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AN ANALYSIS OF IMAGES, ISSUES, AND PRESENTATIONAL METHODS
OF TELEVISED POLITICAL SPOT ADVERTISEMENTS IN 1980'S
AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

The Ohio State University

PH.D.

1981

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AN ANALYSIS OF IMAGES, ISSUES, AND PRESENTATIONAL METHODS OF
TELEVISED POLITICAL SPOT ADVERTISEMENTS IN 1980's
AMERICAN PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARIES

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
The Ohio State University

By

Leonard Shyles, B.A., M.S.

* * * * *

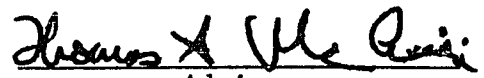
The Ohio State University

1981

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Studies in New Technologies. Professor Joseph M. Foley

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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate and describe empirically (via quantitative content analysis) the content of 30 and 60 second televised spot advertisements for the 1980 American Presidential primaries in terms of their candidate images, campaign issues, and selected methods of presentation. The political communication literature has convincingly documented dramatic increases in the proportion of campaign costs devoted to political spots, thus highlighting their increasingly important role in American politics. The literature has also reported the conventional wisdom and intuitive impressions of campaign workers who assert that some presentational devices are better suited to image creation of the candidate while other presentational devices are better suited to underscoring campaign issue dimensions. Past communication literature, however, has not investigated empirically these intuitive impressions concerning presentational devices and their suitability to images and issues. The present research provided such an investigation of the presentational devices thought to be associated with the semantic image and issue material of political spot messages. The present study described the content of political commercials by candidates and parties, and described regularities in its structure which related the semantic images and issues used in the advertisements to the presentational devices used. In this study, the term "semantic" was used in

conjunction with the term "image" and "issue" because only textual (verbal) references to candidate images and campaign issues were included.

CHAPTER I

GROWTH AND USE OF POLITICAL ADVERTISEMENTS

The use of televised political spot advertisements in presidential politics has proliferated since their debut in the 1952 races, spreading to the early primaries and even caucuses in the 1980 campaign, thus broadening their application significantly from the days before television was considered basic to politics. Pragmatic arguments in favor of using spot announcements in political campaigns have been that spots are a practical application from the lessons of repetition research in brand-name advertising, are a low cost-per-thousand purchase, could reach undecideds and non-supporters rather than only those voters already in favor of the candidate, and permit a modular approach to regional and statewide campaigning, especially in critical, undecided areas (Ogden and Peterson, 1968, pp. 192-3; Patterson and McClure, 1973, pp. 7-8; Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, pp. 2, 15).

Broadcasting magazine reported that some candidates running for the presidential nomination of 1980 have, in the Iowa caucuses alone, purchased time in unprecedented amounts (Jan. 14, 1980, p. 27).

Howard Baker, George Bush, and John Connally, for example, were reported to have spent \$100,000, \$30,000, and \$119,000, respectively, just for the Iowa caucus, an event prior to the New Hampshire primary, the first of 37 state primaries conducted in 1980.

The expanded use of short spot announcements within the spectrum of political broadcasting has been evidenced by newspaper and trade

journal reports as well as by full-blown studies (Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, pp. 7-9). The authors of Voter's Time, a report on campaign costs, specifically noted the ". . . tremendous growth in the popularity of 'spots'. . ." and attribute such growth to two factors: "They enable a candidate to reach a large number of viewers at a relatively low cost, . . . and they allow him to address people he could not reach by any other means" (Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, p. 15). Specifically, it was the finding of these authors that political candidates during 1968 spent "more than three-quarters of their total television budgets on 'spots,' amounting to twice that spent by candidates in 1964 for the same purpose (Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, p. 16). They added that "expenditures for all other television time in the 1968 . . . campaign changed hardly at all from the 1964 level" (p. 16). This information was in agreement with the Federal Communication Commission's Survey of Political Broadcasting for the primary and general election campaigns of 1968, which reported that:

The trend towards purchasing commercial spot announcements continues. In 1968, of the \$49.3 million political charges by radio and TV stations, only 9% was for program time and 91% was for spot announcements. . . . (In 1964, 81% of the \$30.4 million station charges was for spot announcements.) More than five million political announcements were broadcast by the radio and TV stations in 1968 (FCC, 1968, p. 2).

Thus, it can be reasoned that, during the 1960's, at least, a shift toward greater use of short spot announcements occurred.

In support of this trend over a twelve-year period, was a series of quadrennial financial election studies which chronicled campaign expenditures in presidential politics and other levels of government

(Alexander, 1966, 1971, 1976). In his 1972 study of campaign financing, Herbert Alexander explained how the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971:

. . . affected broadcasting in several significant ways. . . . First, the law limited the amounts candidates for federal offices could spend on . . . television . . . to ten-cents times the voting-age population of the geographical unit covered by the election, or \$50,000, whichever was greater. Second, it restricted candidates to spend no more than 60% of their media expenditures on broadcast advertising (1976, p. 318).

Yet even with the artificial, legal, non-economic federal ceiling placed on broadcasting practices in the 1972 election, ". . . presidential and vice-presidential candidates . . . spent slightly more for announcement time than for program time: \$2.5 million for announcements and \$2.4 million for programs. This differed from 1968 when \$4.6 million was spent on program time and \$4.2 million on announcement time. On local stations . . . over three times as much was spent on announcement time as on program time" (Alexander, 1976, p. 333). Furthermore, Alexander observed that on non-network television, for primaries and general elections candidates at all levels spent \$29 million on announcements and \$3.2 million for program time, a ratio of nine to one, as compared to six to one in 1968" (1976 , p. 335). Thus the trend toward greater use of short spot announcements appeared to have continued into the decade of the seventies.

