aPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^bAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

In their use of the issue publics concept, Natchez and Bupp attempted to determine whether the information level of issue publics was significantly different from that of the population at large. To do this, they first constructed a political information variable by simply noting the number of media through which respondents followed a political campaign. This variable was then related to specific issue publics and to those not in a given public. Their findings led them to conclude that "the information level of people in politically relevant issue publics is not on the whole higher than the average for the population in general."¹ This conclusion is likely correct as the earlier

¹Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," pp. 422-23.

discussion in this chapter of specific issue publics indicated. There it was noted that for any given issue public the mean media usage score did not vary highly from that of the sample as a whole. There were slight variations in mean scores from public to public. It was suggested at that point that there was no reason to expect that any given issue public would show an extraordinary relationship to any measurement of political attentiveness. This suggestion was predicated upon certain ideas about issue salience, notably, that while simple membership in an issue public may come from just having an opinion upon that issue, a more direct indication of salience should be brought into the picture. Upon doing this, it can be established that issue public membership plus issue salience results in a greater level of exposure to political information. To put it another way, those in issue publics for whom the issues are salient do tend to follow political campaigns closely through the mass media.

The next measure of attentiveness is one which involves general attention to government and public affairs. Table 35 gives the figures for 1964 and from it can be seen a positive relationship between issue orientation and attention to public affairs. As was the case for previous measures, both the percentage distributions and mean attentiveness scores indicate the nature of this relationship. If we focus upon the column of figures for those in the highest orientation range, it can be seen that only 3.3% of these people fall into the lowest attentiveness category and that the figures increase drastically as one moves up the attentiveness scale. Indeed, over 51% of the high salience respondents scored at the top end of the scale. On the other hand, very few of those in the lowest issue orientation range fell into the highest

TABLE 35

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1964

Attention Public Affairs	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
1 ^a	21.1	6.2	4.5	3.3
2	20.5	15.9	15.0	8.9
3	40.4	45.8	41.4	36.6
4	18.0	32.1	39.1	51.2
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(545)	(371)	(399)	(123)
$\bar{x}^b$	2.55	3.04	3.15	3.36
$\chi^2 = 146.4^c$ $P < .001$				
$r = .22$ $\gamma = .358$				

^aA score of 1 indicates low attention and 4, high attention.

^bMean attention score for levels of issue orientation.

^cAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

attentiveness category.

While a positive relationship between the two measures does exist, it is not especially large ($r = .22$). The percentage sizes, as suggested, flow in the right direction; but note can be taken of the relatively large percentages of those in all salience categories scoring at the next to highest attentiveness level. From a restructured table (Table 36) this can be seen (row "3") as well as can the basis for the positive correlation that does exist (rows "1-2" and "3-4").

For 1968, the relationship between the two concepts becomes stronger than in 1964 (Table 37). The percentage distribution for columns one (0-7) and four (22-27) reflect this relationship rather well.

TABLE 36

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS (1964), RESTRUCTURED^a

Attention Public Affairs	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
1-2	41.6	22.1	19.5	12.2
3-4	58.4	77.9	80.5	87.8
3	40.4	45.8	41.4	36.6

^aRows one and two total to 100% and row three has been isolated for separate analysis.

TABLE 37

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ATTENTION TO PUBLIC AFFAIRS, 1968

Attention Public Affairs	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
1	53.5	37.6	14.6	7.8
2	28.3	15.9	19.2	17.3
3	9.1	27.1	34.5	32.1
4	9.1	19.4	31.7	42.7
Total % ^a	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(99)	(170)	(527)	(548)
$\bar{X}$	1.74	2.28	2.83	3.10

$$\chi^2 = 208^b$$

$$P < .001$$

$$r = .364$$

$$\gamma = .392$$

^aPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^bAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

Whereas in 1964 some 21.1% of the lowest issue orientation group scored lowest on the attention variable, the figure rose in 1968 to

53.5%. As we move up the attention scale, the percentages, in tune with a positive association, decrease until they reach only 9.1%. For the high orientation group (22-27), the percentages also flow in a direction consistent with the suggested positive relationship. Also revealing of the nature of the relationship between the two concepts are the mean attention scores presented in Table 37. Not only does an increase in means occur with an increase in issue orientation, but only the highest issue oriented show a mean (3.10) much greater than that of the general public (2.79). One final observation, and it is that the statistical measures of association show a substantial correlation and chi square (χ^2) is significant at the .001 probability level.

The final concept that might be representative of a person's level of political attentiveness involves participation in the political world through such activities as letter writing, membership in political clubs, wearing of campaign buttons, and the like. Table 38 presents data on the relationship of these activities, as an index, to issue orientation. It can be recalled that scores on the index are badly skewed toward the nonparticipation end of the scale. Such is reflected in Table 38 where, regardless of issue orientation level, large percentages of respondents failed to participate at all. There were those, however, who did participate and at varying rates; and the question is whether their levels of activity are particularly related to the measure of issue orientation. As indicated before, most people participated in none or only one activity; and respondents with high issue orientation do not participate highly either (in the sense of many activities). But, of all the issue orientation groups, they show the highest level of activity for 1964 and 1968. That is, they do engage in more activities

TABLE 38

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY PARTICIPATION, 1964 AND 1968

Participa- tion	Issue Orientation 1964				Issue Orientation 1968			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0	69.3	53.2	40.4	37.4	80.8	70.8	53.9	38.3
1	21.3	24.7	33.1	26.8	14.1	18.7	27.1	30.8
2	6.7	13.2	14.5	17.9	5.1	6.4	9.7	16.0
3	1.1	5.1	6.5	6.5	--	2.3	6.1	7.8
4-7 ^a	1.6	3.8	5.6	11.3	--	1.8	3.2	7.1
Total % ^b	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(547)	(372)	(399)	(123)	(99)	(171)	(527)	(549)
$\bar{X}$	.46	.84	1.06	1.32	.54	.88	1.13	1.33

$$\begin{array}{ll}
 \chi^2 = 118.2^c & r = .24 \\
 P < .001 & \gamma = .349
 \end{array}
 \qquad
 \begin{array}{ll}
 \chi^2 = 110.9 & r = .26 \\
 P < .001 & \gamma = .311
 \end{array}$$

^aScores of 4 through 7 have been collapsed into one category due to the small N for each score.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^cAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

than any other issue orientation group. At the same time, low orientation individuals show the lowest level of participation ($\bar{X} = .46$ for 1964 and .54 for 1968). Table 38 shows that for all 32 cells reporting issue orientation of participants, the proportions rise uniformly from left to right--from low issue orientation to high--for all groups, with the single exception of the 33.1% entry for Row 2, Column 3 in 1964. The same uniformity in reverse is shown in the 8 cells reporting issue concerns of the much larger groups of non-participants in Row 1. Thus we would expect a much greater correlation were the statistics run for the participant groups only.

The very last concept to be dealt with in this chapter concerns the evaluation of parties and candidates. Briefly, the question is whether one's issue orientation is positively related to his tendency to evaluate parties and/or candidates in issue terms. It has been previously suggested that the two objects of evaluation might inherently discourage issue-based responses and that one--candidates--might be more prone to do this than the other--parties. The actual disparity in issue content between the two objects has been noted. Because of this disparity, each of the two objects will be treated separately for each of the two election years.

The skewedness of these measures of issue content has previously been noted, but some further comment can be made. Table 39 presents the

TABLE 39
MEAN RESPONSE RATES FOR PARTY AND CANDIDATE EVALUATIONS,
1964 AND 1968^a

Response Object	$\bar{X}$ 1964	$\bar{X}$ 1968
Parties	3.95	4.90
Candidates	5.03	5.20

^aThese figures should be viewed in light of the fact that for each object twenty responses were possible.

mean number of responses made toward a given object for 1964 and 1968. In noticing that the issue content scores for an object are low overall, the figures from this table should be remembered. For example, the great bulk of the issue content scores for the evaluation of parties in 1964 did not move past three. It can aid in the analysis of relationships if it is recalled that the mean number of responses made--of any

kind (party, candidate, issue)--in reference to parties for that year was only 3.95. The shortcomings of the issue content measure (skewness) should not totally inhibit the ability to determine if a relationship exists between the evaluations and issue orientation.

Table 40 shows the findings for party evaluations in 1964. If,

TABLE 40

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ISSUE CONTENT--PARTIES, 1964

Issue Content Parties	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0-1 ^a	51.1	32.7	25.8	24.6
2-3	35.3	38.9	36.3	33.0
4-5	10.8	20.3	23.0	29.7
6-7	2.6	6.0	11.0	9.3
8-9	.4	2.0	3.0	3.3
10-11	.2	--	.7	--
Total % ^b	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(442)	(345)	(391)	(118)
$\bar{X}$	2.00	2.54	3.09	3.20
$\gamma = .287^c$ $\chi^2 = 121.16$ $P < .001$				

^aIssue content scores have been collapsed into the several categories shown due to the small (N) for each score in the higher range and to reduce the large number of cells for ease of analysis.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 due to rounding off.

^cAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

as usual, the two extreme ends of the issue orientation scale are examined, some indication of the nature of the association can be observed. For example, the heaviest concentration of low issue content (51.1%) belongs to those with the lowest issue orientation. Conversely,

only 24.6% of the high orientation group fall into this category. If attention is shifted across the issue orientation groupings from low to high, the decrease in low issue content stands out. If note is taken of the mean issue content score for each issue orientation level, the fact that a positive relationship exists, however small, is made clear. Though the means are small, relative to their potential, the increase in each, as we move from low to high issue orientation, does indicate that those with the highest issue orientation are the most likely to evaluate parties upon an issue basis.

Table 41 presents the data for issue orientation and candidate

TABLE 41

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ISSUE CONTENT--CANDIDATES, 1964

Issue Content Candidates	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0-1	62.3	42.1	37.3	38.5
2-3	29.7	35.4	37.8	29.1
4-5	6.9	16.7	16.9	24.4
6-7	.7	5.1	6.8	6.3
8-9	.4	.5	1.2	1.6
Total % ^a	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(552)	(394)	(426)	(127)
$\bar{X}$	1.32	2.19	2.39	2.55
$\gamma = .307^b$ $\chi^2 = 133.1$ $P < .001$				

^aPercentages may not add to 100 because of rounding off.

^bAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

image. Both the percentage distributions and the row of mean issue content scores indicate that those in the high orientation group are

more likely to evaluate candidates in issue terms than any other orientation level. Since most issue content scores did not go past 3 for the sample as a whole ($\bar{X} = 1.97$), we can concentrate on the lower rows of the table and see that a positive relationship does exist. Thus, while some 92% of the lowest issue oriented people scored three or less on the issue content measure, the figure dropped to 67.6% for the high orientation group. In addition, if we look at row three, or those scoring in the 4-5 issue content range, it is quite noticeable how the percentages increase as one moves from low (6.9%) to high issue orientation (24.4%). Note may also be taken of the increase in the size of issue content means moving from low to high orientation.

Turning to 1968, one must describe it as being basically much like 1964 (Table 42). The percentage distributions indicate that most people, regardless of issue orientation level, scored very low in issue content. Since we know, however, about this skewness of the issue content measure, the point can be made that there are still considerably fewer people of high issue orientation scoring at this low level than any other orientation group. If the issue content scores of the first two rows in Table 42 are combined, the resulting table presents a clearer picture of the positive relationship that does exist between the two concepts (Table 43).

The last political object to be related to issue orientation is candidate evaluations for 1968. Since no outstanding deviation from the previous situations are evident, not much in the way of comment need be made. Table 44 presents the data for 1968 candidate evaluations and, once again, it is clear that the relationship exists and is a positive one.

TABLE 42

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ISSUE CONTENT--PARTIES, 1968

Issue Content Parties	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0-1 ^a	30.1	33.3	23.3	18.1
2-3	44.4	42.5	39.8	36.3
4-5	22.2	18.3	23.1	24.9
6-7	3.2	4.2	10.3	13.5
8-9	0	1.7	2.3	3.7
10-15	0	0	1.1	3.5
Total % ^b	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(63)	(120)	(467)	(542)
X	2.41	2.50	3.10	3.70

$\gamma = .428^c$ $\chi^2 = 44.2$ $P < .001$

^aThe original range of scores from 0-15 has been collapsed into fewer brackets for ease of analysis.

^bPercentages may not add to 100 because of rounding off.

^cAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

TABLE 43

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ISSUE CONTENT--PARTIES (1968), RESTRUCTURED

Issue Content Parties	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0-3	74.5	75.8	63.1	54.4
4-15	25.5	24.2	36.9	45.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE 44

ISSUE ORIENTATION BY ISSUE CONTENT--CANDIDATES, 1968

Issue Content Candidates	Issue Orientation			
	0-7	8-14	15-21	22-27
0	49.4	45.6	32.1	25.0
1	26.4	22.5	27.7	24.5
2	14.3	15.0	16.4	17.2
3	3.3	9.4	11.8	13.8
4	3.3	4.4	7.1	9.4
5	2.2	1.2	3.8	4.8
6	1.1	.6	.9	3.1
7-10	1.1	1.2	.2	2.0
Total % ^a	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(N)	(91)	(160)	(574)	(603)
$\bar{X}$	.96	1.18	1.50	1.97
$\gamma = .229^b$ $\chi^2 = 75.4$ $P < .001$				

^aPercentages may not add to 100 because of rounding off.

^bAll statistics are calculated from response frequencies.

This chapter has been essentially an exploratory effort into the relationship between issue publics and two other concepts utilized in public opinion and voting behavior research. By their definition, issue publics are measures of people's issue concerns. Members of the attentive public have been characterized by numerous scholars as important to the public opinion-public policy process because of their extraordinary attention to the world of politics. They have been described as more interested, more informed, and more politically active than members of the general public. The nature of the evaluation of parties and candidates has been suggested by The American Voter and others to be important in understanding one's voting behavior. Questions

were raised for this chapter of whether those who belonged to single issue publics or could be characterized as "issue oriented," were likely to belong to the attentive public and to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms. Viewing the question of attentiveness as one of a continuum rather than a static group situation, there can be thought of a scale ranging from no attentiveness to high attentiveness. It was determined that membership in a given issue public without regard to issue salience showed no particular relationship to political attentiveness. However, when salience is made a more direct consideration, it becomes obvious that the higher one's level of issue orientation, the more likely he is to be politically attentive: He is more likely, than those of low issue orientation, to pay attention to a given presidential campaign, to follow campaigns rather closely through several mass media, to pay attention to government and public affairs, and to engage in more than one form of political participation. Furthermore, the higher the issue orientation, the more a respondent will evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms. All in all, some interesting relationships have been observed.

