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THE IMPACT OF A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL EVENT ON INDIVIDUAL BEHAVIOR

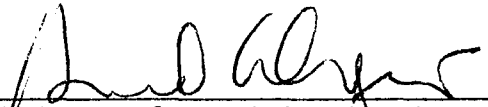
by
William
MICHAEL W. SIGALL

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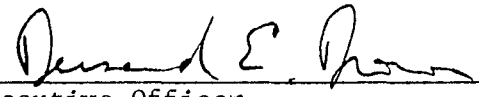
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Chairman of Examining Committee

June 16, 1970
date


Executive Officer

Robert Engler

Alan Fiellin

Edward D. Joseph, M.D.

Emily Mumford

Edward Schneier
Supervisory Committee

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

It is the purpose of this work to examine the impact of a significant political event on individual behavior. There is little doubt that the age in which we live is one of continuous turmoil. How public events affect us in terms of our behavior, health, attitudes, beliefs, values, fears and desires is a question that every concerned student of the contemporary scene should ask. There is a growing interest among social, political, and behavioral scientists in this type of research.¹ Specialization has a tendency to limit one's perspective; the psychiatrist conducts his study to better understand the dynamics of the individual, the sociologist wishes to delineate patterns of attitude formation, while the political scientist attempts to ferret out the factors underlying a given type of political behavior. Therefore, in our era of the specialist we must find a way to co-ordinate and integrate our individual efforts in some meaningful manner lest we trot off, each in his own direction with blinders in place, speaking his

¹See, for example, Heinz Eulau, "quo Vadimus?" P.S. (Winter 1969), 2, p. 13, where it is shown that 37 per cent of those political scientists who list their main area of interest as being political psychology were born in the year 1930 or later. This is the highest such percentage for any of the 27 sub-fields of specialization reported on in that presentation. It should be pointed out that the implication of Eulau's observations is subject to question. In a communication to the American Political Science Association in the form of a letter to the Editor, Adam C. Breckenridge raises doubts as to whether political science analysis is headed in the direction of greater reliance on psychological insights and techniques, despite Eulau's findings, P.S. (Spring 1969), 2, p. 191.

own language. Admittedly, such interdisciplinary research (for want of a better term) will be awkward at first. But it is far better to trip along the way while pursuing a legitimate interest than to construct a beautiful and sleek methodology that culminates in a modern Tower of Babel. It is to this high purpose that this clumsy effort is dedicated.

As will be demonstrated later, by and large, with certain notable exceptions, the psychological and psychiatric insights employed by political scientists are of the homespun variety, while political happenings are at best incidental to the interests of the psychologist and psychiatrist in most cases.

The purpose of this project is to study the impact of a major political event on the private lives of individuals. A major political event is defined here as an occurrence whose outcome can be perceived as having a major bearing on the future in terms of public policy.* The reason for undertaking such a study is that it is of great interest to the student of political behavior to see if events in the public arena are perceived and reacted to by the individual in a manner similar to that in which he responds to non-political events and/or events of a strictly personal nature, or if the impact of a political event is different either qualitatively or quantitatively. The 1968 American Presidential election was chosen as the event in this case. The hope

*It was originally planned to study a political crisis; that is, an event that was sudden and unanticipated as well as being traumatic both in terms of perception and realistic societal consequences (e.g. an assassination). This idea was altered at the outset in favor of studying an event instead of a crisis on both practical as well as methodological grounds. First, it was impractical to await a crisis (not to mention the macabre aspect of so doing) and second, it was felt that a concrete and reoccurring event can better serve as a comparative guide for future research.

is that by studying a concrete and highly significant political occurrence rather than a single catastrophic or traumatic one, a point of departure can be established upon which others can later improve and which could possibly be used as a means for future comparison and contrast.²

The hypothesis being advanced, in its broadest sense, is that events of a political nature have an impact on the private lives of individuals within the society. Anxiety,* one might posit, can play both the role of cause and of effect in political situations; the implication here being that by influencing the individual's attitudes toward life, in the sense of increasing cynicism and/or lack of faith in the political process and the governmental system, a political event will then become a variable in determining the individual's subsequent behavior which is based in part on this shift in attitudes. This is a basic premise underlying this inquiry, as is the belief that individuals, as actors in the political system, are valid subjects for political analysis. There will also be an attempt to assess how such an impact tends to manifest itself, both in psychological and somatic terms. It is tacitly hoped that such

²See Bernice T. Biduson, "A Study of Children's Attitudes Toward the Cuban Crisis," Mental Health, 49, (January 1965), pp. 113-125, in which the author calls attention to the need for previously prepared research projects, "designed to be immediately operational when a crisis first rears its potentially disastrous head."

*Anxiety is employed here in the psychoanalytic sense: "A distressing affect (feeling lone) which is subjectively experienced as worry, similar to fear of a real danger or its anticipation. Anxiety, however, is said to be 'free-floating' if it exists without conscious reference to a specific external danger. It is usually accompanied by objective manifestations of increased activity of those bodily functions under the control of the autonomic (vegetative) nervous system, resulting, for instance, in palpitations, fast breathing, sweating, diarrhea, etc." See, Burness E. Moore and Bernard D. Fine, A Glossary of Psychoanalytic Terms and Concepts, (New York: The American Psychoanalytic Association, 1967), p. 16.

an undertaking might, in some small way, not only prove to be heuristic, but point to possible areas of collaboration between psychiatry and political science, eventually leading to a greater understanding of the human factor in politics.

This relationship between anxiety generated by a political event, the shifts in attitudes toward the political system brought about by such anxiety, and subsequent political behavior on the part of the individual is the over-riding hypothesis of this study as well as the rationale underlying it and was conceived of prior to the actual designing of the study itself. In fact, it acted as a stimulus, in general, in undertaking this investigation. There were also a specific set of hypotheses that were anticipated by this writer based on previous work in this area of inquiry. As a result, the questions incorporated in the questionnaire (chapter five) and the information sought from the psychoanalytic data (chapter four) were developed. For the population at-large, as reached by use of questionnaire and interviews, (chapter five of this study) the following was hypothesized:

- 1) that individual reactions would be greatest both in terms of numbers of people effected and degree of affect, in the area of increased general tension, anxiety and guilt, followed by such categories as greater questioning of basic political attitudes and assumptions and increased fear for one's future as it relates to the political process and governmental system. More concrete areas, such as disturbances in interpersonal relations and lower levels of job performance would appear next in order with such items as increased consumption of alcohol, tobacco and drugs, and disturbed sleep or inability to sleep coming thereafter. Changes in

the nature of one's dreams, unusual increases or decreases in appetite, disorders of the digestive and eliminative systems would be influenced to a lesser degree and areas such as the weakening of one's state of physical health and lessening of one's sex life would hardly be influenced at all. The theme here is that the amorphous, emotional areas such as tension and attitude structure would more readily become involved with a political event and would thus register a greater and more obvious impact as the point of inter-relation is of a psychologically superficial nature. It was felt that there is a direct relationship between the degree of affect and the vagueness of the category in question.

2) that those who participated in the political event would have a greater investment in it and consequently display a greater amount of impact as a result of it.

3) that negative events bring forth a far greater amount of emotional response than do positive ones. Therefore, those people who are displeased with an occurrence such as an election will show more of an impact than will those who are happy with the outcome.

4) as a result of what was hypothesized in #3, that the next step in this process involves an unconscious desire on the part of the individual to remove or mitigate or deny any such emotional investment in a political event. Therefore, he shall rationalize away any negative quality of the event as soon as possible. Also, as a result of this last statement, any impact noted will tend to be of a relatively short period of time, especially in a political happening such as the election being studied here as it is relatively easy to rationalize that it

doesn't make a great difference who emerges victorious.*

5) that a person's general personality traits and behavior patterns will also be manifest in such an instance as this one. That is, that reactions to a political event will tend to appear in the same people over and over - that there are those who will constantly react to such events, to some degree, even when they have little true connection with it, while others will never perceive themselves as being influenced by such occurrences even when they admit a real interest in the outcome.

6) that a person's reaction to political events will differ from the manner in which he reacts to significant events of a purely personal nature.

7) that one's perception of the importance of an event to one's personal life and not the actual significance will determine the level of emotional involvement and hence the degree of noted impact.

8) that sudden and tragic events will have far greater impact, both in terms of numbers of people effected and degree of affect, than re-occurring, concrete events that can be psychologically anticipated, and

9) that the closer one actually is to an event the greater its impact as the more real the threat to one's being appears, even when a distant event is more threatening, at least potentially. As a consequence

*The mere fact that rationalization is necessary, should this prove to be the case here, is evidence of impact of a psychological nature. Also, if rationalization of this event's results does occur it can serve to affect an individual's political attitude and subsequent behavior based on considerations other than a realistic assessment of the event and its consequences. In order to fully appreciate any conclusions arrived at along these lines the event itself must be placed in political perspective. This is especially necessary if this study is ever to serve as a comparative baseline with future endeavors. Therefore, the political context of the 1968 American Presidential election will be discussed together with any conclusions that seem warranted.

of this last point, it is felt that the greater the level of personalization of an event or identification with an aspect of it, the greater the level of noted impact.

For the population of patients in analysis there were no separate hypotheses, but rather it was hoped that certain of these questions, especially the last one dealing with personal identification with an event or personage, could be better clarified as a result of the in-depth nature of the data on the individual personality made available through the use of psychoanalysts' reports. More information, it was hoped, might be thus gleaned concerning such questions, in addition to the above hypotheses, as: 1) whether actual knowledge of the political sphere influences one's response to (meaning by implication, one's identification with) political events, 2) whether the degree of self-involvement of a given patient tends to diminish the ability of that person to become involved with an outside event on an emotional plateau, and 3) whether the nature of a particular patient's problems tends to cloud the manner in which he will react to a significant political event. It was felt, on the part of this writer, that the answer of these three questions would appear to be "yes".

By no means does this list claim to be exhaustive. Hopefully, other observations and tendencies will be noted, not previously anticipated, that will shed new light on this over-all question of the impact of significant political events on individual behavior.

In pointing out the difficulties inherent in any attempt at relating personality variables of an individual to his political behavior, Lester W. Milbrath states:

Personality is a complicated, interrelated, and interacting system. The study of a complete personality, such as might be carried out by a psychoanalyst, is time-consuming and requires special training.³

Yet, in another work written together with Walter W. Klein, Milbrath says:

...it is sometimes argued that it is unnecessary to collect personality data, which are difficult to measure, since environmental variables suffice to account for political behavior. Socio-economic-status (SES), for example, has repeatedly been found to correlate with personality measures which, in turn, correlate with certain types of political participation. Why not drop out the personality link and use only SES to account for political participation? The difficulty with this tactic is that SES measures alone do not account for enough of the variance; too many deviant cases are left unexplained.⁴

Admittedly, the information being sought in this study is quite difficult to get at. In an honest research endeavor this fact should not become a deterrent. If anything, it should provide added stimulus and incentive.⁵

There is no specific model of man or of behavior being constructed or being followed here. In the first place, very little research along the lines desired by this writer - that is, specifically relating the dynamic variable of the individual personality to the political sphere - has been undertaken to date. Second, whatever conclusions are derived as a result of this study can at best be considered as tentative. The

³Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co.: 1965), p. 73.

⁴Lester W. Milbrath and Walter W. Klein, "Personality Correlates of Political Participation" Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior, Edward C. Dryer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, eds. (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1966), pp. 226-7.

⁵For a brilliant exposition of the utility of using individual psychological life-histories as well as psychopathological insights for the analysis and understanding of political behavior in general, see, Harold D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), chapters I and II.

hope here is to take a trial step into this uncharted area in order to determine, however roughly at first, how psychoanalytic data can be put to beneficial use by political, social, and behavioral scientists. It will take numerous additional and reticulous efforts in this direction before a verifiable, honest and meaningful paradigm can be erected.

Implicit, of course, is the general assumption that the individual's psychodynamics as he interacts with the public arena is much the same as when he traditionally behaves otherwise, whether or not he is or wishes to be aware of this and whether or not this is readily apparent as a result of observing his manifest behavior. That is, that his needs, drives, conflicts, limitations, potentials, fears, wishes and so forth, the manner in which they manifest themselves (or remain latent), the symbolic value of outside objects and events, and other such factors that circumscribe if not dictate patterns of behavior in general will be factors in determining a man's political behavior or lack of it, as well.

Therefore, an equally implicit assumption being entertained here is that in order to fully comprehend what we, as political scientists, witness as a result of our aggregate data, survey research, and theoretical models, we must also come to grips with why what occurs in fact does and we must come to grips with this at the level at which it happens, inside the individual actor. That is not to say that there is no place for group analysis or the attribution of rational motives to observed political behavior patterns. Rather, we must learn to discern where such techniques are sufficient and where we must probe at deeper levels to get at the true reasons. Therefore, the level of sophistica-

tion of political science research will be determined to a certain extent by the level of methodological sophistication of other disciplines in the behavioral sciences and by our ability to adapt these tools to our needs.

The choice of the 1968 American Presidential election, while somewhat arbitrary, can be viewed as a significant political event in that 1) we are socialized at an early age to view the Presidency as being important, and 2) one can easily attribute differences in public policy that might readily affect us to the President. Yet, in light of the implicit assumptions underlying this work, it should be stated that "significance" can occur at many levels. Therefore, what is significant in terms of rational criteria of political or economic importance or even in terms of conscious attitudes of individual citizens may not be "significant" in psychological terms for certain of those individuals, or vice-versa. Again, implicit here is the hope to try to answer this very question.

This particular effort is unique in that, to this author's knowledge, there has been no prior attempt at understanding individual responses to an election return undertaken in the manner being employed here. It would therefore not be too meaningful to compare results obtained in this study with previous works. Yet, research does not (or at least should not) take place in a vacuum. There have been a few studies done in the past which dealt with people's reactions to political events. Some differed from this work in that they concentrated on sudden crises, others differed in the methodology employed, while most differed in both of these respects. The types of studies done in this area, if only be-

cause they are so few and far between, are certainly of interest and will be cited in this introductory chapter. The next chapter will present an overview of the types of works which were performed in the area of American voting behavior, especially those claiming to use psychological variables in their analyses, though the study at hand is not a voting behavior project, in the traditional sense of the term. The third chapter, along the lines of the second, presents a similar overview of the studies and writings to be found in the area of psychodynamics of political behavior as well as in the area of psychiatry and politics. The desire in these preliminary chapters is not to take critical potshots nor to present a panorama of all the findings accumulated to date in political behavior, psychiatry, and psychology, for only a fool or a genius would set out on such an encyclopedic and quixotic voyage. Rather, the desire is to illustrate which areas and questions have gained the interest and attention of social, political, and behavioral scientists (and which have become conspicuous by the absence of such interest and attention). Thus it is hoped to put this work into as much perspective as possible.

The study itself is being undertaken in the following manner. Two separate groups of people are to be investigated. Actually, these groups are not meant to be a control one on the other but rather two possible methods of getting at the information sought. A questionnaire was designed which attempts to probe the self-perceived reactions of men and women of the general population to the 1960 Presidential election. There is no claim that the population chosen for receipt of the questionnaire is a reflective sample of the national population. The actual questionnaire,

along with a detailed description of who received it and completed it, as well as the results and possible findings based on that data will be presented in chapter five. The respondents were given the questionnaire immediately following the election and were requested to complete it and return it immediately thereafter. They were offered the option of signing up for an interview during which time their responses could be further explored. A number did so choose. The rest submitted their questionnaires anonymously. The questionnaire was distributed in both the New York and the Los Angeles areas. Those in the New York area who volunteered to be interviewed were contacted and interviews were conducted by this author. Those in the Los Angeles area were similarly contacted and interviewed, but in this latter instance the interviews were conducted by telephone. The information obtained in these interviews and the possible differences between the face-to-face interviews and the phone conversations shall also be discussed in chapter five.

Along with questions pertaining to the respondents' self-perceived reactions to political events, standard coding questions, such as age, gender, socio-economic status, and level of education, were included. Questions contained in the Adorno F-scale, designed to tap latent authoritarianism in a given person, were incorporated into the questionnaire as well. While a certain amount of grouping and correlating shall be undertaken, the statistical techniques used are of the most simple variety and no claim is being made as to the universal applicability of whatever results are derived to the general population. The purpose of grouping and correlating certain data is just for the sake of clarity and in order to raise the possibility of the existence of certain rela-

tionships, as well as to be able to speculate as to potential findings. It is for this reason that the laws of large numbers, of statistical sampling techniques or of statistical correlations, for example, are not being applied.⁶ This is a study of individuals and the findings are mainly inferential.⁷ Eventually, if such studies prove to be useful and are further pursued by students of the field in the eclectic atmosphere of true learning, we might yet see the day when a precise method can be developed for accurately and meaningfully testing and measuring such phenomena.

In total, some 603 questionnaires were distributed. Of these, 251 were sent through inter-college mail to the non-instructional staff of the City University of New York's Graduate Center. This group also included a very small number of teaching professors who, as part of their duties at the University, also administer graduate programs. Obviously, this is a biased sample. And yet, surprisingly, a rather widespread spectrum of the population was represented in this group. Of these, 58 questionnaires were returned in completed form. How many of the remaining 193 questionnaires sent out never reached their destination and how many

⁶See V. O. Key, Jr., A Primer of Statistics for Political Scientists, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), p. 135 where the author contends that; "Vast areas of politics must be treated, if they are treated at all, by intuition, impression, sagacity, insight - all processes that are of the utmost importance but which yield results not readily verifiable."

⁷See the fascinating work by Robert L. Lane, Political Ideology, (New York: Free Press, 1962) wherein the author goes about determining "why the American common man believes what he does" by in-depth interviewing of fifteen individuals. See, for instance, the Introduction to this work, pp. 1-11, in which Professor Lane provides us with an eloquent explanation of the usefulness of such an approach for social science research.

were discarded or rejected by their recipients is unknown. Seven respondents agreed to be interviewed. Six in fact were, the seventh having been impossible to locate. All interviews were conducted in privacy in the respondents respective offices and lasted approximately a half-hour each on the average, with a range of between twenty and forty minutes apiece depending on the particular interview. Thirty-two questionnaires were distributed to an undergraduate elective class in political science at the City College of New York.* Twenty-one of the students complied with the request and returned completed questionnaires. Six volunteered for further discussions and all of these college students were interviewed in this author's office or at the City College. The duration of these interviews was, on the average, the same as for the former group. All twelve of the interviews conducted in the New York area took place within a month following election day.

400 questionnaires were mailed to California prior to the election. There, Dr. William H. Blanchard, a clinical psychologist with the Systems Development Corporation, distributed them to three instructors of his acquaintance. One gave them out to his class in political analysis at the University of Southern California. All eleven of the students in that class, as well as the instructor, filled out the questionnaire. Six of these respondents agreed to be interviewed. Two of these six were later contacted and spoken with. The second class was one in African studies at the University of California at Los Angeles. 27 responses were received from this group. The number who received the questionnaire initially is unknown. Of these, eleven consented to further discussion.

*The instructor of that class being this author's advisor.

Nine of the members of this group were reached and interviews were held. The last group on the West Coast consisted of two classes in sensitivity training conducted by a psychologist. Again, the original number of people receiving the questionnaire is not known. 26 respondents did complete it, of which nine agreed to be interviewed, two of whom were in fact contacted and interviewed. The thirteen interviews conducted, among the West Coast respondents, via telephone, were held about six months after the Presidential election, and lasted on the average of a quarter of an hour each, with a five minute range on either side. The remainder of those who had agreed to be interviewed could not be reached. The interviews themselves, both those conducted personally in New York and those held over the phone to California, were focused though not structured. That is, the discussions were not confined to any specific series or list of questions. Certain key areas of inquiry were formulated, however, in the mind of the interviewer and were brought out in each separate interview.⁶ As was previously mentioned, a further and more detailed presentation of the methods used, the results obtained, as well as an evaluation of the effectiveness of this aspect of the study shall be undertaken in chapter five.

The other group of individuals being studied consists of patients presently undergoing psychoanalysis and, in some instances, psychotherapy. Once again, this sample population includes individuals of differing situations; and, again, no claim is being made that they reflect any

⁶For a fine argument in favor of employing such "relatively subjective and unscientific" procedures under certain circumstances see, Donald H. Matthews, U. S. Senators & Their World, (New York: Random House, 1960), pp. 371-2.

general population. These people, too, are divided between the Los Angeles and the New York areas of the nation. In this part of the study, which will be presented in detail in chapter four, the use of groupings and of single relationships between factors shall be kept to a bare minimum and each case shall be treated more or less individually. Each co-operating psychoanalyst submitted a profile of himself and of a number of his patients, which he himself selected. This was done prior to election day. Within a short period of time following the election, the analysts involved either wrote or telephoned in the responses of the individuals in question to the election results, as seen in the analytic sessions immediately following the election. As a result of their own choice, based primarily on their philosophy of proper care, the majority of analysts rejected the notion of a uniform check-list, though one had initially been attempted. Therefore, the reports which were submitted varied in a number of ways from analyst to analyst. This, of course, further necessitated the use of individualistic treatment of the cases studied, and of greater reliance on inference. It is hoped, that as a result of continued efforts in this direction, some form of checklist might be developed for use in future research projects. While analysts may well reject the notion of asking direct questions of their patients, such a uniform list could constitute a very worthwhile aid as far as the reporting of data is concerned.

In all, sixteen analysts participated. Ten of these analysts came from the West Coast and they reported on some 63 of their patients. The remaining six analysts were from the New York region and they supplied 25 reports on their patients. In all, therefore, 108 individuals were studied. 89 of these people were patients in psychoanalysis, with the

remaining nine being psychotherapy patients. The amount of patients reported on by any given analyst varied from two on the one hand to fourteen on the other. The anonymity of both patient and analyst was assured by the use of a coded number and letter system. A fully detailed presentation of this data as well as an evaluation of the results and a critique of this entire segment of the study at hand will be found in chapter four.* A review of the entire research endeavor, of its tentative conclusions, suggestions both general and specific, and some ideas for possible areas for further research in this field will be undertaken in chapter six.

As was mentioned earlier, there has been some interest shown in the question of people's reactions to political events. Witness, for example, the popularity and frequency of polls which deal, admittedly on a rather superficial level, with the public's attitude towards a given political decision or personality at a given point in time. The hysterical reaction of at least a segment of the population to what they perceived to be a crisis event was studied as early as 1940 by Hadley Cantril.⁹ In Emile Durkheim's classic study of suicide it is shown that "wars have a restraining effect on the development of suicide."¹⁰ In a sense, the

*This portion of the project at hand enjoys the sponsorship of the American Psychoanalytic Association which assures no responsibility for either the methodology employed or the results obtained.

⁹See, Hadley Cantril, The Invasion From Mars, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966). In this work the author studies peoples' reactions to Orson Welles' radio broadcast of H. G. Wells' fantasy work, War of the Worlds, on Halloween night of 1938 which was accepted as an accurate news report by certain people and reacted to as such.

¹⁰Emile Durkheim, Suicide, (New York: Free Press, 1951), p. 352.

mere reporting of such observations and the posing of such questions illustrates an interest in exploring the relationship between crises and peoples' behavior. The concept that natural disasters can lead to behavioral changes in a population is not unknown. Irving L. Janis reports, for example, that, "Symptoms of aggression become highly visible among a population that is recovering from a disaster."¹¹ Relating natural disasters to political situations F. Glenn Abney and Larry B. Hill studied the impact of hurricane Betsy on a New Orleans mayoralty election. They state emphatically:

The fact that political scientists have neglected the political implications of sudden changes in the physical environment does not mean that such events are politically unimportant... These crises are significant political happenings which deserve comparative empirical inquiry by students of political behavior.¹²

There is greater interest shown in studying responses to man-made occurrences, disasterous or otherwise. If one looks at approaches to the study of this type of political behavior one sees them falling into four categories. The most common group would consist of those based on survey research. These studies include the Roper, Gallup, Harris, Quayle and other well known public opinion polls as frequently reported in the press. The pollster chooses a representative sample of the general population, and by the use of pre-set questions attempts to tap attitudes purely on the level of conscious perception. Results of such undertakings

¹¹Irving L. Janis, "Problems of Theory in the Analysis of Stress Behavior", The Journal of Social Issues, 10, (1954), p. 19.

¹²F. Glenn Abney and Larry B. Hill, "Natural Disasters as a Political Variable: The Effect of a Hurricane on an Urban Election", American Political Science Review, 60, (December, 1966), p. 980.

are usually reported in terms of a fixed number of possible response categories and are most often presented by means of percentage breakdowns.¹³ A statistical picture of perceived reaction can thus be obtained, the type of information gleaned being largely a function of the questions asked.

Such survey research studies, if properly executed, allow us to differentiate between responses of different categories of people (for instance, we can separate blue collar worker from white collar, rural dweller from urban resident and so forth). The problem with this approach, for our purposes, is that there is little attempt at getting at the root causes of the particular attitudes expressed. At best, such factors are inferred from the responses. Naturally, these studies serve a valuable function in that they are highly informative, especially to the decision-maker and the social scientist, in terms of indicating where a particular cross-section stands on a given issue at a given time.

Statistical trend analysis, on the other hand, allows us to relate variables over time and thus gain some understanding of the relationship between factors within the culture and psychiatric changes in the population's behavior.¹⁴ At the same time, it is difficult to gain any deep insight into the psychodynamics of the individual respondent. Also, they might pass over the uniqueness of the individual case and therefore

¹³See, for example, James W. Clarke and John W. Soule, "How Southern Children Felt About King's Death", Trans-Action, (October, 1968), pp. 35-40.

¹⁴See, for example, August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, Social Class and Mental Illness: A Community Study, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1958). Also, E. Harvey Brenner, "Economic Change and Mental Hospitalization: New York State, 1910-1960", Social Psychiatry, 2, (1967, 4), pp. 180-188.

occasionally miss such significant behavioral phenomena as the aberration from the norm.

Third, there is the individual case study. Actually, there are two sub-groups within this category. One is the in-depth analysis of a single person.¹⁵ Such an approach, familiar enough to the psychiatrist, confronts the social scientist with the possible shortcoming of being rather difficult to extrapolate from one such a case study to the general population.

Another manifestation of the case study technique deals with an investigation of a given event. The student's reading of the event is used to generate an hypothesis of general behavior or to validate or reject the student's original hypothesis. For example, William H. Blanchard feels that there are certain "unverbalized... national beliefs" which may not show up on a questionnaire survey. By examining the U-2 incident, he concludes that:

In crisis situations it is these seldom expressed, but potent attitudes that can have a decided influence on national policy.¹⁶

The fourth classification would consist of those studies which are methodologically eclectic. That is, projects which endeavor to obtain information and insights of social and/or political interest by dealing with a number of individual persons. The number would be small enough so that each case can be properly examined, which by the same token would

¹⁵See, for instance, Henry Lowenfeld, "Some Aspects of a Compulsion Neurosis in a Changing Civilization", Psychoanalytic quarterly, 13, (January, 1944), pp. 1-15.

¹⁶William H. Blanchard, "National Policy: A Psychological Study of the U-2 Incident", The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 6, (June, 1962), pp. 143-146.

preclude any true statistical validity, at the same time being large enough to discern potential patterns. Such work, in order to be performed effectively, must be highly inferential. It lends itself rather well to the needs and techniques of political scientists and psychiatrists working in concert. It is into this last, somewhat amorphous, category that this particular work falls.

As a significant proportion of the studies done in the area of psychiatry and politics would also fall into this broad methodological group, it would not be too meaningful to merely cite one or two examples. A number of these works shall be cited in the next two chapters. Therefore, it might prove most beneficial if we concerned ourselves with a brief review, at this juncture, of a few of these works, those dealing with private reactions to significant political events.

Marshall Sklare concludes, as a result of a number of interviews conducted, that the crisis and war in the Middle East in June of 1967 did not apparently have "any real impact on levels of pro-Israel support" among Jewish-Americans. He also found, to his surprise, that "feelings of Jewish identity- albeit on the unconscious level- are more abiding than we had any reason to suspect previously."¹⁷ Using intensive interviews Edgar H. Schein worked out models of personality types and patterns of behavior in response to "brainwashing" attempts of American prisoners of war by the Chinese during the Korean conflict.¹⁸

¹⁷Marshall Sklare, "Lakeville and Israel: The Six-Day War and its Aftermath", Midstream, 14, (October, 1966), pp. 3-21.

¹⁸Edgar H. Schein, "The Chinese Indoctrination Program for Prisoners of War: A Study of Attempted 'Brainwashing'", Psychiatry, 19, (1956), pp. 149-172.

As a result of a year spent in two German concentration camps, Bruno Bettelheim was able to construct, based on his own macabre experiences and his personal observation of others, behavior patterns of persons subjected to such extreme stress situations. He was further able to analyze these responses in psychiatric terms.¹⁹

An area in which recent events have forced social scientists to become interested is that of people's reactions to the death of a President. (The role of the President as a psychological symbol and the ways in which children learn to perceive of the Presidency are related areas of interest and as such shall be dealt with in chapter three.) Martha Wolfenstein and Gilbert Kliman found, by studying the reactions of children and adolescents to the death of President John F. Kennedy, that while it is difficult at this stage to make definitive statements that the response manifested tends to depend on the level of emotional development at which the particular child is at that time. An increase of symptoms of grief was noted, especially among children who were mourning the loss of a parent. Along with this an exaggeration of Oedipal fantasies was also detected.²⁰ Similar reactions were found resulting from the deaths of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Senator Robert F. Kennedy.²¹ A number of physicians in the Washington area reported increases in real

¹⁹Bruno Bettelheim, "Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations", Readings in Social Psychology, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore F. Newcomb, and Eugene E. Hartley, editors, (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1958), pp. 300-310.

²⁰Martha Wolfenstein and Gilbert Kliman, editors, Children and the Death of a President (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1965).

²¹"Assassinations on TV: How Children React", New York Post, 22 July 1968, p. 3.

or imagined physical illness among their adult patients resulting from grief and anguish over the assassination of the President.²² Historian William Manchester, writing about the events surrounding the assassination, refers to the seemingly irrational behavior within the general population as well as those immediately surrounding President Kennedy following the shooting in Dallas. In fact, he cites isolated incidents of overt joy intermingled with the countless emotional outbursts of deep sorrow.²³

Psychiatric analysis of individuals' reactions to the death of the Chief Executive provide us with some insight. After the demise of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, a few studies of people's reactions to his death were undertaken. Both Sebastian de Grazia²⁴ and Harold Orlansky²⁵ found that among people who were strongly affected by this death there was a great deal of projection onto the President of an expectation of omnipotence and immortality in a manner similar to the psychological stance taken by small children vis-a-vis their parents. The ramifications of Roosevelt's death for these people went beyond the impact of the event itself. Psychologically, it challenged images held by such individuals of their parents, themselves and of the world as a whole. W. R. D. Fairbairn noted reactions of this same nature among certain British subjects

²²Ibid.

²³William Manchester, The Death of a President, (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), pp. 189-213, 214-261, and 367-371.

²⁴Sebastian de Grazia, "A Note on the Psychological Position of the Chief Executive", Psychiatry, 8, (1945), pp. 267-272.

²⁵Harold Orlansky, "Reactions to the Death of President Roosevelt", Journal of Social Psychology, 26, (1947), pp. 235-266.

following the death of King George VI.²⁶

Studying the response of neurotic patients to the death of President Kennedy in 1963, David Kirschner²⁷ found obvious parallels between his group and the patients studied by Richard Sterba following President Roosevelt's passing.²⁸ Apparently, the death of the President afforded an opportunity, psychologically, for these persons to displace feelings that they had not been able to express previously toward their parents whom they loved in an ambivalent manner and whom they mourned in an "incomplete" manner. A similar, though less intense, manifestation of this may well have been at the root of the mass response of mourning among non-patients, Kirschner hypothesizes. There were, however, certain noticeable differences on the unconscious level, between the patient population witnessed by Sterba after Roosevelt's death and the group of patients seen by Kirschner following the Kennedy assassination. Kirschner reported a lowering of sexual activity among his female patients who tended to view the death of Kennedy as "the loss of a romanticized male ideal," while Sterba had noted an increase in sexuality and a greater acceptance of the masculine role on the part of his male patients following the death of Roosevelt. It can be argued that these male patients unconsciously viewed Roosevelt's passing as the "elimination of a rival" thereby permitting greater sexual development in the patients.

²⁶W. R. D. Fairbairn, An Object-Relations Theory of the Personality, (New York: Basic Books, 1954).

²⁷David Kirschner, "Core Reactions of Patients in Psychotherapy to the Death of the President," Behavioral Science, 10, (1965), pp. 1-6.

²⁸Richard Sterba, "Report on Core Emotional Reactions to President Roosevelt's Death," The Psychoanalytic Review, 33, (1946), pp. 393-398.

The studying of the reactions of patients in psychiatric treatment in order to better understand the impact of political events is not solely confined to the death of a President. Bernice T. Sidson studied fifteen children in therapy in order to see their reactions to the Cuban missile crisis.²⁹ While she found that "it was not possible to establish any statistically significant relationship", she did find that,

...there is clinical confirmation that how much and in what way the child identifies with what goes on- and even recognizes the danger- seems, in specific cases, to be a function of his personality makeup and even more specifically, of the conflicts that are heightened in him at the moment.³⁰

Richard E. Renneker studied the clinical records of forty-two patients in psychotherapy or psychoanalysis for two month intervals both preceding and following the elections of 1948, 1952, and 1956.³¹ He makes no attempt at presenting statistical evidence but rather views his work as being "a presentation of the psychodynamics of voting behavior as seen by a psychoanalyst from his privileged seat at the edge of the patient's unconscious." Renneker concludes that the political opinion of the voter is closely linked to an identification with the father and therefore the manifest political behavior of the voter (or non voter) relates directly to the political behavior of the parent.

The concept that one's response to the results of a major election

²⁹ Sidson, op. cit.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 123.

³¹ Richard E. Renneker, "Some Psychodynamic Aspects of Voting Behavior", American Voting Behavior, Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck, editors, (New York: Free Press, 1959), pp. 322-413. For further details of Dr. Renneker's findings see chapter two.

might be rooted in certain psychological variables is not alien to political scientists. V. O. Key, Jr., for example, states:

Within the mass of the people... some sort of reconciliation to the defeat of one's candidate evidently occurs. Though the opposition winner may not be embraced with enthusiasm, many people accomplish a psychological adjustment to the loss of an election. That adjustment may take the form of concluding that the stakes of the election were not after all so important as they were thought to be in the heat of the campaign.³²

Key, referring to an article which appeared in Fortune in February of 1941, further holds that, "... after an election other persons may come around to the view that, though their man lost, the result was the 'best thing' for the country."³³

The purpose of this particular study is not the establishment of novel methodological techniques. Rather, the wish here is to employ different tools and methods so as to try to better understand the psychological impact of significant political happenings on the individual citizen. As Fred I. Greenstein states:

... frequently we encounter knots that do not unravel at the bidding of interviewers at the doorstep with questionnaires in hand. Among these knots are the circumstances in which we encounter "disproportionately" emotional behavior: for example, deep grief and profound mourning at the death of a public figure one has never met and may have voted against... The hope that we will find the sources of these seemingly inexplicable reactions -- and that from this knowledge will eventually come the

³²V. O. Key, Jr., Public Opinion and American Democracy, (New York: Knopf, 1961), pp. 476-479.

³³Ibid., p. 480.

possibility of accomplishing on a much larger scale what psychoanalysis attempts to accomplish with Sisyphean effort, patient by patient, seems to me to justify proposals to foster closer and more fruitful cooperation between psychoanalysts and other students of mankind.³⁴

³⁴Fred I. Greenstein, "Private Disorder and the Public Order: A Proposal for Collaboration Between Psychoanalysts and Political Scientists", a draft of a paper delivered at a symposium jointly sponsored by the Academy of Psychoanalysis and the American Political Science Association at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meeting held in Washington, D. C. on December 29, 1966, p. 31.

CHAPTER TWO

VOTING BEHAVIOR

The literature in the field of American voting behavior and electoral processes is vast and fast growing. That is not to say that the specific endeavors undertaken in this area necessarily build on each other or that there has yet been devised a given theory or methodology for understanding such behavior. So many studies of American voting behavior have been done in recent years that it would be impossible for this brief review to do justice to the works published. They do testify, however, to the realization of the importance of this area for the understanding of the American governmental and political process. While it is rather difficult to say exactly which students of voting behavior employ "psychological variables," it might be safe to say that the range of interest in voting now encompasses the question of "why" along with the traditional one of "how."

The voting act is perhaps the most concrete, recurring and easily observable political phenomenon in which we are able to study man as he responds to stimuli, makes decisions and finally acts or chooses not to. As such, a significant election can provide us with a useful setting in terms of our interests here: that is, the study of the impact of a major political event on individual behavior. An election can psychologically relate to an individual on a number of levels, potentially. There might well be identification, negative or positive, with candi-

dates, personalization of societal issues, unconscious acceptance or rejection of parental or peer group political values especially in terms of party orientation, a sense of efficacy or powerlessness in terms of the voting act itself, and the ability to come to grips with the results whether favorable or not from the individual's perspective. It is with this last point that we are most concerned here.

To a certain extent, as we will hopefully witness in this chapter, there is an increased interest in questions of this sort. Yet, the bulk of work done in voting behavior analysis is from somewhat different orientations. A number of studies are concerned with voting in and of itself and therefore concentrate on statistical relationships existing between certain groups and variables and the voting act. Others employ the voting act as a theoretical tool in order to better understand the model of democratic man as a result of behavioral observation. A third motivation for such research has been a desire to understand why man behaves as he does. In this last instance numerous models are assumed by students of this field as for example man the consumer, rational man, and man the product of his milieu. While all of these approaches are interesting and enlightening it is felt by this writer that man the psychological being is neglected by these students and that to a certain extent political behavior cannot be fully appreciated unless the individual's psychodynamics are taken into account.

Unfortunately, for purposes of this chapter, it is difficult and probably not too meaningful to discuss the work done in voting behavior in terms of the breakdown of orientations just given. The reason for this is that while these interests are at least implicit in the studies available, they are not that clear cut. That is, a given work might well

explore statistical relationships, hint at the theoretical implications, and discuss the possible linkage between the mathematical findings and the social setting. In a sense, this writer feels that while this methodological and theoretical amorphousness must be overcome eventually it might be just as well to ignore it at the outset as diverse perspectives tend to stimulate numerous and different studies and approaches which are necessary for the growth of the field into a discipline that has achieved the level of sophistication wherein rigorous methodological demands are beneficial.

For this reason the approach that will be used here to examine the existing literature in American voting behavior will be of an historical vein. That is, the earlier works in the field that have since become something close to classics shall be dwelt upon first, followed by some of the more contemporary studies. Throughout, our primary interest is to see which questions have gained the attention of social scientists studying the phenomenon of voting.