The primary campaigns for president in 1980 have accented the trend toward increased use of spot advertisements. ABC television network news anchorman Frank Reynolds has reported that the 1980

primaries were the most expensive in history (ABC News, July 13, 1980). Jon Margolis, newswriter for the Chicago Tribune reported that spot advertisement expenditures for the Iowa precinct caucuses prior to any of the 37 primaries scheduled had already cost seven of the nine candidates over \$300,000 (Chicago Tribune, Jan. 20, 1980, 1:6). Perhaps the most significant expenditure of the 1980 primaries was the investment by former Governor John B. Connally of over \$10 million (New York Times, Feb. 24, 1980, 4:2), at least one-quarter of which was estimated to have gone for spot announcements. By April, the New York Times had reported that "John B. Connally raised and spent \$11 million, but had won only one delegate by the time he quit the presidential race. The ambitious advertising campaign began with spots . . . about the economy and national defense . . . [but] soon gave way to folksy stuff. . ." (April 6, 1980, 4:4E).

During the years of modern election campaigning, the televised spot political announcement has overtaken program time-buys and all other investments as the campaign organizations' single largest broadcasting expense. This has been due in part to the marathon length of the primary schedule unique to 1980 (New York Times, June 15, 1980, 1:15) as well as to increased production costs due to inflation.

Value of Political Advertisements and Emergence of the Image/Issue Controversy

In spite of their increased use by candidates and their organizations, the value and impact of televised political spot advertisements has been largely unknown. Many aspects of televised political spot advertisements have been the subject of sustained debate: Has the

electorate been informed by 30 and 60 second spot announcements? Have these tightly structured mini-extravaganzas presented candidates so that the electorate can better judge issue positions and candidates' personal qualities to lead? As the Twentieth Century Fund Commission has asked:

Specifically, does a series of short 'spot' announcements contribute as much to the voter's knowledge of the issues and of the candidates as longer programs where issues are discussed and candidates are exposed to view? The answer is almost certainly no. (Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, p. 2).

Debate over the possibility that political spot advertisements do not contain significant issue information has stemmed from the ideological view that the democratic process depends on an informed electorate:

. . . the democratic process requires open forums for political ideas and the widest possible dissemination of information. . . [F]ostering the development of commercial-like campaign spots rather than rational political discussions may in time subvert the democratic process. . . (Minow, Burch, et al., 1969, p. 17).

Patterson and McClure further described the controversy over the alleged value of political spots:

. . . conflicting claims are made about the impact of televised political spots. Critics contend that televised ads fail to provide the voters meaningful information, that they degrade the electoral process by selling candidates as if they were soap, that they emphasize image-making while ignoring political issues. . . (1973, p. 7) .

Writers who have agreed that televised political spots have been preoccupied with images at the expense of issues have included newswriters and observers as well as those whose impressions have been formed by their experience as campaign workers. Devlin, and O'Keefe and Sheinkopf recount the emergence of the "TV candidate" as the product of "image-merchants and media specialists" (Devlin, 1973,

p. 18; O'Keefe and Sheinkopf, 1974, p. 403). As early as 1958, New York Times columnist James Reston expressed the image-issue controversy:

Instead of the old-fashioned emphasis on what a candidate thinks, or what he says, the emphasis now seems to be on how he looks, especially on television, and on what kind of personality he has (Rubin, 1967, p. 32).

In 1968, Robert MacNeil criticized political commercials as featuring image at the expense of issue:

. . . [Political commercials] are intended to influence us vividly and emotionally in as short a time as possible. They imply that the ingredients of a political decision can be encapsulated like the ingredients of any trivial commercial decision. They reduce the complexities of public life to a formula cunningly devised to cure everything. . . . They are so indefensible by any criterion of public service that politicians do not even pretend otherwise (MacNeil, 1968, p. 194).

Joseph Napolitan, campaign worker for over fifteen years when he wrote his impressions of modern election planning, viewed the "personality and personal characteristics of the candidate" as "much more important than his stand on specific issues . . ." (Napolitan, 1972, p. 154), and has not framed his views on image preferences or emphases in the media as pejoratively as others.

Still other writers have removed the pejorative connotation totally, and have evaluated image material concerning candidates positively, claiming that information about the image of the candidate has been perhaps more important for the electorate to have than issue information. Ogden and Peterson, for example, have argued that:

The presidential candidate must convince the American people that he can lead the nation. He must establish confidence in his competence, honesty, judgment and maturity. He must demonstrate warmth,

human understanding, and concern about people. . . .
 His qualities as a person and as a leader are far
 more important on the whole than are the stands
 he takes on particular issues. . ." (Ogden and
 Peterson, 1968, p. 16).

Finally, Comstock, et al. concluded that television has continued to play an ever-increasing role as informant to the electorate with regard to shaping "images and views on issues, both of which have probably increased in their importance in voter decision-making" (Comstock, et al., 1978, p. 362). Thus, the spectrum of views regarding the content and value of political spots, and the importance of their image and issue content has been quite broad and has constituted a controversial debate among scholars, campaign workers, and other observers.

Ambiguity in the Image/Issue Controversy

Resolving the image-issue controversy as it has come to be called (see, for example, Freeman, 1980), has been difficult, among other reasons, because the "image" concept is used in two different but legitimate ways in the literature.

"Image" as Graphic Representation

The term "image" has been used in one sense to mean the visual likeness of the candidate. Here, "image" has been close to the meaning of "image" when used in the field of photography; "image" in this sense has been similar to a visual impression, a graphic representation.