CHAPTER IV

ISSUE PUBLICS AND THE BALANCE OF PARTY STRENGTH

Chapter Two has shown the concept of "issue publics" to be an effective means for measuring the issue concerns of individuals and social groupings. Chapter Three further focused upon the concept and determined the manner and extent of its relationship to other concepts thought to be important to the study of electoral behavior--"political attentiveness"¹ and the electorate's evaluations of parties and candidates.² Findings again indicate the effectiveness of the issue-publics concept as a way to get at the real issue concerns of people. It remains to this fourth chapter to undertake the task of utilizing the concept again in isolating the impact of issues upon the nature of electoral change.³ Another area in which the issue public concept might be fruitfully used is individual vote choice. That, however, is beyond

¹Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy, pp. 136-43; Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, pp. 85-93; Devine, The Attentive Public; and Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process," pp. 165-82.

²Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 42-63; Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements," pp. 19-28.

³Much of the analysis in this chapter is a result of previous research intended for both the dissertation and publication under joint authorship. See Samuel A. Kirkpatrick and Melvin E. Jones, "Issue Publics and the Electoral System: The Role of Issues in Electoral Change," in Public Opinion and Political Attitudes, ed. by Allen Wilcox (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., forthcoming).

the scope of this paper.

Two elements are central in the focus on electoral change: vote switching and issues. Voters may be divided into three groupings important to the strength of a political party and the nature of electoral change--switchers, standpatters, and new voters. Switchers are those who choose a different party's candidate from one election to another and are a most obvious source of change in party strength. New voters are, of course, introduced to the struggle for party strength for the first time and are a potential source of influence. Standpatters are those who remain with one party from one election to the next and offer the greatest stabilizing force for party strength. When one considers that new voters have been fairly evenly divided between major party candidates over the last three decades¹ and that standpatters by definition do not cause change, vote switching seems to increase in its importance to the nature of party strength and electoral change.

Most of those speaking to the nature of electoral change have not spoken well of the vote switcher. He has been described variously as without much issue concern and basically uninvolved in political affairs. He has been ranked low in his ability to relate parties to policy issues and found to be largely unconcerned about election outcomes.² The central question in this chapter is whether switchers are motivated in their vote choice by issue attitudes or whether they exist as characterized above. To some extent, the generalizations casting the

¹See Converse, et. al., "Stability and Change in 1960;" and Key, The Responsible Electorate.

²Sears, "Political Behavior," pp. 315-458. See also Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 168-87.

"switcher" in such an unflattering light have been based upon definitions which really refer to "intra-election" changers (those who vote contrary to their intention) and "inter-election floaters" (who either change their party identification or defect from it in terms of their vote choice).¹ When defining "switchers" as those individuals who choose a different party's candidate from one election to another, Key found that switching did, indeed, associate strongly with issue attitudes and preferences.² Lubell utilized aggregate data and reached much the same conclusion. He contends that Americans have finally begun to question the political parties about issue positions and were practically begging in 1968 for one of the party candidates to take a clear issue position. He notes both the trend of weakening party loyalties and the new generation of voters and ties these to dramatic voter shifts in recent elections. Focusing on United States counties and utilizing aggregate data, Lubell points out that in presidential elections between 1932 and 1948 51% of all counties followed the party line from election to election. However, the period since 1952 has seen a change, with only 22% of the counties staying with the same party and candidate from one election to the next. Lubell goes so far as to suggest that these shifts are directly related to the issue of government expansion and power (no pro or con situation implied). In addition, he contends rather firmly that switchers are extra-sensitive to issues and that they react more quickly to such issue producing things as economic changes.³

¹See Edward C. Dreyer, "Media Use and Electoral Choices: Some Political Consequences of Information Exposure," POQ, XXXV (Winter, 1971-72), 544-53. Also, Boyd, "Presidential Elections;" Stokes, "Party Loyalty;" and Converse, "Information Flow."

²Key, The Responsible Electorate, pp. x-xi.

³Lubell, The Hidden Crisis in American Politics, p. 42.

Pomper, in a discussion of three models of the American voter,¹ notes that "policy considerations . . . cannot be said generally to determine campaign outcomes." However, he concludes:

Voters who change their vote between elections rather than during the campaign itself are somewhat different. They are more akin to other policy-oriented citizens, even if they are not fully philosophical.²

From a low point of 11% in the 1940-44 period,³ the number of switchers has increased to a high of 32% in 1968. The new voter's share of the electorate has remained at around 15-20% over this period. If the trend of decreasing party loyalties and deviating elections⁴ holds in future elections, the number of switchers may well continue to rise. In a critique of the 1968 election, Converse, *et. al.*, note that "it is likely that the proportion of voters casting presidential ballots for the same party in these two successive elections was lower than at any time in recent American history."⁵ In light of the stability of party identification during this time, this fact becomes even more significant. Pomper points out that "about half of the voters have supported the

¹Gerald Pomper, Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1968), pp. 69-98.

²Ibid., pp. 77-78. Pomper's ideal "philosophical citizen" is described as "an ideal voter, who individually seeks the common good by attention to policy issues. Upon fair consideration of all sides in an election, he supports the candidate most likely to advance the general welfare." Ibid., p. 69.

³Key, The Responsible Electorate, p. 19.

⁴See Walter Dean Burnham, "The Changing Shape of the American Political Universe," APSR, LIX (March, 1965), pp. 7-28; Campbell, "Surge and Decline;" and Stokes, "Party Loyalty."

⁵Philip E. Converse, *et. al.*, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," APSR, LXIII (1969), 1084.

opposition party at least once in a presidential election."¹ He goes on to note that "in any given year, three of every ten voters will either be switching from one party to the other, or will be previous nonvoters." A prime example of this, says Pomper, is that Kennedy's 1960 victory was based partially on the support of ten million vote switchers (over 29% of winning total).²

In 1968, this group certainly made its presence known. Though Republicans and Democrats alike cast most of their votes for their respective candidates, a substantial number of deviations occurred. For example, just over 40% of Nixon's votes in 1968 came from Johnson voters of 1964. Note in Table 45 the distribution of standpatters and switchers

TABLE 45

VOTE CHANGE WITHIN THE 1964-68 ELECTORATE
AS PROPORTION OF TOTAL ELECTORATE

1968 Vote For	1964 Vote For:		
	Johnson	Goldwater	Total %
Nixon	20.5	27.5	48.0
Humphrey	40.8	1.4	42.2
Wallace	5.0	4.8	9.8
Total %	66.3	33.7	100.0

for 1964-68. Goldwater voters exhibited a greater tendency to stay with their party than did Johnson voters (81.6% to 61.5%). To look at it

¹It must be noted here, however, that Pomper merely cites The American Voter which analyzed data from the 1952-56 period.

²Pomper, Elections in America, p. 84, citing Key, Responsible Electorate, pp. 20, 27.

another way, some 18% of Goldwater and 38% of Johnson voters switched to the other party's candidate in 1968. We can also see--despite the smallness of this group--that those switching from Goldwater moved largely into the Wallace camp. The largest shift was obviously from Johnson to Nixon (31% of the Johnson voters representing 20.5% of the total electorate). Given Johnson's landslide win in 1964, such a shift had to occur for Nixon to have any chance for victory.¹ The most recent presidential election allows us to note that switching continued in 1972 with many Humphrey voters and most Wallace voters going against George McGovern and to Richard Nixon.

As noted earlier, the goal of this chapter is to determine if the relative standing of the major political parties can be altered by issue attitudes within the electorate. From within existing research, two means of assessing issue impact are available. The first involves correlated analysis whereby issue positions are related to vote choice.² While this may be valuable in discussing individual vote behavior, it does not speak to issue-based change. That is, it cannot tell us why someone switched his vote choice from one election to another. The second approach basically involves the associating of mass attitude changes with electoral shifts. In other words, if we know that there was a shift in issue attitudes over some period of time, that these

¹The marginal percentages do not represent the actual vote division in 1964 and 1968 because the table omits respondents who voted in only one year and not the other. In addition, recall of the 1964 vote for Johnson is over-reported by only 6%, whereas recall for the Kennedy vote was over-reported by 25% in the 1964 SRC study.

²Kirkpatrick and Jones, "Vote Direction and Issue Cleavage in 1968," pp. 689-705. See also Weisberg and Rusk, "Dimensions of Candidate Evaluations."

attitudes more and more favored one party over another, and that this party gained in electoral strength, then it might seem reasonable to assume that issue impact existed. Miller notes that from 1952 to 1960 partisan attitudes on foreign policy increasingly favored the Democrats, and in 1960 the Democratic vote increased greatly over the past two elections.¹ The inference which fairly leaps out is in keeping with the fact that during this time period voters were becoming more leary about involvement in wars and appreciative of the Democrats as being effective in staying out of wars. However, Sears cautions against mistaking associations of attitude changes in the electorate and shifts in party strength for evidence of causality. Such associations, states Sears, provide no evidence of issue-based changes."² The approach taken in this chapter involves the relating of party strength to issue impact through an assessment of the role of issue publics in the process of vote switching. This is a quite different technique than those approaches described above and involves much less inference than either of them.

There are two major variables that need to be operationalized. One of them is labeled "party balance" and is defined as "the proportion of voters casting votes in two presidential elections when the latter vote represents a deviation from another party's candidate in the previous election."³ This means simply that "vote switching" will be

¹Warren E. Miller, "Voting and Foreign Policy," in Domestic Sources of Foreign Policy, ed. by James N. Rosenau (New York: Free Press, 1967), pp. 213-30.

²Sears, "Political Behavior," p. 360.

³Kirkpatrick and Jones, "Issue Publics and the Electoral System."

a primary element in the analysis. The vote switcher and his counterpart--the standpatter--are easily operationalized by intersecting an individual's vote in one election with that of a second. If a voter changes his vote from one party to another, he is labeled a "switcher." For this study, the two elections will be 1964 and 1968. Those not voting in either year are eliminated from the analysis as are those who indicate movement from some minor party, group, or individual to a major party candidate (and vice versa).¹

Relating issues to vote switching is to be accomplished through use of the "issue publics" concept. Chapters One and Two have amply described both the rationale behind such a move and the operationalization process, but a brief recount of some points may be beneficial.

Converse has suggested that it is only among individuals of a given issue public that an issue can affect vote choice. Noting that there is no "general" public which takes positions on all issues, he suggests that the mass public is pervaded by a relatively large number of specific issue publics, each focusing on an area of concern to its membership² (e.g., Vietnam, public disorder).

Pomper has suggested the best model of the American voter³ to be one he labels the "meddling partisan." This person is neither totally policy oriented in his voting behavior nor totally manipulated by group associations such as party. He is influenced by party attachments but not if they go against his policy preferences. In essence, he will not meddle in things as long as his party represents his best

¹Included in the analysis are those voting for a major party candidate in 1964 and Wallace in 1968.

²Converse, "Nature of Belief Systems," pp. 206-61.

³See footnote 2, page 147 of this paper.

interests. In addition, the meddling partisan is not interested in all issues, only those that relate to his personal concerns. Pomper, following Converse's lead, suggests that the meddler will belong to one or more issue publics. He states:

Sophisticated understanding of issues is not widespread, but there are different "issue publics" scattered throughout the electorate. Whereas few voters have an interest in and understanding of the entire range of issues, many do have an interest and understanding of a small number of issues.

He goes so far as to say that "if we examine these separate 'issue publics,' rather than concentrating on the total electorate, we find considerable sophistication and a direct relationship between policy views and the vote."¹

Natchez and Bupp have actually utilized the issue public approach in their research, and one of their more significant findings was that those not in a politically relevant issue public were more likely to have stood pat from 1960 to 1964. They note, as did Converse, that the issue public approach is compatible with research on the existence of ideology among members of the mass public. That is, the findings of Converse and others that the mass public exhibited little evidence of constraint among its political attitudes does not negate the value of the issue public concept. In fact, the two ideas are quite complimentary to each other in that the nonideologue may well be found in a single issue public.²

Butler and Stokes have developed a model for analyzing the role of issues in the nature of electoral change in Great Britain. The

¹Pomper, Elections in America, pp. 92-5.

²Natchez and Bupp, "Candidates, Issues, and Voters," pp. 409-437.

central hypothesis of the model, which forms the basis for this chapter, suggests that an issue will have its greatest impact when certain conditions are met.¹ Modifying a set of conditions set forth by The American Voter as necessary to issue impact on individual behavior, Butler and Stokes suggest the following:

(1) An issue must be salient for a substantial body of electors.

"The greater the proportion of people to whom an issue is salient and the subject of strong attitudes, the more powerful the impact it can have on the fortunes of the parties." There are two elements within this one condition. First, the existence of an issue must be perceived by a substantial number of voters (issue public). Second, the issue must be salient to those who have an opinion upon it. Butler and Stokes combine both of these elements into one variable formed from responses to a single question. Respondents were asked to tell what they thought were the most important problems facing the government. To name a problem indicated individual salience, but the issue was said to be able to exert little impact on party strength unless it was meaningful to a substantial body of electors (issue public).²

In this chapter, information relevant to the above condition is drawn from the 1968 SRC election study. Issue publics were created on the basis of responses (three possible) to the "most important problem" question used by Butler and Stokes.³ Issue salience was derived from a question which asked the respondent to indicate how

¹ Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 166-80.

² Ibid., pp. 175-81.

³ "What do you personally feel are the most important problems the government in Washington should take care of?"

strongly he felt about the problem he had just mentioned.¹ Categories of high, medium, and low salience were established.