The problem experienced in attempting to assess the use of psychological insights appears to be a result of a lack of agreement as to definitions. The word psychology is bandied about in an amorphous manner by some and shied away from by others.* There does seem to be a noticeable increase in the desire, on the part of students of voting behavior, to better understand the collective political decision by

*It is the purpose of this chapter and the next to see how students of this general field manifest their concern; what questions are being raised, what types of endeavors are being undertaken, and what cases are being focused on. By determining what direction research in this area is taking it is hoped that this particular study will be placed in some perspective.

analyzing the motivations underlying the act of the individual, however. Whether or not such inquiry can prove fruitful is a basic methodological problem of social science and is perhaps what Angus Campbell is addressing himself to when he states that the behavioral scientist, "is uniquely equipped to provide a realistic statement of the nature of the individual acts which make up the collectivity." He then raises what he feels is the central question of "whether or not this specialized information can be fruitfully applied to the illumination of questions of collective behavior."¹

Perhaps the key word relating psychology, in its broadest sense, to voting behavior, is "motivation," concepts of which arise when the question "why" is asked in reference to voting. Some of the main aspects of this new focus include: what motivates the citizen to vote or to abstain; what motivates him to vote as he does; what motivates him to change his mind during the course of a campaign or his voting patterns from one election to the next; what motivates him to oppose or support a local referendum or to split his ticket or not; and so forth. These are in fact some of the avenues which this entire research orientation has begun to travel. These intellectual endeavors and research projects are, in effect, attempting to construct a theoretical framework for understanding voting motivation. Actually, the span of interest in this entire question goes further than the act of voting. The question "why" lies at the heart of contemporary political, social and behavioral science, or at least it should. The essence of the question is not merely what

¹ Angus Campbell, "Voters and Elections: Past and Present," The Journal of Politics, 26, (November, 1964), pp. 736-757.

motivates man to act as he does at the polls, but what prompts man to behave as he does in all aspects of his political, socio-economic and personal life. Voting behavior serves as a basis for such study in that it is a concrete and regular event, involving large numbers of people, which reflects the final product of numerous motivating factors, and whose results have far reaching consequences for the entire social context.

That is not to say that the act of voting, or the electoral process, do not merit study in and of themselves. Quite the contrary. What is being argued here is that the value of such research goes beyond an understanding of that which is being studied, namely the voting act. Besides the aforementioned purposes, the implications of such research raise questions which cut deeply into the fiber of classical liberal democratic thinking forcing a reassessment, certainly necessary and perhaps even overdue in light of the contemporary situation, of some of the "givens" contained in the theories of traditional political theory. For example, James David Barber states: "The history of democracy is a history of progressive inclusion." The assumption here being that democracy relates directly to participation. Barber further contends that, "By far the easiest form of political participation to measure with some precision is voting... Votes are counted and votes count."² The notion being advanced in this second statement being that voting is both an indicator of political consciousness and an efficacious act. This popular-

²James David Barber, Citizen Politics, (Chicago: Randhorn, 1969), pp. 2-3.

ly held view³ may well be subject to question. Hopefully, studies reviewed in the course of this work shall touch on this point. Concerning the former statement of Barber, Seymour Martin Lipset's observation on the question of the relationship between democracy and participation is appropriate here. He says, "The belief that a very high level of participation is always good for democracy is not valid." Citing historical examples Lipset contends that:

...an increase in the level of participation may reflect the decline of social cohesion and the breakdown of the democratic process; whereas a stable democracy may rest on the general belief that the outcome of an election will not make too great a difference...⁴

If political science turns away from the challenge of such questions, difficult as it may prove to be, it may well be committing more than an intellectual "sin" by painting itself into the proverbial corner of irrelevancy. As this writer tends to agree with Lipset's contention based on contemporary work in voting behavior, and as one of the hypotheses of this study touches on this question, it is of special interest to us here. This observation questions the importance of the voting act both politically and as an indicator of personal commitment.

Besides the issue of political participation just mentioned, other areas of interest shown in the literature include the influence of socio-economic factors on voting patterns, the impact of psychological variables

³See the landmark study of two decades ago, V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics, (New York: Knopf, 1949), p. 500, wherein the author states: "The simple fact is that a government founded on democratic doctrines becomes some other sort of regime when large proportions of its citizens refrain from voting."

⁴Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man, (Garden City: Doubleday, 1960), p. 14.

on voting behavior, the role of mass media in the electoral process, the significance of cross-pressures on the individual voter, and the reaction of people to crises, a subject that was dealt with in the previous chapter. Related areas of interest, such as the significance of the personality types of political candidates and the political socialization process, shall be discussed in chapter three. The purpose here is not to try and present a potpourri of findings in this vast arena but rather to illustrate the types of interest shown by social scientists in voting behavior. With this in mind, one might now turn to a sample of the dozens of specific studies on voting behavior which have appeared in the literature in recent years.

Nearly two decades ago Samuel J. Eldersveld, observing that, "Any survey of the literature on voting behavior is difficult," found that interest in voting behavior was not new but that "the focus of inquiry" was.

Voting behavior connotes today more than examination of voting records, compilation of voting statistics, and computation of electoral shifts. Students are deeply immersed in analysis of individual psychological processes (perception, emotion, motivation), and their relation to political action, as well as of institutional patterns, such as the communication process, and their impact on elections.

It was therefore felt to be "natural" that such a shift in emphasis would attract investigators outside the realm of political science, for sister disciplines "should have an interest and stake in such scientific inquiry."⁵

⁵Samuel J. Eldersveld, "Theory and Method in Voting Behavior Research," The Journal of Politics, 13, (February, 1951), pp. 70-71.

It was in that article that a system of classification for voting behavior studies was offered. Eldersveld's breakdown of such studies into six groupings should prove useful here, if only to depict the difficulty in developing a given technique for studying voting behavior. His first category, "the hypothesis-testing exploratory study," is defined as being essentially a hunch which the student attempts to verify or disprove by collecting and ordering data. "The mass-tabulation case study" has no real hypothesis, though one might be implicit, and concentrates on a single electoral unit and studies many aspects by intensive analysis of myriad data. The next grouping, "the comparative statistical survey," also lacks a clear-cut hypothesis and tries to explain differences in voting behavior trends in different areas by breaking down all available voting data. "The single-hypothesis trend study" is defined as a single proposition explored "over a considerable span of elections and in many different electoral units." The fifth grouping, "the hypothesis-testing factorial analysis," has an intensive, sustained, systematic approach, a definite hypothesis, and is limited to one point in time or one community. The data which are collected in such a study are those which are considered relevant to the particular hypothesis. The last category, "the community dynamics type," contains a definite set of rather closely related hypotheses. These are mass-tabulation and recording studies which attempt to explore and quantify the dynamic interaction of numerous variables and factors, such as the social, political, economic, and religious quantities.⁶

⁶Ibid., pp. 74-81.

The obvious diversity of approaches shown by the Eldersveld categorization demonstrates the infant-like status of the theory and method of voting behavior research and analysis, but it also shows the flexibility required for the eventual development of just such a theory and method. Such open-ended studies and techniques admittedly invite a certain amount of imprecision but it permits the exploration of many avenues, so necessary at this early stage.

A few years after the publication of the Eldersveld article, Seymour Martin Lipset, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Allen Barton, and Juan Linz chose to explore the sociological and psychological aspects of political behavior by undertaking an analysis of voting behavior. The authors explained their choice as follows:

...to the casual observer, elections seem relatively unimportant as compared, say, with major social legislation. But, actually, many of the political events that we observe from day to day are determined by the periodic resetting of the government machine.

A second reason for choosing voting is the extent of transferability of methods and concepts to other important areas. The act of voting can well be used as a paradigm for many other activities... Systematic analysis of the factors affecting one decision, such as voting, for which a considerable body of empirical data is available, should therefore contribute to the understanding of behavior in many other sectors of modern life.

While these two considerations would have been sufficient to justify the attention paid in this chapter to voting, the final decision to undertake the task was determined by the recognition of the significance of this field to an understanding of "human action."⁷

⁷Seymour Martin Lipset, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Allen H. Barton, and Juan Linz, "The Psychology of Voting: An Analysis of Political Behavior," Handbook of Social Psychology vol. III, Gardner Lindzey, editor, (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954), pp. 1124-1125.

Looking first at the phenomenon of participation, their findings might be summarized by reproducing a chart which they employ.⁶ Clearly, the relationships depicted and their proposed explanations are presented in a general and simplified manner with a high degree of speculation inherent in them.

EXPLANATORY FACTORS RELATED TO ORIGINAL STATISTICAL REGULARITIES IN RATES OF VOTING TURNOUT

	Relevance of government policies	Awareness of relevance due to:			Social Pressure to vote	Absence of cross pressure		Voting rate
		Direct visibility	Training, job experience	Contact, communication		Amount of leisure		
High income	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	Higher
Low income	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lower
Miners	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	Higher
Servants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lower
Workers in Europe	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	Higher
Workers in America	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	Lower
Government employees	+	+						Higher
Private employees	-	-						Lower
Wheat farmers	+	+						Higher
Nonmarket farmers	-							Lower
Jews	+							Higher
Non-Jews	-							Lower
Crisis periods	+							Higher
Normal periods	-							Lower
Whites						+		Higher
Negroes						-		Lower
Old residents						+		Higher
Newcomers						-		Lower
Age 35-55						+	+	High
Over 55						-	+	Medium
Under 35						-	-	Low
Men			+	+	+	+	+	Higher
Women			-	-	-	-	-	Lower
Totalitarian "elections"						+		High

Note: Plus sign indicates condition relatively more favorable to voting; minus sign, one relatively less favorable, with respect to the groups compared.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1125.

The authors then turn to an attempt at understanding the "even more striking patterns of social differences" that apparently occur in the realm of left-right voting, that is - party preferences. They find that for any given category of voters, "not single factors but whole patterns of factors must be taken into account in making explanations or citing cases as evidence for a given hypothesis." In looking at various groupings, such as different types of workers, certain "types of deprivation" (insecurity of income, unsatisfactory work, low prestige status) as well as categories of "facilitating conditions" (good intra-class communications, low expectation of nobility, lack of traditionalism) are plotted. It should be remembered that the impact on individual behavior of any of these factors occurs "only because they are shorthand descriptions of such more complex sets of common experiences usually shared by persons who fall in the same classificatory group." It should also be borne in mind that such an analysis is static. As the authors themselves state:

These common experiences, in turn, occur in time, that is, people have them at certain periods in their lives. It is important, therefore, to specify the points at which people are likely to have experiences which affect their political behavior.²

The first of these periods of life comes before voting age. Although the dynamics of socialization of youth are poorly understood, the growing research along these lines, some of which will be looked at in greater detail in the next chapter, seems to indicate that the values learned by the child in his home environment right well be the most

²Ibid., p. 1112.

significant determinants of his later behavior. When the time comes for the individual to cast his first vote, two rules of thumb emerge, especially in the United States. First of all, this group tends to vote less than any other age group with the possible exception of the aged. Secondly, most first voters cast their ballots as do the senior members of their families. While the so-called "youth rebellion" of the present age might raise questions as to the validity of this statement today, recent work in voting behavior tends to show that it is still valid.¹⁰

¹⁰See, for example, Nelson W. Polsky and Aaron R. Wildavsky, Presidential Elections, second edition, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968), p. 10 where it is found that, "People are Democrats or Republicans, in part, because their families and the other people they interact with are Democrats or Republicans ... by and large, voters retain the party loyalties of the primary groups of which they are a part." The authors further state that, "To a considerable extent party identifications are traditional. Like affiliation in a religious denomination, they are passed on by parents to their children." See also, Angus Campbell, Philip M. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, "The Impact and Development of Party Identification," American Party Politics, Donald G. Herzberg and Gerald N. Pomper, editors, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1966), pp. 372-3, where it is stated that, "... an orientation toward political affairs typically begins before the individual attains voting age and... this orientation strongly reflects his immediate social milieu, in particular his family... For a large proportion of the electorate the orientation toward politics expressed in our measure of party identification has its origins in the early family years." See also, Herbert McClosky, Political Inquiry, (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 27, where the author finds, as a result of reviewing the literature, that "... party affiliation - the single most compelling factor affecting the voting decision - is shaped and sustained by the family, and that some three-fourths of the adult voters retain the party preference of their parents." It is possible that this merely indicates that the rebellion against parental values occurs on a plane different from that on which political behavior is perceived. Also, one might postulate that it is still too early to know if this is still the case. The important question is how many young voters still reflect their parents' political attitudes as compared with the percentage that did previously. Trend analysis over the next decade or so could help to answer this interesting question.

By comparing different voting studies, Lipset et al. further suggest a possible correlation between the likelihood of casting that initial ballot and the lack of "conflicting political stimuli" in their environment. There exists also a sociological counterpart to the psychological analysis, the concept of generation. That is, it can be argued that in order to understand a given group of voters it is important to understand the political milieu in which they grew up and the common socializing experiences that were shared. It may be advanced, however, that even in this last case the real significance is found in how the individual reacted to such common experiences as a depression or a war. Psychology and sociology are less mutually exclusive than suggestive of the underlying question of political analysis: Can "group" behavior be meaningfully treated as the lowest possible unit of analysis or are there instances where we must examine the individual actor? This question, leaving all other considerations aside, is the central point of debate separating an Arthur Bentley or a David Truman, on the one hand, from a Graham Wallas or a Harold Lasswell on the other. Therefore such a "generation" approach to voting behavior may well leave out adequate treatment of those who deviate from the norm as well as overlook the possibility of similar patterns of behavior occurring for different psychological and highly individualized reasons.

Returning to the Lipset et al. study, the next age grouping delineated is that of "maturity." With increased age a change in one's position in society, in one form or another, often comes about. Exactly how this alters one's political opinions and behavior is still not fully understood. All that seems to be known concerning the dynamics of this process is

"that the primary political environment of individuals becomes more homogeneous with increasing age." While the conclusions to be drawn are at best tentative, there does appear to be some relation between "past experience of individuals" in a given group and current opinions, attitudes and behavior. There also seems to be some connection between children as the determinant factor, and parents' attitudes as the dependent factor.

The final age category, old age, presents new challenges for the student of opinion formation and political behavior as a large percentage of the population falls into this category. Two opposing processes appear to work on the elderly in this sphere at the same time. First, as people tend to continue to adhere to outlooks of their youth, the older groups might be expected to oppose change in society. Yet, on the other hand, it is the elderly who find themselves rigidly boxed in as far as income goes in a manner disproportionate to the remainder of society, leading them toward reliance on the state. They might therefore find themselves better off by identifying with left-oriented, radical parties supporting state welfare for the aged.¹¹

Since acts performed by people, such as voting, are tied to an individual's "ego involvement" as mediated through "social pressure," it is relevant to try to determine the "frame of reference" or perceptions of an individual in relation to a given election. In comparing pre-election to post-election attitudes it is found that people who were rather adverse to the election of the winning candidate before the election

¹¹Ibid., pp. 1116-1119.

itself, tend to reconcile this stance with the outcome by saying afterwards that one candidate will probably be as good as the next in the long run.¹²

Another interesting phenomenon touched on by the Lipset *et al.* study is that of a continuity of loyalty to the traditionally accepted party even when pragmatic considerations would dictate otherwise. When such conflict is combined with the normal indifference of the American voter, numerous questions can be raised. They find that:

There is a curious discrepancy between group and individual analysis of electoral and opinion change. When dealing with groups, political scientists and others explain such change as a rational reaction to new situations or factors... On the individual level, on the other hand, sociologists and social psychologists tend to analyze change in terms of group pressures on the individual or as a response to personal needs, some of which are rational but many of which are latent or unconscious.¹³

They conclude:

...the study of the voting decision becomes a paradigm for the central task of the social psychologist: to locate individual behavior in the stream of social trends.¹⁴

This appears to be the crux of the problem at hand. Bringing this general survey up to date one can ask the question: What do we know about the American voter? Statistically, certain facts are known about voting behavior and patterns: Men vote more than women, the middle aged go to the polls more regularly than do either the young or the old, whites vote

¹²Ibid., pp. 1163-1164. See also, chapter one, footnotes 32 and 33.

¹³Ibid., p. 1166.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 1170.

more than Negroes, the South votes less than other areas, voting varies according to urban, suburban, or rural setting, and correlates to income, education and other such categories, people generally vote more for higher officials, the turnout is greater in elections than in party primaries, and people tend to report that they participate in the electoral process more than they actually do.¹⁵ But this is only the beginning. We have to beware of the misuse of statistics.¹⁶ Citizens may seemingly vote the same way, but upon analysis it may be found that this is so for very different reasons.¹⁷ We apparently see the importance of party and of groups, but once again we are far from certain of why this is so and under what conditions these forces operate. We are tempted to analyze the significance of mass media, yet preliminary studies seem to indicate that its effects are limited.¹⁸ But here again we do not know if this is always the case.¹⁹

¹⁵Richard E. Scammon, "Electoral Participation," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 371, (May, 1967), pp. 59-71.

¹⁶See, Donald E. Stokes, Angus Campbell, and Warren E. Miller, "Components of Electoral Decision," The American Political Science Review, 52, (June, 1958), pp. 367-387, wherein the authors state: "From their studies of voting statistics and opinion materials, sensitive observers have learned a great deal about the determinants of voting choice. But it is also fair to say that the premium on intuitive judgment is still high and that sharp disagreements arise which cannot be put to a critical test." (p. 367).

¹⁷Philip E. Converse, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, "Stability and Change in 1960: A Reinstating Election," The American Political Science Review, 55, (June, 1961), pp. 269-280.

¹⁸Harold Mendelsohn, "Election-Day Broadcasts and Terminal Voting Decisions," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 30, (Summer, 1966), pp. 212-225.

¹⁹Douglas A. Luchs, "Election-Day Radio-Television and Western Voting," Ibid., pp. 226-236.

Despite the debatable nature of the state of voting behavior research the body of knowledge in the field is rapidly growing. It may be most beneficial, for the purposes of this review, to analyze a number of the works written on voting behavior that are considered to be "classics" in this area. It is not merely because they are considered to be "classics" that they merit our attention, however. Rather, it is because they generated a number of hypotheses concerning voting behavior that became the basic premises underlying virtually all of the specific studies that followed. Following this analysis we shall turn to a sampling of the more contemporary and more focused studies that appeared in the literature in recent years, grouping them in terms of the general areas mentioned previously.

Probably the first major attempt at a rigorous analysis of voting was that undertaken in the 1920's by Stuart Rice, which culminated in his Quantitative Methods in Politics.²⁰ As Peter Rossi points out, this was "the first noteworthy attempt to connect quantitative research on voting behavior with more general social science problems, such as the study of social change and the determinants of attitudes."²¹ Rice brought forth certain concrete ideas, which, taken together, constitute his theory of political behavior. He proposed that the attitudes of the individual, which for Rice was the chief determinant of political behavior, are only partially based on a realistic and objective assessment.

²⁰Stuart A. Rice, Quantitative Methods in Politics, (New York: Knopf, 1928).

²¹Peter H. Rossi, "Four Handicaps in Voting Research," American Voting Behavior, Eugene Turdick and Arthur J. Prothro, editors, (New York: The Free Press, 1952), p. 7.

He also felt that such political attitudes, arising as a result of a multitude of reasons, should fall in a normal distribution. Testing his Dartmouth students by administering questionnaires to them both prior to the 1924 Presidential election and again at election time in order to study preference change, Rice learned that this was not, in fact, the case. He therefore suggested that other factors, such as exposure to various influencing agents, accounted for this deviance, and that such instances provided interesting cases for the study of attitudinal change.

Rice contended that political attitudes can be plotted on a radicalism-liberalism-conservatism continuum and that there exists a similarity of political attitudes in geographic areas that are close to each other and similar in composition (e.g. both urban). He also employed statistics to attempt a breakdown and analysis of different subgroups, both in the electorate and in legislative bodies. Rice himself realized that his investigation was merely a rough beginning,²² though clearly a necessary one for political science. In terms of innovation in both the theory and methodology of voting behavior research Rice's work was clearly a pioneering effort.

Following the 1940 election, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet undertook to determine "how the voter makes up his mind in a Presidential campaign." Their study culminated in The People's Choice²³ appearing in 1944, which might be considered as the watershed date for contemporary American voting behavior research. Coming out of

²²op. cit. Rice, pp. 318-319.

²³Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, The People's Choice, (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944).

a background of concern with the psychology of consumer preferences and the impact of mass media, Lazarsfeld sought to trace a person's vote in a Presidential election "from his pre-convention attitudes through his reactions to the barrage of propaganda which constitutes the campaign proper to his actual vote on Election Day," as opposed to merely viewing "majority tendencies" as had been the primary preoccupation in the past.²⁴ The authors applied the panel study technique, or repeated interviewing of respondents, to this end. Drawing from his previous experience, Lazarsfeld's proposed model of voting behavior was extrapolated from the model of consumer behavior. It was therefore assumed that the final choice of the voter was determined to a great extent by a mixture of the individual's personality and the effects of the mass media.

This model broke down, however. Some 91 percent of the six hundred residents of Erie County, Ohio who were surveyed did not change their minds throughout the course of the study. It was therefore difficult to adequately measure the impact of mass media on voter preference. It was also found that many voters have a strong attachment to a political party which is apparently difficult to break. What did emerge from this work was the "Index of Political Predisposition," based on socio-economic status and religion as well as on whether the person came from a rural or urban area. This was found to be the strongest indicator of one's voting behavior. The voter who wavered and vacillated was likely to be one who had predispositions and social forces pulling in opposite directions. As a result of these opposing forces within the individual, the

²⁴Lazarsfeld, *op. cit.*

final decision seemed to be less of a personal act and more of a response to group pressures. It was also concluded that, "In the last analysis, more than anything else people can move other people,"²⁵ thus diminishing the hypothesized role of mass media.

Testing the "Index of Political Predisposition" in the 1948 Presidential election, Morris Janowitz and Warren Miller found that its "predictive... tendency" had "limited statistical significance."²⁶ One might conclude with Rossi that:

The People's Choice represents a considerable advance over the research of its time in both political behavior and social psychology. Judged in absolute terms, however, it leaves much to be desired.²⁷

Others are somewhat harsher. Walter Dorn finds that the "Index of Political Predisposition" is symptomatic of a naive devotion to methodology,²⁸ and that even "the unscientific politician, with his practical experience, knows that 'social characteristics' do not determine 'political preference.'"²⁹

A decade thereafter, in 1954, two major works in the field of American voting behavior appeared. The first, The Voter Decides,²⁹ is a

²⁵ Ibid., p. 156.

²⁶ Morris Janowitz and Warren E. Miller, "The Index of Political Predisposition in the 1948 Election," The Journal of Politics, 11, (November, 1950), p. 716.

²⁷ op. cit. Rossi, p. 23.

²⁸ Walter Dorn, "Voting Studies," Essays on the Scientific Study of Politics, Herbert S. Storing, editor, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1962), p. 11.

²⁹ Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, (Evanston: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954).

study of the 1952 Presidential election written by Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren Miller. In the other work, Voting,³⁰ Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee analyzed the formation of opinion in some one thousand citizens, primarily concerning the 1948 Presidential contest, in Elmira, New York.

The former work, unlike The People's Choice and Voting, both of which centered on one geographic area, used a national sample of some 2,000 persons and compared statistics taken from both the 1948 and the 1952 Presidential elections. Another methodological innovation in The Voter Decides was that the panel technique was applied but in considerably briefer form. Instead of a repeated series of interviews, respondents were only contacted twice, just before and after the election. This method was therefore closer to that used by Rice than to the techniques employed by the Lazarsfeld et al. study. The emphasis was not upon change of attitude as was the case in the other studies, but upon factors which incline an individual to participate in an election and vote for a given candidate. The authors felt that such motivation is dependent on three variables; the individual's orientation towards parties, issues and candidates.

It was also found that the greater the motivation, based on the three variables just mentioned, and the greater the lack of conflicting trends in such motivation, the greater the likelihood of participation. Conversely, the more conflict existing within the individual's motivation configuration, the less likely his participation. The authors sum up their findings as follows:

³⁰Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee, Voting, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

We have found that those people who felt themselves strongly identified with one of the major parties, held strongly partisan views on issues which were consistent with those of their party, and were strongly attracted by the personal attributes of their party's candidate expressed preference in nearly every case for the candidate their party put forward. In contrast, among those people for whom none of these factors was active, equal numbers preferred each of the two candidates... In contrast to the highly predictable behavior we observed among people with consistent motivational patterns, we found that when the three motivating factors were not congruent people were less clear in their choice of candidate, they were not so likely to vote, and those who did vote showed the conflict in their motivations by a greater incidence of vacillation, postponement, and divided votes.³¹

The analysis, therefore, was mainly on the individual voter level, with less emphasis placed on such "sociological" factors as socio-economic status, and more attention paid to the "psychology" of personal "motivation." As the authors stated:

This research was intended as a study of voters rather than of votes. This meant that we gathered our data from individual citizens rather than from election statistics or other aggregative data.³²

Rossi finds that the model employed in The Voter Decides was that "of the individual being moved to vote for a candidate primarily in response to psychological forces from within himself." He further finds that this model works under the supposition that "events impinge upon" a person's "attitudes" which come about as a result of a mixture of "past experience" and "contemporary needs," and which "serve to screen outside events." Rossi criticizes the work, however, in that he contends that,

³¹Campbell et al., The Voter Decides, op. cit., pp. 162-163.

³²Ibid., p. 161.

"It helps us little to know that voters tend to select candidates of whom they have high opinions," and he further argues that, "The more interesting problems start where the author's analysis ends."³³

Dorns, while disagreeing with Rossi in that he feels that liking a candidate and voting for him need not necessarily coincide, appears to agree with him in principle when he declares: "Nevertheless, it is true that The Voter Decides goes to elaborate lengths to establish the obvious." Yet, he does hold that despite its naivete this work "does make an attempt to explain voting, as The People's Choice, with its use of crude sociological variables, could never do."³⁴

Voting, also appearing in 1954, is a study of 1000 residents of Elmira, New York, during the 1948 Presidential election. Here, too, the panel technique is employed in somewhat shortened fashion. Each respondent was interviewed four times. There was also content analysis of the press and radio telecasts, as well as a study of the workings of parties and other political groups. The work itself touches on a multitude of areas, coming up with no less than 149 observations on voting behavior resulting from the data, as well as 209 findings as a result of comparing their results with those of others.

After describing the milieu of Elmira, the authors probe the so-called "social processes," examining the work of organizations such as labor unions, analyzing the impact of socio-economic and ethnic grouping on voting, viewing the role of primary groups, and finally looking at

³³Rossi, op. cit., p. 40-41.

³⁴Dorns, op. cit., p. 13.

the factors that lead to voting changes. The authors then turn to what they label as the "political processes," wherein they focus on the activities of parties, on the function of issues, on the role of mass media, and on the phenomenon of the fall and subsequent rise in support for Truman. In the second and last of these four items, the authors dwell on the "psychological and political" aspects specifically. For example, in addressing themselves to the psychological and political "inferences" of the function of issues the authors state:

As in other spheres of activity, so in the political: one function must be to avoid potential stress. The voter must do this, even though unconsciously, by using his perceptual opportunities as a defense or protection against the complexities, contradictions, and problems of the campaign. Indeed, the extent and nature of misperception suggests that the voter may even be aware of the abitudinal cross-pressures to which the campaign subjects him and from which he gains escape through perceptual processes. For the greater his affect toward the election (in terms of strength of feeling toward the candidates), the greater the degree of psychic protection. The voter tends to exaggerate or to invent what is favorable to himself and to distort or to deny such of what is unfavorable. This must leave him fewer internal conflicts to resolve -- with, so to speak, a favorable balance of perception. In any event, the voters manage to use the materials of politics, even of a presidential campaign, for their own psychological protection -- for the avoidance of mere inconsistencies in their beliefs that otherwise would be manifest.³⁵

In the final portion of the book the authors attempt to tie in their findings with broader concepts of social psychology and sociology, as well as with questions of democratic theory.

Despite his criticisms, Rossi feels that Voting is superior to its

³⁵Robison et al., op. cit. p. 230.

predecessors in that it attempts "a generalized interpretation of voting behavior," goes beyond the community and the election at hand, and goes "beyond voting behavior to establish links with the more general concerns of sociology, social psychology, and political science."³⁶ Downs, however, feels that for the organismic model of man, voting as a "response" to the "stimulus" of the campaign is too simple a picture.

Man alone of all the animals has this faculty to form opinion, which is why man alone is a political animal. The reduction of such political acts as voting to sub-political conditions is equivalent to the denial of the significance of this uniquely human faculty.³⁷

In 1960 a major work in the study of voting behavior appeared, The American Voter by Angus Campbell, Philip Converse, Warren Miller, and Donald Stokes.³⁸ Looking first at "political attitudes," the authors state that, "In unraveling the causal threads leading to the vote we begin with the immediate psychological influences on the voting act." Through the act of voting the individual person reacts to "a political world whose objects he perceives and evaluates in some fashion."³⁹ This view influences his final behavior as to whether he votes or not and in the event that he does, how he casts his ballot.

The authors then dwell on the "political context," which includes questions of party and issue preferences. Using "the metaphor of a funnel of causality," the authors develop in this section the concept

³⁶Rossi, op. cit., p. 32.

³⁷Downs, op. cit., pp. 41-42.

³⁸Angus Campbell, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes, The American Voter, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1960).

³⁹Ibid., p. 39.

of "political translation," that is the psychological manner through which non-political pressures and events are given political and even partisan meaning.⁴⁰

"The social and economic context" is then examined. Differentiating between "self-conscious groups" based on race or ethnic status and "formal categories" such as age or gender, the authors find that "a congenial primary group may constitute a potent extra-psychic process" influencing the strength of party allegiance as they can serve to reinforce the viewpoint of the individual member.⁴¹ It is in this portion of their work that the authors deal with personality as a variable in determining political behavior. Deploring those who seek to explain such behavior by relying entirely on limited categories of variables to the exclusion of all others, they seek to combine the personality factor with other variables used in a more or less eclectic fashion, concluding that one factor influencing political involvement is the strength of the ego functions.⁴²

In their final section, the authors of The American Voter seek to place their findings concerning "the intricate pattern of causality leading to behavior at the polls," of "individual people," within the broad spectrum of the American political system.⁴³ While Burns lauds the "rediscovery of the political by empirical political science"⁴⁴ as

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 117-118.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 273.

⁴²Ibid., p. 499, and p. 514.

⁴³Ibid., pp. 521-522.

⁴⁴Burns, op. cit., p. 62.

the most promising feature of this work, one might display equal pleasure at the coming of age of the lessons of other disciplines, especially psychology, in understanding political behavior.

In his attempt at categorizing Presidential elections as, 1) "land-slides: votes of lack of confidence" such as the election of 1932 wherein the party out of power emerges victorious, 2) "reaffirmation of support: votes of confidence" wherein the incumbent party retains control, as for example the elections of 1908, 1904, and 1900, and 3) "group alienation and attraction: realignments" wherein the party in power is returned but with a different coalition from that which had given it its previous victory, V. O. Key, Jr. points out the potential pitfalls awaiting the student of voting behavior:

The anthropomorphic conception of the great person of "the people" represents organic fiction. On the other hand, concentration of attention on the individual voter pulverizes the electorate and diverts attention from its collective role in the process of government.⁴⁵

While Key finds, in looking at the various studies of electoral behavior in the United States, that education and income appear to be the factors most closely related to participation, he realizes equally that one must probe deeper than these variables to obtain the total picture. Referring mainly to Campbell's work on motivation, Key holds that, "it becomes evident that factors other than income, education, and other such characteristics bear on political participation."⁴⁶

⁴⁵V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, & Pressure Groups, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1964), p. 520-521.

⁴⁶Ibid., p. 506, and p. 507. See also Barber, op. cit., p. 10-11, and p. 25, where despite the fact that the author finds that "learning and caring" are the strong determinants of political participation, he

In 1959 Eugene Burdick and Arthur Brodbeck edited a book of readings entitled American Voting Behavior,⁴⁷ the selections displaying a clear bias in favor of the use of psychological findings in understanding such behavior. It might perhaps prove worthwhile to review some of the articles contained in their work.

Finding that high school students "accurately reflect adult attitudes and voting behavior" H. H. Kewiers further pursued this question and among other conclusions arrived at the finding that, "Evidence for the psychological reality of social class is clear." Numerous attitudes, including choice of political party, are "related to social class position," he writes, and this position relates to the education, religion and geographic area of the parents. He states, in conclusion, that previous findings concerning "attitudinal concepts of family homogeneity, selective perception, self-insulation, hierarchy of stability, cross-pressures, and social class," especially as put forth in The People's Choice are valid.⁴⁸

Talcott Parsons, looking primarily at Voting and The People's Choice, finds that there exists "an inherent connection" between the lack of a flexible response in the wavering voter, for when a campaign merely

cautions us not to over-simplify, by saying that "motives, opportunities, resources" are all necessary components and that, "Here as elsewhere in social science, degrees and quantities and intensities count, and no single element suffices to unambiguously tip the web."

⁴⁷Eugene Burdick and Arthur J. Brodbeck, editors, American Voting Behavior, (New York: The Free Press, 1959).

⁴⁸H. H. Kewiers, "Early Socialization of Attitudes," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 77-87.

erves to reinforce previous party preference, and "nonrationality."⁴⁹

Brodbeck, in a general article which looks at areas in which psychology and psychiatry can contribute insights into "the general problem of irrationality in social action," recommends the development of theory designed to explain irrational and neurotic influences in human choice in areas other than those traditionally treated, as for instance, voting behavior.⁵⁰

In attempting to relate the panel technique employed in voting research to the decision-making process of the consumer, Irving Rosenthal contends that despite the possible transferability of theories and methods one should be aware that these two types of decisions, the voter's and the consumer's, are not identical. In this regard that author states:

There is basis, for example, for the contention that voting decision is less rational than some buying decisions.⁵¹

Henry Meehan builds a possible model for explaining political change largely based on what he feels is the highly justified "confidence in the generalization that people who are closely associated (as a result of primary group affiliation) tend to vote alike."⁵²

In their analysis of research on the impact of mass media on voting

⁴⁹Faleett Larsons, "Voting and the Equilibrium of the American Political System," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 102-103.

⁵⁰Arthur J. Brodbeck, "The Problem of Irrationality and Neuroticism Underlying Political Choice," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 121-125.

⁵¹Irving Rosenthal, "The Voting Studies and Consumer Decisions," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., p. 151.

⁵²Henry J. Meehan, "Primary Groups and Political Party Choice," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 142-143.

behavior, Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang point out that the reason underlying the dictum that mass media has little influence on voting lies in the type of focused studies conducted in the sphere of voting behavior. They call for research geared to understanding "the continuous, and not the intermittent, aspects of mass-media influence." Furthermore, they suggest studies which would broaden the time span studied when one is interested in "change," from the duration of one campaign to a period which might cover shifts in party preferences from election to election. The suggestion is also advanced that the whole concept of "imagery" as it relates to politics be investigated.⁵³

In probing some of these considerations, especially the impact of the then relatively new medium of television on political campaigns, Ethiel de Sola Pool examined the 1952 Presidential contest. The question to which he addressed himself is what difference, if any, does television make in creating the images of the respective candidates. He concluded that TV served to illuminate some of the human qualities of Eisenhower, thus diminishing certain preconceived notions about the military personality held by the public. Stevenson, on the other hand, benefited more as a result of his radio speeches which brought to the people "the revelation of a previously unknown great man." While TV added somewhat to this, it failed to convey, for Stevenson, "the inter-personal warmth" that television can at times project.⁵⁴

⁵³Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang, "The Mass Media and Voting," Burdick and Brobeck, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

⁵⁴Ethiel de Sola Pool, "TV: A New Dimension in Politics," Burdick and Brobeck, op. cit., p. 261.

Speaking in a general manner of the relationship between psychiatry and the social sciences, C. W. Nahl declares:

... we cannot study the complex social organizations and institutions of mankind with real insight if we do not base our suppositions on an intimate and detailed knowledge of the men who make up these institutions -- their secret hopes, fears, desires, and strivings, both known and unknown to them -- for these significantly operate to motivate and influence their social selves. In the mass, their shared individual imperfections and blind spots, their collective misapprehensions and irrationalities form "social neuroses," distortions in the social fabric which unfortunately we are often too prone to explain in retrospect on purely sociological and economic grounds. However, it is becoming increasingly evident that the great unconscious depths of man's personality play a significant, if not crucial, role in initiating his social behavior and group formations.⁵⁵

The author feels that as a result of the lessons learned through psychotherapy, "the areas of politics and religion are for most of us more deeply irvine to the rational processes than are any other portions of our conscious beliefs and value systems." Political behavior in general, and voting behavior specifically, are therefore, according to Nahl:

... prime examples of social acts and beliefs which superficially appear to have been formed pre-eminently by processes of conscious and rational forethought. On closer examination, however, they show evidence of influence by more subtle factors and motivations which, covertly and unknown to the thinking self, have determined their appearance and form.⁵⁶

As to "political convictions" and "voting choice," the author feels that the average man is strongly convinced that his decisions in this regard

⁵⁵C. W. Nahl, "The Relation Between Primary and Secondary Identifications: Psychiatry and the Group Sciences," Durdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., p. 262.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 262-3.

were reached in a completely rational manner and that they can be logically defended. In effect, he is generally unaware of "concealed irrational motives." Man may also employ what Harry Stack Sullivan labeled the "mechanism of selective attention," whereby he observes only that which reinforces his point of view and unconsciously ignores powerful arguments against his viewpoint. The manifestation of this mechanism serves to blind man to the part that political choice can play in the "fulfillment of extraneous wishes and desires." Lamenting the fact that social science students have largely ignored this type of analysis, Mail offers the hypothesis that:

... the secondary identifications, such as our choice of political party, are not so much a result of family traditions of habit, class, or response to the issues involved (though these are certainly relevant factors). Instead these identifications are primarily expressions of individual needs to secure gratification of repressed wishes for a certain type of parental image...⁵⁷

Summing up his contentions, Mail says:

The act of voting or of nonvoting fulfills covert and unconscious as well as overt and conscious needs and wishes. Consequently no one discipline such as political science or psychiatry can wholly arrogate to itself the exploration of this field... it is only by immense further efforts on the part of all behavioral scientists, working together, that we shall have any reasonably complete answers to the questions framed here.⁵⁸

Questioning the entire approach to voting behavior analysis that centers on the individual, Key and Munger state that this method would

⁵⁷ ibid., p. 263-4.

⁵⁸ ibid., p. 200.

lead to a better understanding of the "collective political decision of the electorate" if we knew enough "about individual decisions." As this is lacking, according to the authors, there is a "tendency to lose sight of significant elements that both affect and relate individual decisions to the political aggregate." Rather than disagree with The People's Choice, Key and Langer call for "a supplementary theoretical structure... that would bring politics into the study of electoral behavior."⁵⁹

Despite his reluctance to apply psychological insights to voting behavior because of the limitations of his own "first-hand observations" and because the number of possible options in a voting situation do not correspond "to the extreme wealth of different and often conflicting motivations which careful study of individuals reveals," Franz Alexander states:

While statistically the rational factors, particularly socio-economic status, may turn out to be the most decisive ones, there is a significant group of voters whose decision is more influenced by emotional factors originating in past family experiences of which they are not conscious but which nevertheless may have a strong influence on their behavior...⁶⁰

Robert Agger, in his contribution to the Durdick and Brodbeck reader, feels that greater attention should be paid to the "independent" voter. He raises the question: "To what extent does self-identified independence reflect internal psychological conflicts, socioeconomic-religious cross

⁵⁹V. O. Key, Jr. and Frank Langer, "Social Determinants and Electoral Decision: The Case of Indiana," Durdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 281-2.