Boorstin (1972) used this sense of "image" (though not exclusively throughout his writing) when he talked of the Graphic Revolution:

. . . Man's ability to make, preserve, transmit,
 and disseminate precise images--of print, of men

and landscapes, and events, of the voices of men and mobs, now grew at a fantastic pace. . . . Still more revolutionary were the new techniques for making direct images of nature (p. 13).

In this passage, Boorstin credited the Graphic Revolution with making it possible for images to be multiplied and vivified by machines which created accurate replicas of face, form, and voice and with disseminating them as well. The term "image" in the graphic sense, then, has had obvious application to televised political spot advertisements in modern political campaigns in America.

Wyckoff (1968) also used "image" in this graphic sense to refer to the distinction between straight-talk-to-the-camera presentations of the candidate and the more stimulating production techniques including the use of still pictures, fast cutting, and the use of music. In Wyckoff's view, the former, more static treatment, the less "image," while the latter, more dazzling production techniques featured more image material. In this use of the term, "image" has been clearly linked to selected methods of presentation used by the candidate's production team.

"Image" as Candidate's Character

Another sense of "image," quite different from "image" as graphic presentation, has been the wholly legitimate usage of the term to refer to the character attributes of the candidate. From the standpoint of political communication, this use of "image" may be likened to a loose modern construction of Aristotle's "ethos" concept or to the "source credibility" of the candidate. More precisely, the "image" of a candidate in this sense has referred to the candidate's received or projected

cluster of personality traits which has constituted the perceived attributes of the candidate's character, role, and personality.

The political communication literature pertinent to "image" as "candidate's character" has contained research concluding that "trustworthiness is a factor common to the image of all candidates" (Philport and Balon, 1975, p. 184). In assessing political images (character attributes of candidates), semantic instruments (including the semantic differential and Q-sort lists, for example) have often been used to tap the personality traits perceived by respondents. The terms found most often in addition to trustworthiness have been terms like the following: honest, experienced, intelligent, wise, strong, active, serious, true, and optimistic (Kraus, 1962, pp. 262, 276, 295).

Douglas' (1972) study of student perceptions of political figures factor analyzed responses to seventy-four pairs of semantic differential items. Factors that emerged were named trust, achievement, drive, credence, among others (p. 10). Other scholars have used adjective lists to try to assess the images of political candidates, and the image terms used included, among others, mature, fair, hardworking, active (Nimmo and Savage, 1976, p. 66).

In past image research utilizing semantic categorization of candidates to describe personal character traits, there have been regularities discovered in the attribution of such personality traits to candidates. Some scholars have argued, however, that significant variation has occurred pertaining to image traits. Some had believed the variation was caused by using different sets of attribute statements or occurred as a result of situational or topical variations (Nimmo and Savage, 1976, p. 62; Liska, 1978, p. 85; Cronkhite and Liska, 1976,

pp. 91-107). However, by and large, image attributes, at least for political candidates, appear to have clustered around such adjectives or constructs as honest, intelligent, strong, trustworthy, friendly, fair, ethical, and the like.

Suci's semantic differentiation of candidate images in the 1952 presidential campaign (Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum, 1971, pp. 104-124), has been judged to have "considerable subsequent validation" in the realm of candidates and their images (Nimmo and Savage, 1976, pp. 60-61) with other, more recent studies reflecting images of political candidates through factors named evaluative, assertive, trustworthy, and leader. McCroskey's factor analytic work on "source credibility" offered similar findings (McCroskey, 1966, pp. 65-72).

It was not within the purview of this study concerning the semantic images of candidates to make claims about how the constructs of ethos, source credibility, or image are modelled, either as separate variables or in conjunction with one another. What has been claimed is that in all cases where attempts have been made to tap the construct of candidate image, the term invariably has referred to some cluster of personality traits which may be viewed as a set of character attributes of the candidate. Candidate image, viewed in this way, has been related most often to factors of trustworthiness, expertness, competence, honesty, etc. The term "image," then, when used in this sense, has referred to the semantic character attributes made about political candidates.

Resolution of Ambiguity to Resolve the Controversy

It may be possible to resolve some of the controversy regarding image and issue material as found in the content of televised political spot advertisements by appealing to differences in meaning between the term "image" when used to refer to the graphic methods of presenting candidates, and the term "image" when used to refer to the character attributes of the candidate. This would allow for the possibility that no matter what the graphic images of the candidate might be, the commercial's issue and character content could vary independently from them. Thus, the claim that slick packaging cuts down on issue expression and favors image material at the expense of issues can be more crisply addressed.

Ambiguity in the term "image" as it has been differentially used to refer to methods of presentation and to the character of the candidate has led to problems in assessing the relationship between images and issues in televised political spots. Yet another difficulty in assessing the image-issue relationship has been in the differing theoretical orientations with respect to the image construct.

Two Models of the Image Construct

Image scholars have described two image models--one, a source projection model which has viewed the message output of candidates as the origin of candidate images; the other, a perceptual balance theory model which has held that images are the product of the modifying selective biases and cognitive predispositions of the receiver (Nimmo and Savage, 1976, pp. 31-2; Freeman, 1980, pp. 7-10). This latter view has been more popular with empirical media-effects researchers who have

concentrated mainly on receiver variables and measures in the design of their studies (Kaid and Sanders, 1978, p. 57; Hofstetter and Zukin, 1979, p. 106; Hofstetter, Zukin, and Buss, 1978, p. 562; Atkin and Bowen, 1973, pp. 209-224).

However, some researchers have investigated the perceptual balance principle and the stimulus-determined image theories, and have interpreted their findings in support of the stimulus-determined alternative. McGrath and McGrath have concluded that:

. . . perception of political figures are stimulus-determined rather than perceiver-determined for a large number of attributes. Thus, there seems to be much support for the image-theory of political perceptions. . . (1962, p. 246).