The difference between the Butler and Stokes approach to issue salience and that of this paper should be noted. Whereas Butler and Stokes viewed salience as the mere mentioning of a problem area, it is here that some concern over issue intensity is appropriate. In short, it would appear that there should be a separation of salience (intensity) and cognition (awareness) on the grounds that an issue may be familiar to many (cognition) yet not intensely held (salience). Indeed, examination of responses to the salience question noted above indicates the validity of this approach.

(2) The direction of the opinion must be skewed--i.e., there must be a surplus of opinion for one alternative or another. Given a particular issue public, do its members split their opinions fairly evenly about a number of positions, or does one position capture the concerns of an extraordinary number of respondents? Direction of the opinion distribution on an issue was obtained by Butler and Stokes from the question: "What would you like to see the government do about that [most important problem]?"² In this chapter, an identical SRC question is utilized to operationalize "skewness." Responses to the question were coded as indicating a desire for more, the same, or less government activity.

(3) The issue must be one upon which a substantial number of

¹"Just how strongly would you say you feel about this [most important problem]: Are you concerned about it, fairly concerned, or only a little concerned?"

²Butler and Stokes, Political Change in Britain, pp. 175-83.

respondents not only perceive party positions but greatly favor one party over the other. Butler and Stokes contend that "unless there is a difference of this sort, an issue will not sway the electorate toward one party or the other, however strongly formed and skewed opinion may be." The question utilized to measure the extent of perceived party differences asked the respondent about which party he thought would be most likely to do what he wanted done about a named problem, or whether there would be any difference between parties.¹ Once again, for this chapter, a similar SRC question is used.

Butler and Stokes contend that these hypotheses hold true for Great Britain but their testing procedures leave something to be desired. Only one example of a rigorous test was employed in which an issue met the conditions and influenced shifts of voters to that party. A discussion of conditions on several more issues took place, but no move to pursue their possible impact followed.²

In addition to the operationalization procedures described above, some further explanation is needed about the concept of "issue publics." Not everyone has an opinion on an issue which could be salient for him. Those that do, may belong to an issue public. Those that do not, cannot. The most complex aspect of dealing with the issue-publics concept concerns decisions about the proper size of a group of responses suitable for analysis. There must be some point at which the number of those about whom we hope to draw conclusions becomes too few to make inferences. Since responses to the "most important problem" questions are distributed around numerous issue concerns, this problem becomes

¹Ibid., pp. 177-83.

²Ibid., pp. 181-95.

one to be faced. Two separate paths have been taken. One involves a focus entirely at the first problem level and the other, aggregation of responses across all three problem levels. In the first instance, there are created a number of "issue areas" by the clustering together of categories of responses which would normally be thought of as very small issue publics. For example, pro-integration, anti-integration and public disorder responses might be placed together into a "race and public order" issue area. In the second instance, because the respondent was asked to name three different problems facing the nation, references to a single issue can be added together to produce a rather sizable issue public.

Each of these approaches relates in a specific way to the concept of vote switching and the manner in which it is utilized in the forthcoming analysis. The fact that two separate approaches will be used means that vote switchers will be at the center of the analysis at one point and switching responses at another. If the "issue areas" approach is taken, one may note whether a given "issue area" meets the conditions thought to be necessary to issue impact on the balance of party strength and the proportion of switchers found in that "issue area." Both the "issue area" and "switchers" are at the same level, or both are boundaried universes. The disadvantage of this approach is that one is working primarily with issue areas and not issue publics. While the aggregation approach has the advantage of producing relatively large issue publics, it has the disadvantage of one's having to work with respondents of whom there is no boundaried universe. A Vietnam issue public, under this procedure, would consist of X number of responses, rather than X number of respondents. Some of the

responses in the issue public would be given by individuals noting their first "most important problem," some by those noting their second choice, and some their third problem. Any one or all of the "switchers"¹ isolated for analysis could belong to any given issue public from any of the three problem levels. This means that inference about issue impact must be drawn, in this case, from whether an issue public is heavily laden with switching responses, not whether a public contains a large number of switchers. As indicated, both approaches are utilized in this chapter.

Issue Areas and Issue Impact

It has been noted that the extremely small size of some issue publics makes analysis generally difficult. Thus, one of two approaches taken in this chapter's analysis is to deal with issue "areas." Recalling the suggestion in Chapter One that SRC coding techniques may have contributed to the large number of rather specific issues mentioned by respondents, this "area" approach is not an unattractive one. Each area is very much analogous to an issue public and has the advantage of larger size. In addition, since this approach restricts analysis only to the most important problem (not second or third most), it corresponds with the best level at which to observe our universe of switchers. At the problem one level, we have a boundaried universe of both respondents and switchers, a simplicity not to be found in later analysis involving overlapping issue publics and multiple responses.

Four major issue areas have been isolated and the distribution of each across all three problem levels is presented in Table 46.

¹Those voting for one party in one election and another party in the next election.

Though at this point analysis touches only the Problem 1 areas, the table reveals that those areas isolated are indeed the major concerns of the electorate. While the four areas suffered a loss over the range from Problem 1 to Problem 3, this loss was relatively slight. Indeed, at Problem 3 level, these four areas still captured the concerns of 70.1% of those listing a problem.

TABLE 46

SUMMARY DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR ISSUE AREAS AMONG THREE MOST
IMPORTANT PROBLEMS FACING THE GOVERNMENT IN 1968

Issue Area	Problem 1 %	Problem 2 %	Problem 3 %
Vietnam	43.1	23.7	11.8
Race & Public Order	27.5	31.2	25.9
Social Welfare	11.9	19.8	21.7
Economic & Business	6.5	8.8	10.7
Other Issue Areas	11.0	16.5	29.9
Total (N)	(1517)	(1325)	(823)

Table 46 is quite revealing of 1968 issue concerns among the electorate as it notes both the dominant Vietnam issue and that of race and public order. These two areas well reflected some of the primary concerns of the American people in 1968, capturing over 70% of the concerns of the electorate. One has only to recall the vast buildup of the Vietnam war by 1968 and the horrors of riots from 1964 onward to recognize the probable accuracy of these figures. An earlier discussion may be recalled (Chapter Two) of these issues and the characterization of them as being within the "social issue" theme suggested by Scammon and Wattenberg. These authors contend that voters have begun to cast "their ballots along lines of issues relatively new to the American

scene."¹ Though social welfare and economic issues continue to concern the American society as indicated in Table 46, this so-called "social issue" was obviously dominant in the minds of the people. Vietnam, despite being clearly in the area of foreign affairs, had such social impact as to warrant placement within the "social issue." Race combined with public order (or disorder) to add a vital element to the social issue. After 1968, Gallup indicates, Vietnam became less and less pervasive and "law and order" became a more urgent concern.² Social welfare and economic/business issue areas maintained an active place in the people's issue focus and, indeed, picked up support in Problems 2 and 3.

Turning to the relative impact of issue areas and the nature of switchers and standpatters within those areas, it should be recalled that Butler and Stokes suggested issue impact would be at its greatest upon party balance under the meeting of certain conditions--salience, skewness of opinion direction, and perceived party difference. Before examining the extent to which individual issue areas meet these conditions, a table of modal responses (of the total sample) for salience, direction, and party differences is presented. It brings out two interesting points. First, there is a significant drop in salience level as we move from Problem 1 to Problem 3. The amount of the decrease in high salience suggests that this paper's concern with it in the operationalization of issue publics is not without foundation. Butler

¹Scammon and Wattenberg, The Real Majority, p. 20. See also: Weisberg and Rusk, "Dimensions of Candidate Evaluations."

²Albert H. Cantril and Charles W. Roll, Jr., Hopes and Fears of the American People (New York: Universe Books, 1971). Hereinafter referred to as Hopes and Fears).

and Stokes made an assumption that issue public size and salience were to be equated. The data in Table 47 suggest that, at least for the

TABLE 47

MODAL RESPONSES (TOTAL SAMPLE) FOR SALIENCE, DIRECTION AND
PARTY DIFFERENCE CONDITIONS BY THREE PROBLEM AREAS

Conditions	Problem 1 %	Problem 2 %	Problem 3 %
Salience			
High	81.5	73.5	62.5
Medium	16.8	24.5	35.1
Low	1.7	2.0	2.4
Total (N)	(1505)	(1315)	(801)
Direction			
More	59.2	64.7	57.0
Same	8.0	8.0	11.5
Less	32.8	27.3	31.5
Total (N)	(1049)	(1020)	(672)
Party Difference			
Republicans	33.7	34.7	35.5
Democrats	23.4	23.3	20.1
No difference	42.9	42.0	44.4
Total (N)	(1360)	(1210)	(750)

United States, such should not be assumed. This view is supported by a second point. While respondents apparently do possess different levels of salience across the three problem levels, their opinion direction and perception of party issue differences remain largely uniform. It appears that a person's formed attitudes--i.e., opinion direction and perceived party differences--on a third most important problem are not necessarily inhibited by a lack of salience. In short, one might have some idea on what should be done about the problem and which party would best handle it, without really being too concerned

about the problem itself. One other note of interest coming from Table 47. It tells us that a significant number of people did not see, overall, much difference between the parties on the issues. This, and the fact that the Republicans were favored by a majority of those perceiving differences, seem reflected in the outcome of the 1968 election. Though inference at best, the fact that such a substantial number of people were unable to see party differences also seems to fit events of the campaign and election of 1968.

In order to be able to speak specifically to the hypotheses concerning issue impact conditions, there must be obtained for analysis an issue public "area" whose members have met initial requirements of having voted in two successive elections and having formed attitudes as to opinion direction and perceived party differences. The necessity of these constraints is clear: The operationalization of party balance in terms of switchers calls for elimination from the analysis of those not voting in the elections of 1960 and 1964. The conditions of skewness (direction), salience, and party difference cannot be met unless respondents offer an answer to the question underlying each condition. Table 48 illustrates the nature and extent of losses to each issue area from the imposed constraints. While such losses reduce the size of the analytical group available, they (the losses) in themselves are somewhat revealing.

The first type loss is due to the restriction that each respondent in the analysis must have voted in both the 1964 and 1968 elections. The average percent nonvoting is fairly uniform across issue areas and is not far from the normal 40% range of those nonvoters in past elections. The most significant type loss involves the failure of many

TABLE 48

SUMMARY TABLE FOR MAJOR ISSUE AREAS (PROBLEM ONE)

	Race & Public Order	Viet- nam	Social Wel- fare	Economic & Business
% High salience	89.6	84.0	84.4	80.9
% Skewness ^a	85.0	74.1	77.9	61.7
% Perceived party difference ^b .	67.6	60.5	74.0	68.1
Switchers ^c (formed attitude only) as % of issue area ^d	12.5	7.5	11.1	16.3
Switchers (total) as % of issue area ^e	17.7	15.2	14.4	32.5
% of all switchers in electorate ^f	27.8	37.2	9.8	8.6
Voter-formed attitude (N)	(173)	(162)	(77)	(47)
Voting electorate (N)	(236)	(345)	(92)	(59)
% loss due to 1, 2 or 3 condi- tions ^g	26.7	53.0	16.3	20.3
Total issue area (N)	(417)	(653)	(180)	(98)
% loss due to voting constraint ^h	43.4	47.2	48.9	39.8

^aPercent in largest direction category for preferred degree of governmental activity. In race and public order, and social welfare, the modal category is "more" activity. In Vietnam and economic and business areas the modal category is "less" activity.

^bPercent of voting respondents with formed attitudes who perceive a party difference on the issue, either Republican or Democratic.

^cSwitchers are defined as those changing their vote from one party to another over two successive elections.

^dSwitchers with formed attitudes (i.e., responses to salience, direction and party differences) as percent of all respondents in each particular issue area.

^eTotal switchers (including those not responding to 3 conditions) as percent of all respondents in each particular issue area.

^fThe contribution of all switchers in each issue area to the total number of switchers in the electorate (N = 266). Switchers in the 4 issue areas represent 83.4% of all switchers in the electorate; the remaining 16.6% are found in other issue areas (14.0%) or in no issue areas (2.6%).

^gRespondents who have failed to answer one or more follow-up questions on salience, direction or party differences, as percent of voting electorate within each issue area.

^hPercent of issue area respondents who could not be classified as switchers or non-switchers in 1968.

respondents to have formed opinions surrounding the three basic conditions. Three of the four issue areas are rather uniform in this type loss, but the remaining one--Vietnam--presents a striking picture. This issue area began with the largest membership by far; but after constraints were applied, it dropped in size drastically. In fact, its loss rate (53%) was more than twice that of any other area. This illustrates the relatively diffuse character of the Vietnam issue area. When asked to name the most important problem facing the nation, over half of the voting public (43% of those naming a problem) cited Vietnam. It is apparent that on one or more of the conditions, there was a failure of those in the area to form an opinion. For a large majority of those in the Vietnam area, the issue was salient. People were aware of and concerned about Vietnam. When we move to the question of what should be done about the problem, the percentage of formed opinions diminishes some 10%. Still, however, 74.1% of the Vietnam area members were able to perceive of some action they would have the government take (e.g., more government involvement, less involvement). It is upon the question of perceived party differences that Vietnam flounders. Here the percentage (60.5%) is the lowest of any issue area. While the total size of the area far outshadowed that of the other major areas, its diffuse characteristics reduced its potential for impact. If it were not for its initial magnitude, Vietnam would not have fared as well as it did in the battle for issue impact on party balance. Because it so far outdistanced other areas in initial size, Vietnam was capable of withstanding its losses and ranking first in size (voting electorate). How it fared in the vital statistics of switchers will be dealt with shortly.

Three conditions have been noted as requirements for issue impact on changes in party strength. Table 48 indicates the extent to which each issue area meets each condition. While each issue area has a high level of salience, there is a slight difference from one area to the next. Race and public order is the issue area with the highest salience (89.6%) and is almost 9% higher than the last place economic and business area (80.9%). Vietnam, the largest in size, trails the salience leader with 84%. The high levels of salience for two of the issue areas--social welfare, economic and business--can be at least partially understood in terms of their traditional appeal to the people. The initial size of the two areas, though, comment on the secondary spot that they occupied in the public's mind (Table 48). The other two issue areas--race and public order, Vietnam--were steeped in the concern of people from events of the several years immediately preceding 1968--racial discontents, riots, and escalation of American involvement in Southeast Asia. Overall, three of the four issue areas showed greater salience than the average across the sample (see Table 48).