⁶⁰Franz Alexander, "Emotional Factors in Voting Behavior," Durdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., pp. 300-301, and p. 306.

pressures, or pressures from the political environment?"⁶¹

As a result of reviewing his notes on some forty-two patients in psychotherapy or psychoanalysis, Richard Kenneker concludes that positive fathers with strong political opinions have a marked impact on their sons. Negative fathers, on the other hand, can create sons who tend to work strenuously against a candidate, while nonpolitical parents appear to have sons who are politically aware. Nonvoters seem to be "deeply narcissistic characters or semiwithdrawn, precariously balanced patients," and in general these neurotic patients appear to manifest strong feelings toward voting, making up their minds at an early point and carrying this choice into the polling booth. Women, he found, tend to agree with their husbands politically.⁶²

Arguing that perhaps the so-called "value-free" psychoanalyst is more "myth" than an actually existing figure, Durdick and Fredbeck find a similarity between the electioneering surrounding a political campaign and psychotherapy in that both are processes which seek to mobilize "forces within the personality for both permanence and change." He therefore views them "as social engineering sciences for which adequate principles of permanence and change are a cornerstone."⁶³

A year after the appearance of the Durdick and Fredbeck reader Murray

⁶¹Robert L. Aygen, "Independents and Party Identifiers: Characteristics and Behavior in 1952," Durdick and Fredbeck, op. cit., p. 320.

⁶²Richard B. Kenneker, "Some Psychodynamic Aspects of Voting Behavior," Durdick and Fredbeck, op. cit., p. 413.

⁶³Arthur J. Fredbeck, "The Principles of Permanence and Change: Electioneering and Psychotherapy Compared," Durdick and Fredbeck, op. cit., pp. 420-1, and p. 436.

Levin published a study of the 1959 Boston mayoralty election, in which John F. Collins upset John B. Fowers. Levin found that voters did not cast their ballots based on programs but rather on "the electorate's estimate of the personality and character of the candidates," which may have been founded upon "rational" criteria but which was more likely drawn from "gut reactions." Having conducted some five hundred interviews in the homes of voters within seventy-two hours of the closing of the polls, he found that, "The data collected in this post-election survey indicate that voting was based on distrust and negativism rather than on positive conviction." The author distinguishes between alienation, which he defines as the "psychological state of an individual characterized by feelings of estrangement," anomie, which he feels is the "relative normlessness of a social system," and personal disorganization, which he uses as meaning "disordered behavior arising from internal conflict within the individual."⁶⁴

These "classics" in the field of American voting behavior can easily be criticized. As Leslie Fiedler argues, the basic finding of two of the landmark studies in voting behavior, Voting and The Voter Decides, "stripped of its technical vocabulary, does not even make the grade of a platitude but remains a simple redundancy."⁶⁵ Yet the ground has been broken. These earlier works have set the stage for the contemporary students of the ever growing field of voting behavior analysis. It might

⁶⁴Murray B. Levin, The Alienated Voter, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 43, and p. 59.

⁶⁵Leslie A. Fiedler, "Voting and Voting Studies," Burdick and Brodbeck, op. cit., p. 126.

therefore prove valuable, at this time, to briefly review a number of the articles and studies in this area which appear in the literature, in terms of the categories mentioned at the outset.

Looking first at mass media, we seem to see that the effect of mass media on voting preference and voting behavior is relatively insignificant. In a study on the "implications of broadcasting returns before polls are closed," Long and Lang found such "impact of early returns on behavior" to be "minimal." They conclude that, "Very few examples of bandwagon and underdog effects... were encountered" in their analysis. The authors hold that the act of voting is not a response to a single stimulus but rather:

... the outcome of a host of interpersonal and mass influences, all of which must be taken into account to explain why people were not dissuaded from going to the polls by what they were able to hear about the outcome.⁶⁶

They further contend that one of the explanations for their finding lies in the "non-rational commitment to voting," such commitments, while perhaps not "guided by a political logic," indicates a "confidence in the ballot as an effective instrument for influencing government policy" and serves to legitimize and support the entire electoral system.⁶⁷ This last point is of special interest in that most students of the non-rational elements in American voting behavior tend to view such influences as constituting a threat to the fundamental tenets of classical liberal democratic theory.

⁶⁶Hurt and Gladys Engel Lang, Voting and Nonvoting, (Waltham: Blaisdell Publishing Co., 1966), p. 105, and p. 109.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 109.

These same authors, in a study of the 1960 televised debates between the Presidential contenders, found that the phenomenon of selective perception tended to prevent major changes amongst people whose images of the candidates were firm.⁶⁰

M. I. Conway found, among other things, little reliance on television for information amongst voters.⁶⁹ In general, little impact of television on the voter's choice or on voting behavior has thus far been found.⁷⁰

⁶⁰Kurt and Gladys Engel Lang, "Ordeal by Debate: Viewer Reactions," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, (Summer, 1961), pp. 277-288.

⁶⁹M. I. Conway, "Voter Information Sources in a Non-Partisan Local Election," Western Political Quarterly, 31, (March, 1960), pp. 69-77.

⁷⁰See, for example, Charles A. H. Thompson, "The Experience in 1952 and the Problems Ahead," Television and Presidential Politics, (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1956), pp. 61-72, wherein the author contends that despite the claims of industry, tangible proof that TV had a major impact on voting behavior is lacking. See also, Herbert A. Simon and Frederick Stern, "The Effect of Television Upon Voting Behavior in Iowa in the 1952 Presidential Election," The American Political Science Review, 49, (June, 1955), pp. 470-478, where the authors found that television had little impact on either turnout or preference for Eisenhower. They arrived at their conclusion by comparing statistics for both high and low TV density areas. They do caution their readers, however, not to be hasty in generalizing on the basis of their study. Marshall McCombs, "Editorial Endorsements: A Study of Influence," Journalism Quarterly, 44, (1967), pp. 545-548, and p. 561, found similar results concerning the impact of newspaper endorsements. By conducting random interviews in California, the author contends that he found that the, "influence of newspaper editorial endorsements is greater when few other determinants affect the voters' decision." Also, he states that, "the greater the disagreement among the variables that typically shape the ballot decision, the greater the influence of an editorial endorsement." To be entirely fair one should point out that the final answer on the impact of mass media is still unclear. See, Charles A. H. Thompson, "Mass Media Performance," The National Election of 1964, Milton C. Cummings, Jr., editor, (Washington: The Brookings Institution, 1966), pp. 111-157, where Thompson concludes that, "Earlier estimates of TV's probable political effectiveness have emphasized its possible effect on turnout, and the judgment usually is that TV tends to increase it... the experience of 1964 suggests on the surface that TV played its expected role in this respect." However, here again, we are cautioned against reading too much into "the ambiguity of the available data."

Bernard Berelson, discussing the "effectiveness of communications," holds that, "The more personal the media, the more effective it is in converting opinions." Therefore, "personal conversation is more effective than a radio speech," and so forth. Berelson also points out that in cases where one does not receive news first hand, the "opinion leader" or the "opinion transmitter" in this "two-step flow of communication" becomes crucial, as it is the personal contact with this latter individual that has the greatest influence. Furthermore, the author declares, "effects upon the audience do not follow directly from and in correspondence with the intent of the communicator or the content of the communication. The predispositions of the reader or listener are deeply involved in the situation, and may operate to block or modify the intended effect or even to set up a boomerang effect."⁷¹

Looking at passivity in voting behavior, Campbell states:

When we seek to understand the motivational situation which underlies political passivity, we feel the need of information going beyond our knowledge of the sociological characteristics of non-voters... In order to improve on this level of understanding, we must probe more deeply into the psychological situation from which passive or active behavior originates.⁷²

He further points that, "Psychological analysis requires an understanding both of the person and the psychological world around him," and that therefore the student of this phenomenon must consider, "personality

⁷¹Bernard Berelson, "The Variable Influence of Communication," Mass Media and Mass Man, Alan Gastly, editor, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), p. 142-166.

⁷²Angus Campbell, "The Passive Citizen," Political Parties and Political Behavior, William C. Crotty, Donald L. Freedman, and Douglas S. Gartin, editors, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1966), p. 461.

traits, basic predispositions, and short-term attitudes.⁷³

Nonvoting has also been interpreted not so much in terms of unconscious motivations, or as a result of political apathy, but rather as a manifestation of the non-admittance of issues relevant to certain lower social classes into the mainstream of electoral conflict.⁷⁴ Negative voting also has been shown to relate more to feelings of powerlessness than to economic interest and other related variables.⁷⁵

Further research tends to bear out Lazarsfeld's notion of "cross-pressures."⁷⁶ Contemporary students are probing deeper into the question of what type of mechanisms are employed by the voter in order to resolve conflicting pressures.⁷⁷ There are those who counsel "great caution" in this regard, however, lest one's zeal lead to premature

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴See William F. Flanigan, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1958), chapter three. Also, E. E. Schattschneider, The Semisovereign People, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1960), chapter six.

⁷⁵John E. Horton and Wayne E. Thompson, "Powerlessness and Political Negativism: A Study of Defeated Local Referendums," The American Journal of Sociology, 67, (March, 1962), pp. 485-493.

⁷⁶Richard W. Boyd, "Presidential Elections: An Explanation of Voting Defection," The American Political Science Review, 63, (June, 1969), pp. 498-511.

⁷⁷For studies along these lines see, Angus Campbell and Warren E. Miller, "The Motivational Basis of Straight and Split Ticket Voting," The American Political Science Review, 51, (June, 1957), pp. 292-312. Also, James W. Prothro, Ernest G. Campbell, and Charles F. Grigg, "Three-Party Voting in the South: Class vs. Party Identification," The American Political Science Review, 52, (March, 1958), pp. 131-137. Also, Ramon J. Raine, "The 1964 Presidential Election and Curves of Information Seeking and Avoiding," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 3, (April, 1967), pp. 416-423.

The primary force in determining one's vote still appears to be

party allegiance. Campbell finds that sudden shifts from one major party

to the other tend to be based on a set of circumstances unique into a

given election and are merely temporary, with a shift back in succeeding

elections. Significant changes in party allegiance occur historically

only over relatively long periods of time. 76 One possible explanation

for this observation is offered by Helson, Tolby and Aaron Alderson:

When they state that, "by and large, voters retain the party loyalties

of the primary groups of which they are a part." 76 This general state-

ment appears to be borne out by numerous other students of voting behavior. 76

76 Daniel H. Ogden, Jr., "A Voting Behavior Approach to Split-Vote
Voting in 1952," Western Political Quarterly, 11, (September, 1956),
pp. 401-403.

79 Angus Campbell, "Interpreting the Ideological Theory," The National
Election of 1964, Chicago, pp. 256-261. See also, A. O. Key,
Jr., "A Theory of Political Elections," Journal of Politics, 17, (Septem-
ber, 1955), pp. 3-18. See also, Angus Campbell, "Change and Decline:
A Study of Electoral Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, 24, (Fall, 1960),
pp. 397-418. Even one-year election shifts in party strength can be
viewed as a continuation of the electorate's shift as expressed during
the presidential election. On this last point see, Barbara Hinckley,
"Interpreting Loose Ideology: Toward a Reassessment of the In-
terparty Ideological Loss of Seats," The American Political Science Re-
view, 61, (September, 1967), pp. 694-700.

80 Tolson, J. Tolby and Aaron E. Alderson, "Ideological Elections,
(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), p. 3.

81 See, for example, Angus Campbell and Peter A. Gooder, "Group Differences
in Attitudes and Votes," a monograph on the 1954 congressional elections,
(Survey Research Center: Institute for Social Research, University of
Michigan, 1956). Also, William A. Glasser, "The Party and Voting Turn-
out," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23, (Winter, 1959), pp. 510-515. Also,
Robert E. Clardy and Harold E. Miller, "Primary Group Influence on
Party Loyalty," The American Political Science Review, 53, (September,
1959), pp. 451-456. For a more detailed study of party loyalty, see
"Ideological Change," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23, (Winter, 1959), pp. 510-515.

It constitutes one of the basic premises of this type of research, both as a tentative conclusion and as a starting point for the asking of key questions, such as 'why?' and perhaps more importantly, 'why not?' in those cases where there is deviation from this norm.

Seeking to explain some of the observed patterns of behavior in this regard, Gillian Elaser finds that:

... the differences in turnout behavior which exist over time among persons categorized by sex, age, class, and party identification can be explained by the unequal distribution of certain predispositions and experiences, and further explained by the different effects of those upon the development of turnout behavior over time.⁶²

This entire area of interest leads to further analysis of the relationship between socio-economic status and party preference specifically, and between socio-economic status and voting behavior in general.⁶³

fluence of the S Factor U on the Voting Behavior of South Carolina Urban Negroes," The Western Political Quarterly, 16, (December, 1942), pp. 273-291, which relates the social and organizational activity of the individual to voting participation and party allegiance in presidential elections. See also, Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin Alton, and James Coleman, Union Democracy, (London City, Doubleday, 1956), chapter 14. Interestingly, it has also been shown that the reality of an election result can alter the image that one has of the candidate prior to the election, an image that was originally based on party loyalty. For an examination of this point, see, B. T. Raven and F. C. Hall, "The Effects of Nominating Conventions, Elections, and Reference Group Identification Upon the Perception of Political Figures," Human Relations, 16, (1963), p. 217-227.

⁶²Gillian A. Elaser, "Intention and Voting Turnout," The American Political Science Review, 52, (December, 1958), p. 1038.

⁶³An interest in the motivating factors of voters goes back to at least 1932. See, Jerry Alvin Neerach, The Frontport Campaigns in Iowa, 1920-26, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). Also, socio-economic analysis of an American presidential election has been done on votes cast as far back as 1816. See, Lee Benson, The Sons of Jacksonian Democracy: New York as a Test Case, (Princeton: Princeton University

Press, 1961). For general studies along these lines see, for example, Robert A. Alford, "The Role of Social Class in American Voting Behavior," Western Political Quarterly, 16, (March, 1963), pp. 180-194. Also, David C. Arnold and David Gold, "The Facilitation Effect of Social Environment," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 20, (Fall, 1961), pp. 513-516. For specific studies along these lines see, for example, J. R. Jennings and H. Schpler, "Class, Party, and Race in Four Types of Elections: The Case of Atlanta," Journal of Politics, 20, (May, 1966), pp. 391-407; Oscar Grantz, "Protestant and Catholic Voting Behavior in a Metropolitan Area," Public Opinion Quarterly, 23, (Spring, 1959), pp. 73-82; and F. I. Rose, "Student Opinion on the 1956 Presidential Election," Public Opinion Quarterly, 21, (Fall, 1957), pp. 371-376. In this last article cited, the author found that one's religion and the political party choice of one's father were the two most significant factors in determining one's voting intention and candidate choice. A fascinating study conducted on the voting behavior of patients in a mental hospital indicated their voting patterns most closely approximated the vote of the general population in the district surrounding the hospital. On this last point see, Morris H. Klein and Saul A. Grossman, "Voting Pattern of Mental Patients in a Community State Hospital," Community Mental Health Journal, 3, (1967), pp. 141-152. The role played by the local party organization has also been shown to affect voting behavior. See, Daniel Katz and Samuel J. Eldersveld, "The Impact of Local Party Activity Upon the Electorate," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, (1961), pp. 1-24. It might be interesting to note that there is an apparent increase in doctoral dissertations relating to this entire general area. See, for example, Marilyn Esther McCurtain, "An Investigation of the Voter's Decision Process and his Political Behavior," University of Washington (political science); and Daniel Tapia Valdes, "A Sociological Analysis and Description of the Political Role, Status and Voting Behavior of Americans with Spanish Names," University of Colorado (sociology). There are those who indicate that we must be careful not to over-simplify the deterministic power of these factors. There are times when the popularity of a given presidential candidate can outweigh other considerations. See, Warren E. Miller, "Presidential Coattails: A Study in Political Myth and Methodology," Public Opinion Quarterly, 19, (Winter 1955-56), pp. 353-368. Also, Louis H. Bean, "Analysing the Vote: The Effect of Crisis," Nation, 183, (November 24, 1956), pp. 446-449, wherein the author states that "popularity" combined with "crisis" accounted for Eisenhower's victory in 1956. It has further been postulated that despite the importance of party affiliation, in presidential elections, "charisma" of a candidate can over-ride party loyalty. See, Ethel de Sola Pool, Robert A. Abelson, and Samuel E. Lippin, Candidates, Issues and Strategies: A Computer Simulation of the 1960 Presidential Election, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1964). A number of students, while admitting the great importance of these socio-economic status variables in determining whether one will vote or not, and with which party he will identify, nevertheless point out that these variables are often not enough

to explain the total picture or deviating instances. See, Herbert McClosky, Political Inquiry, (New York, Macmillan, 1969), pp. 27-35. Also, Heinz Dulau, Class and Party in the Eisenhower Years, (New York: The Free Press, 1962). Also, Heinz Dulau, "Identification with Class and Political Perspective," Journal of Politics, 18, (May, 1956), pp. 232-253. Also, Samuel S. Eldersveld, "Experimental Propaganda Techniques and Voting Behavior," The American Political Science Review, 50, (March, 1956), pp. 154-165. This last article cited is of special interest in light of the earlier discussion concerning the influence of mass media and personal contact. Eldersveld found that personal contact was instrumental in activating people to vote even in those sociological groups not normally predisposed to vote. One should point out, however, that voting turnout may not be a good indicator of "the politicization of the electorate." See, Robert H. Alford and Eugene C. Leo, "Voting Turnout in American Cities," The American Political Science Review, 62, (September, 1968), p. 611, for a discussion of this last observation. For further discussion of the limitation of the socio-economic variables in determining voting behavior, see, Fred R. Greenstein and Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Suburbs and Shifting Party Loyalties," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 22, (Winter, 1959), pp. 473-482. Also, Oscar Glantz, "Unitary Political Behavior and Differential Political Motivation," Western Political Quarterly, 10, (December, 1957), pp. 633-646. Carrying the attack on the use of socio-economic status as a determinant even further, V. O. Key, Jr., in The Responsible Electorate, (Cambridge: Ballnap Press, 1966), argues that the voter is a rather rational person and that his behavior at the polls is not an outgrowth of socio-economic and psychological characteristics. It can be further argued that when we witness people voting against their apparent self-interest that this does not necessarily constitute irrational behavior. Rather, that certain groups in the society have a greater tendency to define their own interest in terms of the broad scope of the wellbeing of "the community." For a discussion of this last point see, James Q. Wilson and Edward S. Banfield, "Public-Regardiness as a Value Premise in Voting Behavior," The American Political Science Review, 56, (December, 1962), pp. 876-887. See also, Arthur S. Goldberg, "Social Determinism and Rationality as Bases of Party Identification," The American Political Science Review, 63, (March, 1969), pp. 5-25, wherein the author contends that one can reconcile Key's last point with the concept that party affiliation and voting behavior are largely determined by sociological factors by making the argument that the group norms that influence party choice take shape in terms of the rational interests of the individual. This entire field raises the question of whether a presidential candidate can be "manufactured" and if so, how, as is contended by

There are certain students of this relationship the question some of these blanket findings. Donald Stokes, for example, contends that:

at the state or local level party loyalties are so frequently all-important in deciding whether a Democrat or Republican will win that they can hardly be overlooked... But at the national level, especially in presidential elections, party allegiance is sometimes felt to be a limited tool of analysis.⁶¹

The interest in voting behavior is clearly growing. There are three reasons for this interest apparent to this writer, which, while related, require different orientations if the questions that arise are to be properly answered. Some are explicit, others are not.

First, there is interest in voting behavior as a concrete political phenomenon. To this end, the multiplicity of studies which attempt statistically to relate certain groupings and variables to the voting act are rather illuminating. This concern has probably fostered most of the research endeavors just noted.

The second level of interest is more theoretical. That is, by analyzing what students of voting behavior observe, it is hoped that a clearer understanding of the image of democratic man and his relationship to society and its political institutions will emerge. Thus the voting act becomes data for the mind of the political theorist. Such is the concern, for example, of a Seymour Martin Lipset. Almost

Joe McInerney in The Selling of the President 1968. (New York: Trident Press, 1969). Certainly, more research along these lines is warranted.

⁶¹ Donald N. Stokes, "Party Loyalty and the Likelihood of Deviating Elections," The Journal of Politics, 21, (November, 1959), p. 709-702.

by definition, such work must remain rather subjective and intuitive.

The third level of interest in voting behavior is spawned by a desire to understand the "why" underlying the "how" of man as he behaves politically. Here we find that voting can provide us with a concrete and recurring case for observing the motivations underlying the making of political choice. This interest, which has generated much of the earlier research into this field, contains various implied models. One, we witness man the consumer, as envisaged by Paul F. Lazarsfeld. Yet, here we see that the model breaks down as man the political animal is not as susceptible to change resulting from outside stimuli as is man the consumer. Perhaps, one might argue, this comes about because man has a relatively low level of concern for the political sphere as a result of his inability to relate the public arena to his day-to-day existence in any meaningful manner. One can arrive at this conclusion as a result of reviewing the literature in voting behavior but still not be certain if this is the actual reason or even if one is convinced that it is, why this is so.

Another model of man employed by students of voting, as for example V. O. Key, Jr., is that of man the rational arbiter of his interests. Based on this assumption empirical observations are explained, the assumption itself, however, never being taken to task. The third approach, the so-called sociological model, is that used by such students as Angus Campbell. Here, behavior observed through survey research techniques is understood in terms of assumed relationships existing between manifest political behavior and predispositions based on one's milieu, upbringing, class, occupation, religion, cultural values, and role perception. Un-

certainly and deviance from the norm are therefore explained in terms of the resolution of conflicts existing within this context.

A fourth approach, one that is rather neglected in this regard, is being advocated by this writer. That is, that the motivations for political behavior in general, and for the voting choice specifically, are largely to be found within the framework of the individual's psychic needs, wishes, fears, and conflicts and are often obscure if not entirely unknown to both the individual involved and the social scientist who observes his manifest behavior. Here, the insight of the psychoanalyst into hidden motives resulting from inner drives can prove invaluable to the political scientist in unraveling the secrets of political choice. Whether or not political choice has as deep a meaning for the individual as do other forms of choice and exactly how various external and public figures, events, and dilemmas relate to the psychic drives of the individual, or fail to, cannot be predicted in any meaningful manner at present. Here, only numerous trial efforts, many of them destined to frustration; set-backs, can ever hope to fill the gaps in our present knowledge.

Bannon declares that, "The psychological dimensionality of voting behavior is obviously an interesting social-psychological problem."⁸⁵ Here is a field that lends itself to inter-disciplinary cooperation. Some of these studies may appear to be sloppy, others overly cautious. One cannot remain tethered to a methodology, however. The real challenge

⁸⁵ N. Bannon, "Social Distance in Voting Behavior in Two Presidential Elections," The Public Opinion Quarterly, 26, (Summer, 1962), pp. 280-292.

is to make the methodology applicable to significant questions and not the other way around. For this to happen there has to be a degree of open-ended experimentation. Perhaps, as Stokes observes, "In voting research, as any branch of inquiry, knowledge is moved ahead as much by seeing new problems as by solving old ones."⁸⁶

⁸⁶Stokes op. cit. Also, for a contemporary roundup of the state of American voting behavior research see, Angus Campbell, Warren E. Miller, Philip E. Converse, and Donald E. Stokes, Elections and the Political Order, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966). Also, Gerald N. Pomper, Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics, (New York: Bodd, Read & Co., 1966).

CHAPTER THREE
PSYCHIATRY AND POLITICS

While the relationship between psychiatry and political science might well be described as "an emergent synthesis," it is not one that came about (or more properly, one that is on the verge of coming about) without its share of pain and frustration. The use of what we would today call psychological or psychiatric insights can be traced back at least as early as the political writings of Plato and Aristotle.¹ Certainly, with the development of that school of political thought known as the social contract theorists the concept of human nature became a central point of contention. One might posit that the most meaningful distinction between conservatives and liberals lies in their differing attitudes concerning man's nature. The conservative argues that man is basically evil and selfish and needs discipline to keep him from living in a natural state of chaos, while the liberal argues that man is essentially good and that if we do not find him to be that way in any given setting it is the fault of corrupted societal institutions.² This argument lies at the root of the philosophical debate between John Locke and Thomas Hobbes. Clearly, it was the positive picture of man painted

¹Arnold A. Rogow, "Psychiatry, History and Political Science: Notes on an Emergent Synthesis," Modern Psychoanalysis, Judd Marmor, editor, (New York: Basic Books, 1968), p. 664.

²This argument is based on a series of classroom lectures in American Political Thought given by Stanley Meingold at the City College of New York: 1965.

by Locke, and to a certain extent by Jean Jacques Rousseau (who insisted on man's natural capacity for goodness and reason despite his viewing of his contemporary scene as being corrupt), that influenced Thomas Jefferson in his quest for justification of the establishment of a new social order. By the same token, it can be argued that the view that man is naturally untrustworthy and that society must form or channel him influenced the political ideas of such American conservatives as Alexander Hamilton. The notion of innate qualities in men limiting their potential can be found in the Nineteenth century school of English and American social Darwinists which included Herbert Spencer and William Graham Sumner.

While one might claim that today the question of human nature lacks methodological sophistication, one should be aware that it is still very much with us and that one's views on this subject, often based on one's own experiences, might very easily color one's so-called "scientific" analysis of political institutions and behavior. One might even argue that Sigmund Freud was himself something of a latter-day Hobbesian. Yet, there are important distinctions between Freud and Hobbes. Freud saw an inherent struggle between man's innate striving for the expression of his individual liberty, which without civilization is valueless in that it cannot be defended against the force of others, and the restrictions placed upon man by civilization. Freud's view of man, however, is not static as are the views of the early political philosophers.

The liberty of the individual is no gift of civilization. It was greatest before there was any civilization, though then, it is true, it had for the most part no value, since the individual was scarcely in a position to defend

it. The development of civilization imposes restrictions on it, and justice demands that no one shall escape those restrictions. What makes itself felt in a human community as a desire for freedom may be their revolt against some existing injustice, and so may prove favourable to a further development of civilization; it may remain compatible with civilization. But it may also spring from the remains of their original personality, which is still untamed by civilization and may thus become the basis in them of hostility to civilization... A good part of the struggles of mankind centre round the single task of finding an expedient accommodation - one, that is, that will bring happiness - between this claim of the individual and the cultural claims of the group; and one of the problems that touches the fate of humanity is whether such an accommodation can be reached by means of some particular form of civilization or whether this conflict is irreconcilable.³

As Paul Roazen illustrates: "Freud looks at the hatred that exists beneath the social order in terms of its potential fusion with the more social drives as the individual matures."⁴ Besides the dynamic aspects of Freud's thinking, there are two other trends in Freudian thought that distinguish it from previous works on political theory. In the first instance, there is the concept of the unconscious. The notion that man's actions are neither accidental nor necessarily based on rational motivations raises nasty questions for classical democratic thinking. The model of democratic man as a reasonable being, at least capable of achieving Rousseau's utopian plateau of enlightened self-interest, is challenged by the Freudian model. Secondly, Freud introduced the notion of univer-

³Sigmund Freud, Civilization and its Discontents, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1961), pp. 42-43, first published in 1930.

⁴Paul Roazen, Freud: Political and Social Thought, (New York: Knopf, 1968), p. 213.

sality. The idea that both the king and the pauper, the intellectual and the illiterate are governed by the same set of rules and are driven by identical psychodynamics disarmed the elitist theories which appeared in various forms throughout the ever-developing history of ideas.

There are numerous other works of political thinking in which psychiatric or psychological concepts, though perhaps not labelled as such, are nevertheless present.⁵ At the turn of the last century Graham Wallas brought human nature back into the mainstream of political science. While political science as a discipline was still locked into the confines of constitutional law on the one hand and moral philosophy on the other, Wallas challenged the methodology of his field by introducing a call to politicians and scholars alike to divorce themselves from the "ideal" notion that political choice was a rational exercise in self-interest. Wallas was not willing to cynically concede that there was no hope. Intelligence had to replace emotion in decision-making, he argued.⁶ Wallas, however, did alert us to the importance played by the non-rational factors in political choice and behavior. Applying this concept to the voting act, Wallas stated, "The tactics of an election consist largely of contrivances by which this immediate emotion of personal affection may be set up... A simple-minded supporter whose affection has been so worked up will probably try to give an intellectual explanation of it."⁷

⁵See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell, "Two Forgotten Studies in Political Psychology," The American Political Science Review, 19, (1925), pp. 707-717.

⁶For a contemporary exposition of this line of reasoning see, Daniel Lerner and Harold D. Lasswell, editors, The Policy Sciences, (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1951).

⁷Graham Wallas, Human Nature in Politics, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 54, first published in 1908.

In many ways Wallas predated the contemporary field of political and voting behavior analysis by half a century.

It was out of this tradition that Harold Lasswell emerged, bringing the findings of psychiatry to the attention of his colleagues in political science. In the 1930's he applied psychoanalytic insights and techniques to the study of politics. His numerous works in this area could probably be broken down into two broad categories. On the one hand, it was Lasswell who employed the use of the interview to probe the behavior of public officials, and the use of life-histories to better understand political behavior of individuals. On the other hand, Lasswell also studied the ramifications of such personality factors as guilt, insecurity, frustration and the like on mass political behavior and ideology.⁸

Here, as in voting behavior, we see areas of interest that concern both the political scientist and the psychoanalyst. Yet, actual joint research efforts are few. Perhaps the reason for this apparent discrepancy is a certain sense of discomfort experienced when working in a field different from one's own where the framework and techniques are somewhat alien. The ability of the psychoanalyst to understand the behavior of the individual as he interacts with his societal and political context is an invaluable asset to the political scientist desirous of comprehending the "why's and wherefore's" of political behavior. By the same token, the knowledge of the political scientist of man's political behavior patterns as observed over time is most useful to the analyst as data.

⁸See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, (New York: Viking, 1960), first published by the University of Chicago Press in 1930, as well as Power and Personality, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1948).

Voting can provide a meaningful start, with more complex forms of political behavior following. An entire new dimension is opened up when the questions of the political scientist are combined with the insights of the psychoanalyst into the inner drives of the individual. The concrete act of voting lends itself to such analysis but not exclusively. The entire area of behavior, from attitude formation to various forms of political participation, so relevant for the contemporary scene, could be brought into clearer focus by such joint research endeavors. As is the hope of any scientific enterprise, we too can envision the day when such efforts may go beyond explanation and enter the productive stage. Only then can we truthfully claim that we understand man as he behaves politically. First, we must determine how the political world is perceived by and reacted to by the individual actor.

In any review of the literature in psychiatry and politics, one of the problems encountered is the difficulty in properly delineating exactly what should be included in this field's domain. Unlike other areas, such as voting behavior, it is difficult to draw the line. This writer has done so in an admittedly arbitrary fashion. There are those social scientists who refer to psychological or psychiatric variables in general and vague terms. By the same token, there are psychiatrists who refer to political events and personages in an almost tangential and incidental manner. As Heinz Eulau states:

Man's political behavior may interest the psychologist, when it interests him at all, because it is empirical grist for his theoretical mill... that personality expresses itself in the political arena is of only incidental interest to the psychologist... For the political scientist, on the other hand,

the functioning of the political arena as a behavioral system is the critical problem to be explained. His approach is necessarily different... he wants to know about the consequences of differences in personality for the performance of political roles and the working of political institutions. The personal meanings and motivations, conscious or unconscious, underlying a man's political participation or political preferences are of analytic interest because their discovery may contribute to an explanation of the political as a behavioral system. This system, it should be recalled, is always a network of interpersonal behavior. Analysis of the personal basis of political behavior can tell us, first of all, how and why a particular political actor relates himself to others as he does.⁹

This points up one of the main problems which has confronted political science and psychiatry and which, unfortunately, continues to plague those who wish to unite at least certain relevant aspects of these two disciplines - the question of methodological disparity.

It was Lasswell who said, "In the new, independent, and relatively opulent setting in America the cultivation of novelties was feasible; and psychoanalysis was an innovation, however faddist in some hands, that came to provoke and fertilize the growth of the behavioral sciences."¹⁰ We are now first beginning to witness something of a feasible merger between the best tools of both worlds - the journalistic subjectivity of political science and the measurable quantitative and qualitative analysis of the other social and behavior sciences.

⁹Heinz Mula, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics, (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 86-88.

¹⁰Harold D. Lasswell, "Impact of Psychoanalytic Thinking on the Social Sciences," The State of the Social Sciences, Leonard D. White, editor, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), p. 85.

To a certain extent, the questions raised by the relationship of psychiatry and political science are an outgrowth of the questions raised previously in an examination of the more focused sub-field of voting behavior. More precisely, what model of man underlies political behavior. As Max Mark posits: "If one were to investigate the model of man underlying contemporary social science one would find it heavily influenced by modern psychology."¹¹

It was Angus Campbell and his associates in The Voter Decides, who stated that:

Every new event is perceived against a background of attitudes and predispositions of which the individual himself may be only dimly aware. Perceiving is a highly selective process, influenced both by past experience and present needs.¹²

If motivation has become the key word in voting behavior research, then perception and personality should become its counterparts in psychiatry and political science. In 1922, Walter Lippmann wrote:

¹¹Max Mark, "What Image of Man for Political Science," The Western Political Quarterly, 15, (December, 1962), p. 593. It is interesting to note that the question of human nature is still very much with us. The entire field of relating man's nature to animal behavior is presently in vogue. Serious students of this approach attempt to scientifically demonstrate that man's nature innately includes aggressive and territorial drives and impulses by extrapolating from observations of animal behavior. See, for example, Konrad Lorenz, On Aggression, (New York: Bantam, 1967). Also, Robert Ardrey, African Genesis, (New York: Dell, 1961), and Robert Ardrey, The Territorial Imperative, (New York: Dell, 1966). It should be pointed out that there are those who question the validity of this approach. See, for example, L. F. Ashley Montague, editor, Man and Aggression, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968). For an interesting study of the interplay between environment and biology as it affects the physical and mental state of man, see Rene Dubos, So Human an Animal, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1968).

¹²Angus Campbell, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller, The Voter Decides, (Evanston: Row, Peterson, 1954), p. 64.

The world that we have to deal with politically is out of reach, out of sight, out of mind. It has to be explored, reported, and imagined. Man is no Aristotelian god contemplating all existence at one glance... He is learning to see with his mind vast portions of the world that he could never see, touch, smell, hear, or remember. Gradually he makes for himself a trustworthy picture inside his head of the world beyond his reach.

Among the factors which Lippmann felt were crucial in bringing about his observation that, "the picture inside so often misleads men in their dealings with the world outside," was "the fear of facing those facts which would seem to threaten the established routine of men's lives."¹³ As interest in this phenomenon grew, the question arose as to how an individual developed his perceptual framework through which later events are selectively screened. It is out of this avenue of inquiry that the now popular sub-field of political socialization arose. The main thrust of this research led to the discovery that children 'learned' their political values, or at least the latent basis from which the manifestation of later political values would develop, at extremely early ages from their primary group, especially from their parents, in much the same way that small children develop other value, belief, and ethical systems. The educational system, the so-called Establishment, and identification with peer groups, at later stages in the individual's life, serve to modify and/or reinforce aspects of the original political values and beliefs already internalized.¹⁴

¹³Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion, (New York: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 29-30.

¹⁴For a good example of this type of work see, Robert D. Hess and Judith V. Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children, (New York: Doubleday, 1968); David Easton and Robert D. Hess, "The Child's Political World," Midwest Journal of Political Science, 6, (August,

Specific studies along these lines are becoming more frequent. Fred Greenstein noted that, "... during the last five years of elementary school, children move from near - but not complete - ignorance of adult politics to awareness of most of the adult political arena. And the fourth and eighth graders live in quite different psychological worlds."¹⁵ Greenstein further found that children hold a positive, fatherly image of political leaders, especially the President.¹⁶ The last point was

1962), pp. 229-246; and Robert Lane, "Fathers and Sons: Foundations of Political Belief," American Sociological Review, 24, (August, 1959), pp. 502-511; Norman Adler and Charles Harrington, editors, The Learning of Political Behavior, (Glenview, Illinois: Scott, Foresman, 1970); David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children in the Political System: Origins of Political Legitimacy, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969). Also, Herbert H. Hyman, Political Socialization: A Study in the Psychology of Political Behavior, (New York: Free Press, 1959); M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, "The Transmission of Political Values from Parent to Child," The American Political Science Review, 62, (March, 1968), pp. 169-184; Richard E. Dawson and Kenneth Frewitt, Political Socialization, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969); Kenneth P. Langton, Political Socialization, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Lewis A. Provan, Jr., "Learning Political Attitudes," Western Political Quarterly, 15, (June, 1962), pp. 304-313, and John A. Clausen, editor, Socialization and Society, (Boston: Little Brown, 1968). For a variation on this theme see, Robert Rosenthal and Lenore Jacobson, "Self-Fulfilling Prophecies in the Classroom: Teachers' Expectations as Unintended Determinants of Pupils' Intellectual Competence," Social Class, Race and Psychological Development, Martin Deutsch, Erwin Katz, and Arthur R. Jensen, editors, (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968), pp. 219-253. Also, Kenneth P. Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," The American Political Science Review, 62, (September, 1968), pp. 852-867.

¹⁵ Fred I. Greenstein, Children and Politics, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), p. 1.

¹⁶ Fred I. Greenstein, "The Benevolent Leader: Children's Images of Political Authority," The American Political Science Review, 54, (December, 1960), pp. 934-943. Also, Fred I. Greenstein, "Popular Images of the President," American Journal of Psychiatry, 122, (1965), pp. 523-529. It is especially interesting to note, in light of the purpose of the study at hand, that in the latter citation Greenstein found that the favorable image of the Chief Executive held by adults, and filtered down from them to children, is increased in times of crisis. On this last point see chapter four, p. , of this study.

challenged by Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic Fleron, who contend that Greenstein's model is culture-bound and that his findings are not borne out in poor sub-cultures. Working in Appalachia, they noted that children are much "less favorably inclined toward political objects."¹⁷ This raises the question of the relationship of culture to the process of socialization of early political values.¹⁸

Related to these interests is the question of personality. That is, what types of persons are most likely to express what types of political opinions and political behavior patterns, and under which conditions. Two main approaches to the study of personality as it re-

¹⁷Dean Jaros, Herbert Hirsch, and Frederic J. Fleron, Jr., "The Malevolent Leader: Political Socialization in an American Sub-Culture," The American Political Science Review, 62, (June, 1968), pp. 564-575.