The overall findings of research have indicated that whereas there has been value in both the source-projection model and the perceptual-balance model in image research, neither one has been sufficient by itself to account for candidate imagery. The content of candidate images has probably been the product of projections emanating from candidate stimuli as well as from the predispositions of receivers.

Compared to the perceptual-balance theory so often used as a basis for inquiry, the source projection model has been used too conservatively and too infrequently as a theoretical orientation to fruitful image research of political candidates. The continuing upsurge in the use of televised political spot advertisements invites image researchers to redress the balance between the oft-used receiver-oriented image model and the less-used source-projection model in studying the image content of political advertising stimuli. Acceptance of the source-projection model makes it possible and meaningful to study candidate images by content analyzing their political commercials. Systematic

analysis of semantic image and issue content of televised political spots becomes increasingly important when we realize, as Shneidman has noted, that:

We are a nation of millions of television sets;
we are a nation of almost constant political
elections and of intense political interests. . .
Television influences our elections and our
international relationships, and it is extremely
important for us to know more about the television
stimuli that our own political leaders transmit. . .
(1978, p. 178).

The recommendation by Shneidman that we learn about the nature of political stimuli has become a more emphatic exhortation in the face of the ever-increasing swarms of televised spot advertisements that have been beamed at our electorate as we have directed the ship of state into America's most uncertain decade in recent history.

The Issue Concept in Political Research

With regard to the notion of "issue" in political research, it can be stated at the outset, that the issue concept has been viewed in the literature as more stable than the image concept and has therefore been easier to define. Numerous studies of the effects and content of televised political advertising and of political content generally, have presumed that agreement exists with respect to what constituted issue information (Patterson and McClure, 1974, pp. 3-31; Kaid and Sanders, 1978, p. 57; Hofstetter and Zukin, 1979, p. 106; Hofstetter, Zukin, and Buss, 1978, p. 562). It has generally been taken for granted that "issue" has referred to "specific policy" stands (Kaid and Sanders, 1978, p. 60). Most often, the notion of issue has been related by listing those topics which have been tied to the civic concerns of the citizenry. Patterson and McClure (1974) included political corruption,

government spending, military cutbacks, bussing, welfare, and tax structures as part of a battery of issues used to judge the television networks' performance in contributing to voter knowledge (p. 11). Other researchers have included the topics of gun control (Kaid et al., 1978, p. 51), the legitimate exercise of police power (Hofstetter, et al., 1978, p. 567), and such issue categories as social welfare, racial and civil liberties, law and order, agriculture, natural resources, labor and management relations, economic, consumer, business, and international affairs (Hofstetter, 1976, p. 80).

From the literature dealing with issues in political advertising and public affairs programming, it has been apparent that what has counted as issue material have been those references to topics "linked to the national interest" (Hofstetter and Judge, 1974, p. 12).

A reasonable definition of "issue" to follow is the same as that offered by Hofstetter in his content analytic work dealing with network news coverage and political public affairs programming. Issues will be defined as "current topics linked to the national interest."

Summary

A review of the literature concerning political images and issues, especially in televised announcements, has revealed that the image concept may reasonably be viewed two different ways: as graphic representation or as "ethos" (character) of a candidate. In addition, the image concept has been understood through two different theoretical orientations: a source projection model and a perceptual balance model. Finally, the literature has been in agreement in its treatment of the issue notion and it has been viewed here as relatively unproblematic.

Avoiding Ambiguity in Referring to "Image"

If we take the liberty of coining the term "image 1" to indicate the graphic representational sense of image, and if we use the term "image 2" to indicate that we mean the character ("ethos") of the candidate, we can now begin to disentangle some of the meanings inherent in statements that crop up in the image-issue controversy. If, in addition, a source projection image 2 model is accepted, then it will be possible, as mentioned before, to explicate the "image-issue controversy" concerning televised political spot advertisements by content analyzing them.

In the past, the image-issue controversy, precipitated in part by political spots, has been ambiguously articulated by political observers. Such ambiguity has been typified by the argument-statement that televised political spots provide images of the candidate at the expense of issues. In statements like this, it has not been clear whether the critics are condemning political advertisements because they focus on character traits of the candidate (image 2) at the expense of issues, or because they employ stimulating methods of graphic presentation (image 1) at the expense of issue and/or character trait expression. In part, the latter interpretation has led to the inference that issue information and character information is inversely related to the degree to which such advertisements contain dazzling methods of presentation. The former interpretation has led to the inference that political spots have generally contained more personality and character information than issue information.

In order to avoid ambiguity like this in referring to the "images" of political spots, rather than adopt the linguistically jarring

convention of using numerals tacked on to the end of "image," the convention has been adopted that when image 1 is implied, the phrase used in place of the term "image" will henceforth be "methods of presentation" and when image 2 is meant, the term "image" itself will suffice.

The General Purpose of This Research

The purpose of this research was to analyze more fully and clearly than has been done before the images, issues, and methods of presentation of the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primaries. One reason the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 primaries have been selected for study is because this offered the analyst a rich and diverse data base; also, with production material available from nine different campaign organizations, and an all-time high number of primary races and caucuses operating in the political system, the 1980 election year presented a quite unique and rare opportunity. Stated more specifically, the purpose of this research has been to describe via quantitative content analysis and multiple regression techniques the relationships between the semantic images and issues of thirty and sixty second televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 presidential primaries and selected methods of presentation which these advertisements used. To explore this area via content analysis, a rationale explicating the constructs of "image," "issue," and "methods of presentation" must be offered. This rationale must permit a justifiable operational definition of each construct, each one amenable to quantification.