While salience (which, by definition includes issue awareness) is viewed as a necessary condition to issue impact, Butler and Stokes suggest that the electorate's opinion direction distribution must be skewed in one way or the other. In short, people must have some idea as to what they wish done about the problem and the totality of opinions must lean heavily in one direction. Though no precise figure is given for the point at which the issue may be said to have impact, it would appear that, for any single condition, the potential for impact increases as one moves away from a 50/50 split. Theoretically, if all

the electorate knew what it wanted done about a problem and all agreed as to what that was, this condition would be at its most important impact level. All of the four issue areas in Table 48 meet this condition with only that of economic and business being somewhat low. Even if members of an issue area are highly concerned about the problem and the direction of aggregated opinion is skewed, the ability to affect party strength is tied to the extent to which those in the area are able to perceive party issue positions. When party difference data is singled out, it can be noted that respondents in the four issue areas are more likely to perceive such differences than not. Also, when compared to the average across the sample, these areas are on the whole significantly higher. (See Table 47). The lowest of these--Vietnam--seems to well reflect the campaign rhetoric associated with the largely nonpositions of the major candidates in 1968.

This last condition requires a further amount of analysis based upon the nature of those party differences that were perceived. Table 49 presents a breakdown of these data by the parties perceived as best able to handle the issues.

The fact that a substantial proportion of voters were unable to see, on the average, any differences between parties may first be noted. This would appear to be in keeping with the closeness of the election in 1968. The average advantage for a party across all of the issue areas went to the Republicans by a 3 to 2 margin, another fact not out of line with the election results. On three of the four issue areas, respondents favored the Republican Party. One of these--economic and business--has traditionally been the "property" of the Republican Party, and the figures in Table 49 indicate how one-sided this favoritism

TABLE 49.

PERCEIVED PARTY DIFFERENCES FOR MAJOR ISSUE AREA VOTERS.
(PROBLEM 1) WITH FORMED ATTITUDES^a

Issue Area	% Favor Republicans on Issue	% Favor Democrats on Issue	% No Party Difference	(N)
Race & public order	43.9	23.7	32.4	(173)
Vietnam	38.9	21.6	39.5	(162)
Social welfare	20.8	53.2	26.0	(92)
Economic & business	61.7	6.4	31.9	(47)

^aData are for 1964-68 voters who also responded to the salience and direction questions following the first problem mentioned.

remains. A second "Republican" issue area is that of Vietnam. While the issue overall elicited the lowest rate of perceived party differences--a situation that was in keeping, as noted previously, with the quality of discussion by the candidates--those able to select one party over the other turned toward the Republicans. Perhaps some voters did become aware of Nixon's secret plan to end the war and of Humphrey's ties to those responsible for the buildup in Vietnam. In any case, Vietnam basically benefited the Republican Party. The third Republican issue area was race and public order. Here, one may note an issue that was attached to the 1968 campaign. Nixon early secured this issue and Humphrey had to eventually play catch-up. Only one issue saw the Democratic Party favored; and it was, by tradition, a Democratic Party issue--social welfare. A summary of the four issue areas shows that two of them had long-standing attachments to a particular party and that only the other two were products of a recent nature and subject to the give and take of a political campaign.

The assessment of issue influence on the nature of party balance necessitates a focus on two types of impact: total and differentiated. The first refers to the contribution of each issue area to a total universe of switchers. The second type is based upon the proportion of each issue area that is composed of switchers.

In terms of total impact, Vietnam ranks number one as it contributes 37.2% of all switchers in the electorate (see Table 48). Given the fact that it ranks no better than third on any of the conditions, it must be concluded that the factor of size is important. In short, not as many people felt the issue was as important to them as were the others (with the one exception of economics and business); not as many could decide on either their preference of government activity or a perceived party difference; and the Vietnam area was not composed of as many switchers (as a percentage of the total area) as were other areas. However, the size of the switching group in the Vietnam area was still larger in number than that of any other area. Thus, it is obvious that sheer size may always potentially be a most important contributing factor.

The second largest contributing issue area is that of race and public order (27.8%). Here size may well also be important (it ranks second only to Vietnam in absolute size); but since the area also meets, very highly, most of the conditions, it is difficult to determine relative importance. In any case, it would appear that the total impact of the issue areas on the universe of switchers is related to the size of formed-attitude elements within each. The best example of this is that while 23.5% of the economic/business issue area was composed of switchers (highest of all issue areas), the area was able to contribute only

8.6% of the total universe of switchers (lowest of all issue areas). This issue area, in initial size, ranked last. It also ranked last in terms of the voting electorate, and the voting electorate with formed attitudes. One final note in this discussion of total impact and that is that the four issue areas isolated and discussed account for 83% of all switchers in the electorate.

Concluding on the basis of total impact, as explained above, that Vietnam was the issue area of most impact could be somewhat misleading due to the size factor. Thus, to avoid conclusions that could be influenced largely by the factor of size, focus needs to be upon the meeting of the suggested conditions and how this might relate to the relative proportions of switchers within each issue area. This can be approached from two different but related directions. The first involves isolation of switchers with formed attitudes (answered all questions underlying each condition) as a percent of each issue area. It is felt that since only under the suggested conditions can impact occur, those having opinions forming the base for such conditions are of particular importance. The second direction means determining the percent of switchers with or without formed attitudes as a percent of the remaining issue area. If the conditions are of the influential nature hypothesized, then the two directions should yield largely similar results. Indeed they do and thus only the first direction will form the basis of the following discussion.

Taking the new direction, change from that which was noted for total impact is quite clear and striking. Instead of ranking first in its share of switchers, Vietnam now ranks last. Whereas economic and business rated last in total impact, it now finishes first. Race and

public order stayed near the top in this new approach and social welfare did not change positions.

The explanation for Vietnam's poor showing is apparently found in its relative failure to elicit perceptions as to a desired governmental activity and a difference in party positions. It was not significantly less salient than the other issue areas, but people were not as sure what they wanted done about the matter or about party differences as they were about two of the other three issue areas. In addition, it can be noted that only about 45% of the switchers within this issue area were able to perceive party differences.

The "economic/business" issue area rose from last in total impact to first in this more specific impact (switchers as a percentage of the issue area or as a percentage of the "formed attitudes" issue area). Like Vietnam, its total impact was apparently related directly to size but in a negative fashion. That is, even if it had met all conditions, its total impact might have been limited by its relatively small size (see Table 48). In addition to small size, however, this issue area did not rank very highly on any but one of the three conditions--perception of party difference. Members of this issue area are the most likely to perceive party differences and since these preferences are so overwhelmingly Republican, they clearly fit the predicted pattern of switching. It may well be that many of these switchers are traditional Republicans returning--with their economic interests--to the fold from support of Johnson in 1964.

The social welfare pattern across the three conditions suggests the need for an explanation different from that of the other issue areas. This issue ranks second on salience and skewness and first on perceived

party differences. Yet, its membership is not especially well populated with switchers relative to the other areas and the extent to which they met the conditions (see Table 48). It would appear that this situation is related to the tendency of social welfare to be primarily a Democratic issue area and thus largely composed of standpatters who actually think their party will best handle the problem. The final issue--race and public order--comes closest to meeting the three conditions. It ranks first on high salience and skewness, third on perceived party differences (here the difference between third and second is only .5%) and second on the proportion of switchers within its boundaries. It may also be recalled that it ranked high in its total contribution to the universe of switchers. In short, this issue area would appear to be the one of greatest general impact.

Issue Publics and Issue Impact

Utilization of this approach involves isolating several specific issues from the general issue areas previously discussed. The rationale for focusing upon issue publics has been previously noted in several chapters. Once again, it is thought that such an approach produces a more spontaneous and accurate indication of a respondent's issue concerns than does the structured-questions path taken by Converse. Also, since each respondent was permitted three possible responses to issues facing the government, it is possible to aggregate responses and produce a number of relatively large groups for analysis. While this is an obvious advantage, the approach is not without disadvantage. Essentially, it prevents an assessment of total impact because a shift has been made from working with a boundaried universe of switchers to working with a universe of multiple and overlapping responses. While

it is still possible to talk about issue impact, there is no way to aggregate across three problem levels and still be capable of speaking about switchers at an individual level. That is, analysis is now in terms of responses which may be indicative of switching rather than respondents who definitely are or are not switchers. Once aggregation is accomplished, an individual may well be in more than one of several publics and his classification of switcher/nonswitcher goes with him. Thus, it is possible to speak only of an issue public (aggregated) and the extent to which it contains switching responses.

Though it has been indicated that this approach isolates a number of specific issue publics, such is not entirely the case and this requires some explanation. In all instances except Vietnam and poverty, several very specific issue codes were classified together. In all cases, the combinations seemed much more natural than SRC coding procedures allowed. But even this small amount of categorization could, if not noted, affect the results of the analysis. It is possible that an individual could have been placed into the same quite specific issue code more than once across the three problem levels. With nothing to prohibit such an event, the same individual could be counted twice in the somewhat broader issue public. The desire is to prevent such overlapping within each issue public. Figure 5 symbolically indicates the problem of intra-issue public overlapping which occurs when it is necessary to combine several codes to get one issue and points out those responses marked for elimination. What this means is the creation of "pure" publics by insuring that a respondent cannot appear in a single issue public twice. He may belong to more than one issue public (e.g.,

		P1						P1-P2			
		Code	Code	Code	Code			Code	Code	Code	Code
		1	2	3	4			1	2	3	4
P3	Code 1					P3	Code 1				
	Code 2										
	Code 3										
	Code 4										

P1 = problem level one
P2 = problem level two
P3 = problem level three

Codes 1, 2, 3, 4 = each individual coded response comprising the issue public



= those to be excluded from analysis

Fig. 5.--Symbolic representation of intra-issue public overlap elimination.^a

^aFor a more detailed account of this procedure, see Footnote 1 on this page.

Vietnam at P1, Race at P2) but not the same public twice.¹ Such a procedure of insurance against "unpure" issue publics is undertaken

¹A respondent cannot mention, e.g., fair housing twice but he can mention several different civil rights issues more than once. This is of concern for respondents "picked up" at: problem one, two and three together (P1, P2, P3), only P1 and P2, only P1 and P3, and only P2 and P3. There is no issue public overlap for those in all problem areas (P1, P2, P3), only 2 percent overlap when entering at P1 and P2 only and at P1 and P3 only, and 4 per cent of those at P2 and P3 overlap. These are the respondents in any one public who are in that public again. Furthermore, 20 percent of all respondents (N = 2516) enter at only one problem level, i.e., at P1 only, P2 only, or P3 only--they are in issue publics other than the five isolated at different problem levels or they are in no publics. Generally, the distribution of overlap between different publics covered the gamut of issues, but there are certain clusters to note: for those entering the universe at P1, P2, or P3, the most frequent combinations include any combination of Vietnam-civil rights-poverty and any combination of public disorder-economics-Vietnam; for those at P1 and P2 only, the most frequent set of combinations is public disorder and Vietnam, and secondly, civil rights and Vietnam; and the pattern for those at P1 and P3 only, and P2 and P3 only, is the same as P1 and P2. That is, because of its size, the

despite the fact that very few respondents cited the same issue problem more than once.¹

In isolating issue publics, no new issue has really been brought to light. Vietnam, a single issue public before but utilized singly because of its large size, remains as it was. The single biggest issue public within the social welfare issue area is that based upon poverty and the poverty program. It stands alone in this portion of the analysis. Several rather closely related issue "codes" (inflation, taxation, spending) have been grouped out of the economic and business area to form an "economic affairs" public. An important step has been to separate race and public order into two smaller but distinct publics. One of these represents civil rights from a standpoint of problems of integration and acquisition of equal treatment. The other is essentially not public order but public disorder (or law and order to a great extent). Separation of the broader area into these two specific publics is based upon the belief that it is no longer necessary or desirable to assume a linkage between civil rights and questions of public disorder. This is in keeping with an awareness that the public itself has more or less made this same division as it

Vietnam public is most laden with responses that have occurred elsewhere in our five publics, while those in economic affairs are less likely to be in one or two of the remaining four publics. Public disorder and Vietnam contain more of the same respondents, while economics is relatively more "pure," and less diffuse, with less confounding influence on any other public. Although one cannot empirically isolate which issue is more important for individual behavior than another, those in the economics public appear to act primarily on the basis of that cue.

¹By eliminating internal overlap within each public, there have been omitted only .26 percent of all civil rights responses, 2.9 percent of public disorder responses, and 2.3 percent in economic affairs. Multiple interests occur between or among issue publics rather than within issue publics.

has become more moderate in its concern with civil rights and more preoccupied with questions of law and order. Furthermore, it seems desirable to separate what is usually a Democratic Party issue--civil rights--from one that Nixon claimed for his party in 1968.

Table 50 indicates the distribution of responses across the

TABLE 50

PRIMARY ISSUE PUBLICS IN 1968^a

Issue Public	(N)	%
Vietnam	1064	29.0
Public disorder ^b	545	14.9
Civil rights ^c	384	10.5
Economic affairs ^d	265	7.2
Poverty ^e	258	7.0
Total issue public responses	2516	68.6
Other problem areas	1149	31.4
Total responses	3665	100.0

^aThese represent the most frequently mentioned problems facing the government in 1968, aggregated for three possible responses for each individual in a sample of 1557.

^bIncludes specific references to public disorder, law and order, Negro riots, war protests, demonstrations, crime, violence and delinquency.

^cIncludes references to Negro civil rights, minority civil rights, racial problems, school segregation/integration, fair employment practices, voting rights, housing integration, and general mixing of races.

^dIncludes references to inflation, living costs, taxation, government spending and the national debt.

^eIncludes references to poverty, poor people, welfare programs and the "Great Society."

five publics selected for analysis. It also indicates that moving from issue areas to issue publics results in a loss (however expected) of

the total number of responses available to the scheme of analysis. This loss (from 89% to 68.6%) can probably be attributed to the manner in which responses were made to problems two and three. By this, it is meant that people's choices grouped together on problem one and spread out widely on problems two and three. It is still rather interesting to note that only five issue publics captured over 68% of all possible responses in the sample.