¹⁸See Erik H. Erikson's classic work, Childhood and Society, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950). For a study relating cultural change to political socialization see Alex Inkeles, "Social Change and Social Character: The Role of Parental Mediation," The Journal of Social Issues, 11, (1955), pp. 12-22. For a comparative analysis of culture and political attitudes see, Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965). For an exploration of the relationship between cultural mores, political attitudes and early socialization see the forthcoming book by Arnold A. Rogow and Harold D. Lasswell, Sex, Culture and Politics, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell). It should be pointed out that not all students of this field agree that the study of individuals can lead to an understanding of the development of social values. See, for example, Karl Mannheim's landmark work, Ideology and Utopia, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World - Harvest Books, 1936), p. 27 wherein the author states: "... it is also clear that while it may be sufficient for the genetic explanation of a quite special individual mode of behaviour to go back to the early period of an individual's history (as would, for instance, be done by psychoanalysis to explain the symptoms of later developments in character from the experiences of early childhood), for a mode of behaviour of social significance, such as the transvaluation of values which transforms the whole system of life of a society in all its ramifications, preoccupation with the purely individual life-history and its analysis is not sufficient."

lates to political behavior have been developed. The first of these seeks to define those characteristics in individuals which tend to correlate with certain political postures. As Herbert McClosky points out, "The most important spur to research on this subject (psychology and politics) was the publication in 1950 of The Authoritarian Personality."¹⁹ Originally setting out to study prejudice, especially anti-Semitism, Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, the authors of the aforementioned work, found themselves guided by the hypothesis, "that the political, economic, and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a 'mentality' or 'spirit', and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality."²⁰

They further discovered that:

Although personality is a product of the social environment of the past, it is not, once it has developed, a mere object of the contemporary environment. What has developed is a structure within the individual, something which is capable of self-initiated action upon the social environment and of selection with respect to varied impinging stimuli, something which though always modifiable is frequently very resistant to fundamental change.²¹

It is out of this study that the F-scale, a series of questions designed

¹⁹Herbert McClosky, Political Inquiry, (New York: Macmillan, 1969), p. 42.

²⁰Theodor W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, The Authoritarian Personality, (New York: Harper & Row, 1950), p. 1.

²¹Ibid., p. 6.

to test for latent fascistic inclinations in the respondents, emerged.²² Numerous studies, many of a high calibre, appeared which attempted to probe relationships between personality types and affiliation with political movements and ideologies, both in terms of the extreme political behavior of the few on both sides of the spectrum, and the so-called middle-of-the-road, model behavior of the 'average' citizen.²³ This

²²For an example of the use of the F-scale, see D. T. Campbell and T. H. McCormack, "Military Experience and Attitudes Toward Authority," American Journal of Sociology, 62, (March, 1957), pp. 482-490, wherein the authors found that, contrary to their expectation, authoritarianism decreased with added military experience. See also the questionnaire employed in this study, chapter five. For a study making use of the F-scale in attempting to isolate the personality factors which relate to political participation see, Lester W. Milbrath and Walter W. Klein, "Personality Correlates of Political Participation," Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior: Essays and Studies, Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum, editors, (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1966), pp. 226-237, wherein it was demonstrated that while personality traits do not guarantee participation, they may be a barrier to it, as for example - people who scored high on the F-scale were found to be low in participation. It was concluded that, "... political participation seems to be a special case of a general social participation pattern. Personality factors requisite for general social participation are also requisite for political participation, but their presence does not necessarily produce political activity." (p. 227).

²³See, for example, Harold D. Lasswell's chapter on "The Formation of Democratic Personality," in Power and Personality, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-173. On this subject see also, T. E. French, "The Psychodynamic Problem of Democracy," Civilian Morale, G. Watson, editor, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1942), pp. 19-29; and David M. Levy, "Anti-Nazis: Criteria of Differentiation," Personality and Political Crisis, Alfred H. Stanton and Stewart E. Perry, editors, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951); W. S. Taylor, "The Essence of Democracy," Journal of Social Psychology, 22, (1945), pp. 203-208; and Leo Pattner, "Individual Psychology and Democracy," American Journal of Individual Psychology, 11, (1955), pp. 167-171. Concerning the psycho-political reasons underlying affiliation with Communism see, Gabriel A. Almond, The Appeals of Communism, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), and Hadley Cantril, The Politics of Despair, (New York: Collier, 1962). Also, Lucian W. Fye, Guerrilla Communism in Malaya: Its Social and Political Meaning, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), wherein both the personal and the political meaning of attraction to the Communist Party in a transitional society are studied. For additional work on the authoritarian and conservative personality see, Louise Harned, "Authoritarian Attitudes and Party

Activity," Public Opinion Quarterly, 25, (1961), pp. 393-399; Charles D. Farris, "Authoritarianism as a Political Behavior Variable," Journal of Politics, 18, (February, 1956); Morris Janowitz and D. Marvick, "Authoritarianism and Political Behavior," Public Opinion Quarterly, 17, (1953); Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Environmental Controls and the Impoverishment of Thought," prepared for the Conference on Totalitarianism, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Boston, (March, 1953); Herbert McClosky, "Conservatism and Personality," The American Political Science Review, 52, (1958), pp. 27-45; Edward A. Shils, "Authoritarianism 'Right' and 'Left'," Studies in the Scope and Method of 'The Authoritarian Personality', Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, editors, (Glencoe: Free Press, 1954), pp. 42-49; Robert A. Schoenberger, "Conservatism, Personality and Political Extremism," The American Political Science Review, 62, (September, 1968), pp. 868-877; and Seymour Martin Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," American Sociological Review, 24, (August, 1959), pp. 482-501. For works dealing with the over-all topic of personality and politics see, H. J. Eysenck, The Psychology of Politics, (New York: Praeger, 1954); E. Victor Wolfenstein, Personality and Politics, (Belmont: Dickenson, 1969); The Journal of Social Issues, 24, (July, 1968), which had as its theme, "Personality and Politics: Theoretical and Methodological Issues," Fred I. Greenstein, issue editor; Milton Rokeach, The Open and Closed Mind, (New York: Basic Books, 1960); Fred I. Greenstein, "The Impact of Personality on Politics: An Attempt to Clear Away Underbrush," The American Political Science Review, 61, (September, 1967), pp. 629-641; Hadley Cantril, The Psychology of Social Movements, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1941); and Daniel J. Levinson, "The Relevance of Personality for Political Participation," Public Opinion Quarterly, 22, (Spring, 1958), p. 10. For studies of personality types, other than those mentioned above see, for example, Irving Spiegel, "Wallace Linked to Irrationalism," New York Times, 5 January 1969, section I, p. 40, which discusses work done on Southern radicals; Sidney J. Slomich and Robert E. Kantor, "Social Psychopathology of Political Assassination," Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, (March, 1969), pp. 9-12; and Peter Kihss, "Study Finds Likely Assassins Share 'Social Isolation' Trait," New York Times, 24 March 1969, p. 41, both of which deal with the personality characteristics of political assassins. For analysis of political agitators see, Alex Inkeles, "The Bolshevik Agitator," pp. 404-413, and Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, "Portrait of the American Agitator," pp. 470-477, both in Public Opinion and Propaganda, Daniel Katz, Dorwin Cartwright, Samuel Eldersveld, and Alfred McClung Lee, editors, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954). For a study dealing with xenophobia and personality see, H. V. Perlmutter, "Some Characteristics of the Xenophobic Personality," Journal of Psychology, 38, (October, 1954), pp. 291-300. It is also interesting to note that in studying the politics of the rich, Gabriel A. Almond, "The Political Attitudes of Wealth," The Journal of Politics, 7, (August, 1945), p. 255, observed that: "Conservatism among wealthy persons is not only to be understood as that attitude and related behavior intended

kind of research is closely related to another interesting, though unfortunately under-represented in terms of studies undertaken, sub-field of the psychodynamics of political behavior - the psych-political roots of prejudice.²⁴

The second approach to personality study is that of psycho-political biography, wherein a given individual of political or historical importance is meticulously analyzed not merely in terms of his political and factual history, but also in terms of his personal history with all of its ramifications.²⁵ There are those students of personality who seek

to defend economic interests, but also must be understood as a rigid, irrational effort to defend these immediate interests with little regard for the consequences of such behavior for the larger society, and in the long run for the interests of the individual himself."

²⁴See, for example, Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice, (Garden City: Doubleday, Anchor, 1958); Eleanor E. Maccoby, Theodore L. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley, editors, Readings in Social Psychology, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1958), chapter 13; Angus Campbell, "Factors Associated with Attitudes Toward Jews," Ibid., second edition, 1952, G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley, editors; Marie Jahoda, "What is Prejudice?" The Jewish Post and Opinion, 13 February 1970, pp. 15-20; Franz Fanon, The Wretched of the Earth, (New York: Grove, 1966). Also, it is interesting to note that over a quarter of a century ago the potential psycho-sexual roots of prejudice was noted. See, Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: the Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, (New York: Harper, 1944). For an approach to studying the relationship between modern urban milieu and racial attitudes see, John M. Orbell and Kenneth S. Sherrill, "Racial Attitudes and the Metropolitan Context: A Structural Analysis," Public Opinion Quarterly, 33, (Spring, 1969), pp. 46-74.

²⁵See, for example, Erik H. Erikson, Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958); Arnold A. Rogow, James Forrestal: A Study of Personality, Politics and Policy, (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Erik H. Erikson, Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1969); William H. Blanchard, Rousseau and the Spirit of Revolt, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967); Alexander and Juliette George, Woodrow Wilson and Colonel House: A Personality Study, (New York: John Day, 1956); Douglas Goldman, Nathan S. Kline, Veronica E. Pennington, and Burtrum C. Schiele, Historical Personalities As Viewed by Leading Contemporary Psychiatrists,

to combine these two approaches, as well, in that they study a few men of political prominence to see if personality patterns can be delineated.²⁶ Hopefully, more work in this general area will be forthcoming so that models and theories which can be tested and verified, can evolve. The implications of such work for contemporary times and future problems cannot be overemphasized. As Lester Milbrath says, there is, "need for further research on the factors creating liberal or conservative personalities and on the differences in political behavior exhibited by the

(Bloomfield: Schering, 1958); Silvio G. Fanti, J'ai Peur, Docteur, (Neuchatel: Delachaux & Niestle, 1953); and Bryant Wedge, "Khrushchev at a Distance - A Study of Public Personality," Trans-Action, (October, 1968), pp. 24-28. It is interesting to note that over forty years ago Franklin Fearing, "Psychological Studies of Historical Personalities," Psychological Bulletin, 24, (September, 1927), pp. 521-539, called for this type of research.

²⁶See, for example, E. Victor Wolfenstein, The Revolutionary Personality, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), which compares and contrasts the lives of Lenin, Trotsky, and Gandhi; Arnold A. Rogow, "Private Illness and Public Policy: The Cases of James Forrestal and John Winant," presented at the American Psychiatric Association Annual Meeting in Boston: May 15, 1968; John McConaughy, "Certain Personality Factors of State Legislators in South Carolina," The American Political Science Review, 44, (1950), pp. 894-903; See also, a forthcoming book by Ned Lebow which contains a treatment of the personalities of some of the early founders of Zionism. The concept of studying Presidents and grouping them into behavioral categories is not new to students of the American Presidency (E. G. James MacGregor Burns' differentiation between Hamiltonian, Madisonian, and Jeffersonian models; Louis Koenig's literalist, strong, and middle-ground categories, and Erwin C. Hargrove's division between Presidents of action and Presidents of restraint). At the 1969 meeting of the American Political Science Association in New York, however, James D. Barber presented "a speculative paper on Presidential styles, combining psychoanalytic techniques with political science." For a report and comment on this presentation see, New York Times, 9 September 1969, p. 47.

two kinds of personalities."²⁷

Another branch of political science that can benefit from this general approach is public opinion and attitude formation. Indeed, as in most subjects covered here, there is definite overlap. A number of students of public opinion employ the statistical approach by using socio-psychological variables in their analyses.²⁸ As Seymour Lipset observed:

... opinion formation tends in large part to be a product of the activation of previous experiences and attitudes.

He further noted that:

It has long been apparent that perception of an external phenomenon is largely determined by the frame of reference - the supplied context - within which it is perceived. Both perception and attitude formation are heavily affected by the nature of the meanings, the frame of reference, the predispositions that individuals bring to a situation.²⁹

Related to the question of public opinion formation is the broader area of adaptation to one's genre. The word of the day seems to be environment. Unfortunately, a few people apparently look beyond the technological aspects of the contemporary ecological problems. One

²⁷Lester W. Milbrath, "Latent Origins of Liberalism-Conservatism and Party Identification: A Research Note," The Journal of Politics, 24, (November, 1962), p. 688.

²⁸See, for example, Lloyd A. Free and Hadley Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans: A Study of Public Opinion, (New York: Clarion, 1968); Gabriel A. Almond, The American People and Foreign Policy, (New York: Praeger, 1960); Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967); and Edward E. Walker, John H. Lindquist, Roy D. Morey, and Donald E. Walker, editors, Readings in American Public Opinion, (New York: American Book Co., 1968).

²⁹Seymour Martin Lipset, "Opinion Formation in a Crisis Situation," Public Opinion Quarterly, 17, (Spring, 1953), pp. 39 & 43.

should be aware that there is a social and human equivalent to pollution in the modern, industrial society. Merely the mention of words like mass or industrial society or urban complex brings forth hundreds of conceivable areas where psychiatry and political science, in concert with many other fields, such as sociology, economics, anthropology, medicine, and law, can collaborate effectively.

This writer, for one, is uncomfortable with the concept of a 'sick society' for it tends to become an ill-defined, vague, catch-all cliché that detracts from emphasizing true questions and concerns. It is the individual members of a society, in large numbers or small, for idiosyncratic or global reasons, who are sick, not the society per se. Yet, we cannot keep our eyes closed to the fact that the culture of a particular society not only places certain requirements on the individuals within it but, moreover, that it largely determines the values and the criteria for success for the individual members. It thus defines "normal" behavior and creates patterns of acceptable responses. In this context one can view society as being "sick" in that the cultural milieu breeds and reinforces certain values and behavior patterns which are in fact detrimental to the individual residing within that society. This is what Lawrence Frank had in mind when he wrote, employing his "psycho-cultural" approach, that, "... social order arises from the beliefs, activities, and feelings of the individuals making up the group life, and that those individuals are the product of our traditional culture." He further argued that the word "normal" has lost its meaning as "... we see efforts being made to erect many of the previously considered abnormalities into cultural patterns for general social

adoption."³⁰ When the causal factors or the trigger mechanisms of such illness have their roots in the fibers of the societal construct itself, this then becomes the concern of psychiatry and political science. Such is the concern here. A mere reading of any daily newspaper forces one to take note of the troubled state in which so many citizens find themselves. One might easily say that such problems as fear, depression, frustration, conflict, hopelessness, and alienation that lead so many to rebel, drop-out, take narcotics and alcohol, seek divorces, go to mental hospitals, or commit suicide, are purely psychiatric questions. Let us look for a moment at Karen Horney's definition of anxiety:

Let us start by describing the experience an individual undergoes during anxiety. He has the feeling of a powerful, inescapable danger against which he himself is entirely helpless...

Such feelings in themselves, however, are not characteristic only of anxiety; they may be exactly the same in any situation which involves a factual overpowering danger and a factual helplessness toward it... In the case of fear the danger is present in reality and the feeling of helplessness is conditioned by reality, and in the case of anxiety the danger is generated or magnified by intrapsychic factors and the helplessness is conditioned by one's own attitude.

The question concerning the subjective factor in anxiety is thus reduced to the more specific inquiry: what are the psychic conditions that create the feelings of an imminent powerful danger and an attitude of helplessness toward it?³¹

If, say, a man loses his job, this would constitute a personal problem,

³⁰ Lawrence Kelso Frank, Society as the Patient, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1948), p. v. On this point see also, Otto Rank, Modern Education, (New York: Knopf, 1932); Otto Rank, Erziehungs-Ideologic, (Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1933); and Richard Henry Tawney, The Acquisitive Society, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1920).

³¹ Karen Horney, The Neurotic Personality of Our Time, (New York: W. W. Norton, 1937), pp. 60-61.

but when dozens of men in similar situations lose their's as well, it then becomes a governmental and economic problem. Similarly, if an individual suffers from anxiety it is a psychiatric problem, but when neurosis becomes the norm, the problem becomes transformed into a societal question. Exactly where the line is drawn is presently impossible to say. Suffice it to say that the level of disorientation, uncertainty, aimlessness, and apprehension that prevades modern society, coupled with such real threats as riots, violence, crime, warfare, poverty, and disease, at least causes one to take note and ask, perhaps...

Here is where the social and behavioral scientist must enter, if he is ever to enter into the sphere of relevance, at all.³² Kenneth Keniston,

³²See, for example, Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," American Sociological Review, 3, (October, 1938), pp. 672-682, wherein the author attacks the notion that "the malfunctioning of social structure" can be attributed mainly to "man's imperious biological drives which are not adequately restrained by social control." Instead, he contends, "certain phases of social structure generate the circumstances in which infringement of social codes constitutes a 'normal' (culturally oriented, if not approved, response) response," p. 672; Robert S. Lynd, Knowledge For What? (New York: Grove, 1939), p. 20, wherein the author in criticizing the social sciences for not emulating the anthropologists states, "... we have allowed ourselves to lose sight of the fact that the specialities we have abstracted can be understood only as parts of the functioning total culture."; Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, editors, Interdisciplinary Relationships in the Social Sciences, (Chicago: Aldine, 1969); Paul Reiwald, De L'Esprit des Masses: Traité de Psychologie Collective, (Neuchatel, Delachaux et Niestle, 1949); E. V. Walter, "Power, Civilization and the Psychology of Conscience," The American Political Science Review, 53, (September, 1959), pp. 641-661; Ronald V. Sampson, The Psychology of Power, (New York: Vintage, 1968); Dwight G. Dean, "Alienation and Political Apathy," Social Forces, 38, (March, 1960); Edward L. McDill, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, Prejudice and Socio-Economic Status: An Attempt at Clarification," Social Forces, 39, (March, 1961); S. H. Mizruchi, "Social Structure and Anomia in a Small City," American Sociological Review, 25, (1960); Morris Rosenberg, "Misanthropy and Political Ideology," American Sociological Review, 21, (December, 1956); Morris Rosenberg, "Some Determinants of Political Apathy," Public Opinion Quarterly, 18, (1954); W. E. Thompson and J. E. Houston, "Political Alienation as a Force in Political Action," Social Forces, 38, (March, 1960); Donald C. Klein,

commenting on this point aptly states:

Ours is an age not of synthesis but of analysis, not of constructive hopes but of awful destructive potentials, not of commitment but of alienation.³³

Discussing the role of psychology in understanding society, Erich Fromm states:

Pointing out the significance of psychological considerations in relation to the present scene does not imply... an overestimation of psychology. The basic entity of the social process is the individual, his desires and fears, his passions and reason, his propensities for good and for evil. To understand the dynamics of the social process we must understand the dynamics of the psychological processes operating within the individual, just as to understand the individual we must see him in the context of the culture

Community Dynamics and Mental Health, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1968); Viola W. Bernard, "Some Principles of Dynamic Psychiatry in Relation to Poverty," The American Journal of Psychiatry, 122, (September, 1965), pp. 254-267; Marshall F. Gilula and David H. Daniels, "Violence and Man's Struggle to Adapt," Science, 164, (25 April 1969), pp. 396-405; Otto N. Larsen, editor, Violence and the Mass Media, (New York, Harper & Row, 1968); J. McLeod, S. Ward, and K. Tancill, "Alienation and Uses of Mass Media," Public Opinion Quarterly, 29, (Winter, 1965-66), pp. 583-594; and "Politik Im Licht Der Menschenkunde," Zeitschrift für Politik, 1, (October, 1954), pp. 197-210. For studies related to the dynamics of radical students see, for example, Christian Bay, "Political and Apolitical Students: Facts in Search of a Theory," Journal of Social Issues, 23, (July, 1967), pp. 76-91; and Fred H. Hechinger, "The Kind of Parents Most Likely to Produce Student Rebels," New York Times, 29 June 1969, section IV, p. 7. Also see an interesting thesis on the institutionalization of racial rioting and violence by Joseph A. Towles and Colin M. Turnbull, "The White Problem in America," Natural History, 77, (June-July, 1968), pp. 6-18.

³³ Kenneth Keniston, The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965), p. 4.

which molds him.³⁴

In his study of alienation, David Riesman similarly argues that, "there might be great tension between an individual's search for fulfillment and the demands of the institutions in which he had a part, or from which he felt alienated."³⁵ Others see a more hopeful seed contained within man's nature. For instance, Hadley Cantril holds that, "There seems to be something in human nature that wants out, that wants to be released and revealed, that wants to become aware of itself, that wants to be preserved. This spirit of man is the ultimate source of political organization and of political change whether orderly or violent."³⁶ The statements just presented raise another question. That is, clearly we are undergoing great social, economic, and political change. What impact does this have on our individual mental states and consequently on

³⁴Erich Fromm, Escape From Freedom, (New York: Avon, 1968), pp. vii-viii. Fromm's statement is similar to one by Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Interaction of Psychological and Sociological Factors in Political Behavior," The American Political Science Review, 46, (March, 1952), p. 44, where she said: "An inquiry into the totality of the social process must consequently consider the structure of the social institutions as well as the different ways in which the economic and social organization is experienced by, and incorporated within, the individual." She further pointed out that: "We know a little, but not enough, of how social and technological changes play upon neurotic symptoms..." (p. 45). On this point see also R. B. Money-Kyrle, Psychoanalysis and Politics, (London: Duckworth, 1951), pp. 19-20, where the author states: "Whatever a 'good' or 'healthy' society may be, the one we have at present, charged so highly as it is with tensions, and in danger of physical destruction, is generally felt to be very far from perfect. What is required of psychology is, therefore, some practical contribution to the lessening of these tensions."

³⁵David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. xvi.

³⁶Hadley Cantril, Human Nature and Political Systems, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. 37.

our collective behavior. As James Davies states: "High tension and deep malaise pervade a mature society about to give birth to a new one."³⁷

It is Davies who devised the formula B=f(SO) meaning, "behavior is a function of the interaction of the situation and the organism."³⁸ This last area of discussion is especially pertinent to those who study the so-called developing areas and the entire process of modernization.

Lucien Pye pinpoints this dilemma succinctly when he says:

By weakening the cohesion of societies while simultaneously suggesting the unlimited potentialities of coherent political systems, the diffusion of the world culture has created the cruel but fundamental problem of the underdeveloped areas of today.³⁹

³⁷James C. Davies, Human Nature in Politics, (New York: John Wiley & Sons: 1963), p. 331.

³⁸Ibid., p. 2.

³⁹Lucian W. Pye, Aspects of Political Development, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1966), p. 11. For analyses of the impact of social change on individual behavior see, Robert J. Lifton, "Individual Patterns in Historical Change: Imagery of Japanese Youth," Comparative Perspectives on Social Change, S. N. Eisenstadt, editor, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1968), pp. 160-175; Lucian W. Pye, Politics, Personality, and Nation Building: Burma's Search for Identity, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963); Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, (New York: Free Press, 1958); H. R. Singer, "Group Perception and Social Change in Ceylon," International Journal of Comparative Sociology, 7, (March, 1966), pp. 209-226; Lucian W. Pye, The Spirit of Chinese Politics: A Psycho-Cultural Study of the Authority Crisis in Political Development, (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1969); and Samuel P. Huntington, Political Order in Changing Societies, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 32, wherein it is said: "At the psychological level, modernization involves a fundamental shift in values, attitudes, and expectations. Traditional man expected continuity in nature and society and did not believe in the capacity of man to change or control either. Modern man, in contrast, accepts the possibility of change and believes in its desirability." As a variation on this theme, see an interesting study of the impact of political reform on New York City policemen. Paul Friedman, "Suicide Among Police: A Study of Ninety-three Suicides Among New York City Policemen, 1934-1940," Essays in Self-Destruction, E. S. Schneidman, editor, (New York: Science House, 1967), pp. 414-449. For a probing

One of the major problems of our age is the fact that we live in a constant shadow of nuclear holocaust, which obviously contributes to the tensions of society as well as to the anxieties of its individual citizens. The entire area of warfare is one that is open to psychopolitical analysis. In his Presidential Address to the American Psychiatric Association in 1941, George H. Stevenson said:

We know something of the seductive attractiveness of certain aspects of war, made more so by excitement, color, martial music, appeals to patriotism, rewards for valor, but above all for the opportunities presented by war to relieve the tedium and monotony of civilian life, to offer an escape from responsibility, unemployment and domestic unhappiness.

We know too from psychoanalytic teaching something of the psychologic factors, not conscious to the individual, which makes him willing to kill and equally willing to suffer and die.⁴⁰

In that speech Stevenson presented his colleagues with a challenge:

We know that there will be other wars. We know that wars beget wars. We know that so long as nationalism tends to preserve itself by the building of armaments, so long will there be wars. We know that so long as primitive and unconscious drives continue stronger than reason, education and sublimation, so long will there be wars.

Knowing all these things, knowing the difficulties to be surmounted, knowing our own limitations, is the task too large for us even to start?... If events are left only to political

account of the influence of the historical development of a sub-culture on its political institutions, behavior, and attitudes, though written in a nonpsychological manner, see Harry N. Caudill, Night Comes to the Cumberland: A Biography of a Depressed Area, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963).

⁴⁰George H. Stevenson, "The Psychiatric Public Health Aspects of War," delivered as the Presidential Address at the ninety-seventh annual meeting of The American Psychiatric Association in Richmond, (May 5-9, 1941), p. 3.

leaders and to the emotional reactions of the leaders and the led, you and I know that in 1965, or some such year, the babies our colleagues are now ushering into the world will suffer and die by the millions in another fratricidal war. The ordinary man, the ordinary woman and child pay in blood, tears, and taxes for this fearful psychosis, a psychosis essentially preventable, not preventable by us alone, or by any group alone, but by the intelligent cooperation of all bodies in the social sciences, not least of which should be preventive psychiatry.⁴¹

While psychiatrists are probably more attuned, personally, to problems of international and domestic politics than are most of their colleagues in other medical specialties,⁴² the above challenge has never really been answered, partly because their interest, while genuine, is often expressed in non-operational terms.* The London Times, commenting on this point, stated editorially on Christmas of 1967:

Avoiding war has now become a matter of survival, yet the means of avoiding it remain elusive... There still lingers among people as well as governments the remnants of the old feeling that war can be gilded with glamour, and that it is a legitimate extension of diplomacy.

What is lacking is a real understanding of the roots of human behaviour, of the drives and responses that start or provoke wars. If Christmas is ever to mean real peace on earth the main hope must rest not with politicians and diplomatists but with scientists, sociologists and psychiatrists, the people who study the behaviour patterns of animals and humans, tribes and advanced societies. Without the knowledge that they are still groping for, the diplomatists and politicians will continue to flounder, and Christmas will continue to

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

⁴²See the forthcoming work by Arnold A. Rogow, The Psychiatrists, (New York: Putnam, 1970).

*Though the establishment of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry in 1946 certainly helped to overcome this state of affairs.

be a sad reminder of man's inability to live up to his own image.⁴³

While certain politicians are aware of the psychodynamic aspect of war,⁴⁴ very little work on this subject has come to replace the rhetoric.⁴⁵

Hans Morgenthau, writing shortly after World War Two on the theme of power politics and war, stated:

Though it is true that certain social arrangements and institutions have always existed in the past, it does not necessarily follow that they must always exist in the future. The situation is, however, different when we deal not with social arrangements and institutions created by man, but with those elemental bio-psychological drives by

⁴³"Very Little Peace on Earth", The London Times, (Christmas, 1967), reprinted in the U. S. News & World Report, 8 January, 1968, p. 88.

⁴⁴See, for example, J. William Fulbright, The Arrogance of Power, (New York, 1966); and Morton Kondracke, "Fulbright Tries to Psych the War," New York Post, 20 June 1969, p. 37.

⁴⁵For some of the exceptions, curiously and sadly done in the main by other than political scientists, see, "War: The Anthropology of Armed Conflict and Aggression," Natural History, 76, (December, 1967), pp. 39-70; Leon Bramson and George W. Goethals, editors, War, (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Jerome D. Frank, Sanity and Survival: Psychological Aspects of War and Peace, (New York: Vintage, 1968); Ross Stagner, "The Psychology of Human Conflict," The Nature of Human Conflict, Elton B. McNeil, editor, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 45-63; Judd Marmor, "War, Violence, and Human Nature," Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, (March, 1964), pp. 19-22; Quincy Wright, A Study of War (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965); Brock Chisholm, The Psychiatry of Enduring Peace & Social Progress, (Washington: William Alanson White Psychiatric Foundation, 1947), wherein the author states, "the necessity to fight wars... is as much a pathological psychiatric symptom as is a phobia or the antisocial behavior of a criminal..." He further argues that we must reinterpret our concepts of right and wrong which we teach to our children as these lead to feelings of guilt and subsequently to neurotic needs for war, pp. 6-9; Harry Stack Sullivan, "The Cultural Revolution to End War," Ibid.; Brock Chisholm, Prescription for Survival, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957); and Isidore Zifferstein, "Psychological Habituation to War: A Sociopsychological Case Study," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 37, (April, 1967), pp. 457-468. For an interesting analysis of the impact of world tensions on individual behavior see, Harold D. Lasswell, World Politics and Personal Insecurity, (New York: Free Press, 1965).

which in turn society is created. The drives to live, to propagate, and to dominate are common to all men. Their relative strength is dependent upon social conditions that may favor one drive and tend to repress another, or that may withhold social approval from certain manifestations of these drives while they encourage others. Thus, to take examples only from the sphere of power, most societies condemn killing as a means of attaining power within society, but all societies encourage the killing of enemies in that struggle for power which is called war.⁴⁶

Unfortunately, while Morgenthau's thesis has been disputed, it is yet to be disproven.⁴⁷

For the sake of brevity and out of the pragmatic consideration of drawing the line somewhere, we shall not cover independently the literature in such fields as the psychology of perception, cognition, conflict, group dynamics, learning, terror, brainwashing, cognitive dissonance, and psychological warfare, though one should bear in mind that such work can directly relate to the psychodynamics of war and peace. Studies in these above mentioned areas are relatively abundant, due in no small part to man's numerous first-hand experiences with armed conflict. By the same token, numerous works done in the fields covered here, though interesting, were not listed as they approached the topics from different perspectives.

The concept of perception and misperception in international affairs has, in recent years, won the attention of political scientists and

⁴⁶Hans J. Morgenthau, Politics Among Nations, (New York: Knopf, 1948), p. 31.

⁴⁷For a good attempt at rebutting the Morgenthau thesis see the forthcoming book by David Brook, editor, Search for Peace, (New York: Dodd-Head, 1970), whose interdisciplinary approach includes selections from such scholars as Sigmund Freud, Margaret Mead, and Karl W. Deutsch.

other behavioral scientists. Writing on this subject, John Stoessinger states: "... man's aspirations as an individual are often projected onto the larger stage of politics and international relations."⁴⁸ Referring specifically to the question of images and perception in international politics, Kenneth Boulding says:

It is what we think the world is like, not what it is really like that determines our behavior.

He further points out that,

The images which are important in international systems are those which a nation has of itself and of those other bodies in the system which constitute its international environment.⁴⁹

Actually, there are two levels at which this phenomenon can be viewed. One, by the citizenry, and two, by the decision-makers.⁵⁰ Decision-making and policy-formulation is a field in and of itself, and as such is not being reviewed here. Once again, however, one should bear in mind that it is an area which clearly invites joint research efforts by political scientists and psychiatrists. Analysis of individual decisions and cases, as well as of individual decision-makers and the decision-making process itself, would add invaluable to an understanding of public policy and international politics. Hopefully, more efforts along

⁴⁸John G. Stoessinger, The Right of Nations, (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 11.

⁴⁹Kenneth E. Boulding, "National Images and International Systems," The Journal of Conflict Resolution, 3, (June, 1959), pp. 120-121.

⁵⁰For an example of how a study of elite perceptions can assist in understanding world politics see, Karl W. Deutsch, Lewis J. Edinger, Roy C. Macridis, and Richard L. Ferritt, France, Germany and the Western Alliance, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967).

these lines will be forthcoming.⁵¹ Some work has been done in the general area of psychiatry and international politics which is of interest.⁵²

⁵¹See Arnold A. Rogow, James Forrestal, op. cit., and Hugh Thomas, Suez, (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), pp. 34-35 and 99-100, wherein it is hypothesized that Sir Anthony Eden's ill health may have influenced British decisions on Suez. See also William A. Glaser, "Health and Diplomacy," Bureau of Applied Social Research, (New York: Columbia University, January, 1961); Hugh L'Etang, "The Health of Statesmen," The Practitioner, (January, 1958); and Arnold A. Rogow, "Disability in High Office," Medical Opinion & Review, I, (April, 1966), pp. 16-19. On psychological aspects of leadership per se, see, for example, Alexander Mitscherlich, "Changing Patterns of Political Authority: A Psychiatric Interpretation," pp. 26-58, and E. Victor Wolfenstein, "Some Psychological Aspects of Crisis Leadership," pp. 155-181, both in Political Leadership in Industrialized Societies, Lewis J. Edinger, editor, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1967).

⁵²For works in the field of psychology, psychiatry, and international relations, both in general and theoretical terms, and as specific case studies, see, William Buchanan and Madley Cantril, How Nations See Each Other, (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953); Bryant Wedge, "Psychiatry and International Affairs," International Journal of Psychiatry, 5, (April, 1968), pp. 330-338; Ross Stagner, Psychological Aspects of International Conflict, (Belmont: Wadsworth, 1967); Otto Klineberg, The Human Dimension in International Relations, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); J. David Singer, editor, Human Behavior and International Politics, (Chicago: Rand, McNally, 1965); Herbert C. Kelman, editor, International Behavior: A Socio-Psychological Analysis, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966); John C. Farrell and Asa P. Smith, editors, Image and Reality in World Politics, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967); Zanvel A. Liff, "The Psychoanalytic Roots of Political Impasse: Implications for the United Nations," presented at the City University of New York/United Nations Institute conference, (April 26, 1968); see also the forthcoming work by John C. Stoessinger dealing with specific instances of international misperception; Joseph H. de Rivera, The Psychological Dimension of Foreign Policy, (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill, 1968); Anthony A. D'Amato, "Psychological Constructs in Foreign Policy Prediction," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 11, (September, 1967), pp. 294-309; Brent M. Rutherford, "Psychopathology, Decision-Making, and Political Involvement," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 10, (December, 1966), p. 387; Roger W. Russell, "Roles for Psychologists in the Formulation and Evaluation of Policy," Journal of Social Issues, 17, (1961), p. 84; Bryant Wedge and Cyril Kuroscow, "Psychological Factors in Soviet Disarmament Negotiation," Journal of Conflict Resolution, 9, (March, 1965), pp. 18-36. For an example of the kind of work being done by psychologists in the area of decision-making see, L. Festinger, Conflict, Decision, and Dissonance, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964); See also Amitai Etzioni, "The Kennedy

While this writer is not entirely satisfied with the concept of 'society as the patient,' such an idea can generate productive research, at least in that it can stimulate greater collaboration and interchange of ideas.⁵³ As the field of psychiatry and politics grows,⁵⁴ there are certain to be problems of a methodological and theoretical nature. In fact, there will probably be a need for re-evaluation and clarification of certain premises existing in each discipline, in light of the other.⁵⁵ Prerequisite to effective work, and there definitely is need and perhaps even genuine interest as was hopefully demonstrated here, is an acceptance of the possibility that out of joint efforts the odds of averting future catastrophes may somehow be improved. This conviction is necessary now,

Experiment," Psychology Today, 3, (December, 1969), pp. 43-45 & 62-63, wherein it is contended (p. 43) that, "The hostile behavior of nations is much like that of individuals. Nations behave like persons whose strong drives motivate their pursuit of goals, influence their choice of means, and distort the communications they send and receive." While research along the lines of the Etzioni article is extremely welcome, this writer takes issue with this just stated contention on the grounds that it is more meaningful to divorce the behavior of nations as nations from that of individuals or groups of decision-makers acting on behalf of nations. Terminology is confusing enough without adding to it by speaking of the amorphous construct of the nation-state in anthropomorphic terms.

⁵³ See, for example, Norman O. Brown, Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytic Meaning of History, (New York: Vintage, 1959), p. 19, wherein it is stated: "... psychoanalysis offers a theoretical framework for exploring the possibility of a way out of the nightmare of endless 'progress' and endless Faustian discontent, a way out of human neurosis, a way out of history."

⁵⁴ Witness the appearance of a number of general works in this area in recent years. For example, Hendrik H. Ruitenbeck, editor, Psychoanalysis and Social Science, (New York: Dutton, 1962), and Leroy N. Rieselback and George I. Balch, editors, Psychology and Politics, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969).

⁵⁵ On this point see, Louis Schneider, "Some Psychiatric Views on 'Freedom' and the Theory of Social Systems," Psychiatry, (August, 1949), p. 251.

or all future work done in unison by psychiatrists and political scientists will come after the fact, as was the case following the phenomenon of Nazism, which served to arouse interest and provoke research into the 'why's and wherefore's' both at that time of history and continuing up until this day.⁵⁶ Little similar interest was displayed, unfortunately, while there might still have been time for such work to have any immediate effect on the course of events during that period.

In general, while we witness an interest in the types of questions and areas of concern wherein psychoanalysts and political scientists can work together productively, we see very little of such joint efforts. While feeling somewhat uncomfortable in each other's conceptual frameworks and coming out of different orientations makes such work difficult, beyond the rhetoric stage, it becomes imperative that just such collaborative efforts commence. Voting behavior, for example, can provide an opportune beginning, as can studying the interaction between the individual and the political climate in general. Here, the tools and the interests of the analyst, to better understand the dynamics of the individual as he comes to grips with his environment, and those of the social scientist, to comprehend the political world as perceived by the individual actor, can be brought into focus.

The analyst sees the individual's innermost drives, needs, fears, hopes, and conflicts on an evolving basis. If the political scientist

⁵⁶See, for example, William Reich, The Mass Psychology of Fascism, (New York: Orgone Institute Press, 1946), and Charlotte Beradt, The Third Reich of Dreams, (Chicago: Quadrangle, 1968). This is not to imply that such post hoc, historical analysis employing psychiatric insights and techniques is not illuminating and potentially useful in the development of a cohesive theory.

can properly phrase his concerns and questions, the essential parts of the analyst's observations can be added to the data obtainable through more traditional social science techniques in order to provide, eventually, a fuller understanding of how the individual interprets his political world and how and why he reacts to certain elements in it as he does.

The concrete and reoccurring act of casting a ballot can provide a fruitful basis for starting such work, with the eventual hope that deeper questions of political behavior - such as the nature of prejudice, the psychoanalytic meaning of war and peace, the personal response to societal change, the personality components of leadership, the psychic attraction or repulsion of ideology, the nature of the process of forming political values, beliefs and attitudes, the psychiatric meaning of political participation or dropping-out, of adherence to or rebellion against certain political institutions, and of behavior patterns in general - can eventually be understood and perhaps even anticipated.

The analyst can afford the political scientist the opportunity to see a dimension of human behavior in the political arena that he would be deprived of by use of other methods while at the same time having the chance to witness himself the dynamics of the individual as he responds to forms of environmental stimuli and stress that the analyst may not normally be aware of. In this sense, voting behavior grants us a convenient point of departure in the direction of evolving this new and largely untapped resource on knowledge into a functional methodology, of benefit to both the political scientist and the psychoanalyst in their mutual desire to better understand the behavior of man.