The rationales for the constructs of image and issue have been dealt with, at least to the extent of their usage in the literature. A functional operational definition of these terms has been developed in Chapter II, in order to explicate fully the method to quantify semantic image and issue scores for each advertisement. For now, a rationale for measuring the methods of presentation construct must be offered, and the categories have been operationally defined to represent this construct from a review of pertinent literature. Finally, research questions regarding the relationship of methods of presentation to the images and issues of political spot advertisements must be offered.

Identification of Production Variables

Linked to Image and Issue

Development of Method of Presentation

Variables from the Literature

In developing substantively meaningful categories to represent the construct of methods of presentation, one reasonable approach has been to look to the political communication literature written about or reported by campaign workers whose main task was to construct the graphic representations of candidates in the form of televised announcements. Many production workers have brought their expertise of visual message crafts to the televised campaigns played to the American electorate, and many of them have become seasoned (and seasonal) contributors to one or the other party's ongoing campaigns. Often one has noted within their reminiscences and anecdotes a repertoire of visual

and audio treatments which have been employed regularly in the creation of televised political messages.

Rose and Fuchs (1968) have mentioned the use of editing, orientation of candidate to camera, setting, cinema verite employing "old home movies" and "candid" shots of the candidate as some of the techniques and choices open to the televisual message-maker in expressing the images and issues of the candidate and his campaign to the electorate (pp. 247-255). They have found the use of montage and music as well as locales of the candidate to be additional variables available for creating messages about political candidates. In their conclusions, Rose and Fuchs have distinguished between ". . . straight-forward issue-oriented films" and those with a "more artful approach" (1968, p. 257), better suited, supposedly, for conveying images of the candidates featured in advertisements.

In a similar vein, one New York Times writer has observed that Robert Sann's productions of John Anderson's media spot campaign dispensed with artful approaches. This exemplified what Rose and Fuchs referred to as "straight-forward issue-oriented" messages:

When Congressman John Anderson appears in a commercial, there is no music and no dramatic film footage. Mr. Anderson looks straight into the camera and says things many voters may find unsettling. . . (New York Times, March 9, 1980, 2:36).

This direct-to-camera-talking-head-of-candidate approach to spot advertisement production differed markedly from the styles of presentation Bailey and Deardourff used in their presentation of Senator Howard Baker:

Senator Howard Baker's skills as a photographer [were put] to use, filling the screen with photos

that Mr. Baker himself took of Americans and the American landscape, while the candidate talks. . . . In the background, a Nashville group sings "We believe in our country" to a folksy banjo accompaniment (New York Times, March 9, 1980, 2:36).

Mr. Baker's campaign seemed to be more closely tied via artful methods of presentation to that of George Bush than to the Anderson campaign. Bush's campaign was handled by Robert Goodman, an advertising agent who has handled the media planning for over 60 Republican campaigns. For the Bush race, Goodman used still photos of George Bush as well as dramatic film footage of his candidate, and, at times, stirring music.

Robert Goodman has been an excellent source for finding out about some of the variables that should comprise the construct of methods of presentation for this study. First, he has become extremely well-versed in the creation of televised political spot messages for contemporary political figures; second, as a source of information, he has freely offered his impressions and philosophy concerning the variables of interest here in extensive interview material contained in a dissertation analyzing some aspects of political communication (Dybvig, 1970).

The method of presentation variables isolated by Goodman thought to be important to the style of presenting candidates' images and campaign issues have included the candidate's wardrobe, camera angle, editing or cutting rate, locale of the candidate, the use of music, and the juxtaposition of the candidate with other citizens (Dybvig, 1970, pp. 93, 188, 92, 94, 97, 189, 180). Goodman has made overt connections between certain methods of presenting candidates in spot advertisements and the intent of the media consultant to convey either images or issues.

In other words, one may speculate that there have been specific devices of production which were more often paired with image-oriented messages and others which were paired more with issue-oriented messages. This has been likened to what Rose and Fuchs have called the "straight-forward issue-oriented" formats and the more "artful" image-oriented styles of presentation. For example, in answer to an interview question concerning what devices might have helped establish the "charisma" of a candidate (Bob Taft), Goodman offers the following:

. . . Bob Taft had zero charisma. Bob Taft on film had 150% charisma. Why? Hand-held cameras moving wildly showing action. Having the candidate quicken his pace. Dressing him properly . . . showing him in a blast of music. . . (Dybvig, 1970, p. 228).

Here, camera angles, pace, mode of dress, and music were paired with image creation rather than issue expression. Later, Goodman intimated that there were "image spots" and "issue spots" (Dybvig, 1970, p. 254).

One device, according to Goodman, that has been especially fitting for issue spots was to have complete narration or "voice-over" done by the candidate (Dybvig, 1970, p. 271). This statement and others like it were similar to statements made by Rose and Fuchs in referring to straight issue appeals.

Finally, Gene Wyckoff has offered similar observations on types of formats or styles of presenting candidates for television which lead one to suppose that some devices may be more associated with image appeals while some others may be more closely related to issue appeals. These, again, have included the use of rapid editing and music as well as other techniques intended to feature the candidate's image rather than specific issues (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 36). In The Image Candidates,

Wyckoff, the media-producer political-consultant, explains how he was:

. . . put to work researching film footage and blocking out the tentative scripts for two half-hour programs, each of which--by its staging--would convey an image of Nixon clearly different from the Kennedy image regardless of the exact words Nixon might say on these two programs (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 44).