The distribution of these aggregated responses shows no significant changes from that noted for issue areas. Vietnam remains the largest of the publics, attracting more than twice the number of responses as civil rights and several times those of economic affairs and poverty. Public disorder assumes a position in size far behind Vietnam but significantly ahead of its sometimes traveling companion civil rights.

Table 51 summarizes data relevant to the differential impact of issue publics. Of immediate notice are the losses suffered by each public from the failure to meet one or more of the three conditions. Due to the fact that aggregation across three problems leaves one with no boundaried universe of respondents, interpretation of these losses are most difficult. However, though a respondent may be counted in more than one public (up to three), he is not counted twice within any public. A respondent who has named Vietnam as the most important problem and who either has formed opinions about it or not, is still free to name some other public at the next problem mentioned and to have or not have formed opinions. If we think in terms of one public (Vietnam, for example), we can see (Table 48) that some 653 people named that at P1¹

¹From this point on, problems one through three will be referred to as P1, P2, and P3.

TABLE 51

SUMMARY TABLE FOR AGGREGATED ISSUE PUBLICS

	Vietnam	Public Disorder	Civil Rights	Poverty	Economic Affairs
% High salience	82.3	83.4	83.1	69.0	73.3
% Skewness ^a	58.9	87.3	71.6	61.9	59.7
% Perceived party difference ^b	62.6	60.3	60.7	66.7	67.8
Switchers (formed attitude only) as % of issue public ^b	8.3	14.5	6.8	14.0	17.0
Switchers (total) as % of issue public ^b	16.7	18.7	12.5	15.5	21.1
Voter-formed attitude (N) .	(265)	(229)	(130)	(126)	(124)
Voting electorate (N) . . .	(579)	(288)	(203)	(148)	(145)
% Loss due to 1, 2, or 3 conditions ^b	54.2	20.5	36.0	14.9	14.5
Total issue public (N) . . .	(1064)	(545)	(384)	(258)	(265)
% Loss due to voting constraint ^b	45.6	47.2	47.1	42.6	45.3

^aPercent in largest direction category for preferred degree of governmental activity. The modal response above for Vietnam and economic affairs represents "less" activity, whereas the other publics favor "more" activity.

^bSee footnotes b, d, e, g, and h to Table 48. Since aggregated responses are utilized, the word "responses" should be substituted for "respondents" in these footnotes applied to this table.

and that 53% of these people did not have formed attitudes. In aggregation, another sum of individuals will be added at P2. Since these are not the same individuals as in P1, it is revealing to note their capacity for formed attitudes and to do so for those added at P3. In short, Vietnam aggregated is of such a quality as to allow comparison with itself as an unaggregated issue area. Specifically, the loss rate for Vietnam as a public (aggregated) suggests that the rather diffuse nature of the issue at P1, continued across the remaining problem levels. That is, those who came into the public at P2 and P3 were not

substantially different (always a distinct possibility) in formed attitudes than those at Pl. Unfortunately, Vietnam is the only issue area remaining the same from issue area to issue public. That is, to obtain all the other issue publics, several issue areas were altered. For example, the social welfare issue area is now most closely approximated by the single public of poverty. This does not really allow any comparisons across the three problems. There is one case where some comparison may be made or at least some speculations advanced. While at the issue area level, race (civil rights) and public order was subjected to a 26.7% formed attitudes loss. To arrive at separate issue publics of civil rights and public disorder, no additional specific issue codes were added or subtracted. The issue area was simply split and aggregated. When one views each of the two publics individually, it can be seen that the formed attitudes loss is quite different (see Table 51) with civil rights registering the highest rate of loss. This may suggest that public disorder is able to maintain its importance to respondents across all problem levels, while civil rights cannot do so. In fact, it may well be that had these two issues been separated at the issue area stage (a possibility not carried out due to the size factor), the civil rights loss (formed attitudes) would have been greater than that of public disorder. The kind of comparison being made thus far is between issue areas and issue publics. Comparisons of formed attitudes loss between individual issue publics after aggregation will be made shortly. They speak more directly to the nature of differential impact.

The picture which emerges, as note is taken of the extent to which each issue public meets the three conditions, is at first appearance confusing (Table 51). No public ranks in the same position on any

condition and some's ranks are spread from one extreme to the other (1st to 5th). For three of the publics, the level of salience is high and uniform (around the 83rd percentile). Poverty and economic affairs were similar in salience but experienced much lower levels than the other three issues. In terms of (responses) opinion direction skewness, public disorder ranks far ahead of the rest of the field. Civil rights has the next highest level of skewness at 71.6% with Vietnam showing the lowest rate at 58.9%. The distribution for perceived party differences shows a relatively narrow range of differences among publics. Economic affairs ranks first at 67.8% with public disorder last at 60.3%. This last condition--perceived party differences--needs further examination in order to note the recipients of the favoritism that did occur. Table 52 presents the data for such an analysis.

TABLE 52
PERCEIVED PARTY DIFFERENCES FOR ISSUE PUBLIC VOTERS
(1964-68) WITH FORMED ATTITUDES^a

Issue Public	Favor Republicans on Issue	Favor Democrats on Issue	No Party Difference	Total
Vietnam	43.0	19.6	37.4	100% (265)
Public disorder	44.1	16.2	39.7	100% (229)
Civil rights	22.3	38.5	39.2	100% (130)
Poverty	30.2	36.5	33.3	100% (126)
Economic affairs	58.9	8.9	32.2	100% (124)

^aData are for issue public respondents who voted in 1964 and 1968, and who had formed attitudes with regard to the direction of issue positions, salience and perceived party difference.

The Republican Party is the beneficiary of the perceived party differences in three of five issue publics. The nature of the way in

which particular issues seemingly favored one party over the other was to be expected from the campaign and traditional party attachments. That is, the Republicans were favored on two issues--Vietnam and public disorder--that were likely tied to the campaign and/or events immediate to it and favored on one--economic affairs--that may have been more traditionally tied to it as a party. On the other hand, the Democrats drew support from two issues of traditional attachment to their party--civil rights and poverty.¹ It should be noted, however, that on these two issues the advantage for the Democrats was much less than that which accrued to the Republicans on the other three issues. All of this would appear to be in keeping with a Republican victory in 1968 after a disaster in 1964.

In order to most accurately assess the relative impact of the five issue publics upon party balance, it is necessary to focus upon the relationship of party switchers to the meeting of the three suggested conditions. If one relies upon interpreting the data in Table 51, noting the extent to which each condition favored first one public and then another, interpretation becomes most difficult: public disorder ranks first on the conditions of salience and skewness but last on perceived party differences; economic affairs places fourth on salience and skewness while running first on party differences. The other issue publics present no greater amount of clarity. To deal with this matter, movement is made to present a picture of the relationship between switching and those publics meeting all conditions. Specifically, as Table 53 indicates, all responses were divided into three

¹Poverty represents a class of social welfare issues on which the Democratic Party has traditionally been favored.

TABLE 53

CONDITIONS OF SALIENCE, SKEWNESS AND PERCEIVED PARTY DIFFERENCES
MET BY ISSUE PUBLIC ELECTORATE

Issue Public	Formed Attitudes		No Opinion	(N)
	% Meeting 3 Conditions ^a	% Meeting Less than 3 Conditions ^b	% No Response on 1 or More Conditions	
Vietnam	23.7	22.1	54.2	(579)
Public disorder	39.2	40.3	20.5	(288)
Civil rights	32.5	30.5	36.9	(203)
Poverty	37.2	48.0	14.9	(148)
Economic affairs	39.3	46.2	14.5	(145)

^aThese are responses of high salience, more or less activity, and Republican or Democratic perceived party difference; 1964-68 voting electorate.

^bThese are responses of medium salience, no party difference, and "same" activity (respondent calls for no new activity or no less activity by government in response to the problem).

groups (as they occurred for each public): (1) Those indicating high salience, high skewness (more or less government activity), and perceived party differences; (2) medium salience, same government activity, and no party difference; (3) no opinions on one or more of the three conditions. When this is done and each public's rankings noted, a somewhat clearer picture begins to emerge. The nature of the relationship is, as before, presented in two ways. That is, we may talk about switchers as a percentage of the formed attitudes issue public or as a percentage of the total issue public. In either case, the results correspond closely, with the economic affairs public first, public disorder second, and civil rights last in its proportion of switchers. The remaining two publics--Vietnam and poverty--would have also fallen

into place if it had not been for the initial size of the Vietnam public's being reduced in its impact by its diffuse nature. In other words, while Vietnam ranked first on sheer size, it ranked just third in switching responses as a percentage of its total response set and fell to fourth as a percentage of formed attitudes only. Poverty's fourth place rank in the first switching category (percentage of total public) was affected by its size relative to Vietnam, but the rankings were reversed in the second switching category due to the tendency for those in the poverty public to have more formed attitudes than those in the Vietnam area. Special mention must be made in regards to civil rights. While it fared, on the whole, better than Vietnam in meeting the conditions, its share of switching responses was less. While this deviation from an excellent fit between switching responses and those publics meeting all three conditions is obvious, the explanation for it is not. The deviation does seem less of one if we note that among those of formed attitudes in each of the publics, the break in switcher percentages occurs between the first three issues and those of Vietnam and poverty. In addition, the differences in switching responses between the two publics (formed attitudes only) is only 1.5%, certainly not a significant figure. All in all, the data seem to confirm the hypothesis that the extent to which an issue public meets the three conditions is related to its share of switching responses. When combined with findings noted in the discussion of issue areas, even more weight is lent to the confirmation.

Issue Publics, Rationality, and Party Balance

The task of this chapter has been to examine and make known the relationship of issue impact to the nature of party strength and

balance. It would appear that this has been accomplished and that under the conditions set forth, issues--via issue publics--can and do affect vote switching and thus party strength. Does this portend a "rational" electorate? The belief here is that it certainly adds weight to similar research findings by scholars such as Key. However, some further hint of rationality can be found within the same data supporting these present conclusions.

Key, as has been previously noted, divided the electorate into three groups: new voters, switchers, and standpatters. Of particular interest are his contentions about the policy motivations of switchers and standpatters. He concludes that not only do switchers "move from party to party in a manner that is broadly consistent with their policy preferences," but that standpatters "are already where they ought to be in light of their policy attitudes."¹ While party identification is not dismissed by Key, he contends that for standpatters, policy preferences often reinforce party loyalty.² There were several problems with Key's work which detract from his findings. First, he most often had to rely on sporadic Gallup survey data relevant to his questions. Second, his reliance on Gallup data did not allow him to consider linkages between vote switching, issue salience, and perceived party differences. In the latter case, Key did once compare switching to perceived party differences (for 1960) but was still unable to bring issue salience and direction into the analysis. With the data already utilized in this chapter and a slight rearrangement of it into one massive table, a more refined analysis than that of Key's can take place. Prior to this

¹Key, The Responsible Electorate, pp. vii-xii. ²Ibid., p. 150.

undertaking, another table is presented which matches somewhat Key's efforts to link party differences to vote switching. Table 54 shows the extent to which each switching and standpatter group within each issue public tended to favor one party over the other--or perceive no party difference. For those cells which have an N large enough to analyze, it is easy to see that both switchers and standpatters had party preferences in line with the direction of their movement or lack of movement. The exceptions to this as noted in the outlined cells seem to hint at issues of long-term attachment to one or the other parties. For example, Johnson to Nixon switchers in the civil rights issue public favored the Republican Party by only 18.8% and the figure stood at just 39.3% for the poverty issue public. Both of these issues do have relatively long-term attachments to the Democratic Party. Note should be taken that in each of these instances, the percentage of those perceiving no party differences is larger than those seeing some difference. This may have softened the impact of these issues on the fortunes of the Democratic Party. If focus is upon standpatters, one can see that Goldwater to Nixon respondents consistently favored the Republican Party, with the sole exception being the normally Democratic issue of civil rights. Even here, though, these standpatters did not show any preference for the Democratic Party but basically failed to perceive much in the way of party differences. Johnson to Humphrey voters were quite consistent--with one exception--in their perception of the Democratic Party as best able to handle each issue problem. In the case of the traditionally Republican economic affairs issue public, Democratic standpatters primarily saw no party differences (47.1%) and split their party preferences between the Republican (26.4%) and

TABLE 54

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF PERCEIVED PARTY DIFFERENCES FOR 1964-68
VOTING ELECTORATE AND PRIMARY ISSUE PUBLICS^a

1964 to 1968 Vote Direction ^b	Vietnam	Public Disorder	Civil Rights	Poverty	Economic Affairs
Johnson to Nixon	54.8 ^c	67.4	18.8	39.3	65.5
	41.9	30.2	50.0	53.6	27.6
Goldwater to Humphrey	0	50.0	0	0	100.0
	100.0	50.0	0	33.3	0
Johnson to Wallace	22.2	22.2	25.0	50.0	20.0
	77.8	66.7	75.0	50.0	80.0
Goldwater to Wallace	50.0	42.9	0	66.6	40.0
	50.0	57.1	100.0	33.3	60.0
Goldwater to Nixon	75.3	68.9	47.5	65.5	88.9
	24.7	31.1	50.0	31.0	11.1
Johnson to Humphrey	10.4	11.8	6.4	8.2	26.4
	37.5	43.4	22.6	24.6	47.1

^aA table of N's for each cell is given below. Each N reflects only those who were in a given issue public, holders of a particular vote pattern for 1960-64 and who answered the party difference question.

	Vietnam	Public Disorder	Civil Rights	Poverty	Economic Affairs
Johnson to Nixon	62	43	16	28	29
Goldwater to Humphrey	3	4	0	3	1
Johnson to Wallace	9	18	4	2	10
Goldwater to Wallace	14	14	6	3	5
Goldwater to Nixon	81	74	42	29	45
Johnson to Humphrey	96	76	62	61	34

^bThose who did not vote in 1964 or 1968 are excluded from analysis as well as any others who did not fit one of the patterns indicated in the table.