This chapter does not claim to be comprehensive. By the same token,

a number of works and areas of interest were included that actually have little to do with the application of psychiatry to political science, except perhaps in the broadest possible sense of the term. The purpose of this review chapter is primarily to illustrate what types of interest have been shown by psychiatrists in problems of a political nature, by political and social scientists in problems which have psychiatric implications, and what type of collaborative research endeavors between the two have thus far come about. While concrete joint efforts are rather few to date, an awareness of the potential apparently is developing, along with an acceptance of the fact that many roadblocks to fruitful work still exist. The main thrust of contemporary political, social and behavioral science is heading in the direction of asking the kinds of questions to which psychological and psychiatric insights can have a most beneficial and rewarding application, even though actual use of such information and techniques may not as yet have been employed. The same is true in reverse. In our zeal to move forward, we must be equally aware that it can become temptingly simple to misuse and misapply concepts, terminology, techniques and data, which can only add to the existing confusion. What is needed therefore is a mixture of dedication and caution. Whether or not such a joint venture shall come about only time will tell. Perhaps if this chapter were to be rewritten ten years hence, it could be done with a much greater degree of precision. Happily, we have witnessed this trend over the last few years in such fields as voting behavior analysis and political socialization research. Hopefully, we shall witness similar positive developments in the area of the psychodynamics of political behavior. As Arnold Rogow states: "It is just

possible that if the psychiatrist joins his 'imperfect knowledge' to the 'imperfect knowledge' of the political scientist, our salvation will be less a matter of chance."⁵⁷

⁵⁷Arnold A. Rogow, "Psychiatry as a Political Science," The Psychiatric Quarterly, 40, (April, 1966), pp. 331-332.

CHAPTER FOUR
PSYCHOANALYTIC DATA

This portion of the project at hand was designed as follows. Prior to the Presidential election of November 1968 the cooperation of psychoanalysts in both the New York City and the Los Angeles areas was solicited.* In total, some sixteen analysts did in fact take part, ten on the West Coast and the remaining six on the East Coast. (Originally, the number of participating analysts was larger but last minute commitments prevented a greater number from actually working on this first stage of the study.) Each analyst was asked to supply a brief profile of himself as well as one for each of the patients that he chose to report on. The number of patients per analyst varied from a low of two to a high of fourteen.

In total, ninety-eight patients were studied. Of these, sixty-three were distributed among the ten Los Angeles analysts, all of them being patients in analysis. The other thirty-five patients were reported on by the six New York analysts. Of these, twenty-six were patients in analysis and nine were patients in therapy, eight being reported on by the same analyst.

In order to guarantee anonymity, each analyst was assigned a code number, the identity of the individual analysts being totally unknown to this author. One analyst in each of the two geographic areas assigned the code numbers for his section. Each analyst in turn gave code letters

*The assistance of Drs. David Mairys, Aaron Esman, Edward Joseph, and Robert Dorn is gratefully acknowledged.

to his patients. Therefore all that was known to the author was which patients belonged to a given analyst, whether or not they were in analysis and whether the analyst came from the East or West Coast. Following the announcement of the election outcome these analysts either telephoned or mailed in their observations. It is these reports which constitute the raw data being used here. A separate study involving the impact of this election on children was also undertaken. The results of that project will be incorporated here.*

It would be very nice indeed if the results could be neatly packaged and presented in table form. Unfortunately, such an action would be rather dishonest. The co-operating analysts were totally unrestricted in their approach to the problem at hand. This resulted in a wide variety of collecting and reporting styles. For example, some of the analysts gave very brief profiles and only a few sentence post-election report on each patient, confining their remarks to the immediate question of noticeable impact. Others presented lengthy descriptions of their patients and of the analytic sessions following election day. Some analysts included their own reactions, others did not. A number of the analysts reported in almost immediately after election day while some of their colleagues waited approximately a week or more. A few did not stay with the patients chosen in advance but reported on those patients upon whom the election seemed to have some effect, whether or not they

*The work of Dr. Gilbert Kliman and the staff of The Center for Preventive Psychiatry of White Plains, New York which culminated in a report entitled, "Childrens' Reactions To National Events: The 1968 Federal Elections", is gratefully acknowledged. For future purposes here, this project shall be referred to as "the Kliman study."

were included originally. A couple of the analysts guessed as to their patients' probable responses in advance, most did not. These are just some of the obvious differences. Others became apparent upon closer examination of the submitted reports, such as the willingness of certain analysts to mention the election during the session with the patient while others would not do so. Also, a small number of the participating analysts injected their own reading of their patients' material while most refrained from doing this.

It is for these reasons that the most meaningful and honest way in which to present the data is on a case by case basis. As each analyst did more or less employ the same technique throughout his own report, it might prove most valuable to group the raw data into sixteen sub-groups, each representing one analyst and his patients. Following that, the Kliman study will be examined. Whatever conclusions may be drawn from all of this will be presented at the end.

The first of the West Coast analysts, who was himself a liberal Republican who often crossed party lines, did not report his own reactions to the event. He did, however, send in profiles and post-election reports on six patients. The first of these patients is a 35 year old white male, successful in business, who is diagnosed as having a severe character disorder. He entered analysis on a five times a week basis some fifteen months before the election. This followed separation from his wife, a separation which took place at her request. As the analyst states in his profile: "Politics HAVE NEVER entered his associations or our exchanges in the fifteen months of analysis, or in the initial interview hours." Immediately following the election, "He admits that he has

to work very hard to keep from cutting off his nose to spite both of us," (the patient and the analyst), a theme that runs throughout his relationships. He made certain references that might be related to the election. For example, he states that he is through with his present girlfriend and that he is tired of the entire matter saying that "it's like running your life with a computer, making sure the inputs are just right, and that it comes out just right..." (underscoring is the analyst's). He continues with "the self-destructive theme" of punishing the analyst rather than working out his feelings of anger, "and then equates analysis with me to POLITICS: all he does is talk, talk, talk, Empty talk. He's tired of talk. "I WANT TO LISTEN AND BE TALKED TO. Talk to me; not about you but about me. Talk TO me." (underscoring and caps are the analyst's).

The next patient, a single 28 year old male with a diagnosis of "character disorder, severe, with severe inhibition, constriction, and phobic anxieties", is not registered for voting. The analyst feels that this refusal to register fits in with "his inability to be involved and produce." This patient has related to the political sphere before. During the course of his analysis, when he is working through some of his anxieties dealing with his hatred of authority, "he becomes furious with the negroes and the hippies for threatening the establishment that he is in the process of becoming himself. At such times he will talk of voting for Wallace, hating negroes, etc. although his own deeper personality appears to be cool, loose, and in identification with the underdog."

Unfortunately, in terms of the research, this patient who was in

analysis on a three times a week basis, left town a week prior to election day and did not return till November 8th. In that first post-election session he made no reference to the election whatsoever. However, on October the 25th he compared the two candidates stating that he would never vote for Humphrey as "He's spineless." He further said that he would "crack down" were he the President and ended by saying, "Nixon - well maybe he'll get things moving."

The analyst here feels that "the patient is drawing a parallel between his former paralyzed self and Humphrey..." The analyst further questions, "are many people's political inertia due to blocks and inhibitions that limit activities?"

The third patient in this group, a 19 year old male college student, whose field of interest is political science, was in the midst of coming to grips with some of his personal problems and made no reference to the election. The next patient reported on in this group is a 37 year old white male, diagnosed as being an "Obsessive-compulsive personality with mild decompensations, manifesting themselves as worry, inhibitions, and some conflicts around hostility with men and women." During his year and a half of analysis, on a four times a week basis, there was never any mention of politics. On election day he appears more anxious. The next day he indicates that he feels guilty for the condition of the Biafrans, especially for the starving children. This is his first reference to any political situation. The analyst questioned whether there might be any connection with this remark and the election, which the patient denied. The patient said then that he started by favoring Nixon but in the last minute switched to Humphrey as he didn't like

Nixon's reaction to losing the 1960 election. The analyst commented in his post-election report that: "All this seems somehow rationalized inasmuch as the patient knew these things about Nixon for years. More likely is the patient's guilt about not sharing... these impulses he has repressed long ago and replaced by limited power to act firmly and decisively. Nixon is closer to the selfish image - Humphrey to the idealized."

The fifth patient, a 33 year old married white woman in her third year of analysis on a four times a week basis, is a Liberal Democrat who is concerned with the underdog and whose general political interest tends to manifest itself in terms of looking out for the rights of the persecuted. Her diagnosis is that she is an "Obsessive-compulsive personality with hysterical features," who originally came to the analyst with "no symptoms, but vague unhappiness and general tensions." Previously, she displayed a "multitude of associative material" in connection with the assassination of John Kennedy and with the Arab-Israel war of 1967, though this tendency was much less manifest in the cases of the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King. On election day the patient is in a "dumb bunny" mood, referring all questions concerning her views on election issues to her husband and deferring to his judgment. On November 6th she refers to Humphrey's loss (she was a Humphrey supporter) as being analagous to her loss in a tennis match as both lost "by a very small margin." She did not, however, as the analyst had thought she might, show signs of depression or express fears for the future of the nation as a result of the election outcome.

The last patient in this group, a 34 year old white male, is a psychiatrist who had just begun training analysis seven weeks earlier.

His references to the election were in an intellectualized manner, "isolated from feeling", though "the patient used the outside event to stimulate inner processes and memories."

The analyst sums up his findings by saying, "There were far fewer responses than I had anticipated, both in overt and covert forms." He feels that this might be typical as the event with which we are dealing here, namely the election, is "one that is recurrent, of long build-up, and in particular one that seems for many to really represent a no-contest and no-solution." He concludes as follows: "Interestingly there were no evidences of either candidate representing a 'good-father' or 'bad-father' figure." He further quips, "Could it be that in analysis one tries a little harder to 'choose' appropriate figures for such representations?" Perhaps this last remark indicates the analyst's own disillusionment with the candidates.

While this material shows little impact it is interesting to note that there were instances where the election apparently triggered the first mention of politics in the case of a few of the patients. There is also evidence that associations were made, albeit conscious ones, between the election process and/or the candidates on one hand and the patients themselves on the other. Furthermore, there is at least one indication, in the report on the last patient in this analyst's group, of the election being capable of stimulating inner processes and memories. There is at least some possibility that in the instance of the second patient, as well as in the case of the fourth patient, there is some relation between the individual's political behavior and attitudes and his unique personal situation.

The second analyst in the Los Angeles group also did not report on his own reactions or on his own political persuasion. He sent in pre-election profiles on ten of his patients. He telephoned in his post-election report on November the 6th, the day following the election. With the exception of one patient, whose case shall be treated in some more detail shortly, "All patients completely ignored the situation... But there was no indication that they were even denying it since there was no change in their affect, mood, or behavior, or sex life or sleep or anything else. It was as if the event did not take place."

The one patient who did not fit this general conclusion was described by the analyst in his profile as follows. She was a twenty-seven year old female actress and model, who is beautiful and a college graduate. She was single but wanted very much to be married. Politically, she stood left-of-center in the Democratic party "and she is a rabble-rouser to boot." She was diagnosed as having a "Neurotic Anxiety Reaction" and after nine months in analysis her prognosis was excellent. The analyst predicted that, "She could be expected to bend my ear for most of the hour after the election because of her sense of despair and anguish that 'bad guys win ball games and Nixon will win.' She will care a great deal in a very histrionic way and then get back to her quest for a boyfriend." Following the election, this patient came to her analytic session "so exercised over the event that she... tried to provoke" a serious argument with the analyst. She felt that the event was unfair and that "bad guys always win," and that therefore Humphrey did not stand a chance. She was also "personally angry with Wallace for having gotten so many votes and having cheated Humphrey, her candidate out of the election possibility."

She took the whole matter very seriously and felt "a certain sense of despair" though she did not assume personal guilt on her part. She concluded that there is no hope and no reason for believing in good people as they are bound to lose in the end. It might be interesting to note, at this point, that this analyst ventured a guess as to how each of his ten patients would react. He was obviously correct in the case of this person. Of the remaining nine patients the analyst predicted that five would not even mention the election. Again, he was clearly correct. Of the other four the analyst assumed that two would talk about it a great deal, one would mention it in passing and that the fourth would truly "grieve if and when Nixon wins the election."

This analyst also reported an "unexpected result." An exceptionally intelligent woman of 20 was not mentioned in the initial profile but reacted to the election. The analyst sees her once a week but previously saw her five times. She is a schizophrenic woman who got over her acute schizophrenia and is gradually recovering. She is very knowledgeable and extremely cynical. Several days after the election she reported to the analyst that she never expected the event to bother her but that it did nevertheless, to the extent that she had a nightmare as a result. She was obviously surprised at her own reaction. She claimed that she knew that Humphrey was going to lose and that she didn't care for him but that when he did in fact lose she felt sorry for him and hated Nixon. She was moved to the verge of tears which was totally out of context for her as she had never cried over anything before.

While the reasons behind this strong and unexpected reaction were unclear, the analyst speculates that the reason underlying the lack of

response in all the rest of his patients might result from the anti-climactic nature of the event. Yet, we see this one incomprehensible display of the potential that an event such as this election has in influencing an individual's behavior.

The third of the California analysts, who listed himself as a liberal independent, usually of the Democratic party, reported on six of his patients in a rather concise fashion. He did not report his own reactions. Of the six patients, two made no mention of or reference to the election at all. Of these two people, one, a 30 year old woman, was too "absorbed in her own obsessive and depressive feelings." The first of the remaining four patients, those who did indicate some response to the election, was a 30 year old male college professor whose political philosophy was "mixed conservative and liberal with much ambivalence." He was in analysis for five years and his diagnosis was "Character disorder with passive and paranoid trends." His prognosis was "good". This patient was upset by Nixon's victory and felt that the new President would ruin the nation. The analyst reported that, "This was quickly brought into relation to many of the patient's paranoid ideation. It is typical for him to externalize the causes of his unhappiness."

The second patient in this group, a 22 year old graduate student, was considered to be a "very liberal Democrat" in her political thinking. She was diagnosed as having a Character Neurosis and had been in analysis for three years with a good prognosis. Her conscious reaction to the election's outcome was dissatisfaction and fear of suppression of freedom. This fear led her to a conscious association with torture, a topic which had always fascinated her. It was further related to a dream which she

had on the night of election day in which she was having intercourse with two men at the same time. She found the dream exciting and an analysis of it led into factors in her private life which were not consciously prompted by the election returns.

A third patient who had watched the returns together with his wife and another couple and had felt inadequate in terms of holding a social conversation with these people, felt depressed and empty during the analytic session of the next day but did not relate these feelings to the election. He did not even indicate his feelings concerning the outcome though he had previously informed the analyst that he was a Humphrey supporter.

The last person in this analyst's group was a 46 year old housewife of the liberal persuasion. Suffering from a severe depression she had been in analysis for five years and her prognosis was good, though with some reservations. She was frightened and depressed following the election and felt paranoid about Nixon. She feared race riots and attack in her well-off neighborhood and that there was no one there to protect her. Previously she had identified strongly with Democratic programs and felt protected by their humanitarianism. During the analytic hour she regressed in and out of "early oral depressive anxieties." The analyst felt that the election was indeed a "trauma" for this patient who is very "vulnerable to minimal traumas." Here again we see no major impact as a result of the election but what we did see is further evidence of some reaction, the degree and manifestation being possibly related to the particular personality involved.

The next analyst in this section reported on eleven patients but did not indicate his own response. Here we witness for the first time

an analyst who, if no mention of the election came up in the natural course of events, asked his patients about it. Virtually all responses elicited were of a conscious nature. Two patients, one a 34 year old writer diagnosed as having "a Character Disorder, a Passive Aggressive Character with castration anxiety features, who had voted for Nixon, and the other being a 28 year old physician diagnosed as "Obsessive Compulsive Neurosis" and a Humphrey supporter, both remarked that Humphrey had been stabbed in the back. In both of these cases this, in a non-political sense, fits in with their own difficulties. In the case of the physician this identification with this image of Humphrey came out rather consciously. In the former case this image of what occurred on the national scene was in actuality a projection of his own difficulties. A third patient, a 34 year old housewife classified as "a Character Disorder with Immature Character Traits and alcohol habituation", became annoyed when the analyst questioned her about the election. This behavior is considered to have been unusual for her and the analyst surmised that perhaps she feared that the analyst would chastise her for her choice of candidates.

The next analyst was the first to report on his own response to the election as well as relaying reports on a half a dozen of his patients. The analyst, who has been in practice for fifteen years, started analytic practice eleven years ago. His practice is roughly seventy per cent psychoanalytic and thirty per cent in psychotherapy. Besides working with psychiatrists in training analysis, his inclination is towards work with psychotic patients and with adolescents. He generally feels himself to be an adherent of the Democratic party and views his political

philosophy as being liberal. He was very interested in the election and watched returns for most of the evening but did not learn the final results till later the next day. He did not find himself anxious about the results nor was he disturbed by the lack of a clear-cut answer at the time that he retired for the evening. He was not aware of any dreams or other unconscious manifestation surrounding the election. If anything, he was surprised at his lack of any definite response. He had been more concerned over a local issue effecting his community's school system as well as being rather interested in the outcome of the United States' Senators race from California. Both of these contests ended in a manner that was satisfactory to him. His one "definite reaction" was a feeling of "some relief that the event was over."

Among his six patients there was little response beyond casual mention. It might be worthwhile, however, to briefly look at three of these patients' reactions. The first of these is a 43 year old housewife who in politics is a Democrat. She is diagnosed as suffering from "a characterological disorder" and the patient "presents a passive, dependent personality. There are certain features of hysteria and phobia." After seven months of analysis, her prognosis is questionable. The patient was inclined to react to the outside world as a means of denying her internal motivations. Therefore, the analyst predicted that she would be "highly susceptible to responding to outside crises situations." The patient came into the session following the results of the election and talked freely of her disgust with the outcome on the Presidency and of her pleasure with the results of the Senatorial contest in California. After complaining about the Nixon election, the patient became silent.

The analyst felt that her remarks concerning the elections lacked conviction and she was using the external event as a shield against her inner feelings and responsibilities. By the next day she was off the topic of the election and showed no other reaction. This case once again illustrates, however, how a public event can be employed by a person to suit their own psychic needs, in this case as a means to defend against inner difficulties.

The next case, that of a 39 year old woman, is interesting for the purposes of this study in that it involved a woman of foreign birth who often criticized her environment here. She was categorized as having a "schizophrenic disorder with elements of psychotic depression and mania." Her progress during four years of analysis is very good. She was politically aware and reacted to socio-political events. The interesting aspect of this case is that despite the fact that this election did not result in the manner that this woman would have desired she "seemed pleased that this whole process of election campaigning and a final decision being made had occurred. She had some positive feelings about the fact of how democracy works in the United States and, in general, was more positive about the United States and Southern California." The analyst felt that this should be interpreted "on a transference level." She had no other kind of response to the event. The analyst concluded his post-election report on this patient by saying, "She accepted my interpretations of the transference phenomenon in terms of the election and her wish to now stay in Southern California."

The last patient in this group is a 30 year old male psychiatrist who was somewhat bitter about having recently changed analysts. The

analyst feels that the patient could easily have used the change in Presidents to "express this transference attitude." He did not do this, which is, in and of itself, interesting, especially in light of the evidence that others have successfully employed the election for just such purposes.

The sixth analyst in the West Coast group is himself a liberal Republican. He reported on three of his patients, two of whom displayed absolutely no effect of the election upon them, which the analyst does not feel is unusual in their instances. The third patient however, when subtly asked about the event, did respond in an interesting fashion. The patient involved is a 38 year old male engineer, who is a registered Democrat of the liberal faction. He was diagnosed as having a "Characterologic disorder" and has been in psychoanalysis for a period of three years. In general, according to the pre-election profile on this patient, he reacts to stress by making a conscious effort to do what he feels would be the appropriate thing. He has great inhibitions which preclude spontaneous feelings and actions. At the time of the election this patient was consciously trying to impress the analyst favorably. He therefore responded to the analyst's oblique inquiry concerning the election. His conscious reaction was that it didn't "make any difference." Unconsciously, however, a set of fantasies were stimulated and set into motion. The patient, at the time of the election, was engaged in a research project of a sensitive nature, dealing with counter-insurgency work in Asia. This fact plus his feelings about it had first come to light in the analytic sessions during the four week period immediately preceding the election. The concept of a new administration in Washing-

ton brought forth "the unconscious fantasies of his being called upon to consult with and/or direct the counter insurgency programs the Nixon administration would instigate." This idea became "emotionally exciting and the further analysis revealed the repressed childhood fantasies of being better and smarter than father and possibly replacing or besting him." The analyst summarizes this response as follows. "The election results served as a manifest grid to precipitate out some of the unconscious oedipal themes." We see here a fine example of how the public event, even one such as this election, which is not a sudden or catastrophic happening, can become a catalyst for unconscious desires or fears within the individual.

The next analyst, a Liberal Democrat, who was in practice for 22 years, stated, concerning his own reaction, that while it "did not represent a crisis as the assassination of Martin Luther King and the Kennedy's" and though he anticipated Nixon's victory (which he hoped "against all odds" would be wrong) he felt "disgust" and was "filled with nausea" upon seeing the final newspaper reports. Yet the election did not cause the "emotional agony" precipitated by the assassinations. He also noticed "some rationalization set in and a hope for defeat four years from now - and still disgust."

This analyst also reported that his 13 year old daughter was "angry and upset", a reaction that lasted a few days. His eight year old daughter displayed interest in the election and among other questions asked if Nixon would be assassinated. Kennedy's death had aroused a lot of anxiety in her. He further reported on two of his patients. One was a 12 year old girl who merely mentioned regret at the outcome. The other

was a 36 year old woman diagnosed as being "obsessive-compulsive" with "intellectual defenses" and "projection prominent." She had been in analysis for one month and her previous reaction to crises manifested itself in hostility and anger which she turned towards herself or projected onto others as well as feelings of helplessness. This patient never brought up the topic of politics prior to the election. The first analytic hour following Nixon's election she did comment on it. Though her husband and her family voted for Nixon she supported Humphrey and felt "depressed" about the outcome. In the course of working this out an "identification with Negroes" and "the oppressed" came out in her reasons for casting her vote for Humphrey. There was also an element of "envy of the oppressor, her husband, the possessor of the penis." The analyst concludes his findings on this patient by stating that, "this political event mobilized patient's feelings and mechanisms of defense."

The next analyst did not submit profiles in advance. He telephoned in post-election reports on three patients, none of whom displayed any "detectable somatic or transference reaction."

The ninth analyst in the West Coast group did not report in until approximately one month after the election. At that time he sent a rather prosaic report which included his own feelings along with any references to the election made by any of his patients in the course of that month. In all, he mentioned the responses of some ten patients. The analyst identified himself with the "leftish wing of the Democratic Party." He had always "despised Nixon" and though he "felt bitter about Humphrey at the beginning," he did vote for him in the end and was dis-

appointed that Humphrey lost. Despite his views, he was surprised to find that he was thinking that perhaps Nixon was now "a different man." In general this analyst found very little reaction to the election amongst his patients. The analyst speculates that perhaps, deep down, people feel in a case such as this Presidential election, that it doesn't really make that much of a difference who wins, in practical terms. It is this analyst's feeling that perhaps people tend to view the political system as forcing any given politician into the safe middle, once he is elected no matter where he stood initially, a feeling he himself has.

Of the three patients who referred to the election in advance, two might be of some interest in terms of this study. One young man, whose father had been a personal advisor to both Eisenhower and Nixon, displayed some ambivalence. While he basically favored Nixon he had feelings pulling him in the opposite direction largely as a result of "vindictiveness towards his father." The second man also showed feelings of a negative nature towards his father which apparently were behind his remark that, "Four years with Nixon would be horrible."

The remainder of this analyst's patients made only passing references to the political situation, at times displaying ambivalence. The analyst concluded that, "There were no psychosomatic symptoms, delayed dreams, progressions or regressions, transference shifts, etc.

I would say, as I have felt in the past with regard to other external crises that the inner lives of these patients seem to be rather impervious to the latter. Inner concerns remain dominant and take over the center stage almost immediately after the event."

The tenth and last analyst from the Los Angeles area who participated

in this portion of the study, who was of the Liberal Democratic persuasion, reported on six patients. One of these cases relates to the study at hand. The patient was a 33 year old unmarried male history teacher on the junior college level. He was diagnosed as "Obsessive-Compulsive Neurosis, Schizoid and Paranoid features such as poor to none Object Relations, occasional ideas of reference", with a guarded prognosis. Politically, this patient was predominately liberal, though coming from a probable Republican background. He had become interested in liberal causes during his college career but lately had shown a backlash reaction to Negro activism. He started his analytic session the day after the election by declaring that he sided with the underdog. He felt disappointed when Humphrey improved for that removed him from underdog status but was definitely on Humphrey's side once Nixon clearly pulled ahead. He ended by wondering what this behavior on his part would indicate. He had previously been exposed to the idea of a possible relationship between this underdog viewpoint and sexual meaning. In actuality the patient did not always side with the underdog. He then remarked that Nixon would do a better job because he had won by such a "tight" margin. He then began to speak of the tightness which he experienced in talking with others and of his own feeling that he himself is boring to other people. He concluded that he has greater "core value than superficial appeal." He ended the hour by telling the analyst that he had a dream in which the election ended up by being undecided.

Here too there is possibly a relationship between the person's political outlook and his self-image, an interesting new category of potential areas of inter-relationship between factors of psychiatry and

those involving political science.

Coming now to the first of the six analysts in the New York area, we find a slightly different case. In this instance the analyst was ill for two weeks prior to election day and therefore in some of the cases reported was seeing the patients for the first time in a relatively long while. This fact may have heightened the amount of transference material present and may be atypical. Of his five patients reported on, three in fact did not react largely for this reason, even though one of these three had shown interest in politics before. The analyst's own reaction was one of "considerable disappointment." He had decided in the last minute to cast his vote for Humphrey and was definitely against the election of Nixon.

The first of the two patients who did react to the election was a 32 year old unmarried female of a radical and activist Democratic bent. She had been in analysis for four years and was diagnosed as an "Hysterical character with depressive features" and a "strong tendency toward acting-out" though "not in antisocial ways." She first appeared somewhat depressed after the election, a stance that was not unusual for her. Her initial associations concerned the election in that she was disappointed with the outcome and felt it to be "unreal" but was nevertheless attempting to make the best of a poor situation. These associations led the patient to a clear and explicit identification between her Southern Republican parents and the supporters of both Nixon and Wallace. She further identified Wallace with her father. She felt that both men were passive and effeminate. She went on to talk about the ambivalence existing in her relationship with her parents, as these associations led to

a "reactivation of her life-long conflicts about her relationship with her parents and her Southern middle class conservative background." She spoke of her desire to be independent from them at the same time wishing for a dependent, loving and warm relationship, something she felt she never had with her parents. Later associations brought out an attempt to create "a perceptual identity between Jacqueline Kennedy and her daughter on the one hand and herself and her mother on the other. She thinks of Jacqueline Kennedy and Caroline as having the kind of warm relationship she wishes she had with her mother but feels intensely resentful that she did not."

The second patient of this analyst, who reacted to the election was a 39 year old married male psychiatrist. He is a foreign citizen and tends toward the liberal Democratic side, though he is not strongly committed. He had been in analysis for two years and was diagnosed as having an "Obsessive-compulsive character disturbance." This patient also opened his analytic session with associations concerning the election, his first words being, "I guess Nixon's the one." He didn't view Nixon as being all bad and had felt sorry for him after his defeat in 1960. He wasn't, therefore, very upset with the final outcome and was happy that it had been a close decision as he felt that Humphrey's "self-esteem" had not lost as a result. This last point became the key for further associations on the part of the patient during that hour. He subsequently talked about his own need to be a winner and of his loss in self-esteem and disappointment whenever he is unsuccessful. Furthermore, the patient believed that this was all too often the case with him thus preventing him from acquiring the self-esteem he would have liked to

have. These associations led into others concerning the patient's sense of guilt and shame surrounding masturbatory activities. These last two cases, perhaps best of any thus far, depict rather clearly how an outside event such as this one can lead to associations with personal material of a seemingly unrelated nature.

The second New York area analyst reported on his own reactions, as well as on the responses of four of his patients. Except for peripheral references to the election outcome on the part of two of his patients there was no noticeable impact. Interestingly enough, the analyst himself, who is a Democrat, and who had watched television as Humphrey was delivering his concession speech, had a "simple wish-dream" later that night in which Humphrey "was jubilant for he was the victor."

The next analyst in this division reported on the reactions of three of his patients as well as on his own response. The analyst himself had no political affiliation but considered himself to be a philosophical liberal. His main self observation after the election returns were complete was that he found it interesting "to observe that I did not allow myself to think of the likelihood, in my opinion, that Nixon may be a psychopath with his chameleon-like performance, appealing to all kinds of diverse and opposing elements and principles."

There was some noticeable impact in each of the three cases on which this analyst reported, with the response being rather marked in the first two instances. The first patient was a 49 year old married woman teacher of the liberal to radical side of the political spectrum who had entered analysis two and a half years earlier as a result of depression. Her prognosis was guarded. The analyst also included the

fact that this patient had experienced three deaths in her immediate family as a child, in his pre-election profile, as this might well relate to the patient's response to crises. After the election but before the final returns were reported (though Nixon had a clear lead) this patient came to her analytic hour. She had some difficulty with sleep, but this problem had been going on for about a week and was primarily unrelated to the election. The patient did however have frightening fantasies of violence, brought about by the election, which prompted her to think in terms of taking sleeping medication. This patient also felt somewhat more tense and anxious as a result of the election and also was reminded of previous personal crises in her life. This woman often talked about and brought in political examples during the analytic sessions. In this instance, after speaking of the likelihood of Nixon's victory she experienced thoughts about death, rape and mob violence. "The ego regression is evidenced by the eruption of aggressive thoughts."

The second patient, a 36 year old male lawyer of a liberal philosophical persuasion had entered analysis four years prior with the diagnosis of "obsessive-compulsive neurosis moderately severe." Prognosis at the time of the election was good. In this case the patient made an important, and for him, new breakthrough in his analysis during the session immediately following the election. For the first time in the entire course of his analysis this patient was able to "bring in anxiety he experienced over love-making with his girlfriend and via associating... to his mother."

Certainly the timing of this breakthrough is interesting in terms of this study. Yet, one must beware of relating variables that may have

happened purely by coincidence. Perhaps this is a good example of one of the main methodological problems inherent in this type of research. There are often situations where it is virtually impossible to come up with a clear-cut correlation, let alone a definite distinction between the causal factor and the dependent variable in a given set of circumstances. Such is the case here, given the data available. Yet, hopefully over time, if enough such projects are properly executed, patterns and trends might evolve which could lead to a more sophisticated form of educated guesswork. Most probably this type of research will never be turned over to the "objectivity" of the computer. Therefore, if nothing else comes of such work, at least it will keep the spirit of human intuition alive in the social sciences.

The third patient in this group, a 69 year old woman, surprised the analyst by bringing in very little information related to the election. She had often brought in associations to national events in the past. This patient did mention, in a somewhat sad manner, how exciting the election had been but that now it was over. This woman was seeing the analyst on a once a week basis, for psychotherapy, following a traumatic neurosis, and therefore did not see the analyst until November the 7th, two days after the election.

The fourth of the New York area analysts reported on two patients. The analyst himself was a registered Democrat of the reform wing of the party who viewed his political philosophy as being "liberal socialist." One of these patients, a 21 year old man of a 'hippie' demeanor, didn't mention the election until prodded to do so by the analyst. At that time he denounced the whole process in conscious and typical "anti-

Establishment" terms. The other patient, a 27 year old, white woman of the liberal Republican persuasion, provided a more telling example of possible impact, for our purposes. She was against the conservative political feelings of her family and tended to react with anxiety to both personal and public crises, though she was able to differentiate between the two forms, at least academically. She fears violence of any kind as well as political repression. The patient is a firm believer in individual rights "vis-a-vis her authoritarian family and any authoritarian political group." She possessed a very highly developed code of ethics for herself, so strict in fact that it to become "masochistic and self-punitive with strong need to expiate for personal and parental 'crimes'." Her diagnosis was that of "severely disturbed neurotic, depressed, hysterical, sometimes bordering on pan-anxiety." She had been in analysis for a period of one year and her prognosis was good.

The patient arrived for her analytic session the morning after election day but at a time when the final outcome was as yet uncertain. She immediately spoke of her continued hope that Humphrey might still win. She was, at that time, in the midst of resolving difficulties concerning separation from her husband. The husband had been pro-Nixon as were her parents. She felt that it would "show" her husband if Nixon lost. She further reported a paranoid fear which she had experienced on the previous day. This took the form of being afraid that her husband might prevent her voting by challenging her credentials as she was opposed to him. Similarly, the event brought out a fear of Wallace, a "strong-arm tyrannical authority" who despite his loss of the election had managed to re-

ceive such a large number of votes. This stirred further anxiety in her as a result of there being so many "potentially violent and hateful people around." The patient did display insight in that she was able to see how her personal fears were related to her "objective" judgment as well as her own personal and social value system. The next day, November 7th, the patient came to the hour in a very depressed state. When asked why, she replied, "Who wouldn't be with Nixon elected!" For her, everything caved in as once again everything in which she believed and for which she cared lost. Furthermore, her husband was indeed happy over the outcome. Her depression deepened as she experienced feelings of being alone at the same time realizing that she cannot live with her husband "the shallow fool." As she continued to talk about this, however, the depression lifted as she permitted herself to feel that for a change she was "right." This was perhaps the most explicit case in this study as far as depicting the strong possible relationship, conscious or otherwise, between political and social attitudes and personal situations. It also allowed us to see, rather vividly, how an event such as the election could bring out such feelings, fears and emotion.

The next to last analyst in this grouping reported on six of his patients. In all of his cases this analyst felt that the election, either overtly or indirectly was capable of stirring up reactions of rivalry and even hostile competitiveness with parents, siblings and with the analyst. It was also able to instigate feelings of guilt relating to these reactions. Perhaps one case might prove to be a worthwhile illustration. The patient is a 12 year old boy who had been in analysis

for three years, diagnosed as "character neurosis, compulsive and orally demanding type, with anxiety hysteria and 'passive resistance' behavior disorder." The prognosis was moderately good. The boy complained about Nixon's victory but denied that he was "upset" as he'd been disappointed before, concerning McCarthy. He was quite reluctant to talk about his feelings. Yet he spoke of the new President in a manner similar to that employed when he complained about his step-father. The analyst concluded here that, "The reactions to the election were associated with feelings of greed, frustration, and missing out, and with jealousy and competitive hostility toward the father figure." Here we see illustrated once again two types of phenomena that we witnessed earlier. One, the ability of the patient to equate a national leader, such as a Presidential candidate, with one's image of the parental figure, and second, the capability of the election event to arouse seemingly unrelated emotions.

The sixth and last analyst in the East Coast category and the final analyst partaking in this aspect of the study, reported on fourteen of his patients as well as presenting his own response. Of these patients, six were in analysis and eight were in psychotherapy. Of the six analytic patients, three showed no clear-cut response to the election itself though all had previous political interests. The first of the remaining three cases involves a 27 year old male physician, a Democrat, with a "neurotic character disorder with obsessional and narcissistic features." He had difficulty in maintaining a stable self-image but after four years of analysis was able to marry, something he had thought himself incapable of doing. This patient brought up the

election in rather direct terms on the one hand as a result of his sense of powerlessness when faced with forces beyond his control while on the other hand he appeared to transfer to the election intense feelings about transference in the analysis.

The next patient was a 24 year old single woman who had been in analysis for eight months. The analyst reported in the pre-election profile that, "At present she is so caught up in her intense reactions to frustration of her needs in her personal life that she seems unaware of a world outside." Yet, during the analytic session following the election she expressed her feeling that "people are ugly." She then went on to state both candidates are "phonies" and that she was "furious at the whole set-up." Her anger at the Presidential candidates and at the election process itself then turned again to the entire world and people in general.

The third patient in this group was a woman of 34 years of age who was married and had been in analysis for one and a half years. The diagnosis was "Hysterical character with narcissistic features (narcissistic object choice)" and the prognosis was good. She spoke a lot of the election and expressed her desire to see Humphrey win but at the same time showed jealousy of a friend whose husband was more successful than the patient's and who was acquainted with Humphrey and would, in the patient's estimation, tend to benefit still further in the event of a Humphrey victory.

Among the eight therapy patients there was minimal reaction to the election though one 55 year old housewife, who expressed her relative displeasure with the outcome along with her prayers for Nixon's health,

did indicate that she did not feel that this would send her into a "tailspin" as it might have at an earlier time in her life. Another one of the psychotherapy cases might prove to be of some interest. The patient was a 25 year old married woman, diagnosed as "obsessional character, paranoid trends, suspicious, hypersensitive to real or imagined criticism." She had been in treatment for a month on a twice a week basis and her prognosis was still uncertain. In the course of the post-election hour, material came out dealing with the patient's fear of being lost in the masses. On the one hand this related to her fear of being taken over and controlled by another person but the analyst felt that on the other hand it also was related to the election experience.

We turn now to the Kliman study. Nine preschool age children from the Center for Preventive Psychiatry's experimental "Cornerstone" project were chosen as subjects for this study, along with a small number of older children. In this project a psychoanalyst works with his patients in a nursery school environment. As a control, a group of sixteen presumably healthy three to five year olds were studied at a nearby nursery school. In both cases there was no instruction given to the children concerning the elections. Although no claim of statistical relevance is being made, it should be pointed out that as a coincidental result of the nature of the area serviced by the Center, the group did indeed include children from a wide variety of backgrounds. In the control group there was very little interest in the election and almost no references to it. One of the two most noticeable facts was that at one point a group of a half a dozen children banged on the door together and repeated over and over, "Let us out!" This happened not long after

the Democratic Party convention and the disturbances in Chicago and gave the appearance of an organized demonstration. The other occurrence of interest in the control group was a spontaneous discussion amongst a number of the children as to whether any of them would like to be President. The only definite response in the affirmative came from one four year old girl. Except for one other five and three-quarter year old boy who was in individual therapy on a three times a week basis at the Center, there was no apparent desire on the part of these young children to become President of the United States when they grew up. Dr. Kliman noted that this phenomenon was markedly different from earlier periods in our history when it was common for preschool age children to have Presidential ambitions.

There was little reference to the election among the "Cornerstone" children, aside from a few casual references to campaign buttons, election day on a calendar, and an inquiry on the part of one little boy as to what was an "election." It might however prove beneficial to look at one of the cases in a bit more detail. E. was four and a third years old at the time and had entered the project a year earlier because of severe social withdrawal, mutism and panicky states. She is a fatherless child in that her father is not known to her and hadn't been with her since E. was eleven months old. At the time of the election she had begun to speak whole sentences and was able to read a number of words. At the time of the assassination of Robert Kennedy, an act which E. had seen a film of on television, she was rather retarded psychogenically. At that time she ran from the room and despite her mother's efforts at explaining what had occurred, to E., she was still upset at hearing

Robert Kennedy's name mentioned. She reacted in a fashion similar to her response to seeing any reference to a father in a children's book. At the time of the election, E. was heard saying, "Muskie, Muskie, Muskie, mustache." This phrase had importance in terms of the transference as it was just at that time that she had become fascinated with her analyst's newly grown beard and mustache. She would touch the mustache and say the word, though she had never used the word 'beard.' From the phrase that E. uttered at election time the analyst inferred, "that Muskie, mustache, and the analyst were connected in her mind and that election personnel, Muskie in particular, was connected with the analyst just as we can infer with some reasonableness that Robert Kennedy is connected in her mind with her father."