Wyckoff further explained that with the proper presentation of the candidate, even if the text of the program were largely devoted to issues the "presentation would heighten the viewer's perception of the candidate's character" (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 44). Later, Wyckoff paired certain methods of presentation with issue-oriented programming and other devices of production with more image-oriented programming.

Specifically, we learn that the orientation of the candidate to the camera has often been direct when the intent was to feature issues, though in the opinion of Wyckoff, this was a dull format (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 49). Wyckoff counterpointed the direct style of presenting candidates with that of presenting "image materials," devices meant to create a more stimulating and likeable program, and in turn, hopefully a more likeable candidate. Quoting Wyckoff:

Clearly--to me--it was time to use more image materials, if not image materials exclusively, in which elements of appearance, demeanor, and presentation added up to an exciting . . . experience for viewers (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 50).

Specifically, Wyckoff mentioned the technique of using still pictures of the candidate in rapid sequence as opposed to presenting direct-to-camera talking-heads of candidates. For Wyckoff, this was an instance of "image films . . . replacing direct-to-camera films" (Wyckoff, 1968, p. 51).

Throughout the literature reviewed here concerning the method of presentation variables as they have related to images and issues of candidates and political campaigns, from Rose and Fuchs' research to the impressionistic views of Robert Goodman and the views of other campaign workers and researchers, the intent has been to develop an array of television production variables to relate graphic content of televised political spot advertisements to candidates' images and campaign issues. From the literature reviewed in this chapter concerning these three constructs, it has become possible to articulate research questions to be pursued with operational rigor in Chapter II.

Research Questions

Question 1: "What, and in what frequencies and proportions are the semantic images and issues of the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primaries? What, and in what duration and proportions, are the methods of presentation of these advertisements?

Question 2: What are the frequencies, and proportions, of these semantic images and issues by party and by candidate? What are the durations and proportions of methods of presentation by party and by candidate?

Question 3: What are the correlations between single method of presentation variables and the composite semantic image and issue scores of the televised political spot advertisements?

Question 4: To which method of presentation variable clusters do the semantic image and issue scores regress? Which method of presentation variables are the best predictors of semantic image and semantic

issue scores in the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primaries?

In the execution of this research, the data undergoing analysis have been treated not as a sample, but as a census.

CHAPTER II

METHODS

To explore via content analysis the relationships between the semantic images and issues of 30 and 60 second televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 presidential primaries and selected methods of presentation which these advertisements used, it was necessary to operationalize the variables included in the constructs of "image," "issue," and "methods of presentation." It was also necessary to develop a reliable method of coding each variable; therefore, reliability checks were conducted on both units as well as category judgments for each variable, where applicable. Data collection was done in two stages; first, the collection of raw data was completed. Then, the methods for coding systematic data from the raw data were outlined. This required that procedures for developing the category arrays for the constructs of image, issue, and methods of presentation be provided. Finally, data analysis procedures were explained.

Initial Data Collection

Initial data collection had as its objective to acquire on videotape the census of the 30 and 60 second televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primary races. These races officially began with the battle for the presidential nomination in the Iowa precinct caucus on January 21, 1980 (New York Times, Dec. 2, 1979, p. E4). The final primary race took place in June, 1980, with

"mop-up" contests in Utah, the Virgin Islands, and some other states. Republican candidate Ronald Reagan's delegate lead topped the 998 victory threshold he needed in the June 3 primary races in Ohio, California, and New Jersey (Newsweek, June 9, 1980, p. 26) and President Carter's delegate count came extremely close to his needed total of 1666 also by the first week in June. Therefore, by the end of the first week in June, 1980, the primary races for the major parties were virtually over. By this time as well, Republican candidate John Anderson had announced that he would leave the Republican party and make his bid for the White House as an Independent. Hence, the six-month period from mid-January to mid-June, 1980, was considered the time of the 1980 presidential primary races.

It was during this time that efforts were made to acquire copies of the 30 second and 60 second televised political spot advertisements that were produced for most Republican and Democratic candidates. The candidates whose spots comprised the data for this study have been listed below by party and by last office held:

| <u>Candidate</u> | <u>Party</u> | <u>Last Office Held</u> |
|-------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. John B. Anderson | Independent | Rep., 16th Dist., Illinois |
| 2. Howard H. Baker | Republican | Senator, Tennessee |
| 3. Edmund G. Brown, Jr. | Democrat | Governor, California |
| 4. George Bush | Republican | C.I.A. Director |
| 5. Jimmy Carter | Democrat | President, U.S. |
| 6. John B. Connally | Republican | Secretary Treasury |
| 7. Phil Crane | Republican | Rep., 12th Dist., Illinois |
| 8. Edward M. Kennedy | Democrat | Senator, Massachusetts |
| 9. Ronald Reagan | Republican | Governor, California |

Acquiring the Advertisements

General Procedures

The general procedures used to gain videotape copies of the advertisements analyzed in this study included initiating a telephone and mail campaign between the investigator and each of the nine campaign organizations representing the candidates just listed. The term "campaign organization" is a general one, and has been used to refer to either a single organization or any combination of separate organizations which came to work with political candidates on their media campaigns. Used in this way, the term "campaign organization" at times referred beyond the campaign headquarters to the various advertising agencies, film houses, videotape houses, dubbing facilities, and media-buying specialists who in one way or another came in contact with the videotaped advertisements developed for each campaign. Therefore, getting copies of the advertisements from some camps required dealing with only one firm while other camps required dealing with several firms before permission releasing the commercials was granted.

In the case of all nine candidates included for study, initial contact was made with each candidate's campaign headquarters via telephone. Information concerning the addresses and telephone numbers of each campaign headquarters was procured through the Columbus, Ohio League of Women Voters, who supplied telephone numbers of the state chairpersons of the two major parties, who in turn supplied the addresses and most current phone numbers of the nine separate national campaign headquarters.