^cThe top % in each cell represents those in a primary issue public and vote pattern group who perceived of the Republican Party as best able to handle the issue. The bottom figure represents those who saw no differences between the two major parties. To obtain the % of those favoring the Democratic Party, add the two figures in each cell and subtract from 100.

and Democratic Parties (26.5%). All in all, these data clearly indicate that voters were able to differentiate party differences and that they tended to vote in the direction of their preferences.

Table 55 presents an array of data which can speak even further to the question of voter rationality. To the last table are added the ingredients of issue salience and the voter's preferences about government activity on the issue. The data consist of aggregated responses within each issue public with only high salience responses isolated. Further, the publics are presented in a descending order based on the size of each's formed-attitudes electorate voting in both 1964 and 1968. There are two separate paths of analysis that can be taken, though both yield quite similar results.

The first path calls for examination of raw percentages (the first of two percentages in each cell) and reveals that whatever the desired activity (more or less government involvement), switchers and standpatters most often follow a predicted pattern of moving toward or staying with the party they think best able to handle the problem. In short, very few deviations occur in which those in an issue public of high salience, and desiring more or less government activity, perceive of one party as best on a problem and then take an apparent irrational course of action such as moving toward another party, or staying with the nonfavored party. Looking at the Vietnam issue public, it can be seen that of those desiring more government activity and thinking the Republicans best able to handle the problem, 83% were either switchers to Nixon or Republican Party standpatters. The trend is followed for those desiring less activity and favoring the Republican Party. For those who favored more or less activity and the Democratic Party, results

TABLE 55

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS OF SWITCHERS AND NON-SWITCHERS IN 1964-1968 VOTING ELECTORATE BY COMBINATIONS OF CONDITIONS MET, FOR PRIMARY ISSUE PUBLICS^a

Issue Public, Activity Level, and Perceived Party Difference for High Saliency Responses	Switchers			Non-Switchers			(N)
	Johnson to Nixon	Goldwater to Humphrey	Johnson to Wallace	Goldwater to Wallace	Goldwater to Nixon	Johnson to Humphrey	
VIETNAM							
More/Rep.	34.1/5.3	--	2.4/ .4	7.3/1.1	48.8/ 7.5	7.3/ 1.1	(41)
More/Dem.	--	--	--	--	--	100/ 2.3	(6)
More/No Dif.	28.1/3.4	--	3.1/ .4	15.6/1.9	15.6/ 1.9	37.5/ 4.5	(32)
Less/Rep.	29.6/6.0	--	1.9/ .4	5.6/1.1	50.0/10.2	13.0/ 2.6	(54)
Less/Dem.	5.6/ .8	--	--	--	--	94.4/12.8	(36)
Less/No Dif.	18.4/2.6	2.6/ .4	13.2/1.9	2.6/ .4	21.1/ 3.0	42.1/ 6.0	(38)
Other ^b	24.1/5.3	3.4/ .8	1.7/ .4	3.4/ .8	36.2/ 7.9	31.0/ 6.8	(58)
PUBLIC DISORDER							
More/Rep.	29.7/9.6	1.4/ .4	2.7/ .9	8.1/2.6	54.0/17.5	4.1/ 1.3	(74)
More/Dem.	3.3/ .4	--	6.7/ .9	--	--	90.0/11.8	(30)
More/No Dif.	10.9/3.1	1.6/ .4	15.6/4.7	7.8/2.2	25.0/ 7.0	39.1/10.9	(64)
Less/Rep.	25.0/ .9	12.5/ .4	12.5/ .4	--	25.0/ .9	25.0/ .9	(8)
Less/Dem.	--	--	--	--	100/ .4	--	(1)
Less/No Dif.	--	--	33.3/ .4	33.3/ .4	33.3/ .4	--	(3)
Other ^b	22.4/4.8	2.0/ .4	4.1/ .9	4.1/ .9	30.6/ 6.6	36.7/ 7.9	(49)
CIVIL RIGHTS							
More/Rep.	18.8/2.3	--	6.3/ .8	--	75.0/ 9.2	--	(16)
More/Dem.	10.3/3.1	--	--	--	--	89.7/26.9	(39)
More/No Dif.	12.0/2.3	--	4.0/ .8	8.0/1.5	40.0/ 7.7	36.0/ 6.9	(25)
Less/Rep.	--	--	--	--	75.0/ 4.6	25.0/ 1.5	(8)
Less/Dem.	--	--	--	--	--	100/ 2.3	(3)
Less/No Dif.	33.3/2.3	--	11.1/ .8	44.4/3.1	11.1/ .8	--	(9)
Other ^b	10.0/2.3	--	3.3/ .8	--	43.3/10.0	43.3/10.0	(30)
POVERTY							
More/Rep.	33.3/4.0	--	6.7/ .8	6.7/ .8	40.0/ 4.8	13.3/ 1.6	(15)
More/Dem.	--	7.7/1.6	--	--	--	92.3/19.0	(26)
More/No Dif.	27.3/2.4	--	--	--	36.4/ 3.2	36.4/ 3.2	(11)
Less/Rep.	30.8/3.2	--	--	7.7/ .8	46.2/ 4.8	15.4/ 1.6	(13)
Less/Dem.	--	--	--	--	100/ .8	--	(1)
Less/No Dif.	44.4/3.2	--	11.1/ .8	11.1/ .8	11.1/ .8	22.2/ 1.6	(9)
Other ^b	23.5/9.5	2.0/ .8	--	--	21.6/ 8.7	52.9/21.4	(51)
ECONOMIC AFFAIRS							
More/Rep.	27.8/4.0	--	--	5.6/ .8	50.0/ 7.3	16.7/ 2.4	(18)
More/Dem.	--	--	--	--	--	100/ 1.6	(2)
More/No Dif.	14.3/ .8	--	14.3/ .8	--	14.3/ .8	57.1/ 3.2	(7)
Less/Rep.	25.0/6.4	--	--	--	62.5/16.1	12.5/ 3.2	(32)
Less/Dem.	40.0/1.6	--	--	--	--	60.0/ 2.4	(5)
Less/No Dif.	36.4/3.2	--	18.2/1.6	18.2/1.6	9.1/ .8	18.2/ 1.6	(11)
Other ^b	18.4/7.2	2.0/ .8	14.3/5.6	4.1/1.6	28.6/11.3	32.7/12.9	(49)

^aThe first percentage is percent of row category; the second is percent of formed attitude voting electorate in each issue public.

^bThis category includes other combinations of any saliency level, preferences for "same" level of activity and perceived or no perceived party differences.

were basically the same: Switchers moved to the Democratic Party and standpatters voted in accordance with their policy preferences. Further indication as to the rational nature of the voting electorate lies in the actions of those seeing no party differences. Regardless of whether they desired more or less activity, their responses were scattered across several voter groupings with more than a few attached to the Wallace voting camp. Regardless of the issue public selected for analysis, results are primarily the same.

The other path of analysis involves focusing upon the second of two percentages in each of the cells. This percentage represents the proportion of a public found in the cell (all the percentages total to 100%). Utilizing this procedure allows comparisons both within and across issue publics. Once again, Vietnam may serve as an example of the general findings. The essential question is just where do we find the largest collections of responses within the total public? The easiest answer to this question lies in where we do not find them and this is in categories representing deviations from what indicates voting policy preferences. That is, in very few instances does one see respondents voting for one party's candidate while desiring certain activity and favoring the other party as best able to handle the matter. Instead, we find groupings like the 12.8% who desire less government activity, favor the Democrats, and remain voters for the Democratic Party candidate. Or, we see the 10.2% who call for less activity, perceive of the Republican Party as best on the problem, and remain within the Republican Party fold. Other issue publics (see Table 55) yield quite similar findings and add to evidence suggesting more voter rationality than commonly supposed.

The task set forth at the beginning of this chapter was to test the hypothesis that under certain specified conditions, issues would be related to vote switching and the balance of party strength. Focusing first upon issue areas and then issue publics, note was taken of the extent to which each area or public met the conditions and each's relationship to vote switchers or switching responses. Interpretation of data in support of the basic hypothesis was made difficult by the fact that there was not a failure of any public to meet the conditions: All publics showed substantially high levels of salience, skewness in opinion direction (more or less government activity desired) was evident for all, and all publics exhibited skewness in terms of perceived party differences. However, enough variation occurred in the degree to which each public met each condition to allow conclusions to be drawn supporting issue impact on vote switching. Those issues which best met the conditions were generally found to have the strongest relationship to vote switching; and where exceptions occurred, some logical reason seemed to exist. For example, the economic and business issue "area" ranked next to last in salience and the same in skewness of opinion direction, but first in terms of switchers as a percentage of the issue area. It could be that the issue fared so well because of its long-term "attachment" to the Republican Party. Thus, while ranking low on the other conditions, it ranked quite near the top in skewness of perceived party differences. In addition, it can be noted that responses by those with formed attitudes strongly favored the Republican Party (61.7%), or no difference at all was seen (31.9%). See Table 55.) All in all, the chapter's central hypothesis is affirmed, and this may hold special importance for the electoral system given the increasing number of switchers in the electorate.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Authors of The American Voter have noted the importance of voting behavior to scholars of many disciplines and have pointed out that "those who would add to the literature of voting have a responsibility to place their work in a broader setting." Of the ways in which this study, so dominant in the field of voting behavior, chose to locate its work, one seems particularly relevant to research in this dissertation. Campbell, et. al., state:

The voting behavior of a mass electorate can be seen within the context of a larger political system. The electoral process is a means of decision that lies within a broader political order, and in research on voting it is valuable to have explicitly in view the wider political system in which the electoral process is found.¹

That such a line of thought should, indeed, act as a guideline has been made clear in Chapter One. There it was noted that the very essence of democracy demands some form of popular control over the creation of public policy. Whether there exists proof of a linkage between the wishes of the people and public policy is debatable. The fact that elections and the electorate which participates in them are generally considered crucial to a democratic process seems not to be. Elections are supposed to be vital to a functioning democracy and traditional democratic theory has portrayed the individual voter as the possessor

¹Campbell, et. al., The American Voter, pp. 3-4.

of certain attributes considered to be essential in a role supportive of the electoral process. Popular control, the line of reasoning goes, is strongly related to elections which are dependent upon individuals to give these elections meaning. Erikson and Luttbeg have noted that:

Probably the most broadly accepted basis of achieving popular control is captured in what might be called the rational-activist model. Assuming equality of votes, meaningful elections, and decision-making by majority rule, this model sees control achieved by voters rationally choosing among candidates, and being at least active enough to vote for them. A voter's rational choice of candidates rests on his being informed, having well-conceived opinions on the issues, accurately knowing the positions of the candidates, and supporting those whose positions most closely resemble his personal positions.¹

As expressed in Chapter One, the question that has continuously captured the attention of students of politics concerns the voter's ability to meet the above expectations. If the voter is primarily inactive, uninterested, and irrational in relation to elections and the political process, what does this say about popular control? Even if those in the citizenry are active and vote in elections, what does it tell us about popular control if they are motivated in their actions by a lifelong loyalty to a political party or by candidate images of sincerity and the like?² Scholars' interest in and debate over the behavior of the voter have been, at least partially, tied to attempts to answer such questions. An earlier quotation by Prewitt and Nie bears repeating: "A persistent theme in centuries of debate between those dubious about the merits of the democratic form of government and those optimistic for its prospects involves a judgment about the

¹Robert S. Erikson and Norman R. Luttbeg, American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1973), p. 15.

²Ibid., p. 16.

citizen's ability to make rational and informed choices in the voting booth."¹ The picture painted of the electorate over time has been a changing one. It has portrayed for the voter a glowing image under traditional democratic theory and a not so flattering image as uninterested, uninformed, inactive, and largely irrational under the awakening of empirical theory, survey research, and quantitative techniques of analysis. Hetrick states:

Although it is variously formulated, one of the recurring themes in the voting literature centers on the sophistication, rationality, ideological adequacy, or political intelligence of the average citizen. In whatever form the question is posed, the answer is seldom very flattering to the man on the street.²

Many of the unflattering comments centered around the question of issues and whether the voter was more motivated in his vote choice by these or some other factors such as party identification and candidate image. Through the efforts of The American Voter authors and others, it was firmly established (or so it appeared) that voters had very limited interest in politics, lacked ideological coherence in their political views, and were strongly influenced in their voting behavior not by issues but by party identification and perhaps candidate image.³ RePass points out that "in recent years, leading studies of voting behavior have often concluded that specific issues are not a salient element in the electoral decision."⁴ Despite the skill with which the prevailing picture of the voter was painted and the force with which it was and

¹Prewitt and Nie, "Review Article," p. 490.

²Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process," p. 65.

³Pomper, "Confusion to Clarity," p. 415.

⁴RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 389.

has been presented, the debate has not ended. There is still very much alive a question concerning the role of issues in the making of a vote choice decision. While the advent and improvement of empirical survey techniques and other methodological advances has seemingly carried us forward in our quest for voting behavior knowledge, there appears to be justification for the observation that:

We now have models and counter-models of rationality, interpretations and reinterpretations of the data, challenges and responses. Indeed, on probably no other question have the last two decades of empirical survey work produced such a lively, if inconclusive, discussion.¹

The research efforts presented in the past several chapters of the dissertation have been set within this ongoing discussion and debate. The total effort has been directed toward an understanding of the role of issues in electoral behavior.

It should be quite obvious to students of voting behavior that most current research efforts are based largely upon the data sets and data collection processes of the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center. Without the means to perform as the SRC has done in the collection of valuable data, one must most often rely on that source. Thus, to an extent, hypotheses to be tested and methodological techniques to be utilized are influenced by the content of these SRC data sets, by the form of the questions asked of respondents, and perhaps by the omission of questions from any given survey. In what can be described as one of the finest evaluations of literature on issue voting ever produced, Kessel has noted two factors which can affect the outcome of any research effort into issue voting. The first of these concerned

¹Prewitt and Nie, "Review Article," p. 490.

the nature of questions used in various analyses. Four such sets of questions are described by Kessel.¹ Three of them are related here briefly due to their importance in the initiation and development of this study's research hypotheses and techniques.