Her mother, who supported Humphrey, often spoke to E. about the election. The only reference, other than the above remark, concerning the election was to read a Nixon button, which was disappointing to her mother. This choice may well have been the manifestation of an oppositional tendency, though it could be attributed to coincidence. Such an occurrence could also have taken place merely because the name was heard and was easy to pronounce or because the button was seen and was found to be attractive.

Older children provided something of a contrast. One eight year old boy, for example, openly favored Nixon while his parents were Humphrey supporters. The victory of Nixon could be viewed as a kind of competitive triumph in his rivalry with his father. Though one cannot be sure of the effect of the election, it was noted that after the event the boy's feelings vis-a-vis his father switched from death to love

wishes. At the same time a much clearer hatred for his mother emerged.

In another instance, a six and a half year old boy remarked, when asked about the election, "Oh, my gosh, that's right. I forgot to say a terrible thing, Wallace is President now..." This distortion of a conversation that he had probably heard at home was interpreted for the child as being a result of his having become accustomed to having terrible things occur (his father had died suddenly in an accident), and of his being on constant alert to master them and therefore even thinking that they have already transpired when in fact they had not. He then realized that he had merely heard his family say that it "would" be terrible if Wallace were elected and that this event hadn't actually taken place. This action on the boy's part fit in with his behavioral tendency to dramatize and confuse, for the moment, fantasy with reality, an action that he would then correct.

Another six and a half year old boy made little reference to the election until about ten days afterwards. N. was occupied with how he could be good while his parents were away for the weekend and began creating signs which read "Nixon" and "Law and Order" which he decided to take home with him for the weekend. The boy had spent the previous two months attempting to overcome bed wetting, the desire to use obscene language and involuntary autonomic sweating spells. These signs were, therefore, aids in helping N. control his own "illegal" urges, especially without the presence of his parents. In connection with an impulse control problem on inauguration day, N. made up and sang a song, "Nixon, Nixon, Nixon, nix," as an intended means of cancelling his urge.

Among teenaged patients there was much more mention of the election .

In the case of one sixteen year old lad, a new shift towards political activism, as well as clinical progress in overcoming an inhibition against speaking in public, appeared to be ramifications of the election for him.

The Klinan study points to five possible reasons which might explain the preschool age children's seeming apathy concerning the election.

1) "The 'psychogeography' of early childhood is narrow." 2) "Resentment of parents' outside interests." 3) "We were already in a period of national mourning before the 1968 election." 4) "Vulnerability to oedipal guilts and threats," and 5) "Transference of feelings to and from political leaders." In summary, the Klinan study found:

The manifest reactions were minimal and far less than to events which adults would regard as much less important (such as Halloween), far less than to recent events which had a more overtly tragic and violent significance (such as the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy). It appears that the election was not much involved in the communicated fantasy life of these preschoolers. At least this was true under the circumstances of this particular election. We need a baseline in another election in order to test the hypothesis that this particular election was met with such adult apathy that children who might ordinarily have been psychologically engaged in or reverberating with the national events did not, because of childrens' responses to the adults' be-reavement of national leaders.

The final conclusion of the Klinan study is that the 1968 election cannot properly be considered as a "baseline," for the study of childrens' reactions to other future events and that probably no such an event could be so considered. The proposal made is that instead of another election study, a "wide sampling of behavior and communications" be done on a day when nothing in particular happens. It is further argued that the

apathetic display noted in response to this election is "distressing" and that it points up a "major social task"; the need for adult assistance in making children more politically aware and "healthily ambitious."

It is rather difficult to come up with any findings, in the true sense of the word, as a result of this study. Perhaps, a few somewhat vague conclusions might be warranted. First of all, it is somewhat interesting to note that in about half of the cases presented some response revolving around the election was triggered. Admittedly, this response was often no more than a relatively casual reference to the patient's pleasure or displeasure with the final outcome. In a sizable number of cases, however, the election was treated by the patient in a manner consistent with that particular person's outlook or problem. The candidate was, in a number of instances, viewed by the patient in a way similar to the light in which the patient saw himself, his father, life in general, and so forth. The same holds true for the election process itself, as well as for interpretations of the results on the part of the individual. Yet, there were few surprises.

The second point derived from this study is that virtually all of the material expressed was conscious, or at least that once an association was made, in connection with the election, that was pointed out to the particular patient, it became rather clear. The ability of this event to trigger apparently unrelated emotional responses also became evident. In and of itself, none of this information is particularly different from the possible impact of a personal crisis. A non-public figure known to the patient could be treated in a similar manner and an everyday event whose occurrence is known only to a handful of people could most

probably initiate such responses also.

Yet, we denote a few other possible trends too. The level of a patient's previous interest in political events does not, it would appear, necessarily correlate with the reaction to a concrete event such as this election. In that, we did find a few surprises when comparing pre-election profiles with the post-election reports.

Also, there does seem to be an inverse relationship between the individual's level of self-involvement and the amount of measurable reaction to the public event. If anything, one might postulate that if this is in fact so, non-patients who are relatively free from deep rooted troubles and emotional problems might tend to display a considerable degree of impact upon them. Certainly, further research along these lines is merited. Hopefully, the next chapter will deal, in a somewhat different methodological manner, with this question. Lest we over-represent the case, it should be stated, and stated emphatically, that no dramatic or clear-cut results were obtained. Perhaps, such intuitive and inferential methods as the use of analytic reports innately prevent codifiable or categorical answers. Yet, for the present, this kind of material is very difficult to get at and this method is probably as valid a starting point as any other.

This might well be a good place to present and deal with some of the major problems encountered. The greatest perhaps was the event itself. The information available, scant as it is, concerning reactions to sudden and catastrophic events such as assassinations show, as may be expected, a much greater amount of visible impact. Further research is desperately needed to clearly establish this observation and hope-

fully to eventually determine exactly why this is so. If nothing else comes of this particular project save that it serves as a jumping off stage for further investigation designed to clarify and contrast reactions to public events, this author shall be more than satisfied.

One might hypothesize that an event such as this, which was known so long in advance, allowed the individual to come to grips with any and all possible types of impact beforehand. One could make the argument that the sudden renaissance of hope on the part of many people, embodied in the primary campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy, and the subsequent disappointment were factors in making the actual Presidential election anticlimactic. Other factors may well have contributed to this tendency, as well. Certainly the death, by violent means, of Senator Robert F. Kennedy at the height of his political career was another crucial point in understanding the apparent lack of response to the elections of November 1968. One has to add to this the manifest aggression surrounding the nominating conventions, especially the Democratic party convention in Chicago, and the non-charismatic personalities of the two major party candidates as well as their seeming political similarity. In a sense, whatever psychic energy was invested in the process of selecting the American President in 1968 was spent well in advance of election day. This might well account for the differences existing between the findings of this particular study and previous works wherein more concrete private reactions to public events were detected.*

*For further discussion of these studies see chapter one.

Added research projects should also be designed and undertaken seeking to test out various kinds of events. For example, the reaction of urban citizens, both patients and non-patients, children and adults, to civil unrest and riots which occur quite literally at their doorstep should be compared with results obtained from similar projects testing responses to events whose real impact can only be perceived, such as conflicts happening thousands of miles away. Another potential area for fruitful research would be a contrast and comparison between reactions to positive and negative public events. It would be most interesting indeed to see the results of such work. Also, if enough data, of a more or less uniform style, is eventually gathered it might prove to be of great interest to see if there are any indications of patterns of responses for different personality types, or if any configurations of any type seem to form.

Another problem of almost equal magnitude presented itself. Each analyst reported his data in the fashion which he thought best, which resulted in quite an assortment of profiles and reports, many of them assigning different weights to the many aspects which made up the total picture presented. Clearly, there were differences in the approaches used by the analysts in obtaining their information, as well. Efforts should be made, in the future, to find a lowest common denominator of agreement among analysts so that the soliciting and relaying of data can be done in a more uniform way. This task of finding a consensus would best be done by the analysts interested in such work, themselves. The political scientists should also, in the future, provide the co-operating analysts with a clearer picture of the types of information needed for

their purposes. This would make their respective jobs easier and more meaningful. Permanent panels consisting of political scientists and analysts should be constructed (as is presently being planned), with all of this groundwork being thrashed out in advance, so that the total resources of the group can be thrown into action on minimal notice. Also, some sort of central data bank should be established in this regard.

Another problem, and a most difficult one to overcome, is the present lack of ability to determine what degree of influence, if any, the biases of the analysts and/or of the political scientists have on the results obtained. This question, while it is raised by implication, is clearly not answered as a result of this specific work. The problems encountered are many, but, by the same token, the potential benefits to be gained by continuing and increasing research in this area are greater still. We cannot allow ourselves to become hamstrung by the limitations of contemporary social science methodology, but neither can we overlook the importance of coming to grips with these limitations. If nothing else is learned by us as a direct result of this study, we now realize, perhaps more so than before, and possibly in a more precise way, the dire need for interdisciplinary approaches to the solution of pressing problems. It is time that the super-specialist take cognizance of the fact that he is rapidly approaching the point of diminishing returns.

Aside from the somewhat tentative conclusions drawn, the problems encountered here, and the unique circumstances preceding the political event in question, just discussed, we might be able to learn a general lesson applicable to the future use of psychoanalytic data by political scientists as a result of this project. Clearly, we note very little substantive impact of a psychic nature on individuals in therapy and

analysis resulting from the 1968 American Presidential elections. Some of the possible explanations for this observation have been previously evaluated and the conclusions of this entire undertaking shall be presented in chapter six. Yet, part of the problem lies in the very use of psychoanalytic data itself.

The information obtained is third-hand by the time that it reaches the political scientist. Using the methods employed here, this is unfortunately inevitable as the psychoanalyst is not willing to permit an outside observer to enter into the analytic or therapeutic session as it would be counterproductive in terms of his needs and those of his patients'. There is a possible way to overcome this, however. Instead of using private patients, it might prove more beneficial to use hospital patients, with the patients' prior approval. There, a one-way mirror situation could be employed so that the political science researcher, after having received at least minimal training in psychiatric interviewing, can observe the session following the political event himself, thereby reducing the number of persons through whom the data is filtered by one. Even if further discussion with the analyst is needed to clarify certain specific points, the political scientist will be in a better position to phrase the necessary questions.

Certain variations on this theme are also possible. One, the hospital at times uses video-tape recordings of sessions, with the patient's permission, for its own educational purposes. Such video-tapes could serve the needs of the political scientist also. This method has the added advantage of being a permanent and complete record that can be turned to over and over again as the need develops, and still remain

fresh. Also, training hospitals use screening sessions of psychiatric patients for training their own residents. This situation can also be profitably exploited by the political scientist as there are often numerous persons in the room at the time that the interview is in progress and therefore objections to permitting the political scientist to be present would be markedly diminished. Furthermore, the round-table discussion that follows the interview affords the political scientist the opportunity to observe the making of a diagnosis and the evaluation of a case first-hand, thus making it more meaningful for him than is reading a written report.

Again, he is in a position, providing that the particular hospital agrees to cooperate, to ask questions of the psychiatric staff while these points are still fresh in his mind. On the negative side, one should point out, is the strong possibility that less information of interest to the political scientist studying the impact of a political event on individual behavior might be forthcoming in a preliminary screening interview than would be the case in an analytic session where the patient and doctor have known each other for some time. Also, the screening interview is more structured than is the analytic session making it more difficult for even the most cooperative psychiatrist or analyst to elicit the information sought. Yet, even this negative side has a potentially positive aspect to it. As we have witnessed in this study, the level of self-involvement of the patient relates inversely to the amount of material elicited concerning the public event. Therefore, as it is conceivable that this level might be lower in the preliminary interview than in the session of a patient well advanced in his

analysis, it is just possible that references to a very recent public event might be more readily brought out by the patient. Another advantage of this approach would be that all patients in a given sample would be at roughly the same preliminary stage of treatment and therefore the data might be meaningful for comparative purposes than was the case here where different patients were at different points in their analysis at the time of the occurrence of the political event. The patients seen this way would also be somewhat more random a selection than was the case in the study at hand wherein the individual analysts selected a few of their patients themselves and reported only on them. It is therefore the conclusion of this writer that future attempts at research on the impact of significant political events on the private lives of individuals using psychoanalytic data should include the use of hospital patients in the manner and for the reasons described above and not just the selected patients of cooperative private analysts.

Another problem that has been touched on before that was encountered here and that must be ironed out before such psychoanalytic data can be made worthwhile for the political scientist involves the entire question of the reporting of data. This is an especially acute problem in a situation such as the one experienced here, where the data is third hand in that it is sent by the analyst to the political scientist. Besides arranging for a uniform style of reporting the data, it is absolutely necessary, as a minimum basis for meaningful cooperation, that the requirements of both parties be understood in advance. While it is highly questionable whether a substantial number of analysts would ever consider agreeing to the use of a list of preconceived questions in the analytic session (and political scientists must remain aware of this basic limita-

tion; that what he may want from the analyst might be an intrusion into the analytic session from the point of view of the psychoanalyst), an alternative can and must be developed. The political scientist should prepare a series of questions and areas of concern to him in his particular research endeavor. This list should be circulated in to the participating analysts in advance, and personally explained if necessary, so that the psychoanalyst is aware of precisely what it is that the political scientist wishes to know. That information which the analyst feels will be impossible to supply, for whatever reason, should be made known in advance so that alternative means of getting at the desired information can be designed. This would not only be labor saving for both the analyst and the political scientist but would allow the data to be put in terms of these questions and areas of concern initially instead of being extrapolated after the fact, as well. Without this basic ingredient, fruitful cooperation is virtually impossible.

On this last point, it should be parenthetically added, a specific observation based on this study is in order. The use of diagnostic labels can become rather confusing. While such terms as "character disorder" do serve as an indicator of the severity of the psychic disorientation and pain of an individual, they tend to be overly amorphous when used without further and more explicit explanation. Therefore, future efforts of this sort should stress a more graphic picture of the individual patient, in terms of his symptoms and history, and less reliance on the use of professional phraseology that is too vague to be of real value to the layman political scientist.

While this particular study has tended to confirm the null hypothesis

as far as the use of psychoanalytic data to tap individual reactions to a significant political event is concerned, further methodological refinements can perhaps serve to offset this tentative conclusion. By the same token, we must take heed not to become over-zealous in our desire to merge psychoanalytic tools and data with political science. As Erik Erikson points out in describing both the limitations and potential of using psychoanalysis to better understand historical personalities and events:

The necessity to delineate (between therapist and historian and their different methodologies)... becomes urgent when forward workers rush in with claims which endanger systematic exploration. Thus, today, psychoanalytic theory is sometimes applied to historical events with little clarification of the criteria for such a transfer. Such bravado can lead to brilliant insights, but also to renewed doubt in the specific fittedness and general applicability of psychological interpretation.¹

Fred Greenstein further states on this point:

If progress is to be made toward developing a more systematic and solidly grounded body of knowledge about personality and politics, there will have to be considerable clarification of standards of evidence and inference in this area.²

If caution is observed, the long term benefits to students of political behavior can be great. As Erikson further observes concerning "the psycho-historical approach":

¹Erik H. Erikson, "On the Nature of Psycho-Historical Evidence: In Search of Gandhi," Daedalus, 97, (Summer 1968), p. 696.

²Fred I. Greenstein, "The Impact of Personality on Politics: An Attempt to Clear Away Underbrush," The American Political Science Review, 61 (September 1967), p. 629. See also, Fred I. Greenstein, "Personality and Politics: Problems of Evidence, Inference, Conceptualization," American Behavioral Scientist, 11, (November-December 1967), pp. 38-53.

Such a hyphenated name usually designates an area in which nobody as yet is methodologically quite at home, but which someday will be settled and incorporated without a trace of border disputes and double names.³

It is to this methodological hope that this phase of the study at hand is dedicated.

³Erikson, op. cit.

CHAPTER FIVE

NON-PATIENT' DATA

This portion of the study deals with an attempt at probing the self-perceived reactions of men and women within the population at-large to a significant political event, the 1968 American Presidential elections, through the use of a questionnaire designed for that purpose and follow-up interviews. The recipients of the questionnaire do not reflect a nationally representative sample. The purpose here is not to present statistically accurate statements but rather, through the medium of a questionnaire and subsequent interviews, to tap a sense of the dynamics involved in reacting to major happenings in the political arena. Obviously, these feelings are based on the data collected.* Hopefully, by breaking down the available information into all meaningful categories, correlations, and comparisons, some insights on this question shall be forthcoming. Also, if nothing else, perhaps a number of potentially beneficial hypotheses can be developed which might prompt further research efforts into this vital question.

All together, some 683 questionnaires were distributed. 283 of these were distributed in the New York City area and the remaining 400 were sent to California, where Dr. William H. Blanchard, a clinical psychologist with the Systems Development Corporation, further distributed them amongst three instructors of his acquaintance in the Los Angeles area.

*For a methodological defense of such intuitive techniques see chapter one of this study, footnotes 5 through 8.

Of the 283 questionnaires used in New York, 251 were sent to the non-instructional staff of the City University of New York's Graduate Center through the inter-college mails immediately following the election and were returned within a few days by the same means. A few members of the teaching faculty, whose duties include the administration of graduate programs, were included in this category as well. 32 questionnaires were personally distributed to the students in an undergraduate, elective class in political science at the City College of New York which was taught by this writer's advisor. These questionnaires were returned a few days later to the instructor. The questionnaires, in general, called for the anonymity of the respondent, except in those cases where the respondent voluntarily chose to sign up for a subsequent interview to further probe the questions asked.

Of the former group, 58 questionnaires were returned in completed form. Seven of these individuals agreed to be interviewed and six in fact were, the seventh having been impossible to subsequently locate. These interviews were conducted by this writer in the privacy of the respondents respective offices, all in the New York City area, within one month of election day. The interviews lasted approximately one-half hour apiece, on the average, with a range of between twenty and forty minutes each. Of the latter group, 21 students returned completed questionnaires and six volunteered for interviews. All of these college students were reached and interviews were conducted by this writer either in his office or at the City College of New York. These interviews all occurred within one month of the election, as well, and the duration of these discussions was, on the average, the same as for the

former group. How many of the remaining 193 questionnaires which were sent out within the City University of New York's Graduate Center never reached their destination and how many were rejected or discarded by their recipients and for what reasons, as well as the reasons underlying the decision of 11 of the City College of New York students not to return their completed questionnaires, is unknown. Being that the questionnaire was a lengthy one and that it was distributed at a busy period of the academic year, this writer is satisfied with the 28.2 per cent return.

The 400 questionnaires destined for California were mailed to Dr. Blanchard prior to the election. The three instructors in the Los Angeles area who were contacted by Dr. Blanchard distributed them to their respective groups just after election day and collected them a few days later, returning them to Dr. Blanchard who, in turn, mailed all the completed forms back to this writer in New York. One of these three instructors gave out the questionnaires to his class in political analysis at the University of Southern California. There were 11 students in the class. All of them, as well as the instructor, returned completed questionnaires. Six of these 12 individuals agreed to an interview, two of whom were later contacted and spoken with. The second group was a class in African studies at the University of California at Los Angeles. 27 responses were received from this class but the number of people who received the questionnaire initially is unfortunately unknown. 11 of the above 27 enlisted for interviews and nine were in fact reached and further discussion was held. The last group on the West Coast consisted of two classes in sensitivity training conducted by a psychologist. Whether or not there were any structural or functional differences between

the two classes is not known, as the psychologist involved combined the completed forms and submitted them as one group. Also, the number of people originally receiving questionnaires is not known in this instance either. 26 responses were received, including nine which contained agreement to be interviewed. Two members of this last group were contacted and interviews were held.

All 13 interviews conducted among the West Coast respondents were held about six months after the election. They were all conducted by this writer but, it should be pointed out, they were all done via telephone. This factor shall be further discussed at a later point in this chapter. They lasted an average of a quarter of an hour apiece, with a five minute range on either side. The other half of the 26 respondents who had agreed to an interview, among the California group, could no longer be reached at the time that the interviewing was being performed.

All 25 interviews, both those conducted personally in New York and those held over the telephone in California, were focused though not structured. That is to say that the conversations were not restricted to any specific list of questions established in advance. However, certain key areas of inquiry were formulated previous to the interviews and these topics were pursued in each individual discussion. One segment of this chapter shall deal with the interviews. At that point the interviews shall be presented, discussed and analyzed, both individually and collectively, along with whatever conclusions seem warranted.

Before analyzing the actual questionnaire employed, as well as the data obtained from it, it should be clearly stated that this is a study of individuals and of their individual reactions to the major political

event in question, the American Presidential election of 1968.* Therefore, while a certain amount of categorizing, grouping, codifying, and correlating will be undertaken regarding the data obtained in response to the questionnaires, the statistical sophistication of the techniques used is of the most simple form and there is no claim whatsoever being made that any results or conclusions derived have universal applicability. The law of large numbers, statistical sampling techniques, statistical correlations, and the like are not being applied. The purpose of such groupings is primarily for the sake of clarity and in order to be able to raise the possibility of the existence of certain relationships, as well as to be able to speculate as to potential findings and their implications. If studies such as this one prove to be at all heuristic, perhaps we might yet see the day when such phenomena can be measured and tested in a more precise manner. Without further belaboring this point, let us turn to the questionnaire used.**

Before turning to the tables, the hypotheses entertained by this writer should be given in some detail, as the questions contained in the questionnaire and the charts based on them were asked for rather specific reasons. It was assumed that perceived reactions to the event in question would be greatest, both quantitatively and qualitatively, in the area of general tension, anxiety and guilt. More specific questioning of basic attitudes, fear for the future and the like, would probably,

*For the rationale underlying this entire project, in terms of its purposes, as well as the particular approach taken here, see chapter one of this study.

**See Appendix A for a presentation of the questionnaire itself. The assistance of Drs. William H. Blanchard and Arnold A. Rogow in the preparation of this questionnaire is gratefully acknowledged.

it was felt, be influenced as well but to a somewhat lesser extent. Less amorphous categories, such as interpersonal relations and job performance, would clearly register less of an impact though still a noticeable one. The over-riding theme here is that the vague, emotional areas (such as tension and general attitudinal structure) would be more upset by the outcome of occurrence of a significant political event and that as more and more concrete aspects of one's life were approached the noticeable emotional influence would diminish. Thus, it was being hypothesized that there would be a direct relationship between the intensity and amount of affect and the amorphousness of the category.¹

It was further felt that such areas as consumption of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs, and sleep would be somewhat, though not greatly, touched by this event if only because of the nature of an election returns night. Dreams and appetite, digestion, and elimination would be influenced to the most minimal degree, in this instance, it was felt, as affect in these areas would require a relatively intense feeling of identification with the event, something that it was thought would not be the case with most people. Carrying this last argument one step further, the areas which were hypothesized to generate the least affect, if any at all, were physical health and sex life.

The question which most interests us here is the self-perceived reaction to the 1968 election. Therefore, question 19 which states:

¹ See, Samuel A. Stouffer, Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, (John Wiley & Sons: New York, 1967), wherein the author implies, among other things, that people's responses to public, political questions are far greater in number on a self-perceived attitudinal plane than they are on a personalized and internalized one. That is, one's opinion as stated to a pollster on a controversial political point will not necessarily be reflected in a list of areas of deep personal concern to the respondent.

Can you recall any subsequent effect of the election on your personal life in the period immediately following the election or later? Please indicate for the following categories, as nearly as possible, when this occurred and the duration of the effects. Also, please indicate, for each category, to what degree you feel it affected you, by checking the appropriate blank.

is the variable with which we shall concern ourselves. First, the total population shall be presented in terms of the ten sub-parts of that question (items A through J; digestive system, sex, sleep, dreams, pialatives, physical health, job performance, interpersonal relations, attitudes, and tension.* That is, a breakdown will be given according to the choices available for each category.

The General Population

Looking first at the general population, as they perceived their reactions to the 1968 American Presidential election, we see that the area of greatest affect is that of attitudes toward life (category I). This was followed by tension and/or anxiety and guilt feelings (category J). The degree of affect was also greater in category I. The next category includes interpersonal relations (category H), job performance (category G), and sleep (category C). We note, however, that while the amount of individuals so influenced was about equal in these last three groups, the strength of the impact was noticeably higher in the area of sleep. Appetite, digestion, and elimination (category A) was somewhat influenced, with dreams (category D), and the use of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs (category E) being only slightly influenced. In the

*For a presentation of these tables see Appendix B.

area of dreams we witness the highest number of "don't remember" responses. The areas of physical health (category I) and sex life (category B) were least affected out of the ten groups mentioned in the questionnaire.* In light of the interviews, we also see indications that the most powerfully affected areas also seem to be those whose duration of impact was the longest.

Table 1 - Number of Respondents Who Noted Affect in the Ten Areas

	Diges- tive System	sex	sleep	dreams	palia- tives	phsy- ical health	job per- form- ance	inter- personal rela- tions	atti- tudes	tension
Little Affect or None	32	11	50	15	24	16	51	50	88	66
No Affect or Don't Remem- ber	106	126	92	123	117	124	92	91	53	74

N = 144

East and West Coast Respondents

The second table compares the New York area population with the Los Angeles area population.

Turning to the California and the New York respondents, taken separately, we see only slight differences. Tension, anxiety and guilt seems to have been more influenced among the West Coast residents than among their East Coast counterparts. This observation could possibly be explained by the fact that the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy

*See Table A1.

took place there and generated an emotional response in that state that carried over into the election, as we saw in the interviews. Also, while we are not attempting cross-correlations, it should be pointed out that the number of young respondents, especially students, who identified with Senators Kennedy and Eugene McCarthy, was higher in the California group than in the New York group.

Voters and Non-voters

The next chart does the same, contrasting voters with non-voters to see if those who actually participated in the electoral process showed any greater response to the outcome. Non-voters, in this case, include all who did not actually cast a ballot for the Presidency, whether by choice or by legal ineligibility. Actually, the number of persons who were able to vote and voluntarily did not was less than a handful in this instance. Those who were ineligible included a number of people who were under-age at the time, as well as a number who had ~~moved~~ moved their place of residence just prior to the election or were travelling at the time. Whether or not such people could have obtained absentee ballots if they had sincerely wanted to make the necessary effort is difficult to say.

Looking at voters and non-voters,* the one factor that catches our attention is that there was more of an impact in the area of sleep among non-voters. Owing to the disparity in sample size this could easily be coincidence. However, one might speculate that those who participated by voting spent a certain amount of emotional energy in that very act

*See table 2.

while those who did not felt somewhat more frustrated as they could not take part in the decision. This contention is rendered somewhat dubious, if for no other reason, this difference between voters and non-voters did not appear as markedly in categories I and J. It was originally hypothesized that we would find a more marked difference in this breakdown, with a greater impact being noted among voters. This notion was based on the position that those who participated in the process, at least to the extent of casting a ballot, would be more personally involved in its outcome. This was obviously not the case according to the data obtained. In light of this one might posit that, especially in the 1968 election, some of the most aware and concerned members of the citizenry did not participate while many of those who did acted merely out of force of habit.**

Table 2 - Voters and Non-voters compared in categories of sleep "C"; attitudes "I"; and tension "J".

SLEEP		ATTITUDES				TENSION	
	Voters	Non-voters	Voters		Non-voters		
Affect	31	18	Affect		Affect		
			64	24	47	19	
No			No		No		
Affect	78	44	Affect		Affect		
			45	8	61	13	
Voters N=109			Non-voters N=32				

Party Affiliation

The fourth table compares those who consider themselves Democrats with those who consider themselves Republicans, Liberals, and Independents.

**This observation matches the findings of certain students of voting behavior. See chapter two of this study.

For purposes of this study, those respondents who listed themselves as belonging to no political party were grouped together with those who listed their party affiliation as being Independent, though there is a slight formal distinction between the two. As our interest is mainly intent, it was felt that this combination is in order. One respondent listed Conservative in answer to the question on party affiliation, one listed American Independent, and one listed "other." Though we are not adhering to the rules of statistics here and are merely seeking to delineate trends and directions, an arbitrary decision was made by this writer to exclude any group or category which encompassed less than ten respondents on the grounds that it would be rather meaningless. When such smaller groups are of interest in terms of the larger question of individual reactions to political events, they shall be discussed, where appropriate. In light of this, another comparison which was desired at the outset between those who voted for their party's candidate and those who crossed party lines was dropped as there were only six respondents who did in fact switch parties. Table 4A presents the data for these six persons but the reader should bear in mind that this kind of information has limited value.

Bearing in mind the findings on voters and non-voters we turn to the next group of categories - party affiliation. Here too we see a similar phenomenon as occurred in the previous group in the sense that there apparently was little identification with classical categories of party label. Yet, the overwhelming number of respondents did declare themselves as belonging to one organization or another.

Party affiliation did not, on the surface, seem to indicate the

any surprises or marked differences, despite the significance attributed to party affiliation by voting behavior analysts.* Perhaps party labels had less meaning than usual in this election, in terms of identification, especially as a result of the relatively large number of dissenting Democrats who while supporting the party were disappointed with it.

Candidates

The fifth table draws a distinction between those who voted for Humphrey and those who voted for Nixon. Here again, there was one respondent who voted for Wallace and two who cast their votes for Gregory, but these shall not be tabulated. We do notice an interesting difference between Humphrey and Nixon supporters. Bearing in mind again the difference in size between the two populations, we witness a much lower reaction in areas I and J among Nixon supporters.** This points to a potentially interesting hypothesis: that the emotional content of individual reactions to public events is greater when the event is perceived as having a negative quality than when it is perceived as being of a positive nature. That is, possibly elation in regard to public events is of a lesser emotional content than is dejection. Intensive research on this point might thus be indicated as it contains certain interesting ramifications for political scientists. If this hypothesis is true, it is conceivable that decision-makers, on every level from voting to public policy, might unconsciously choose an alternative which might more easily be rationalized as having a positive connotation, regardless of

*See chapter two of this study.

**See Table 3.

the more "rational" considerations, as a defense against emotional involvement. Such findings could throw more light on such phenomena as the "bandwagon" and "underdog" effects in voting behavior as well as on theories of decision-making, for example. For example, Paul F. Lazarsfeld found that there is a correlation between how people vote and whom they expect to win.² This effect is even more pronounced after the fact. As an extreme example of this is the observation that people will at times misreport their own vote and claim to have cast their ballot for the victor when in fact the opposite was the case.³ It is conceivable, in light of both these works and our own findings, that the bandwagon phenomenon in general and the overt act of misreporting one's own voting behavior, in particular, are a result of one's unconscious desire to avoid the anxiety produced by identifying with a losing candidate.

Table 3 - Humphrey and Nixon supporters compared by attitudes ("I") and tension ("J").

	ATTITUDES		TENSION	
	Humphrey Supporters	Nixon Supporters	Humphrey Supporters	Nixon Supporters
Affect	54	5	Affect	40
No Affect	31	10	No Affect	12
Humphrey supporters N = 85			Nixon supporters N = 17	

For further evidence of this observation a table was drawn up comparing those respondents whose immediate and considered reactions to the

²See, Paul F. Lazarsfeld et al., The People's Choice, 3rd edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), pp. 107-109.

³See, for example, Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang, Voting and Nonvoting, (Waltham: Blaisdell, 1968), p. 18.

election were both pleased with those whose reactions were both displeased to see if they differed in areas I and J. This table (4'), rather graphically illustrates that they indeed do.

Table 4' - Pleased and Displeased Respondents Compared by attitudes ("I") and tension ("J").

	ATTITUDES		TENSION		
	Pleased	Displeased	Pleased	Displeased	
Affect	7	62	Affect	3	51
No			No		
Affect	9	23	Affect	13	32
Pleased N = 16			Displeased N = 85		

Intensity of Interest in the Campaign

Now those who followed the election intensively will be compared to those who watched it slightly to see if this difference has any value as an indicator. There were no respondents who claimed to have followed the election "not at all."

We do not witness exactly the same phenomenon as was just observed in the last two cases when we separate those who followed the election campaign slightly with those who followed it more intensively. The original hypothesis here was that those who paid less attention to the process would also feel less involved with its outcome and therefore would register a lower rate of perceived impact than would their counterparts who paid greater attention to the election throughout.

Those who followed the election campaign only slightly displayed less overall response than did those who followed it intensively, especially in the area of attitudes toward life.* This would follow common

*See table 5'.

sense in that it could be argued that those who showed less interest in the election had a lower level of involvement in the results. One might argue, as a result of these tentative findings, that a low-level of involvement even to the point of voluntary non-voting, may be a result, at least in part, of a desire to avoid the anxiety that decision-making, involvement, and personal identification with a public event can produce. In a sense, this is an extension of the "cross-pressures" argument* in that it was held that independent voters were beset by predispositions emanating from their milieu which pulled them in opposite political directions. Here, we are positing that the political event can trigger conflicting tendencies and provoke anxiety within the individual's psychic structure and in order to avoid this the individual removes himself from contact or personal identification with the event.

Table 5' - Those who followed the campaign intensively compared with those who followed it slightly in the area of attitudes ("I").

	ATTITUDES	
	Followed Campaign Intensively	Followed Campaign Slightly
Affect	67	20
No Affect	29	24

Followed campaign intensively
N = 96

Followed campaign slightly
N = 44

*See chapter two of this study.

Immediate and Considered Reactions

The seventh table draws a distinction between those who answered questions 12 and 14 the same way - that is, those whose immediate and considered reactions to the results were identical - and those whose responses differed. For each of these two categories a breakdown of how many discussed their immediate feelings with others, whether those with whom they spoke agreed or not, how they first learned of the election results, with whom they were at that time, and at what point did this occur, is presented.

Those whose immediate and considered reactions were not the same showed a somewhat lesser degree of reaction in area J than those whose reactions were the same.* If one extends the argument that the independent voter is one who is beset by cross-pressures** to this group of people, one could hypothesize that being pulled by opposing vectors serves to reduce the level of tension, anxiety and guilt as identification with one side or the other, and thus emotional involvement with the final result, is lessened.

Table 6' - A comparison of respondents whose reactions varied before and after the election with those whose reactions remained the same, in the area of tension ("J").

	TENSION		Reactions the same N = 115
	Reactions the same	Reactions varied	
Affect	56	7	Reactions varied N = 20
No Affect	59	13	

*See table 6'.

**See chapter two of this study.

Relation to Psychiatry, Premonitions, and Tobacco, Alcohol and Drugs

The eighth table distinguished between those persons who had seen at one time, were seeing at the time of the election, or wished to see a psychoanalyst or psychotherapist, from those who answered "no" to all three of those questions (#s 23, 26, and 32). A similar distinction is made between all those who felt that they have ever experienced a premonition (questions 28 and 30) and those who did not. Table 10 contrasts those respondents who answered "frequently" or "occasionally" to any part (A through E) of question 27, with those who answered "seldom" or "never" to all parts. This somewhat crude lumping together was done as it was felt that further refinement, given the relatively small size of the total population, would be meaningless. The main thrust of this table is to see if there was any appreciable difference between those respondents who use tobacco, alcohol, or drugs with any frequency and those who do not.

This writer entertained the notion that there might be differences in personal reactions on the part of persons who sought or wished to seek psychiatric consultation and those who did not, between those who felt that they had experienced premonitions and those who did not, and between those who occasionally or frequently used tobacco, alcohol or drugs and those who did or only rarely did. In each of these three comparisons it was hypothesized that the former group might be more predisposed to perceiving impact than the latter. This was the purpose of tables 8, 9, and 10. In the first instance this thesis is borne out throughout.* Those respondents who either sought or wished to seek

*See table 7'A.

psychiatric guidance clearly showed greater reaction to the election. This result is not as marked in the case of premonitions. (There apparently were differences in interpretation of the word premonition among the respondents). Here too, however, we see a slightly greater impact noted among those who experienced premonitions in areas J and G, and a clearer difference between these individuals and those who never had premonitions in areas G, H, and I.* In the case of table #10, on the other hand, we do not see this at all.** While there is greater reaction among users of tobacco, alcohol and drugs in such areas as job performance, interpersonal relations and, obviously, consumption of alcohol, tobacco and drugs, there is a slightly stronger impact noted among non-users of the above in the areas of dreams, attitudes toward life, and tension, anxiety and guilt. This last observation might be explained in that the increase in consumption of alcohol, tobacco and drugs itself served to reduce tension.

Table 7'A - A comparison of the percentage of respondents who noted affect (in all ten areas) who had a relationship with psychiatry with those who had no such connection.

	Diges- tive System	sex	sloop	dreams	palia- tives	phys- ical health	job per- form- ance	inter- per- sonal rela- tions	atti- tudes	tension
Relation to Psychiatry	34	13	43	16	24	14	48	41	72	70
No connec- tion with Psychiatry	14	4	29	5	10	6	26	30	55	37

Relation to psychiatry N = 64

No connection with psychiatry N = 77

*See table 7'B.

**See table 7'C.

Table 7¹B - A comparison of the percentage of respondents who experienced premonitions and noted affect (in all ten areas) with those who had no such experiences.

PERCENTAGE WHO NOTED AFFECT										
	diges- tive system	sex	sleep	dreams	palia- tives	phys- ical health	job per- form- ance	inter- personal rela- tions	atti- tudes	tension
had premo- nitions	22	7	39	10	18	12	45	43	71	50
no premo- nitions	23	9	30	11	13	8	26	26	55	44

Had premonitions N = 75 No premonitions N = 65

Table 7¹C - A comparison of the percentage of those respondents who used tobacco, alcohol, or drugs on a regular or occasional basis and who noted affect (in all ten areas) with those who used tobacco, alcohol or drugs only rarely or never used them.

PERCENTAGE WHO NOTED AFFECT										
	diges- tive system	sex	sleep	dreams	palia- tives	phys- ical health	job per- form- ance	inter- personal rela- tions	atti- tudes	tension
alcohol, tobacco, drugs	27	10	40	10	22	12	30	40	59	41
rarely or never	15	5	43	15	4	6	31	24	72	58

regular or occasional user of tobacco, alcohol, or drugs N = 94

rare of non-user of tobacco, alcohol, or drugs N = 47

The F-Scale Scores

Questions 33 through 56, inclusive, are taken from the Adorno F-scale, discussed previously, which seeks to determine latent authoritarian personality traits. Each question is scored on a scale of one to seven, with

"very strongly disagree" counting as 1, "strongly disagree" as 2, "disagree" as 3, no answer or opinion as 4, "agree" as 5, "strongly agree" as 6, and "very strongly agree" as 7. These twenty-four separate scores were tallied for each questionnaire and this raw score was then divided by 24 to obtain the average. For purposes of this study, all respondents were classified according to the whole number closest to their average. The raw score breakdown employed here is as follows: 24-35 = 1, 36-59 = 2, 60-83 = 3, 84-107 = 4, 108-131 = 5, 132-155 = 6, and 156-168 = 7. There were no individuals falling into groups 1, 6, or 7. Also, only four respondents fell into category #5. Therefore, table 11 distinguishes only between those scoring on the 2, 3, and 4 zones. The higher the score, the greater the latent authoritarianism. It should be pointed out that there might be a difference between the time that this test was devised in 1950 and the time when this questionnaire was administered in 1968. That is, question #49 might well draw answers in the "agree" category from generally low F-scale respondents because of the potentially different meaning attached to the question of privacy in present times.