Each of the nine national campaign headquarters was contacted by telephone by the researcher; in each case, it was asked who was in

charge of the candidate's televised media campaign. At this point, a name was always given, but sometimes the name referred to an office staff superior at headquarters, while at other times, the name referred to an advertising agent at a separate firm. In either case, the phone extension or the number of the person named was requested along with suggestions for the best times to call.

The general procedure was then to establish telephone contact with the person named, to write a follow-up letter acknowledging the phone call, and to include in that letter a brief description of the research, a guarantee to promise discreet and confidential treatment of the videotapes, and a reference to the time-frame surrounding the research, among other things. All mail correspondence is included in Appendix A.

The system established after making initial telephone and mail contact generally entailed sending blank video cassettes to the campaign organization contact and receiving cassettes with the televised political spot advertisements on them. At times, there were charges attached to this service for dubbing time. At times, a tape cassette was received which was different from the one supplied. Sometimes campaign contacts sent advertisements on their own cassettes, and requested that the analyst dub copies of them and then send them back, which was done with great alacrity, care, and gratitude. As often as not, postage ended up being paid by the source doing the mailing, although payment for postage was offered by the researcher as a matter of policy. During the entire acquisition process, follow-up letters and phone calls were made each time a new batch of tapes was received. This is

evident as part of Appendix A, which, as mentioned before, is a record of all mail correspondence conducted for this study.

Overall, this system worked well in obtaining videotape copies of the televised political spots analyzed in this research; however, in some isolated instances, the complexity of the campaign organization disrupted the process of getting the commercials. Specifically, it was the conjecture of the researcher that complexity in the campaign organization promoted confusion with respect to who was finally responsible for the status of the spots, their application, and their distribution.

Specific Procedures

Procuring the Anderson spots--To obtain the televised political spot advertisements of John Anderson, a call was made on Feb. 1, 1980, to the Anderson National Campaign Headquarters. A receptionist explained that the firm handling media was Robert J. Sann and Associates, an advertising agency in New York. A call was made to the Sann agency, and Robert J. Sann stated that he would be able to participate in such research by contributing the spots that were made for the Anderson primary campaign. Mr. Sann added that he had "no great trepidation" about releasing such material, and would be glad to cooperate.

Such was the extent of agreements made in order to receive videotape copies of the John Anderson televised spot media campaign. The letters of correspondence with the Anderson campaign organization were limited to a correspondence with the R. J. Sann agency and covered the dates from Feb. 3, 1980, until Feb. 25, 1980. Telephone communication was maintained through the first week in May, 1980, when the last of the

spots made for the Anderson primary campaign were mailed. These last tapes were in two-inch formats and required redubbing onto 3/4 inch cassettes. All tapes sent by the Sann agency were sent back after they were dubbed.

Procuring the Baker spots--To obtain the televised spots of Howard Baker's primary campaign, a call was made to the Baker National Campaign Headquarters during the first week in Feb., 1980. A press officer working for the campaign press secretary directed calls to an advertising representative named Dan Pero from the Baily Deardourff Agency in Washington, D.C. A call was made to the Deardourff agency and it was learned that Mr. Pero was out of town but that he would be back at the beginning of the next week. On Feb. 7, 1980, Mr. Pero was reached by telephone, and he reported that the Baker spots would cost between two and five hundred dollars to obtain, but that if video cassettes were supplied, then perhaps only dubbing expenses would be charged.

As it turned out, video cassettes were supplied, and total charges for dubbing were less than fifty dollars. Letters of correspondence with the Baker campaign organization were limited to a letter acknowledging a telephone agreement by Mr. Pero to contribute the Baker spots, and a letter received from the agency concerning the use of the commercials and minor dubbing charges. Telephone and mail correspondence covered the dates from Feb. 11 to March 13, 1980.

Procuring the Brown spots--To obtain videotape of Governor Brown's primary televised spot ads, initial contact was made with the Brown for President Committee in Los Angeles; referral was made to two of Brown's other organization locations which were called "headquarters,"

one in New Hampshire, and one in Boston, Massachusetts. These New England addresses were probably given as primary state headquarters, but neither of these leads were fruitful in obtaining contact with someone who could supply the spots, or who knew the whereabouts of the commercials, or whether or not they could be released. A call was made again to the Los Angeles office, and it was established that the office in control of the commercials was the Ross McCanse Association, an advertising agency in Hollywood, California.

On March 5, 1980, telephone contact was made with the agency, and for dubbing and postal charges, advertisements for the Brown primary campaign were made available within one week. Mail and telephone contact was maintained from March 5, to March 12, 1980.

Procuring the Bush spots--Whereas obtaining the Brown commercials was relatively simple and immediate, the task of acquiring the tapes of the primary televised spot campaign of George Bush was more involved. One reason was certainly that George Bush was having a more successful campaign than most other candidates; this required more campaigning, more commercial productions, and wider dissemination of spot messages across more states than most of the other candidates. The excited pace of the Bush campaign resulting from the demands of success meant that the Bush campaign organization could only rarely be intercepted and penetrated with requests to contribute data.

Stopping the Bush campaign in mid-gallop occurred first on Jan. 24, 1980, when the Bush national campaign headquarters directed that a call be made to the Robert Goodman Agency in Maryland. Bob Goodman reported that a letter describing research needs was necessary, and that he would "have more stuff in a month." A letter was sent on Jan. 26, and

a follow-up phone call was made on Feb. 1 to confirm receipt of the letter. No agreement had yet been made, and it was explained that clearance would be required from campaign headquarters before Mr. Goodman could release any material.