Probably the question type utilized most is the structured one which attempts to elicit the issue positions of respondents by presenting them with predetermined, precoded response possibilities. As was noted in Chapters One and Two, some scholars suggest that this question type could lead to misjudgment of an individual's true issue concerns. In essence, the argument goes, because of the precoded response set presented to the respondent, it becomes psychologically cheap for him to answer, whether he has an opinion on the issue or any element of concern over it. Scholars' attempts to deal with this problem have resulted in the recent use of a second question type described by Kessel. It is this question which was the primary basis for development of the central concept in the dissertation--issue publics. The question calls for each respondent to name a problem that he personally feels is the most important one the government should handle. It is thought that this approach is likely to capture more of the natural response set of the individual than the structured issue questions. In any case, from it, the concept of issue publics has been operationalized in the attempt to find the best measure of the people's issue concerns. The only other question type described by Kessel, and pertinent to this study, is an open-ended one asking about the likes and dislikes of political parties and candidates. Responses to these questions can be

¹Kessel, "Issues in Issue Voting," pp. 460-61.

classified on whatever basis the researcher chooses, most often in terms of references to candidate attributes (such as experience and integrity), party, and issues. Kessel points out that this question type elicits a certain amount of material about issues but contends that the nature of the focus (parties and candidates, not issues) called for by the question may inherently inhere an underestimation of the presence of issue attitudes in the evaluations.

In addition to the impact of question type upon the outcome of an analysis, Kessel suggests that "what one does with the data after they have been collected will also affect one's measures of the importance of issues."¹ Two lines of analysis have been developed according to Kessel. On the one hand, scholars have attempted to isolate segments of the electorate thought to be sensitive to issues. This would include Natchez and Bupp's as well as this study's efforts to utilize the issue publics concept. It would also include Hetrick's concept of "policy-motivated" voters operationalized from the open-ended, "like and dislike" questions evaluating parties and candidates.² The second line of analysis has involved the creation of new concepts and indices, or what Kessel calls "issue-sensitive measures." To a large degree, this dissertation combined the two lines of analysis with an awareness of the importance of question type to attempt to arrive at an accurate measure of a respondent's issue concerns.

The general theme of the dissertation called for an exploration into the possible validity of the issue-publics concept and the actual utilization of it in establishing the nature of issue impact upon electoral change. Each of the chapters up to the fourth was designed

¹Ibid., p. 461.

²Hetrick, "Policy Issues and the Electoral Process."

to add to the understanding of a concept potentially important to research in both individual voting behavior and issue impact at the systems level. Chapter Four contained an analysis of the conditions under which issues might have an impact upon the balance of party strength.

Chapter Two represented the first step in establishing the credibility of the concept as a tool for measuring issue concerns of the American citizenry. Quite simply and briefly, it was felt that if the concept was to have validity, it must reflect something in the real world. That is, if responses to the "most important problem" question indicated the existence of a specific issue public, there should be some reason to expect that there indeed was or had been a problem for concern. For example, over 43% of those respondents naming a problem in 1968 referred to Vietnam. Did this reflect the concerns of the people with some real (or imagined)¹ problem. The answer is obvious and so too would it be if we were to discuss other issue publics in 1968 such as those concerned with civil rights and public disorder.

It has often proved difficult or impossible to pinpoint relationships that might exist between events and issues and the rise and decline of specific issue publics. But such pinpointing has been sufficiently managed as to support the validity of the issue-public concept as a device for gauging the public's true issue concerns. Each time the focus was on a domestic/foreign affairs basis, there appeared good reason for one area to be of more concern to people than the other.

¹The term "imagined" is used because people could sincerely believe there was a problem when there was not (e.g., communist subversion, economic problems).

Thus, it was pointed out for 1960 that the dominance of foreign affairs concerns was encouraged by the issues and events of that time. Leading into 1960, the nation had had thrust before it problems in a number of trouble spots, such as the Far East and Cuba. Americans had been shocked by events like Sputnik, the U-2 incident, and anti-American rioting abroad. RePass notes these things plus the heating up of the cold war and Kennedy's deep public concern over foreign affairs problems.¹ In addition to these there was, of course, the ever-present threat of communism and the growing Soviet challenge and threat to the United States. All in all, there appeared to be ample reason for the rise of issue publics of a foreign affairs nature.

Probably the clearest example of just how reflective the issue-publics concept was of people's issue concerns can be seen in the area of civil rights and public disorder for 1960-68. In 1960, little mention was made of civil rights problems and none of public disorder. This was for the population at large. When the question of race was considered, it was found that over 34% of the blacks were concerned compared to 3.7% for whites. Certainly, this was reflective of the normal concerns of those deprived of their civil rights (blacks) and of those who had not yet been awakened to the civil rights movement or semi-revolution of the 1960's. By 1964, overall, civil rights concern had reached the 19.7% mark and specific references were being made to public disorder (3.3%). Whites had become aware that something was happening in the civil rights area (17.6%) and blacks' concern jumped from 34 to 45%. Between 1964 and 1968 much happened including riots and

¹RePass, "Issue Salience and Party Choice," p. 392.

bloodshed. This was reflected in a decrease in concern directly with civil rights by whites (from 17.6% to 8.4%) and a shift of that concern to public disorder (16.1%). Blacks also shifted concern away from civil rights to other things including public disorder. However, they did not make as great a change as did whites. To stress the point again, the issue publics appear to quite clearly reflect the events and situations of the times surrounding their existence. Whether this sufficiently established concept credibility remained for further research in Chapter Three.

Exploration into the nature of the issue-publics concept was continued in Chapter Three. Both the concept of single specific issue publics and an issue-public-based measure of issue orientation were related to two other concepts with known or potential issue concern relatedness. The first measure was one of political attentiveness, and the desire was to relate a grouping of people with some known issue concerns to a public which had been characterized as much more interested, active, and informed than members of the general or mass public. If anyone, other than elites who could be characterized as makers (not holders) of public opinion and public policy, was likely to be concerned with issues, it would be this group. Several measures of attentiveness were utilized in the study as there seemed to be no agreement on the proper construction process. A second concept related to issue publics was the evaluation of parties and candidates. Issue content was isolated and an index of issue content for each evaluative object was established.

From the beginning of this paper, any discussion of issue publics has touched upon the importance of issue salience and how to

measure it. In Chapter Two, it will be recalled, the concept was utilized without regard to the question of salience. At that point it was assumed that the naming of a problem warranted the label of issue public membership and that this carried with it some degree of salience greater than none. Chapter Three saw a somewhat deeper look at the whole question of issue salience. It seemed probable then (and now) that the "naming of a problem" approach was not capturing issue salience in its entirety. How much of it was being tapped could not be determined from just knowing whether someone was in a given issue public. Accordingly, one hypothesis in the chapter suggested that instead of a positive relationship between issue public membership and other concepts such as attentiveness, one should expect a pattern of variation across the range of issue publics. In short, some might score higher on attentiveness than others. All, on the average, would not probably deviate noticeably from the population mean. This was found to be true.

Because it was believed that issue salience would be found to be related to one's physical and psychological involvement in the political world, measures were constructed to bring the question more directly into the picture. Two different variables were operationalized, one of which was subsequently dropped as being too similar in nature to the other. The first measure involved simply counting the number of issue publics to which a respondent belonged and attaching to this the assumption that to name three problems indicated more issue salience than just naming two or one. The second measure took into consideration both the number of issue publics and the level of salience for the respondent on each. It was discovered in the course of research that these two measures were apparently capturing quite similar amounts of

issue salience. A detailed look at each variable led to the conclusion that the more problems one named, the more salience he was likely to attach to each. For example, those naming just one problem attached, on the whole, a lower level of salience to that problem, than those naming two or more. To put it another way, those naming three problems either thought in terms of high salience on each problem or high salience combined, at the worst, with medium salience. Since the index in which salience was made a more direct consideration ("issue orientation" index) accomplished all that the number of problems measure could, it was made the sole measurement of issue orientation. Findings showed that the lower one's level of issue orientation, the less likely he would be to (1) pay a great amount of attention to a presidential campaign; (2) pay a great amount of attention to government and public affairs; (3) follow presidential campaigns closely through several media; and (4) participate in such political activities as talking to someone about politics, writing letters to government officials and editors, belonging to a political club, and wearing a campaign button. Conversely, the reverse was noted for those in the highest issue orientation grouping. All in all, high issue orientation was, for both election or survey years, positively related to various measures of political attentiveness. While the data does not go so far as to allow us to say that those in the high issue orientation group belong to the attentive public in the strictest sense, it does say that we can isolate a group of issue concerned people who possess, on a somewhat lesser basis, attributes ascribed to a segment of the public already characterized by a number of scholars as important to the political system: Rosenau, in dealing with foreign policy, has described this group "as

a critical audience for opinion-makers as they discuss and debate foreign-policy issues."¹ Key has contended that "obviously the highly attentive publics, as they monitor the actions of government and let their judgments be known, play a critical role in assuring a degree of responsiveness of government to nongovernmental opinion."² While single issue publics may still be approached on an individual basis for a determination of their role in electoral behavior, it would appear that multiple membership within salient issue publics can be somewhat predictive of various forms of political attention and activity, some of which have been thought to be the preserve of the attentive public.

In addition to examining the relationship of issue publics and issue orientation to political attentiveness, some time was spent focusing upon the evaluations of parties and candidates. The open-ended question asking for the likes and dislikes of each party and candidate was examined closely and those which appeared to be issue oriented responses were isolated from the remainder. Though the index for issue content was badly skewed, due to a large number of nonresponses, those responses made enabled a fairly detailed pursuit of the nature of any relationship that might exist. And, there were positive relationships between the two concepts. As issue orientation increased, so too did the tendency for a respondent to evaluate parties and candidates in issue terms: The group possessing the highest level of issue orientation consistently scored higher on the issue content scales than the mean for the sample or for any lower level of issue orientation.

¹Rosenau, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy, p. 41.

²Key, Public Opinion and American Democracy, p. 546.

This interrelationship and overlapping between the two concepts points to the fact that the issue-public-based measure may well capture much of the response set involved in party and candidate evaluations. The American Voter and other studies have pointed to the importance of one's evaluations of the primary objects of politics--parties and candidates--and it has been noted earlier in this paper that a substantial proportion of the total evaluation content is issue based. It is significant that it is people having multiple membership in salient issue publics who contribute a substantial proportion of any emphasis upon issues. It is revealing, overall, to note that the issue publics concept seems to be an excellent way of judging the issue concerns of the American public. Also, if we focus upon a segment of the electorate who enjoy membership in several issue publics of high salience, we are focusing upon those who have substantial amounts of political attentiveness and view the important objects of politics--parties and candidates--in issue terms.

The final substantive chapter of the dissertation involved usage of the issue public concept to get at issue impact upon the nature of electoral change. Like that which had been basically accepted as applying to individual voting behavior, issues were not viewed as being particularly important to the nature of electoral change. As just one of several "short-term" forces at work, issues seemed to play a secondary role to such things as candidate image.¹

This chapter, in seeking to discover the extent to which issues might affect the balance of party strength, relied upon a model suggested by Butler and Stokes in their assessment of electoral change in

¹Stokes, "Some Dynamic Elements."

Britain. Building upon necessary conditions posed by The American Voter in reference to issues and the individual vote choice, Butler and Stokes suggested three conditions for issue impact at the systems level: Skewness of issue concerns (salience), skewness of opinion distribution, and skewness of perceived party differences. An issue of little concern to anyone (low salience) is not likely to be able to influence the balance of party strength. Maximum effectiveness of an issue will come under maximum salience. This condition of issue salience cannot stand alone. Even if salience runs high, the electorate must have some idea as to what it wishes the government to do about the problem. For maximum impact, the distribution of opinions as to solutions must be skewed in one direction (e.g., stay in Vietnam, or get out of Vietnam). If upon an issue of high salience members of that issue public perceive what they wish done about the problem but cannot perceive which party would best handle the matter, then issue impact is lessened. Maximum impact, once again, should come under a skewed distribution of perceived party differences. The Butler and Stokes model was tested in the fourth chapter by isolating a number of specific issue areas and issue publics from the general electorate in 1968, noting each's level of salience, issue direction, and perceived party differences, and then relating these to the measurement of electoral change--vote switching. Two different approaches were taken. One dealt with issue areas at the first problem level and the other with issue publics aggregated across all three problem levels. In each case, findings supported a conclusion of issue impact on the nature of electoral change. As stated in Chapter Four, those issues which best met the conditions were generally

found to have the strongest relationship to vote switching;¹ and where exceptions occurred, some logical reason seemed to exist.

The most important conclusions that can be made about the findings presented in the dissertation go beyond those shown in Chapter Four. It is certainly significant that the issue public approach has proven useful in determining the nature of issue impact upon electoral change. It is most significant, however, that the approach seems to best reflect the issue concerns of an individual as well as those of the general public and that this holds potential for all levels of electoral behavior research. If we are to understand the role of elections in the scheme of democracy and popular control, there must be a way of arriving at the relative importance of issue and non-issue factors. To do this, there must be adequate measures of people's issue concerns. It would appear that the issue publics approach is a step in the right direction.

¹It may be recalled from Chapter Four that this term was utilized to cover both vote switchers and switching responses, concepts central to the two different approaches taken in the analysis.

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APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTION OF ISSUE PUBLICS OR AREAS

1960

Unemployment: No details provided

Education needs: Improve schools; more schools needed; better teachers needed; general mention of education needs

Aid to the aged: Aid to old folks, old age pensions; no mention of Medicare

Medicare: Medicare for aged

Other social Welfare: Medical care for other than aged; mental health care; housing needs; general or vague references to social welfare issues

Agriculture & natural resources: Farm subsidies--pro and con; soil bank--pro and con; favors production restrictions (bushel allotments); freedom for farmers in choosing what they raise; surplus food disposal; general references to farm problems; conservation; natural resources; reclamation

Labor problems, union-management relations: Racketeers spoiling union name; improvement of union-management relations; government should stay out of union-management affairs; favor pro-labor legislation; oppose union and labor interests; other but vague mention of labor problems

Pro-integration: Anti-discrimination in schools, employment, etc.