As was just mentioned, the Adorno F-scale was designed to measure latent authoritarian personality traits in individuals. It was originally hypothesized that those respondents whose average score fell in low-number zones would register greater overall impact than would those in the higher-number categories. The reason underlying this presumption is that those with high scores on the Adorno test would tend to be rigid in their political attitude structure. This rigidity, it was further contended, would preclude great emotional reaction to as concrete, recurring and fundamental an event as a Presidential election. On the

other hand, those with low F-scale scores would most probably tend to include classical liberals* and those with a more flexible and tolerant stance concerning political attitudes. It would therefore be more likely that persons in this latter category would permit themselves to question, even on an unconscious level, the entire electoral process and the system itself than would those of the former category. This entire hypothesis presupposes that the factors which enter into one's Adorno F-scale score are of a nature that has bearing on the questions raised in this study.

On the Adorno F-scale scores, while there was some slight variance, there were no clear differences between the scoring zones and no discernable patterns. Perhaps the latent personality factors tapped by the Adorno test are of such a subtle psychological quality as not to be reflected in a questionnaire such as the one used in this study.

Age Groups

Table 12 contrasts the responses of various age categories in answer to question 19. On the question of age, it was thought at the outset that one of two possible patterns might evolve as a result of viewing the data obtained in the questionnaires. Either, if one assumes that the young people identified with this election, or at least with the events that preceded it, one would expect that the young would show greater perceived impact, or, if one assumes that for this very reason the election itself was anticlimactic for the young and therefore one

*For a discussion and definition of this term as employed by this writer, see chapter two, p. 1, of this study.

might expect to find a greater level of response among the middle age group as their level of participation is higher than either the young or the old as we know from classical voting behavior analysis.* This writer, however, actually questioned this very hypothesis originally and speculated instead that age would have very little bearing on the level of impact. The basis for this somewhat unorthodox notion is that it was felt that both of the above factors were negated. The young probably, more than any other age group, had waxed cynical by election day and the middle group, while undoubtedly participating to a relatively greater degree, might well have done so, as was tangentially mentioned before concerning the entire question of participation in this election, more out of rote behavior than out of commitment. In fact, the data here tends to indicate little difference, with the following exceptions: those over 50 years of age showed a somewhat lesser extent of impact in the area of interpersonal relations, and a more markedly lower impact in the area of attitudes toward life vis-a-vis the other two groups, whereas those under 30 years of age showed a slightly lower degree of affect in the areas of sex life and physical health and a considerably higher degree of affect in the area of tension, anxiety and guilt than did the other two groups. With the exception of this last point, the mere factor of age and not the potentially different value systems held by the different age groups, could serve to explain these differences.** The greater involvement of youth in the pre-convention politics of the

*See chapter two of this study.

**See table 8'.

1968 Presidential campaign, combined with the fact that for many of them this was the first Presidential election in which they took part, could explain the observed difference in response to area J.

Table 8¹ - Percentage of respondents affected in various age groups in the area of tension ("J").

TENSION					
	Under 30	30-50	over 50		
Percentage				Under 30	N = 53
Affected	53	40	36	30-50	N = 35
				Over 50	N = 28

Gender

Table #13 distinguishes between men and women. It was not anticipated that gender would have any appreciable influence on reactions to the event in question.* Looking at table #13 (gender), we see hardly any differences at all.

Income, Education, Race, Religion, Place of Birth, and Marital Status

Table #14 compares income brackets, #15 educational levels, and #16 distinguishes between native born respondents and those of foreign birth. It was hoped to distinguish between racial differences but as, unfortunately, the number of Black respondents was under ten this was not felt to be meaningful. Table #17 will present the breakdown for the six Black respondents, however, which can be compared to the first chart for the general population, but it should be kept in mind that the number

*Despite the fact that traditionally women vote less than men and hence might therefore be considered as less involved with the electoral process. See chapter two, p. , of this study, for example.

is too small to be of any analytic significance.

Table #18 compares Protestant respondents with Catholics and Jews. A fourth category under religion includes those respondents who listed "none" or "agnostic" in response to question 61. Table #18A further distinguishes between those who attend religious services regularly or occasionally and those who attend rarely or never. A comparison of those respondents who were never married with those who are married or remarried and those who are divorced, separated, or widowed is undertaken in table #19. Income, it was felt, would only influence response in the event that as a result of this factor one would feel that the outcome of the election had a greater direct bearing on one's life than normally. If this would indeed be the case with certain individuals, it was hypothesized that they were most likely to appear in the middle income group. Though both the higher and the lower categories in income probably had more at stake in reality, it was thought that the middle group in the income question would be more probable to view the election in those terms. As far as education is concerned, it was postulated that this too would be a minor factor. Most probably, it was thought, those presently in school would show similar reactions as did the younger age group as there is a great overlap in the populations of these two categories. Exactly which of these two factors is causal is difficult to say. Probably, this writer argues, neither or perhaps both. That is, the attitudes and behavior patterns of contemporary young people are determined by the interaction of numerous variables of both a cultural and a personal nature, two of which are age itself and education. Where education correlates with other factors, such as income for example, a similar situation as

the one just described concerning the categories of age and education might well occur. Thus, the same question arises and probably the same answer, or lack of a clear-cut answer, applies.

It was felt that those of native birth would probably display a higher level and degree of impact only in that a perusal of our sample in this instance leads one to believe that the foreign born includes a significant number of non-citizens and non-residents, such as foreign students and visitors, who might well view an American election with academic curiosity and detached objectivity but probably not with as great a visceral feeling of personal identification. In the event that the foreign born respondents resided in this country for a length of time and/or were naturalized citizens one might even postulate that their level of personal involvement might be even higher as the electoral process would probably not be taken quite as for granted as it is among the native-born.

Unfortunately, our sample did not include a sufficiently significant number of Blacks to enable us to perform any meaningful type of analysis.

It was thought in advance, however, that the level of alienation which might be relatively greater among Blacks than among whites, might serve to buffer the impact as it would diminish the relevance of the election in the eyes of alienated individuals in advance. Religion, on the other hand, was felt to be of little significance in a case such as the event in question here, with the exception, once again, of those instances where there is a possible correlation of religion with other factors, especially as the sample employed here is an admittedly biased one. The same holds true for marital status. It seems evident that once again

youth correlates strongly, in this case, with the "never married" category. The reason, it should be pointed out, that this writer distinguished between those who attend religious services regularly or frequently and those who attend rarely or never is that it was hypothesized in advance that there might well be a correlation, not so readily apparent, between those who attend religious services rather often and a more traditional political attitude structure. If this in fact is so, one might posit that the more formally religious might show less of a perceived impact, as was argued in analogous situations previously.

Income differences which may be an artifact of the sample showed no major trends. The middle income group, whom one might argue interpreted the election result as having a greater practical tie to their personal fate, showed a very slight increase in perceived affect in the areas of sleep and physical health as compared with the other two groups. In the area of job performance the upper income group displayed a somewhat lower degree of impact, while the middle income group showed a slightly higher level, with the lower income group falling roughly in between the other two. The lower income group, composed mainly of younger persons, especially students, displayed a somewhat higher level of reaction than did the others in the areas of interpersonal relations, attitudes toward life, and tension, anxiety and guilt. Little difference was noted between different levels of education. Those with some college or a bachelor's degree did register a slightly higher level of affect in areas I and J than did the others. Furthermore, a very slightly higher level of impact was noted for this group in the area of interpersonal relations, with graduate degree holders showing a bit lower level, and high school

graduates or less showing a still lower level. One should bear in mind that this group included a higher proportion of younger respondents, mainly students, than did the other categories. Therefore, while virtually no meaningful differences can be discerned from tables #18 and 18A, dealing with religion, minor increases in levels of perceived affect in areas I and J are present in the native born population as opposed to those of foreign birth, as well as in the never married group, vis-a-vis the other two categories included in table #19 - both of these being cases where the group with the higher degree of reactions in areas I and J was also the one that contained the higher proportion of young students. This would therefore seem to follow the trend noted previously, concerning the greater degree of perceived affect on the part of young students, especially in the domain of tension, anxiety and guilt.*

Table 9' - Percentage of college students affected in area of tension ("J") compared with others.

TENSION		
	College Students	Others
% Affected	53	40
		College students N = 74
		Others N = 63

Willingness to be Interviewed

Table #20 distinguishes between those who were willing to be interviewed and those who were not.

This writer hypothesized that people who were willing to be interviewed would, in general, be those who indicated a higher level of per-

*See table 9'. Despite our findings concerning this group of categories one should bear in mind that differences in voting participation levels based on income, race, education, and religion have been noted by students of traditional voting behavior analysis. See chapter two, pgs. of this study.

ceived affect of the election on their lives than those who were not willing to be interviewed. This notion is borne out throughout the ten areas in table #20.*

Table 10' - A comparison of the percentage affected among those willing to be interviewed (in all ten areas) with those who were not.

PERCENTAGE WHO NOTED AFFECT

	diges- tive system	sex	sleep	dreams	palia- tives	phys- ical health	job per- form- ance	inter- personal rela- tions	atti- tudes	tension
willing	31	10	40	12	25	12	40	42	69	65
not willing	22	7	32	9	11	9	34	33	59	36

Willing to be interviewed N = 52

Not willing to be interviewed N = 80

Control questions

As a sort of control question, table #21A presents the breakdown for the entire population in response to question 20 (all parts), concerning perceived reactions to the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, and table #21B does the same for question 21 concerning perceived reactions to the Arab-Israel War of 1967. Table #22A presents the breakdown for the California population in response to question 22 concerning perceived reactions to the "student revolution", while table #22B does the same for the New York population in response to question 22 dealing with perceived reactions to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school dispute.

*See table 10'.

The questions concerning the assassination of President Kennedy, the Arab-Israel war of 1967, the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school dispute, and the "student revolution," were added to the questionnaire as a kind of control. It was thought that the Kennedy assassination would generate a far greater number of perceived responses, even in categories which drew very few such reactions in the case of the 1968 Presidential election, than did the election. The two cases are both significant political events. Yet, their similarity ceases at this point. The election was concrete, reoccurring (and in this particular case, almost neutral) and therefore easily anticipated whereas the assassination was a sudden and tragic event. The same might be said of the 1967 Arab-Israel war, except that it took place at a distance, at least geographically, and thus, except for a few persons who may have closely identified with one or the other of the main protagonists, may have taken place at a psychic distance as well in that it was easier to be "objective" and detached and to rationalize away any indirect personal involvement or identification.*

It was thought that the other two events in question, the "student revolution" and the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school dispute, would spark greater reactions than did the election in that they were so close to the home areas from which the respondents came in our case, New York and California, and because they were of a highly controversial nature. However, it was also felt that these cases would not have as marked an impact as did the death of President Kennedy as they were not as tragic and perhaps, while appearing to be more threatening to some, not as sudden

*See chapter one, footnote #17, of this study, for example.

and traumatic as they developed over a period of time, however short, and lasted for more than a brief, shocking moment, thus allowing for emotional defenses to set in.

Turning to the control questions, we easily see that the assassination of President John F. Kennedy had a considerably greater impact, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in both the physical and the emotional spheres, than did the election. The same cannot be said for the Arab-Israel war of 1967. The reaction to that event was more marked than in the case of the election in the areas of appetite, digestion and elimination, interpersonal relations, and tension, anxiety and guilt, whereas the election elicited a slightly greater reaction in the areas of sleep and job performance. In both of these events the number of those who answered "don't remember" was much greater than was the case with the election. Therefore, apparently, despite the gravity of the event, time does blur one's recall. At this point another observation might be in order. If this writer were to do this study over, one of the major changes that would be made would be the institution of a trend analysis. That is, the same respondents would receive the same questionnaire immediately after the particular event in question and then again six months later in order to see if and how time affects changes in self-perceived reactions. Unfortunately, in this instance this was not feasible.

Looking at control tables 22A and 22B, we see for example, that the "student revolution" generated a somewhat greater reaction in areas H and J than did the election, whereas the election had a slightly greater impact in areas C and G. The school dispute revolving around Ocean Hill-Brownsville generated somewhat less of an impact than did the election in

areas C, G, and I, and somewhat less of an impact than did the "student revolution" in areas G, H, I, and J.*

Table 11' - A comparison of percentage affected (in all ten areas) between respondents to the four control questions, and the general population - for the 1968 election.

	PERCENTAGE OF NOTED AFFECT									
	digestive system	sex	sleep	dreams	palliative	physical health	job performance	interpersonal relations	attitudes	tension
Assassination of Pres. Kennedy	67	15	37	26	21	21	61	55	68	62
Arab-Israel War of 1967	37	7	30	13	14	10	26	41	43	55
Ocean Hill Brownsville School Dispute	34	8	20	8	14	9	19	45	50	50
Student Revolution 1968	33	14	16	14	10	6	29	56	59	57
1968 Election	23	8	36	11	17	11	36	35	62	47
Kennedy					N = 114					
Arab-Israel					N = 114					
Ocean Hill					N =					
Student Revolt					N = 64					
1968 Election					N = 114					

*See table 11'.

Interviews

Let us now turn to a discussion of the interviews conducted. First, at this point, a few general words might be appropriate. As was stated earlier, this sample is clearly a biased one. Yet, surprisingly, a rather large diversity of backgrounds and interests was found among the total population of ULI respondents to this questionnaire. Hopefully, we shall learn something from this analysis. Also, it should be stated here that certain answers were ambiguous and therefore difficult to classify, especially since the respondents were encouraged to comment freely. Also, a few respondents occasionally checked off more than one category in response to a particular question. Therefore, this writer had to make certain somewhat arbitrary decisions on the classification of certain answers. Fortunately, this number was small. Furthermore, a substantial number of the respondents chose to leave certain questions blank. All such responses were not scored, thus accounting for the fact that the totals for any given category do not always tally in accordance with the total population. The truthfulness of the responses is difficult to ascertain. There was no overt sign of mockery on the part of any of the respondents that this writer could denote. As the purpose of this part of the study is to determine self-perceived impact, differences in interpretation of the questions and reply categories on the part of the individual respondents is relatively unimportant.

The purpose of the interviews was fourfold. First, it was hoped that more detail might be learned concerning the manifestation of whatever impact was noted in the questionnaires. Unfortunately, on this score,

while interesting, not much was added.⁴ The interviews merely confirmed this author's suspicion that there was great diversity in interpretation of the word "affect." For example, one respondent listed herself as having been "strongly affected" by the election in category C (sleep). When questioned, she indicated that she had been up most of the night watching the returns. Another respondent who had answered "no affect" to this question explained in the course of the interview that his sleep couldn't have been influenced as he had been awake most of the night watching the returns.

The other points that came up in the interviews were the question of duration of any impact noted, whether or not any reactions to the election led to or related to any decision made by the individual in the sphere of their personal lives thereafter, and whether such reactions were similar to the way in which they felt that they responded to significant events that occurred purely within their personal microcosms. As a kind of control question, to try to determine whether these people normally react to public events even of a non-significant nature, they were asked how they responded to the remarriage of Jacqueline Kennedy to Aristotle Onassis.

The hypotheses being advanced here were: 1) that emotional responses to political events would be short-lived and would not in most cases lead to permanent changes in one's life; that they would be rationalized away

⁴See Frank E. Gibson and Brett W. Hawkins, "Interviews Versus Questionnaires," American Behavioral Scientist, 12, (September-October, 1968), p. NS-11, where the authors found that "when surveying a relatively homogeneous group, asking questions about which the group can be assumed to be familiar, and promising anonymity of response, the questionnaire may provide substantially the same results as interviews..."

in time so as to permit the individual to continue as before in relative psychic comfort, 2) that such responses would be of a different nature, or at least on a different quantitative level, from personal events and 3) that people who reacted strongly and emotionally to this election would often be those who perceived themselves as reacting strongly and emotionally to most any public event.

In the New York interviews, which were conducted one month after the election, the following answers to the above questions were noted. Of the 12 people who were interviewed, seven had reactions ranging from actual physical illness of a gastric nature to sadness, concern for the future, sleeplessness, guilt feelings, increase in consumption of alcohol and tobacco, and dreams involving Nixon, none of which lasted longer than five days. Only three persons, two who questioned their attitudes toward life (category I) and another who felt "low", still felt that way at the time of the interview but one of the two people in the former group noted that he was beginning to rationalize to himself that Nixon was probably not going to have as negative an effect on society as he had originally feared. One other respondent noted a similar rationalization, only it had set in within four days following the election. Physical reactions, ranging from gastric distress to listlessness, sleeplessness, and tension, as well as all impacts on job performance (category G) and interpersonal relations (category H) noted by these ten respondents lasted no longer than 1¹/₂-2 days, with the exception of the one woman mentioned above whose general "low" feeling had remained at least until the time of the interview. In total, three respondents felt that their response in this case was not analogous to their reactions to problems of a personal nature,

two feeling that the impact of personal problems is greater and one feeling that personal problems do not have as marked an effect. Seven felt that their response was analogous to their responses to personal problems. Two respondents had perceived no reaction at all to the election. Of these, one felt that he normally does not have physical or emotional reactions even to personal problems, while the other felt that his lack of response was not the usual manner in which he reacted to personal problems. It is interesting to note that the two respondents who perceived no marked reaction of a physical or emotional nature were the only two Nixon supporters among the 12, the others all being supporters of Humphrey. Furthermore, the latter of these two gentlemen indicated that he normally does respond to political events in a manner similar to his response to personal events. Two of the dozen persons interviewed in New York felt that feelings of despair over the results and guilt over their own lack of participation led them to make decisions concerning future plans which could have a long-range effect on their lives. Half of the respondents had no response to the Jacqueline Kennedy question, four had "rational" opinions as opposed to physical or emotional reactions, and two noted a mild emotional response of disgust and bewilderment but not nearly as intense as their usual response to political events.

The 13 California interviews were conducted five months after the election. Four people indicated similar responses to their New York counterparts (tired, questioned the future, anxious, argumentative on the job, consumed more alcohol and tobacco than usual, and the like) but indicated that their reaction only lasted one to two days. Two (both

Humphrey supporters) showed no reaction to the event, and another four indicated affect in categories I and J, in the specific areas of questioning the future and general anxiety and uneasiness. Two of these four, interestingly, felt that as the months went by these feelings increased and became more defined, while the other two felt that they were first beginning to rationalize away their discontent. The remaining four respondents were similarly affected in categories I and J and felt that their questions and tensions were still with them five months later, at the time of the interviewing. However, these last four individuals noted that they felt that this emotional response was actually more as a result of the assassination of Senator Robert Kennedy than the election of Richard Nixon. On the question of similarity or differences between reactions to public events and private ones, five respondents said that there was definitely a difference, seven felt that their responses to both categories were similar in nature though four indicated quantitative differences in emotional output, and one stated that only sudden, tragic public events generate the same response as personal events. The thirteenth respondent fell somewhere in the middle on this point, saying that for most public events, such as the election in question, his reaction was qualitatively different, but in certain cases such as the deaths of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King, Jr. his reaction was qualitatively similar though still quantitatively less than his usual response to private events. No one indicated any permanent decisions made in their lives as a result of their reaction to the election.

On the Kennedy-Onasis question, eight respondents perceived no reaction whatsoever, while the remaining five had opinions on the matter

but felt no emotional or physical impact.

All in all, the first hypothesis seems to be borne out by these interviews. Most of the perceived reactions did not last more than a few days and few apparently led to irreversible decisions. We see no clear indication one way or the other concerning the second hypothesis. In fact, the most obvious point brought out by the interviews in this regard is that an almost equal number of persons felt that their reactions to public and private events were roughly the same as felt they were different. The third notion is also difficult to show. Clearly, a far smaller number of respondents claimed to have reacted to the Kennedy-Onassis marriage than did to the election.*

The use of statistical correlations, cross-correlations, and the like, while interesting, would not serve any meaningful purpose in the analysis of the tables presented as the sample is clearly biased and the numbers in various categories are rather small. Therefore, this would not be statistically significant or fall within acceptable limits of statistical error. What was done was to examine these tables from a subjective overview, keeping numerical results in proper perspective, in order to determine possible directions and tendencies.

*A few words should be said on the differences noticed by this writer that had not been previously anticipated between the New York face-to-face interviews and the California telephone discussions. The latter lasted about half the time though they each covered the same material. It was found that respondents' answers were longer, freer, covered more ground with a greater volunteering of information, and were more graphic and detailed though at times tangential to the point, in the face-to-face interviews. All in all, a clearer picture was received in the case of the face-to-face talks. Especially when not employing a preconceived list of questions whose answers can be readily codified, and when the results will be interpreted in a largely intuitive manner, face-to-face interviewing appears, from this experience, to be a more preferable tool than telephone discussions.

In general, the underlying premise of the hypothesis, that individuals react to political events on a psychological level, was shown here. Some of the exact expectations were not borne out, however. Attitudes towards life brought forth a greater and more intense response than did tension, anxiety and guilt, for example. If anything, this reinforces the idea that the qualitative type of the affect in this case was of a superficial, emotional quality and not of a deep, psychological nature. The disturbance caused, therefore, was of a largely conscious and abstract nature and was not threatening to the psychic welfare of the individual to any appreciable degree, as far as we can determine. Also, the impact on sleep was greater than anticipated but this could be explained by the misinterpretation of the word "affect," noted earlier, which was especially apparent in the category of sleep. Appetite, digestion, and elimination also showed a trifle more relative impact than was originally expected. The difference here between manifestation and expectation was so small as to be easily written off as coincidence. Certainly nothing of significance can be read into such a piece of datum, for if there were any unusual amount of affect in this category it would most probably be indicative of the internalization and personalization of certain aspects of the public event and this phenomenon would appear in other areas of response as well. The last point hypothesized, that the areas of physical health and sex life would elicit the least amount of perceived reactions as it would take a much greater degree of identification with an outside event than could possibly be expected of the 1968 American Presidential election to influence these categories appreciably, appears to hold true.

From this portion of the study we apparently see that political

events do have an impact on individual behavior. Also, this affect seems to be more marked in the emotional sphere (such as tension level and attitudinal structure) than in the somatic sphere. Somatic changes, when they do happen, disappear much more rapidly than do the emotional changes. Furthermore, a traumatic and sudden event generates a greater degree of affect than does a concrete, reoccurring event that is known in advance and in that sense can be anticipated psychologically. Also, negative feelings tend to arouse more emotional output than do positive ones.* The level of personal involvement, in a pragmatic sense, does seem to relate directly to the degree of emotional involvement, though it appears possible that frustration can be greater if one wished to participate and could not. The greater the distance separating the event from the individual, the less the impact, though, in light of the Ocean Hill-Brownsville case, we cannot say that the same is true in reverse. That is, if one has little emotional involvement with a given event in the first place, proximity doesn't necessarily seem to raise it appreciably. This raises an interesting question that, unfortunately, we cannot answer based on this study - whether the actual importance of the political event has any bearing on the emotional reaction it can or cannot trigger. Also, the greater a person's identification with a political personality or event, obviously, the greater the impact of any setback. Yet, there seems to be a kind of fixed quantity of emotional attachment with a given political occurrence - once spent, the degree of involvement with

*Thus one might make a political choice in terms of which alternative has a less negative quality, even if "rational," "moral", or other criteria dictate otherwise. Also, one might rationalize away negative feelings surrounding political events and personages in order to avoid emotional involvement and thereby dodge the facing of unpleasant political facts or pressing but disturbing political questions.

the final outcome is diminished. Whether one's response to a public event is analogous to one's response to private events apparently differs widely amongst individual personalities. What accounts for idiosyncratic behavior in this regard will take much more in-depth study to determine. Further research on all of these points is clearly indicated, as traditional voting behavior studies do not approach these questions from this perspective. Also, it would be interesting to see if these tendencies just noted would hold true for a representative sample of the population and if they would hold true for different types of political events and even different elections. The question as to whether the rather unique circumstances surrounding the 1968 American Presidential election made this an unusual case is moot.* Future efforts might help to clarify these points.

*See chapters four and six of this study for a discussion of this point.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

While the nature of this study makes it difficult to draw conclusions, in the scientific sense of that word, certain findings warrant discussion. As a result of the psychoanalytic data we observe that in many cases an individual treated the election in ways consistent with his general perspective or particular problem. Furthermore, a given political figure, such as a political candidate, was seen by the patient in a manner rather similar to that in which he viewed himself or his situation. That is, if he saw himself as being a 'loser' in terms of his personal goals and further believed that this was the result of the unfair treatment he received at the hands of others he would be likely to see Humphrey as a 'loser' type who was the victim of unfair treatment by others. This observation also holds true for the electoral process as well as the results of the election. That is, if he viewed the business or profession in which he was engaged as being 'rigged' by a few men at the top for their own advantage he would be likely to see the election as a similarly 'rigged' situation with Nixon being the chosen agent of a few highly placed and self-centered men. Secondly, the psychoanalytic material concerning the election, freely given or solicited by the analyst, tends to be of a conscious nature. The political event, however, was apparently capable, in a number of cases, of serving as the catalyst for seemingly unrelated emotional responses.

While none of this information is either particularly surprising or any different from the dynamics seen when an individual interacts with

a personage or event of importance only to himself or a small number of people, we did witness two potentially challenging directions as well.

1) It appears that a person's previous interest in politics does not necessarily correlate with one's response to a concrete political event such as this election, and 2) there appears to be an inverse relation between an individual's level of self-involvement and the amount of measurable response to the political event.

In light of our original hypotheses we see an indication that reactions took place on a conscious level (in line with hypothesis #1); that there seems to be no relationship existing between political consciousness and the level of reaction (contrary to hypothesis #2); that a person's general personality traits, behavior patterns, and problems will emerge in his response to a public event (as expected in hypothesis #5); that his response to political events does not appear to differ markedly from the way he treats personal happenings (contrary to hypothesis #6); and that perception tends to be of greater importance than reality in determining one's reaction (as anticipated in hypothesis #7). All in all, we saw little evidence of significant impact as a result of the 1968 American Presidential election, but in light of the work done along these lines concerning reactions to the death of President Kennedy* hypothesis #8 appears to be borne out - that sudden, tragic events have a greater psychological effect on individuals than do concrete, recurring and easily anticipated public events such as the one in question, even of a significant political nature. The second portion of hypothesis #9 also appears to hold true here - that the level of noted impact relates

*See chapter one of this study.

directly to the degree of personalization of the event or identification with an aspect of it or a personage involved with it.

In the process, we also seem to have answered the three questions initially raised in chapter one of this study concerning this part of the project: 1) one's factual knowledge of the political sphere does not seem to relate to the intensity of one's response to or identification level with the public event at hand (contrary to this writer's expectation), 2) the higher the degree of a person's self-involvement the more that person is inhibited from becoming emotionally involved in a public event (as originally anticipated), and 3) the nature of a person's particular problems do tend to influence the manner in which he reacts to a public event such as the 1968 American Presidential election (also as expected at the outset).

The questionnaire and interviews brought forth the following conclusions and answers to the original nine hypotheses:

1) as expected, the greatest impact was noted in the most amorphous categories such as attitudes toward life and tension reinforcing the notion that reactions to this particular public event took place on a rather conscious and superficial emotional level with little deep psychological involvement. In light of the psychoanalytic data, one obvious difference between the results of these two chapters becomes apparent and at the same time clearly understandable. The amount and intensity of response to this political event was obviously more marked in the case of the non-patient population. Yet, this is readily explained in light of the findings - the patients in analysis most probably were involved with coming to grips with their own personal situations to a

greater extent than were the non-patient group and therefore were less likely to react to a public event. One should bear in mind that the context of information gathering tended to create a situation wherein the questionnaire respondents were more likely to talk about politics than were the psychoanalytic patients.

2) agreeing with the findings of the psychoanalytic data, the questionnaires and subsequent interviews indicate that the hypothesis that those who participated in the election would therefore have a higher degree of involvement and display a greater impact, is clearly false. Neither sense of commitment nor level or amount of response to the event correlates with political participation. In light of Lipset's observation (chapter two, footnote 4) the implications for democratic theory are not as negative as was originally feared. Our findings on this point might be an artifact of our indicators of involvement. Future efforts might attempt using more subtle indicators.

3) this idea, that negative events bring forth a far greater emotional reaction than do positive ones, is certainly validated by the data available here.

4) apparently, the notion that the individual has an unconscious desire to avoid emotional investment and will therefore make decisions and rationalize in the face of political facts of life that displease him or cause him to be apprehensive, is indicated as a result of this study. Therefore, we see another reason why manifest reactions to public events such as this election tend to be short-lived.

5) the idea that a person's personality traits and behavior patterns will show through in a case such as the one under study here has not been

demonstrated in this part of the project. Here we see another difference between the findings of the two chapters of the study being summarized here. Yet, this too can be explained easily enough, especially in light of the fact that there was no apparent difference between respondents whose scores on the Adorno F-scale varied significantly; if the tool being used to probe the reaction of the individual to the public event is of a sophisticated psychological nature and will therefore get at deep-rooted psychological characteristics of that individual, it will miss the superficial level at which this person is most likely to react to a political event such as this election. On the other hand, if the tool being employed is designed to tap response on the layer at which it occurs it will probably miss any deep-rooted psychological characteristics of the individual.

6) the hypothesis that people will react differently to public events as they would to private events is not shown here. Neither, for that matter, is it disproven. What evidence we have on this question seems to break evenly between both sides of the question but, by the same token, the psychoanalytic data indicated that the null hypothesis was shown in this instance.

7) perception, is, as was believed to be the case, the criterion for response and not reality.

8) as was the case with the psychoanalytic data, it is clear that sudden and tragic public events evoke a greater reaction, qualitatively and quantitatively, than do concrete and reoccurring happenings such as the election under study, as was hypothesized. It is therefore considerably easier to anticipate an event such as this election and turn

it into a psychologically anticlimactic occurrence.

9) the hypothesis that the closer one is to a political event, geographically, the greater will be its impact is borne out only where there exists some identification with the event. In such an instance, distance appears to mitigate against impact. Where there is no appreciable impact at the outset, however, the fact that the event occurs close to one's home will not apparently, in and of itself, bring about greater impact, as was shown with the Ocean Hill-Brownsville school dispute and the "student revolution" cases, as compared with the Arab-Israeli war of 1967.

Out of this portion of the study another interesting observation emerged: the idea that there appears to be a fixed quantity of emotional attachment possible between an individual and a significant political event which, once spent, is irretrievable and therefore diminishes the level of emotional involvement with the outcome. Whether this phenomenon was especially acute in the case of the 1968 American Presidential election is impossible to say though clearly the unique set of circumstances preceding the election itself had a great bearing on people's reactions to the results.

What is needed is more research on this entire topic of individual behavior and political events. We see that there is some interaction. Other Presidential elections should be studied, along with local ones and perhaps even an important or controversial referendum. Obviously, events of both positive and negative content should be analyzed on national, international, and local levels. Special interest should be paid to further attempts at extrapolating the differences between sudden

events and concrete ones of a political nature. Along these lines, it would be interesting to see what role time plays in the type and amount of impact of a public event on individual behavior. Efforts should be undertaken to compare similar occurrences, some of which are over and done with almost at the same moment that they begin and others which unfold over a period of time. Naturally, different kinds of public events from the most harmless to the most overtly threatening must be studied if any paradigm of behavior is to emerge.

Eventually, if we can come to terms with conflicting methodological arguments, and enough verifiable data is built up, one could attempt to determine if there are any patterns of response to public events among different personality types. Finally, considering the ambivalent nature of the contemporary epoch, it would be most rewarding if one could determine if one's response to real events literally transpiring at one's very door-step differ from one's reaction to significant political events that can only be perceived through other media.

The root of concern to students of political behavior should be the relationship between the political genre and the individual actor. If we rely entirely on techniques presently at our disposal and on verifiable models that have already achieved a certain degree of methodological sophistication we are in effect limiting ourselves to answering only certain questions and only at certain levels. Certainly, such endeavors are fruitful. There is no intent to imply that traditional methods should be replaced. Rather, they should be augmented. We are, unfortunately, rather ignorant of the manner in which an individual views or fails to view, uses or fails to use, the public and political scene in

terms of fulfilling his private and often unconscious needs, drives, and desires or how these events and choices relate to his psychic conflicts and fears.¹

The need to understand the symbolic purpose of such political occurrences for the individual goes beyond academic curiosity. Something is known of an individual's psychodynamics. The ability of political culture to fill certain needs or frustrate them, to afford opportunities for defensive mechanisms with both positive and negative consequences for the individual and society, and so forth, are phenomena that must be understood not merely in order to explain observable behavior but, perhaps more importantly, to eventually predict what given elements in our political society, by triggering certain psychic chords, give rise to the possibility of certain political phenomena which we may or may not desire. Symptoms of "sickness" in a society may be observable to the trained analyst in advance by witnessing how the individual unconsciously treats the public sphere, when he does, and which psychic mechanisms are activated by what types of political events, acts and personages, as well as which personality types react to certain public stimuli in given configurations or patterns.

Latent potential for certain forms of behavior, under given circumstances, can be discovered in the individual by such traditional psychoanalytic tools as dream analysis and free association before the societal consequences become manifest. For this, teamwork between the psychoanalyst and the political scientist is indispensable. Understanding

¹See James C. Davies, "Some Relations between Events and Attitudes," American Political Science Review, 46, (September 1952), pp. 777-798.

the dynamics of the deviant case or the idiosyncratic ways in which numerous individuals arrive at the same ostensible point can be more enlightening in this regard than the results of the best designed survey research and aggregate data tools conceivable as these latter techniques are not geared to probing into this domain. Numerous efforts, using alternative methods, different working hypotheses, diverse populations, and various examples must be undertaken prior to the development of a meaningful, working paradigm with predictive qualities. Only in this fashion can we ever hope to achieve a full understanding of man the political animal.

In order to place these observations into proper political perspective, we must briefly look at the event itself; the setting of the 1968 American Presidential election. This is especially important if these tentative conclusions on individual reactions to a major political event are to be used for comparative purposes in the future. The most striking observation of this study is that there was so little personal response to the election and its outcome. Lest we prematurely conclude that the election of the highest public official of one of the world's greatest powers is an insignificant event or that whether it is or not, people perceive it to be of little importance for them personally, we should bear in mind that the most marked aspect of this particular election was the bland nature of the candidates, the issues as placed before the electorate, and the campaign itself. The results obtained in this study might well have been different had a Robert Kennedy, a Eugene McCarthy, or even a Nelson Rockefeller been a candidate of one of the major political parties. By the same token, the questions asked here

might have brought forth different answers had this been a study of the 1960 or the 1964 Presidential elections. In fact, the one question that we cannot answer one way or the other as a result of this particular project is whether or not national elections are significant events in the eyes of the individual citizens. One might even go so far as to speculate that even given this event, the picture elicited would have been somewhat different had the pre-convention setting been other than it was.

As was previously pointed out, the single most telling variable in determining one's vote is party identification. Fred Greenstein contends that this phenomenon may be bad for a working democracy as it permits the voter to make his decision based on an over-simplified criterion. Yet, he further states, this may not be the case as in certain instances party identification can be surpassed by issue or candidate orientation.² Here we witness an example where there was little manifestation of these latter two orientations.

The party uses its national convention as a starting point for the campaign, as a rallying point for party unity, and as a means of delivering the message to the nation that it has the superior platform and candidates. It is able to so use the convention because for a few days it is the focus of national attention and has a virtual monopoly of the mass news media. In 1968, however, the message that was communicated to the population was quite different. Theodore White sums up the mood at the Republican party's national convention in Miami Beach well when

²Fred I. Greenstein, The American Party System and the American People, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 28-36.

he says:

Tedium gripped the convention from the clack of the opening gavel, at ten in the morning of August 5th, 1968... From the convention hall, boredom spread all up and down the beach. No convention in history had been as dull as this except, perhaps, Eisenhower's renomination in San Francisco in 1956... Boredom lay on the convention like a mattress.³

The one hope for excitement or enthusiasm lay in the challenges of Nelson Rockefeller and Ronald Reagan. There was, however, no room for excitement or enthusiasm. As White states:

Rockefeller and Reagan were not so much destroyed as suffocated at Miami. On the evening of his defeat, Rockefeller, when asked why he thought he had lost, responded: "Did you ever see a Republican convention?"⁴

What the Republican convention lacked in excitement the Democratic one in Chicago a couple of short weeks later made up for, but in the wrong manner in terms of the political goals sought by a national political convention.

Too much has already been said and too little understood of the violence that transpired on the streets of Chicago during that convention period for any additional statements on that tragedy to be meaningful here. With Robert Kennedy dead, and Eugene McCarthy hopelessly outnumbered, Hubert Humphrey won his victory with national media casting their spotlight on the streets outside convention hall. As three British journalists, Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, sum up the Humphrey nomination:

³Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1968, (New York: Atheneum, 1969), pp. 243-244.

⁴Ibid., p. 245.

Humphrey was on the brink of nomination because he had accepted the loss of his own political identity... Humphrey was never a very big man. On the day he became the Democratic Party's nominee for the Presidency, he was almost infinitesimal.⁵

While Presidential campaigns have a tendency, in their desire to whip up a victorious coalition, to be both hectic and superficial, the 1968 election was spectacular in that it seemed especially incapable of generating any enthusiasm. Worse than being viewed as a sham or a threat it was seen as something of a nuisance - it had to be tolerated for a time and eventually dispensed with, but it was difficult to find meaning in it or become involved with it either personally or societally.

As White found:

Normally, in a Presidential year, the American autumn rises through crescendo to the roaring climax of late October... But in 1968 it was entirely otherwise. It was as if, all passion spent, an enormous indifference overtook the American people... October 1968 offered, then, not a crescendo -⁶ but a diminuendo, a turning-back to habit...

Lacking both issues and candidates that were clearly defined and with which one could identify was one half of the equation that led to the results obtained in this study, as this writer sees it; the other half being that the emotional energy attached to this public event was exhausted on the McCarthy campaign trail, on the death vigil for Robert Kennedy in California, on the charade of the Republican convention at Miami, and on the violence surrounding the Democratic convention in Chicago. The combination of those two ingredients made commitment to

⁵Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, An American Melodrama, (New York: Dell, 1969), p. 644.

⁶White, op. cit., p. 352.

or identification or emotional involvement with the anticlimax of election day in November of 1968 impossible to any measurable extent. It was difficult for any segment of the population to truly define their interests or that of society-at-large with either side in this particular election.⁷ As Chester, Hodgson, and Page conclude:

Indeed, one way of looking at the political process in the first, preconvention, phase of 1968 is as a series of filters, systematically eliminating all the strongest political personalities, until only the safest and blandest were left... In their very different ways, Johnson, Rockefeller, McCarthy, and Wallace all addressed themselves to what were generally regarded as the main issues far more specifically and unambiguously than Humphrey and Nixon... It can be said with only a trace of epigrammatic exaggeration that Humphrey managed to be nominated because he talked about every issue except the one that mattered to his party; and Nixon was elected because he talked about every issue except the ones that mattered to the country. If one had to sum up the whole electoral process in terms of decisions between personalities, one would have to say that, after the preliminary stages had filtered out all the more positive candidates, in the end enough Americans were unhappy about the state of the country after eight years of Democratic Administrations that they marginally preferred a safe Republican to a safe Democrat.⁸

Yet, as Joel Aberbach points out, those who feel alienated and powerless and who cannot get excited about either party in an election do not manifest their protest by negative voting, as is the case in a black and white issue such as a controversial referendum. Rather, they tend to

⁷See Joe McGinniss, The Selling of the President 1968, (New York: Trident Press, 1969). The theme of that work illustrates the point that the Nixon strategy for victory was not to "sell" or even accentuate a positive image but rather to offset a negative one and therefore to avoid taking stands on issues.

⁸Chester et al., op. cit., pp. 878-879.

opt out by vacillating, and by displaying a low level of interest, knowledge and participation.⁹

What we see in this study of the impact of the 1968 American Presidential election on the private lives of individuals is a lack of meaning of the event for the individual both politically and psychologically. It was originally thought that this election would be viewed by individuals as an important event for two reasons: 1) merely because we are socialized by the educational process, at an early age, to consider the election of an American President as being highly significant, and 2) because one might posit that the choice of a president greatly influences the ordering of the nation's priorities and the determination of public policy, both foreign and domestic, for years to come. Whether or not this is indicative of a general tendency, or even of a psycho-political malady of sorts,¹⁰ only future efforts can determine.

There is also an alternative way in which to view this particular event. One can posit, as a result of the work done to date in voting behavior analysis*, that elections do not seem to have great personal meaning for many people and do not serve to evoke any appreciable sense of personal identification with the political process.¹¹ Furthermore,

⁹Joel D. Aberbach, "Alienation and Political Behavior," The American Political Science Review, 63, (March 1969), pp. 86-99.

¹⁰See, Jules Abels, The Degeneration of Our Presidential Election, (New York: Macmillan, 1968), p. 72, where the author contends that "given the present mood of the public towards politics, (and) the current methods of political communication" it is questionable whether "any important question of policy can be evaluated today by the public."

*See chapter two of this study.

¹¹See James C. Davies, "Charisma in the 1952 Campaign," American Political Science Review, 48, (December 1954), pp. 1082-1102.

one might advocate, quite the opposite from what was just argued, that the 1968 election was one in which traditional party orientation alone was not sufficient to explain the outcome. Rather, because of the third party candidacy of George Wallace and because of the events preceding the election that there indeed was substantial issue and candidate orientation apparent.¹² If one pursues this line of attack then our tentative conclusions have even greater implications than they do by accepting the analysis offered previously. That is, if one does not assume that the 1968 American Presidential election was particularly anticlimactic but rather that it was more exciting, or at least no less so, than other recent elections then we seem to confirm via this somewhat different methodological technique what others indicate - namely, that elections fail to generate any substantial sense of personal meaning for the individual citizen. This instance, by this interpretation, instead of being a possibly deviant case wherein the lack of clear findings can be explained by the uniqueness of the setting surrounding the event, becomes a rather traditional case and the lack of psychological findings can be expected to be observed again and again in similar examinations of such elections. The ramifications for democratic theory, discussed previously, become all the more pressing if one accepts this alternative analysis of the 1968 American Presidential election.

In a sense, we are confirming the hypothesis implicit in Lipset's

¹²See Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, Jerrold G. Rusk, and Arthur C. Wolfe, "Continuity and Change in American Politics: Parties and Issues in the 1968 Election," American Political Science Review, 63, (December 1969), pp. 1089-1105. Also, J. D. Lees, "Deviation and Dissent - the American National Election of 1968," Parliamentary Affairs, 22, (Spring 1969), pp. 134-143.

work that the lack of a clear-cut choice is psychically healthy for society as it minimizes political strain and thereby lessens emotional tension.*

EPILOGUE

The purpose of this chapter is not so much to serve as a restatement of the other five as it is to reflect retrospectively for a moment and see where we are, and then to project into the future briefly to see where we might go from here. The purpose of this dissertation was to try to determine the impact of a significant political event, as defined in the first chapter of this study, on individual behavior. While we have not determined any "truths" we did learn something about this question, at least as far as the case at hand is concerned, the American Presidential election of 1968. In the process we also learned something about the problems that block the road to meaningful work in this area. We are dealing here with the intangibles of political behavior - with motivations, attitudes, perceptions, drives, biases, and needs, with entire iceberg-like processes, only the tip of which is visible. The implications for the social scientist are staggering. The application of psychiatry to political science can hopefully fulfill the aspirations of those who back this approach - to unlock numerous doors presently closed to us. Such questions as the nature of prejudice, the psychological aspects of war, the meaning of the concept of community to the individual, the motivations and conflicts that go into decision-making, the role of misperceptions in the formulation of public policy, the

*See this study, chapter two, footnote four.

needs and impact of the individual political personality and what this means for society, the full meaning of social change, the learning of political attitudes, the relationship of family and societal variables to the structure of the individual's personality, the attractiveness or lack of it of ideologies, value systems, movements, parties, issues, candidates, elites, ideas, and of political participation itself, extreme, radical, or otherwise, on a plateau which lies beyond our ability at rational assessment are only a few of the multitude of areas where joint collaboration can not merely answer the ever-lingering questions but can open vistas of new questions as yet unasked.* But there is a disconcerting side as well. The implications of some of this research raise threatening questions about the model of the liberal-democratic man.** These too must be confronted. Yet, the entire field has inherent frustrations equal to its potential rewards. As Philip Converse said in relation to the study of one aspect of this vast area, belief systems:

Belief systems never surrendered easily to empirical study or quantification. Indeed, they have often served as primary exhibits for the doctrine that what is important to study cannot be measured and that what can be measured is not important to study.¹³

This is not to say that we should not attempt to better our measurement techniques, for it is only then that we can hope to design verifiable study methods, but by the same token we must never allow our methodological

*See chapter three of this study.

**See chapter two of this study.

¹³Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," Ideology and Discontent, David E. Apter, editor, (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 206.

limitations to stifle our imagination. Periodically, as do all men, social scientists lose the forest for the trees. If indeed, as Heinz Eulau so simply and yet so eloquently declares, "the root is man" and "the goal is man",¹⁴ then we cannot lose sight of the individual's dynamics while claiming to study behavior. If we do, we might easily fall into the trap of the cartoon character Linus who stated, "I love mankind... it's people I can't stand!!"¹⁵

One might argue, as does this writer, that we are currently living in a time of permanent crisis. To understand how we, as individuals, respond to these events of our times, on all levels, is of the highest priority. Our responses to public events often influence the future of society, which in turn has an impact on the individual and so forth. Therefore, in order to possibly break a vicious cycle, or maintain or reinforce a positive one, we must first understand the dynamics of this inter-relationship. To paraphrase an all too true remark: Mankind will never go out with a bang, but rather with a whimper. Lest we sit idly by concentrating on relative trivia while we slowly suffocate in our own ignorance, we must make an attack on the basic question of the operation of the dynamics which relate man the individual to the collective society our first order of business. This is the rationale underlying this study. Concern with man's reactions to crisis situations, and even the use of psychoanalytic data, let alone questionnaires and interviews, are

¹⁴Heinz Eulau, The Behavioral Persuasion in Politics, (New York: Random House, 1963).

¹⁵Charles M. Schulz, Go Fly a Kite, Charlie Brown, (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

not entirely new.* Being that we are encountering great difficulty in adapting the tools at our present disposal to our present needs, we will just have to do the best we can under the circumstances. The use of psychoanalytic data of specific patients contains a wealth of information about individuals. Yet, it requires the skills of a psychoanalyst to properly interpret them and the skills of the social scientist to properly delineate the significance of these findings in terms of the over-all concern just stated. Clearly, this demands further working out of differences in interests, orientations and techniques, between the two groups so that fruitful collaborative efforts can proceed. On this point there is little room for compromise as the esoteric knowledge of both is required.** At times, however, psychoanalytic information may yield little concrete results in terms of noticeable impact of a political event on an individual, as was the case here.*** Yet, we see in this study, that the more conventional use of a questionnaire and subsequent interviews produced clearer indications of impact.**** This, of course, does not mean that one method is superior to the other. In fact, a comparison of these two results leads one to speculate that perhaps the election in question had brought about very little reaction of

*See chapter one of this study.

**Witness, for example, the Eighth National Scientific meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Psychotherapy on the theme "Psychiatry and its Relationship to Political Behavior." Out of fourteen listed speakers, eleven were M.D.'s, two were Ph.D.'s, and one was an Ed.D. We must somehow break out of the restrictions of our own specialties and combine efforts. If no dialogue develops soon our alternative will be a modern tower of Babel.

***See chapter four of this study.

****See chapter five of this study.

a truly deep character,¹⁶ thus accounting for the fact that they registered more readily on a questionnaire that specifically tapped self-perceived responses than in the psychoanalytic session. We might well find the reverse, therefore, in response to a political event of a deeper significance, where the actual level of impact is unknown to the respondent and would only appear in a psychoanalytic session. Future comparative efforts are therefore needed. One could also posit that patients in psychoanalysis are too involved with themselves at that time to permit an outside occurrence to so influence them. We did witness some signs of this in chapter four. Yet, we also saw some potential signs of identification with political personalities and the like, as well. Only further probing of numerous different samples of individuals and of many different public events can start to provide the answers. At the same time, we must not rule out attempts at designing new techniques or combining or revising existing ones, in our quest for information on this entire concern for understanding the individual's behavior, politically or otherwise.¹⁷

An election was chosen as it is an event which provides a baseline for future research efforts. Yet, even here, it would be helpful to have a few more such endeavors undertaken before the worth of an election as a baseline for studying individual reactions to significant

¹⁶See Lewis Chester, Godfrey Hodgson, and Bruce Page, op. cit., pp. 834-835, wherein the authors state, "that for a large majority of the American people, the result of the election was a foregone disappointment, because none of the nominated candidates was their first choice. Between them an assassin's bullets and the nominating convention system had seen to that."

¹⁷See Robert E. Lane, Political Thinking and Consciousness, (Chicago: Markham, 1969), wherein the author develops the technique of "ideological self-analysis through student essays" as a means of probing the development of political attitudes.

political events, especially of a crisis nature, can be determined. Different Presidential elections, such as ones where the personalities of the candidates is an obvious factor (e.g. 1960 and 1964) should be analyzed. Perhaps even a local election with which there is great concern, such as recent Mayoralty races in New York and Cleveland, should be studied as well. This should be combined with efforts designed to probe reactions to events occurring far away geographically as well as near by, those which are perceived as threatening as well as those which are perceived as being beneficial, those which are sudden as well as those which are established in advance and those which take place over long periods of time, and so forth. Such work can serve to answer some of the questions, test some of the hypotheses, and validate, refute or modify some of the tendencies noted in this study. While accepting the responsibility for his own mistakes in this study, there is one trend noted by this writer which he sincerely hopes will not be proven false - that political, social, and behavioral scientists are indeed moving, however slowly, together with their colleagues in psychiatry, in the direction of meaningful joint efforts to answer some of these many pressing questions. Lest anyone fear that in so doing the identity of one's discipline might be lost, one can only conclude with the words of Sidney Verba:

... one might well ask: 'Is this political science?'
 My answer would be, 'I don't know. It depends on
 what you mean by political science. And though it
 matters if it is or not, it does not matter much.'¹⁸

¹⁸ Sidney Verba, Small Groups and Political Behavior, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 9.

10. Were you alone or with people when you heard the results of the election? (check one)

ALONE ___ WITH FRIENDS ___ WITH STRANGERS ___ WITH FAMILY ___
 WITH ACQUAINTANCES ___ OTHER _____

11. Approximately how long after the election results were made public did you hear the results? (check one)

ALMOST IMMEDIATELY ___ $\frac{1}{2}$ HOUR ___ ONE HOUR ___ TWO HOURS ___
 FIVE HOURS ___ ONE DAY ___ TWO DAYS OR MORE ___

12. What was your immediate reaction when you learned the results of the election? (consider your thoughts, emotional response, actions, etc. at that moment) (check one)

GENERALLY PLEASED ___ GENERALLY DISPLEASED ___
 NO PARTICULAR FEELING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER ___

13. If you had any other immediate reactions, please describe them.

14. What was your considered reaction, after you had time to reflect on the election results? (check one)

GENERALLY PLEASED ___ GENERALLY DISPLEASED ___
 NO PARTICULAR FEELING ONE WAY OR THE OTHER ___

15. Did you discuss your immediate reaction with anyone? (check one)

YES ___ NO ___

16. If yes, with whom? (e. g. wife, friend at work, boss, neighbor, etc.)

17. If yes, what was his or her response?

18. If no, why didn't you discuss it with anyone?

19. Can you recall any subsequent effect of the election on your personal life in the period immediately following the election or later? Please indicate for the following categories, as nearly as possible, when this occurred and the duration of the effects. Also please indicate, for each category, to what degree you feel it affected you, by checking the appropriate blank.

A) Appetite, digestion, elimination.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

B) Sex life.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

C) Sleep.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

D) Dreams.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

E) Consumption of alcohol, tobacco, tranquilizers, or other drugs and medicine.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

F) Physical health.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

G) Job performance.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

H) Interpersonal relations: marriage, relation with children, with friends, with employer or employees, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

I) Attitudes toward life: money, the future, happiness, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

J) Tension and/or anxiety, guilt feelings.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

20. Would you also indicate the affect upon you of the assassination of President John Kennedy.

A) Appetite, digestion, elimination.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

B) Sex Life.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

C) Sleep.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

D) Dreams.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

E) Consumption of alcohol, tobacco, tranquilizers, or other drugs and medicine.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

F) Physical health.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

G) Job performance.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

H) Interpersonal relations: marriage, relation with children, with friends, with employer or employees, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

I) Attitudes toward life: money, the future, happiness, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

J) Tension and/or anxiety, guilt feelings.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

21. Would you please indicate the affect upon you of the "Six-Day War" between the Arab states and Israel in June, 1967.

A) Appetite, digestion, elimination.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

B) Sex life.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

C) Sleep.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

D) Dreams.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

E) Consumption of alcohol, tobacco, tranquilizers, or other drugs and medicine.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

F) Physical health.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

G) Job performance.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

H) Interpersonal relations: marriage, relation with children, with friends, with employer or employees, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

I) Attitudes toward life: money, the future, happiness, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

J) Tension and/or anxiety, guilt feelings.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

22. Would you also indicate the affect upon you of the recent New York City school crisis revolving around the Ocean Hill-Brownsville dispute.

A) Appetite, digestion, elimination.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

B) Sex life.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

C) Sleep.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

D) Dreams.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

E) Consumption of alcohol, tobacco, tranquilizers, or other drugs and medicine.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

F) Physical health.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

G) Job performance;

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

H) Interpersonal relations: marriage, relation with children, with friends, with employer or employees, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

I) Attitudes toward life: money, the future, happiness, etc.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____

NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments:

J) Tension and/or anxiety, guilt feelings.

STRONGLY AFFECTED _____ MODERATELY AFFECTED _____ VERY LITTLE AFFECTED _____
 NO AFFECT _____ DON'T REMEMBER _____

Comments :

23. Have you ever consulted a psychotherapist or psychoanalyst? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____

24. If yes, how often did you consult him or her? (check one)

ONCE A WEEK _____ TWICE A WEEK _____ THREE TIMES A WEEK OR MORE _____

25. If yes, for how long did you consult him or her? (check one)

ONCE ONLY _____ ONE MONTH OR LESS _____ SIX MONTHS OR LESS _____

ONE YEAR OR LESS _____ FIVE YEARS OR LESS _____ MORE THAN FIVE YEARS _____

26. If yes, are you presently seeing a psychotherapist or psychoanalyst?
 (check one)

YES _____ NO _____

27. Please indicate your use of the following by checking the appropriate category:

A. Tobacco: FREQUENTLY _____ OCCASIONALLY _____ SELDOM _____ NEVER _____

B. Alcoholic beverages: FREQUENTLY _____ OCCASIONALLY _____ SELDOM _____ NEVER _____

C. Marijuana, hashish or similar drugs: FREQUENTLY _____ OCCASIONALLY _____

SELDOM _____ NEVER _____

D. LSD, mescaline or other hallucinagin: FREQUENTLY _____ OCCASIONALLY _____

SELDOM _____ NEVER _____

E. Other drug or stimulant: (indicate name) FREQUENTLY _____ OCCASIONALLY _____

SELDOM _____ NEVER _____

28. Have you ever had a premonition that something was going to happen which later proved to be correct? (such as political, natural or personal events) (check one)

YES _____ NO _____

29. If yes, please describe.

30. Have you ever had a premonition that something was going to happen which later proved to be incorrect? (such as political, natural or personal events) (check one)

YES _____ NO _____

31. If yes, please describe.

32. Have you ever wanted to consult a psychotherapist or psychoanalyst? (check one)

YES _____ NO _____

Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the following statements by placing a check in the appropriate category. If you agree or disagree strongly, place two checks, and should you agree or disagree very strongly, place three checks in the appropriate category.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 33. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 34. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 35. Science has its place, but there are important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 36. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 37. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 38. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |
| 39. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people. | AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____ |

40. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
41. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
42. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
43. An insult to our honor should always be punished.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
44. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
45. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
46. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
47. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude and respect for his parents.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
48. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
49. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
50. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
51. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
52. Most people don't realize how much of our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
53. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____
54. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.
- AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____

55. Familiarity breeds contempt. AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____

56. The businessman and manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and professor. AGREE _____
DISAGREE _____

Would you please supply the following personal data:

57. Birthday: Month _____ Day _____ Year _____

58. Sex (check one) MALE _____ FEMALE _____

59. Approximate annual income: (circle one)

\$2,000 or less	\$2,000-5,000	\$5,000-8,000	\$8,000-10,000	
10,000-15,000	15,000-20,000	20,000-40,000	40,000-80,000	over \$80,000

60. Education: (circle degree or highest grade completed)

Grade 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Degree	BACHELOR'S			MASTER'S			Ph.D.		M.D.		OTHER _____				

61. Religion: _____

62. Race or ethnic origin: _____

63. Place of origin: _____

64. Do you attend religious services? (circle one)

REGULARLY OCCASIONALLY RARELY NEVER

65. Marital status: (circle one)

NEVER MARRIED DIVORCED SEPARATED REMARRIED

MARRIED TO FIRST SPOUSE WIDOW OR WIDOWER

66. Would you be willing to be interviewed? (check one) YES _____ NO _____

If you would be willing to be interviewed in greater detail concerning your answers to this questionnaire please list your name, address and telephone number below. If not, please do not sign this questionnaire.

THANK YOU.

This is the questionnaire that was employed in New York. The only difference appearing on the California version is in question 22, which read as follows:

WOULD YOU ALSO INDICATE THE AFFECT UPON YOU OF THE "STUDENT
REVOLUTION."

This change was done in order to make that particular question more relevant for the West Coast residents and thus to make comparison with the New York respondents more meaningful.

APPENDIX B

TABLES BASED ON THE QUESTIONNAIRE

#1
General Population

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A*	5	13	11	106	2
B	2	0	9	126	0
C	9	28	13	92	9
D	5	5	5	111	12
E	4	7	13	117	0
F	0	12	4	123	1
G	4	21	26	92	0
H	2	23	25	91	0
I	13	51	24	50	3
J	10	27	29	73	1

*Throughout these charts, the letters A through J shall be used to correspond to the sub-parts of question 19. The categories on top of the chart refer to the degree of affect.

2

New York Area

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	10	6	55	1
B	2	0	5	65	0
C	0	18	7	44	0
D	3	4	4	55	7
E	1	6	5	63	0
F	0	6	3	66	0
G	3	12	15	48	0
H	1	11	12	52	0
I	5	27	13	29	2
J	4	18	10	44	0

2

Los Angeles Area

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No Affect	Don't remember
A	2	3	8	51	1
B	0	0	4	61	0
C	1	10	6	48	0
D	2	1	1	56	5
E	3	1	8	54	0
F	0	6	1	57	1
G	1	9	11	44	0
H	1	12	13	39	0
I	0	24	11	21	1
J	6	9	19	29	1

3

Voters

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	7	11	85	2
B	2	0	7	96	0
C	5	18	8	78	0
D	3	2	5	89	7
E	4	3	9	91	0
F	0	8	4	98	1
G	0	17	20	73	0
H	0	20	18	71	0
I	9	36	19	44	1
J	6	18	23	61	0

3

Non-voters

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	5	3	22	0
B	0	0	2	30	0
C	4	8	6	14	0
D	2	3	0	22	5
E	0	4	3	25	0
F	0	2	0	30	0
G	3	5	6	17	0
H	1	3	7	21	0
I	3	16	5	7	1
J	4	9	6	12	1

4

Democrats

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	6	6	50	1
B	1	0	6	57	0
C	3	13	5	46	0
D	3	1	2	55	4
E	2	3	8	53	0
F	0	7	0	58	1
G	1	14	12	41	0
H	0	15	9	42	0
I	8	25	11	22	0
J	8	12	12	34	0

4

Republicans

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	1	2	12	1
B	0	0	1	15	0
C	2	1	3	10	0
D	0	1	1	13	0
E	1	1	1	13	0
F	0	1	2	13	0
G	0	1	4	11	0
H	0	1	7	8	0
I	1	5	4	6	0
J	1	2	4	9	9

4

Liberals

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	0	1	9	0
B	0	0	0	9	0
C	0	1	1	8	0
D	0	0	0	8	1
E	0	0	0	9	0
F	0	0	1	9	0
G	0	1	2	7	0
H	0	1	1	8	0
I	0	2	1	7	0
J	0	3	2	3	0

4

Independents*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	2	1	13	0
B	1	0	1	13	1
C	0	3	0	12	0
D	0	0	1	13	1
E	0	0	2	12	0
F	0	0	1	14	0
G	0	2	2	12	0
H	0	1	3	12	0
I	0	6	2	7	1
J	0	4	2	10	0

*One respondent listed himself as American Independent and one considered his party affiliation as "other." Neither of these two respondents indicated any affect in any of the ten categories. A third respondent listed his party as being Conservative. This respondent did not remember if the election had any impact on his dreams (category D), and listed a moderate affect under interpersonal relations (category H). All other categories were listed as no affect.

4A

Crossed Party Lines*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	1	1	4	0
B	0	0	1	5	0
C	1	0	2	3	0
D	0	0	0	5	0
E	0	1	0	5	0
F	0	0	1	5	0
G	0	0	2	4	0
H	0	0	2	4	0
I	0	2	1	2	0
J	0	0	2	4	0

*It should be remembered that the size of this sample is too small to be of any significant value in terms of comparative analysis. It is being presented for general interest only.

5

Mumphrey Voters

	Strongly	Foderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	5	9	66	1
B	2	0	5	74	0
C	4	16	4	61	0
D	3	1	3	69	6
E	2	3	7	71	0
F	0	7	3	74	1
G	0	15	17	54	0
H	0	16	14	55	0
I	7	31	16	30	1
J	5	16	19	44	0

5

Nixon Voters*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	2	1	13	1
B	0	0	2	15	0
C	1	1	3	12	0
D	0	1	1	14	1
E	1	0	2	14	0
F	0	1	1	15	0
G	0	1	2	14	0
H	0	2	5	10	0
I	1	3	2	10	0
J	1	2	2	12	0

*One respondent voted for Wallace and two for Gregory. In all three of these cases no affect was noted in any category.

6

Followed the Campaign Intensively

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	10	11	69	1
B	0	0	5	87	0
C	7	23	8	57	0
D	4	5	3	70	9
E	4	6	10	73	0
F	0	8	2	84	1
G	3	20	17	55	0
H	1	18	18	58	0
I	10	40	17	27	2
J	8	22	9	46	1

6

Followed the Campaign Slightly*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	3	3	36	1
B	2	0	4	38	0
C	1	4	5	35	0
D	1	0	2	38	3
E	0	1	2	42	0
F	0	2	2	41	0
G	0	2	3	35	0
H	0	5	6	34	0
I	2	12	6	24	0
J	2	6	10	26	0

*No-one answered "not at all" in response to question "8.

#7

Immediate and Considered Reactions the Same

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	12	11	88	2
B	2	0	7	104	0
C	7	23	10	76	0
D	3	5	4	91	11
E	4	5	11	96	0
F	0	9	2	103	1
G	2	22	19	80	0
H	1	21	18	75	0
I	10	46	17	42	1
J	9	24	23	58	1

7

Immediate and Considered Reactions not the Same

	Strongly	moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	0	3	16	0
B	0	0	1	18	0
C	2	3	2	12	0
D	2	0	1	15	1
E	0	2	1	16	0
F	0	1	2	17	0
G	1	1	5	14	0
H	0	2	4	14	0
I	1	5	6	8	1
J	0	4	3	13	0

7A

Where Reactions were the Same

Discussed with others 94
 Did not discuss 24

Others agreed 79
 Others did not agree 14

First heard: Radio 42, TV 57, newspapers 4, friends 9
 other 6.

Heard results: Alone 34, with friends 21, strangers 2, family 37,
 acquaintances 14, other 7.

Learned: almost immediately 74, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour 12, one hour 10,
 two hours 5, five hours 13, one day 2, two days or more 0.

Where Reactions Differed

Discussed with others 14
 Did not discuss 5

Others agreed 10
 Others did not agree 4

First heard: Radio 9, TV 8, newspapers 0, friends 1,
 other 1

Heard results: Alone 4, with friends 5, strangers 0,
 family 6, acquaintances 2, other 2.

Learned: almost immediately 14, $\frac{1}{2}$ hour 1, one hour 2,
 two hours 0, five hours 1, one day 1,
 two days or more 0.

8

Saw, Were Seeing, or Wished to See
a Psychoanalyst or Psychotherapist

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No Affect	Don't remember
A	3	9	9	40	1
B	2	0	6	52	0
C	5	15	7	36	0
D	5	2	3	48	4
E	2	5	8	48	0
F	0	6	3	53	1
G	3	11	13	32	0
H	1	12	13	37	0
I	6	27	13	18	0
J	7	16	11	16	0

8

No Connection with Psychotherapist or Analyst

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	4	5	64	1
B	0	0	3	72	0
C	4	12	6	54	0
D	0	3	1	62	8
E	2	2	3	67	0
F	0	4	1	72	0
G	0	8	12	57	0
H	0	11	12	53	0
I	6	24	12	32	2
J	3	11	11	47	1

9

Had Premonitions

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	6	7	55	2
B	0	0	5	68	0
C	6	15	8	46	0
D	2	5	0	56	8
E	4	4	5	60	0
F	0	7	2	64	1
G	1	16	16	41	0
H	1	17	14	42	0
I	7	35	11	22	0
J	5	19	13	37	0

9

Did not have Premonitions

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	6	7	50	0
B	2	0	4	56	0
C	3	12	4	45	0
D	3	0	4	54	4
E	0	2	6	56	0
F	0	3	2	60	0
G	2	6	9	48	0
H	0	6	11	48	0
I	5	17	13	27	2
J	5	7	16	35	1

10

Occasional or Frequent User of Either
Tobacco, Alcohol or Drugs

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	11	10	68	0
B	2	0	7	82	0
C	9	17	10	55	0
D	4	1	2	76	7
E	4	7	9	73	0
F	0	8	3	83	0
G	3	18	15	57	0
H	1	19	18	56	0
I	8	33	13	37	1
J	6	18	15	54	1

10

Seldom or Never Uses Tobacco, Alcohol, or Drugs

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	no affect	Don't remember
A	1	2	4	37	2
B	0	0	2	43	0
C	0	9	5	33	0
D	1	3	2	35	5
E	0	0	2	44	0
F	0	2	1	42	1
G	0	4	11	31	0
H	0	4	7	35	0
I	4	16	11	12	1
J	4	9	13	19	0

11

Adorno F-scale Score 2

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	2	2	16	1
B	0	0	1	21	0
C	1	4	0	17	0
D	1	1	0	18	2
E	1	0	1	20	0
F	0	3	0	18	0
G	2	4	1	15	0
H	0	2	3	17	0
I	1	10	3	8	0
J	2	3	2	15	0

11

Adorno F-scale Score 3

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	6	7	56	0
B	1	0	4	66	0
C	3	11	8	46	0
D	1	4	1	61	3
E	1	4	6	60	0
F	0	2	3	66	0
G	1	11	16	43	0
H	0	13	12	46	0
I	7	30	14	20	0
J	6	15	17	32	0

11

Adorno F-scale Score 4*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	4	4	31	1
B	1	0	2	36	0
C	5	9	3	26	0
D	2	0	3	29	7
E	2	3	3	33	0
F	0	5	1	37	0
G	0	7	7	29	0
H	1	8	8	26	0
I	4	12	5	21	2
J	2	9	7	24	1

* Four respondents fell into the zone for Adorno F-scale score 5. They are not being presented here as their number is too small. The pattern for these four respondents indicated no particular new information or tendency.

12

Age Under 30

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	10	6	59	1
B	1	0	2	70	0
C	5	18	6	44	0
D	2	5	1	57	8
E	3	4	6	59	0
F	0	5	0	68	0
G	3	13	13	43	0
H	1	13	13	45	0
I	10	26	15	31	1
J	8	14	16	33	1

12

Age 30-50 Years

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	1	6	28	0
B	0	0	4	29	0
C	0	5	4	25	0
D	1	0	1	30	3
E	0	0	3	30	0
F	0	2	2	30	1
G	0	4	8	23	0
H	0	7	5	23	0
I	1	15	7	13	1
J	1	8	5	21	0

12

Age Over 50

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	2	2	20	1
B	1	0	2	23	0
C	4	4	2	19	0
D	2	0	2	20	1
E	0	2	3	22	0
F	0	3	2	23	0
G	0	5	5	18	0
H	0	2	5	21	0
I	1	7	3	17	0
J	1	5	4	18	0

13

Men

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	5	8	47	0
B	1	0	3	59	0
C	3	16	4	40	0
D	1	3	3	50	6
E	3	3	5	52	0
F	0	4	2	57	0
G	1	11	10	42	0
H	0	9	14	40	0
I	4	25	10	23	1
J	2	10	16	33	1

13

Women

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	7	6	52	2
B	1	0	6	59	0
C	4	11	9	46	0
D	4	2	1	54	6
E	0	4	5	59	0
F	0	5	2	62	1
G	2	10	15	43	0
H	1	12	9	48	0
I	5	27	13	24	1
J	6	15	10	39	0

14

Income Under \$5,000 per Year

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	5	5	38	0
B	1	0	1	47	0
C	2	9	6	33	0
D	0	3	1	42	4
E	2	2	3	42	0
F	0	3	0	47	0
G	1	8	7	33	0
H	1	9	10	30	0
I	7	21	9	12	1
J	7	9	14	19	1

14

Income \$5,000 to \$15,000 per Year

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	6	8	44	2
B	1	0	5	52	0
C	6	13	6	38	0
D	3	2	2	47	6
E	2	4	5	50	0
F	0	6	3	53	1
G	1	11	17	35	0
H	0	11	11	41	0
I	4	21	12	26	1
J	3	14	9	37	0

11:

Income Over \$15,000 and Under \$40,000 per Year*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	1	0	17	0
B	0	0	1	18	0
C	0	2	0	17	0
D	1	0	0	17	1
E	0	1	2	16	0
F	0	0	0	19	0
G	0	2	1	15	0
H	0	2	3	14	0
I	0	7	3	9	0
J	0	3	4	12	0

*Four respondents had incomes over \$40,000 per year. They have been omitted as a result of the small number. Their pattern indicates no particular new information or tendencies.

15

Education: High School or Less

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	3	0	12	1
B	1	0	2	13	0
C	2	3	3	11	0
D	2	0	1	14	1
E	0	1	1	17	0
F	0	3	0	16	0
G	0	4	4	12	0
H	0	2	3	14	0
I	1	4	5	9	0
J	1	3	4	11	0

114

Education: Some College or Bachelor's

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	7	8	57	1
B	1	0	3	70	0
C	6	16	5	48	0
D	2	4	1	59	8
E	4	3	5	62	0
F	0	7	0	68	0
G	3	14	11	45	0
H	1	15	14	45	0
I	9	31	13	21	1
J	8	14	17	34	1

15

Education: Graduate Degree

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	3	6	35	0
B	0	0	4	40	0
C	1	8	5	30	0
D	1	1	2	37	2
E	0	3	5	36	0
F	0	0	4	39	1
G	0	4	11	29	0
H	0	6	8	30	0
I	2	17	6	19	0
J	1	9	7	27	0

16

Native Born

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	10	11	85	2
B	1	0	8	102	0
C	6	23	13	72	0
D	4	5	3	83	9
E	2	7	10	93	0
F	0	8	4	99	1
G	3	18	21	70	0
H	1	17	23	71	0
I	9	13	22	28	0
J	9	21	27	53	0

16

Foreign Born

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	2	3	12	0
B	0	0	1	14	0
C	2	3	0	12	0
D	1	0	1	13	2
E	0	0	1	15	0
F	0	2	0	16	0
G	0	3	4	11	0
H	0	5	1	12	0
I	2	7	0	7	2
J	1	6	0	10	1

17
Blacks*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	1	1	4	0
B	0	0	1	5	0
C	0	0	1	4	0
D	1	0	0	5	0
E	0	0	1	5	0
F	0	0	0	5	1
G	0	2	1	3	0
H	0	1	1	4	0
I	1	1	1	3	0
J	1	0	1	4	0

*There were only six Black respondents. While this chart is relatively insignificant for purposes of comparative analysis, it might be contrasted to chart #1 (general population) purely out of general interest.

18

Protestants

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	4	4	17	1
B	0	0	5	21	0
C	0	3	5	17	0
D	1	0	1	22	2
E	0	1	4	21	0
F	0	2	1	22	1
G	1	3	7	15	0
H	0	4	8	14	0
I	3	7	4	12	0
J	4	4	5	13	0

18

Catholics

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	2	1	22	0
B	0	0	0	25	0
C	2	4	2	17	0
D	0	0	0	22	3
E	3	2	1	19	0
F	0	2	0	23	0
G	0	3	3	18	0
H	1	6	3	15	0
I	4	8	4	9	0
J	1	4	7	13	0

18

Jews

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	5	5	4	42	1
B	2	0	2	50	0
C	5	13	4	37	0
D	3	5	2	41	4
E	1	1	4	50	0
F	0	4	1	53	0
G	1	11	11	36	0
H	0	11	8	39	0
I	4	25	11	19	1
J	3	14	10	31	0

18

Agnostics and "none"

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	0	2	18	0
B	0	0	0	19	0
C	1	1	3	15	0
D	0	0	0	14	3
E	0	1	2	15	0
F	0	0	2	17	0
G	0	2	4	13	0
H	0	1	4	15	0
I	1	9	3	6	0
J	2	3	5	8	0

18A

Attends Religious Services on an Occasional
or Regular Basis

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	4	6	41	1
B	0	0	6	45	0
C	4	10	7	33	0
D	1	1	4	41	5
E	3	2	5	42	0
F	0	5	2	46	1
G	1	7	11	34	0
H	1	12	10	31	0
I	5	21	10	16	1
J	3	11	12	29	0

18A

Rarely or Never Attends Religious Services

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	9	7	60	1
B	2	0	3	74	0
C	5	15	7	54	0
D	4	4	0	65	7
E	1	5	6	69	0
F	0	5	2	74	0
G	2	15	12	52	0
H	0	11	15	55	0
I	7	30	12	32	0
J	7	16	16	41	0

19

Never Married

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	8	5	47	1
B	1	0	2	60	0
C	4	16	5	39	0
D	2	4	1	49	8
E	3	4	5	52	0
F	0	5	0	60	0
G	3	12	10	39	0
H	1	9	13	42	0
I	6	26	13	20	1
J	7	15	15	27	0

19

Married or Remarried

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	0	3	6	45	1
B	0	0	6	49	0
C	2	9	6	30	0
D	1	1	1	48	3
E	1	1	4	48	0
F	0	3	2	49	1
G	0	8	9	38	0
H	0	13	6	34	0
I	5	19	9	21	0
J	2	11	9	33	0

19

Divorced, Separated, Widow or Widower

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	2	2	2	7	0
B	1	0	1	9	0
C	3	2	0	8	0
D	2	0	2	8	0
E	0	2	2	9	0
F	0	2	2	9	0
G	0	3	3	7	0
H	0	2	3	8	0
I	1	6	0	6	0
J	1	8	2	8	0

20

Willing to be Interviewed*

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	1	7	8	34	2
B	0	0	5	47	0
C	3	11	7	31	0
D	3	2	1	39	7
E	3	3	7	39	0
F	0	5	1	45	1
G	2	10	8	31	0
H	1	9	12	30	0
I	6	20	10	16	0
J	8	12	13	18	0

*This group includes those who were actually interviewed, those who volunteered to be interviewed but could not subsequently be located, and those who answered "yes" to question #66 but did not leave their addresses, names, or telephone numbers.

20

Not Willing to be Interviewed

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	4	6	4	64	0
B	2	0	3	70	0
C	6	11	5	53	0
D	2	3	2	65	4
E	1	4	3	68	0
F	0	5	2	72	0
G	1	13	13	52	0
H	0	15	11	53	0
I	6	30	10	31	1
J	2	15	12	51	0

21A

Reaction to the Assassination of President Kennedy
 General Population

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	52	29	16	33	14
B	5	7	9	91	24
C	27	37	26	39	14
D	12	10	15	67	40
E	8	13	8	96	13
F	3	14	13	103	11
G	21	45	20	47	7
H	14	41	23	56	9
I	30	50	17	33	8
J	23	42	21	44	8

21B

Reaction to the Arab-Israel War of 1967
General Population

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	16	21	16	86	5
B	2	3	5	119	9
C	8	14	20	92	8
D	5	3	11	110	17
E	2	8	10	121	2
F	1	3	10	124	4
G	8	8	21	98	6
H	8	21	29	79	5
I	12	21	28	77	4
J	21	38	18	64	0

#22A

California Reaction to "Student Revolution"

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	3	3	15	42	1
B	1	1	7	53	1
C	1	2	7	54	0
D	0	3	5	56	0
E	1	2	3	57	0
F	0	0	4	60	0
G	0	9	10	45	0
H	0	21	15	27	1
I	2	33	12	26	0
J	2	18	16	25	2

22B

New York Reaction to Ocean Hill-Brownsville
School Dispute

	Strongly	Moderately	Very little	No affect	Don't remember
A	10	7	6	53	1
B	1	2	3	63	2
C	4	5	6	60	1
D	2	1	3	68	2
E	3	1	6	63	1
F	3	1	3	66	1
G	3	3	8	59	1
H	8	13	12	40	1
I	10	10	16	36	1
J	11	11	14	36	0