Anti-integration: Pro-discrimination in schools, employment, etc.

Other civil rights: Pro-con on integration; integrate in some areas, not in others; vague references to civil rights

Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy: High cost of living; government spending; balanced budget; government waste

Taxes: High and unfair taxes

Other economic problems: National economy; small business needs help

(tax relief, government controls, etc.); references to private enterprise and business needing boost

Other domestic problems: Problems relating to the functioning of government; other nonspecific problems

Cuba: Cuban situation threatens peace; communists in back yard

Other trouble spots: Congo, Berlin, Middle East, Formosa

U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries

U.S. should be less involved: Peace through isolation; less foreign aid; bring boys back home; let other countries take care of themselves

U.S. should be more involved: More foreign aid; peace through more involvement

U.S. should negotiate with Russia: Meet communists half-way; work through U. N.

U.S. should have more aggressive policy: Specifically toward Russia, communists; preventive or defensive war if necessary; get tough; drop the bomb

National defense: Bomb testing, pro and con; disarmament; internal threat of communism; maintain military superiority; missile program (lagging behind Russia's); scientific development (Russia's getting ahead)

Other foreign policy: Russia, cold war, communist problems, general mention of foreign affairs, foreign relations; world trade; tariffs; dollar exchange values

1964

Unemployment: No details provided

Education needs: Schools, aid to education

Aid to the aged: Social security; no mention of Medicare

Medicare: Medicare for aged

Poverty program: Depressed economic areas; poor, underprivileged people

Other social welfare: Medical care for other than aged; mental health care; housing needs; general or vague references to social welfare issues

Agriculture & natural resources: Farm economics; subsidies; crop

payments; soil bank; surplus food disposal; conservation;
general references to farm problems

Labor problems, union-management relations: Racketeering in unions;
union-management relations; labor relations; strength of
unions (too powerful, too weak)

Civil rights, racial problems: Pro-con integration; other civil rights
references such as settle race problem

Pro-integration

Anti-integration

References to Supreme Court: In relation to staying out of civil rights
area; in relation to prayer in public schools; problems of
reapportionment; power of Supreme Court too great, should be
curtailed

Public disorder: Crime, delinquency, violence, trouble in streets,
race riots, bombings

Inflation, fiscal policy: High cost of living; government spending

Taxes: Taxes too high, unfair

Government control of business: Stifling of individual initiative

States' rights: States' rights versus federal control

Other economic problems: National economy; tariffs

Other domestic problems: Problems relating to functioning of govern-
ment; other nonspecific problems

Vietnam: No details given

Cuba: No details given

Other trouble spots: Southeast Asia; Congo; Berlin; Laos

U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries

U.S. should be less involved: Mind our own business; let other countries
take care of themselves

Foreign aid: Too much, too little, wrong type

U.S. should negotiate with Russia: Meet others half-way

U.S. should have more aggressive policy: Total victory as goal; threaten
war; no compromise or negotiations

National defense: Bomb testing, pro and con; disarmament; threat of

communism; internal threat of communism; maintain military superiority; missile program (lagging behind Russia's); scientific development (Russia's getting ahead)

Other foreign affairs: Relations with communist countries; relations with allies; other foreign affairs references

1968

Unemployment: Unemployment compensation; job retraining; aid for depressed economic areas, small businesses

Education needs: Schools, aid to education

Aid to the aged: Social security; no mention of Medicare

Medicare: Medicare for aged

Poverty program: Poor, underprivileged people; welfare programs; welfare payments; rent subsidies; general reference to anti-poverty programs, Great Society

Housing: Slums; ghettos; urban blight; urban renewal

Assistance to Negroes: Housing, education, jobs, etc.

Other social welfare: Health problems; medical care for other than aged; assistance to various minority groups; administration of welfare programs

Agriculture & natural resources: Farm economics; subsidies; crop payments; soil bank; conservation; general references to farm problems; prevention of water and air pollution

Labor problems, union-management relations: Racketeering in unions; labor relations; strength of unions; arbitration; control of strikes; increasing minimum wage

Civil rights, racial problems: Problems of young people; moral, religious decay of nation; control of leftwing extremists; control of guns; integration pro and con; general or vague references

Pro-integration: Schools; housing; fair employment practices; right to vote; fair treatment by police

Anti-integration: Protection of white majority; prevention of race mixing; maintenance of segregated schools; no busing; right to choose own neighbors; right to discriminate in employment

Public disorder: General references to public disorder; law and order; riots; war protests; other public order items

Other public order items: Crime, violence; trouble in streets; narcotics control

Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy: High prices; high cost of living; government spending

Taxes: Fair tax structure

Other economic problems: Tight money; fair trade laws; anti-trust laws, control of business

Vietnam: The war

Other trouble spots: Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Korea (Pueblo)

National defense: Disarmament; size, quality of armed forces; draft system; weapons development; space race; morale of nation

Other foreign affairs: Maintenance of strength; more involvement; less involvement; relations with Russia and other communist nations; relations with allies; general mention of foreign affairs

APPENDIX B

TABLE 56

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 BY RACE,^a FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% White	% Black
Domestic Affairs		
Unemployment	5.3	11.9
Education needs	1.6	4.6
Aid to the aged	4.1	2.8
Medicare	5.2	2.8
Poverty program	4.3	7.3
Other social welfare	2.8	3.7
Agriculture & natural resources	2.8	.9
Labor problems, union-management relations	.8	.9
Civil rights, racial problems ^b	17.6	45.0
Pro-integration	5.5	38.5
Anti-integration	3.8	0
References to Supreme Court	1.2	.9
Public disorder	3.0	4.6
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.1	0
Taxes	3.1	2.8
Government control of business	.3	0
States' rights	.7	.9
Other economic problems	1.5	.9
Other domestic problems	2.6	1.9
Foreign Affairs		
Vietnam	10.3	3.7
Cuba	2.8	0
Other trouble spots	1.0	0
U..S should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries	2.9	0
U.S. should be less involved	.4	0
Foreign aid	3.5	0
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	.4	0
U.S. should have more aggressive policy	.1	0
National defense	6.0	3.7
Other foreign affairs	12.6	1.8
Total (N)	(1161)	(109)

^aAll respondents not clearly designated as white or black were excluded from analysis.

^bIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

TABLE 57

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 BY EDUCATION, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 0-8th Grade	% 9-11th Grade	% 12th Grade	% Some College	% College Degree
Domestic Affairs					
Unemployment	6.7	7.4	5.5	6.1	3.0
Education needs	0	1.7	1.4	2.8	6.1
Aid to the aged	8.9	5.0	2.2	1.7	2.4
Medicare	8.9	5.4	3.8	2.8	2.4
Poverty program	6.7	5.4	3.8	3.9	2.4
Other social welfare	1.5	2.9	3.6	2.2	3.7
Agriculture & natural re- sources	4.4	3.3	1.9	2.2	1.2
Labor problems, union- management relations	.4	1.2	1.0	1.1	0
Civil rights, racial problems ^a	24.8	21.1	17.9	16.2	18.3
Pro-integration	7.8	11.2	7.2	7.3	9.1
Anti-integration	7.0	4.1	2.4	1.1	1.2
References to Supreme Court .	.7	.4	1.4	2.2	1.2
Public disorder	3.0	3.3	3.8	3.4	1.2
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy	3.0	1.2	2.9	3.9	2.4
Taxes	3.3	4.1	3.1	1.7	2.4
Government control of business	0	0	0	.6	1.2
States' rights	.4	0	.7	0	3.0
Other economic problems . . .	1.1	.4	2.2	.6	2.4
Other domestic problems . . .	2.3	2.9	1.9	3.3	1.8
Foreign Affairs					
Vietnam	6.3	7.4	14.1	8.9	8.5
Cuba	1.5	1.7	3.1	3.9	3.7
Other trouble spots	.4	0	1.2	1.1	2.4
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries	.7	1.7	2.6	5.6	4.3
U.S. should be less involved .	.4	.8	.2	.6	0
Foreign aid	2.2	1.7	3.6	5.0	4.3
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	0	.8	.7	0	0
U.S. should have more aggres- sive policy	0	.4	0	0	0
National defense	2.2	6.6	6.7	8.4	5.5
Other foreign affairs	10.4	13.2	10.5	11.8	15.8
Total (N)	(270)	(242)	(418)	(179)	(164)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

TABLE 58

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 BY INCOME, FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% \$0- 2,999	% \$3,000- 5,999	% \$6,000- 9,999	% \$10,000- 14,999	% \$15,000+
Domestic Affairs					
Unemployment	10.2	4.1	6.2	4.8	3.1
Education needs	3.1	.8	2.1	2.7	3.1
Aid to the aged	9.2	4.6	3.4	1.1	1.0
Medicare	8.7	3.3	5.7	4.8	2.1
Poverty program	6.1	5.4	4.7	1.6	4.2
Other social welfare	3.1	1.9	3.1	3.2	2.1
Agriculture & natural resources	4.1	4.3	1.0	2.2	2.1
Labor problems, union- management relations	1.0	.8	.8	.5	1.0
Civil rights, racial problems ^a .	20.9	22.0	17.9	20.4	13.5
Pro-integration	9.2	10.0	6.2	10.8	6.3
Anti-integration	3.6	4.6	2.8	2.2	0
References to Supreme Court . .	1.0	.3	2.3	1.1	1.0
Public disorder	3.6	3.8	2.3	2.2	6.3
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy .	.5	5.1	1.8	3.2	1.0
Taxes	2.6	3.5	3.4	2.7	1.0
Government control of business .	0	.3	0	0	2.1
States' rights	1.0	.3	.5	1.1	1.0
Other economic problems	0	2.2	1.0	2.2	2.1
Other domestic problems	3.1	3.2	.9	2.2	3.1
Foreign Affairs					
Vietnam	3.1	11.1	12.1	8.1	12.5
Cuba	2.0	1.6	2.6	5.4	2.1
Other trouble spots	0	.5	.8	2.7	2.1
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries	.5	1.1	3.6	4.8	6.3
U.S. should be less involved . .	0	.5	.5	0	0
Foreign aid	2.6	2.7	4.4	2.1	3.1
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	0	.5	.8	0	0
U.S. should have more aggressive policy	0	0	.3	0	0
National defense	3.6	5.7	5.7	7.0	8.3
Other foreign affairs	10.2	10.3	12.2	14.0	24.6
Total (N)	(196)	(369)	(386)	(186)	(96)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

TABLE 59

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 BY AGE, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	% 20-29	% 30-39	% 40-49	% 50-59	% 60-69	% 70+
Domestic Affairs						
Unemployment	8.6	5.6	5.3	6.9	3.9	2.9
Education needs	2.1	3.0	1.8	1.7	.6	1.9
Aid to the aged	2.6	1.5	3.2	4.7	9.0	7.6
Medicare	2.1	3.7	4.2	5.2	9.7	8.6
Poverty program	4.7	4.5	3.9	3.4	4.5	7.6
Other social welfare	3.0	2.6	3.2	1.7	3.9	2.9
Agriculture & natural resources	2.1	2.2	4.2	2.1	1.9	2.9
Labor problems, union- management relations	1.7	.4	.7	0	1.3	1.0
Civil rights, racial problems ^a .	25.8	23.6	20.4	15.0	11.6	18.1
Pro-integration	10.7	10.9	7.4	7.7	3.2	7.6
Anti-integration	3.0	2.6	6.0	1.7	3.2	3.8
References to Supreme Court . .	.4	1.1	1.4	2.6	.6	0
Public disorder	3.0	2.6	1.4	3.0	7.7	2.9
Inflation, U.S. fiscal policy .	1.3	1.5	2.1	5.2	3.9	4.8
Taxes	2.1	2.2	3.2	5.6	1.9	2.9
Government control of business .	0	0	.4	.4	.6	0
States' rights	0	.4	1.4	.9	1.3	0
Other economic problems	1.3	1.9	1.8	1.3	1.3	0
Other domestic problems	.9	2.6	2.9	2.6	3.6	2.9
Foreign Affairs						
Vietnam	15.9	10.1	9.9	6.4	7.1	5.7
Cuba	1.1	1.1	3.5	3.9	1.9	4.8
Other trouble spots	0	.4	1.8	1.7	.6	1.0
U.S. should maintain strength vis-a-vis Russia & other communist countries	1.3	4.5	3.5	2.1	2.6	0
U.S. should be less involved . .	.9	0	.4	0	.6	1.0
Foreign aid	3.9	4.1	1.8	5.2	.6	2.9
U.S. should negotiate with Russia	.4	.4	.4	.4	.6	0
U.S. should have more aggressive policy	0	0	0	.4	0	0
National defense	5.6	7.5	6.3	6.0	3.2	3.8
Other foreign affairs	8.6	12.4	11.2	11.6	15.5	14.3
Total (N)	(233)	(267)	(284)	(233)	(155)	(105)

^aIncludes the percentages for pro- and anti-integration.

TABLE 60

ISSUE PUBLICS FOR 1964 (PROBLEMS GOVERNMENT SHOULD STAY OUT OF)
FOR DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Issue Public	%	Issue Public	%
Domestic Affairs		Foreign Affairs	
Unemployment	.5	Vietnam	15.6
Education needs	1.8	Cuba	2.7
Aid to the aged	.1	Other trouble spots . . .	3.3
Medicare	1.6	U.S. should maintain	
Poverty program	.3	strength vis-a-vis	
Other social welfare	1.1	Russia & other com-	
Agriculture & natural		munist countries . . .	.1
resources	3.2	U.S. should be less	
Labor problems, union-		involved	4.8
management relations . .	1.4	Foreign aid	11.7
Civil rights, racial		National defense	1.4
problems	12.8	Other foreign affairs . .	3.5
References to Supreme Court	21.0		
Public disorder	.3		
Inflation, U.S. fiscal			
policy	.3		
Taxes	.4		
Government control of bus-			
iness	2.7		
States' rights	5.1		
Other economic problems . .	.1		
Other domestic problems . .	4.2		
Total (N) (697)			