At this juncture, a telephone excursion back through the Bush headquarters was conducted in order to obtain the required clearance. It was necessary to "get Bob Goodman to direct a letter to Tom Lias specifying the purpose of the research--this letter will be used to gain clearance from David Keene."

On Feb. 27, a letter was sent to Tom Lias, who had become the key contact between the researcher and the lawyers who would be able, supposedly, to authorize the release of the Bush spots. Through this channel, nothing developed toward gaining the spots, but telephone contact was maintained throughout the primaries. Then, during the last week in May, after the republican primaries were virtually over, and Ronald Reagan appeared to have won the nomination, the dam broke. Robert Goodman was called once more, clearance was obtained, and Bob Goodman said on the telephone on May 30, that two-inch tape would be mailed in a week. A follow-up phone call was made to the Goodman Agency on June 4, when it was learned that all tapes would be received soon. On June 10, a final phone call was made to the Goodman Agency, and it was learned that the tapes of the Bush televised primary spots had been mailed the day before. Thus, the Bush commercials were received, but only after the purpose for their creation had expired.

Procuring the Carter spots--The initial response of the Carter camp when asked to contribute commercials of the primary campaign was also to hold back release until the end of May, but after contact was

established via Carter National Campaign Headquarters with Bob Strauss, the campaign manager, and Gerald Rafshoon's assistant at Rafshoon Communications, Becky Hendrix, an agreement for their immediate release was obtained. In addition, it was arranged that new spots would be contributed as soon as they were produced. Mail and telephone correspondence lasted from Jan. 14, through May 30, 1980.

Procuring the Connally spots--At the Connally for President Campaign, telephone contact was made with the head of the Print Media department on Jan. 24. A follow-up letter was sent on Jan. 26. Over the next week it was discovered that the electronic media department would be able to locate the televised political commercials for the primaries. The media specialist, Lee Spiekerman, and the media coordinator, Kim Turpin, were both contacted, and they became the campaign organization contacts who would deliver the needed materials. On Feb. 1, in a phone call to Ms. Turpin, she explained that she could "give what we have now" but since "the world changes," the subsequent advertisements for later primaries would have to be sent later. This was thought to be both reasonable and acceptable. After receiving the Connally commercials an attempt was made to obtain log data concerning the frequency of airplay of the advertisements, among other things, but these data were never made available. Mail and telephone correspondence lasted from Jan. 24 to June 12, when it was determined that log information would not be forthcoming.

Procuring the Crane spots--The process of procuring the televised spots of Phil Crane's primary campaign began on Jan. 24, 1980, with a phone call to the Crane National headquarters in Virginia. Here it was established that Carl Gagliardi would make arrangements to obtain the

spots if a letter explaining needs would be sent.

On Jan. 26, such a letter was sent, and by Feb. 12, an agreement to release the commercials was made. However, by Feb. 29, no tapes had as yet been received, so additional phone calls were made to find out what had caused the delay. It was learned that Carl Gagliardi was on the campaign trail in New England, had not yet mailed out any tapes, and would not be back at headquarters for at least a week. On March 6, after a perceptibly frustrating waiting period, a long overdue telephone connection was reestablished with Gagliardi, only to learn that he was leaving the Crane campaign. He explained, "I'm leaving the campaign to go back to pounding the beat reporting. I never heard anyone refer to the job of a reporter as low pressure, but compared to campaigning, it is." He added, "I'm passing your file on to Jonathan Hill. He won't leave you hanging. He'll mail you the first tape in four days." As Gagliardi had promised, Jonathan Hill came through. All Crane primary commercials that were sent, were received during March. Telephone and mail correspondence with the Crane campaign organization lasted from Jan. 24 to March 24, 1980.

Procuring the Kennedy spots--Procuring the televised political spot advertisements used in the Kennedy primary campaign was a most protracted operation. After initial telephone contact was made with Kennedy headquarters in Washington, the campaign manager and the general manager directed inquiries for the commercials to the regional director, part of whose function included coordinating the Ohio effort. On Jan. 14, communication was established with Ms. Audrey Shepard, the Ohio coordinator of the Kennedy campaign. A follow-up letter of explanation was sent on Jan. 15, acknowledging telephone contact and

making needs known. It was mentioned that over the next few days, Ms. Shepard would inform Phil Bakes, head of the Kennedy media department, of the need to gain copies of the Kennedy commercials, and that a call back would be helpful during the first week in February.

In February, several calls were made to Phil Bakes' office, but it was very difficult to reach him because he was out of town quite often campaigning in the primary states. However, on Feb. 29, contact was established with Melissa Osborne, Bakes' assistant, who said that she had recently become aware of the effort to obtain videotapes of the Kennedy commercials, and that she would function now as the new contact. She requested that a copy of the letter to Audrey Shepard on Jan. 15 be sent to her, and stated that she would try to gain clearance for release of the advertisements.

On March 7, in a telephone conversation with Ms. Osborne, it was agreed that she would allow a videotape to be mailed to her for use in dubbing copies of the Kennedy spots. On March 18, a follow-up letter was sent acknowledging this agreement, and a video cassette was enclosed with the letter.

It was now expected that a videotape of the Kennedy spots would finally be forthcoming; however, problems arose concerning the extent of dubbing charges quoted by the sector of the Kennedy organization in charge of duplicating the commercials. It was explained that each Kennedy advertisement existed on a separate reel of tape, and that while this modular approach facilitated a modern campaign strategy, it made it difficult to construct a single tape containing all advertisements.

It was learned that a media house called Political Media Systems, Inc., in New York, was in some way involved with making the needed materials available. When this facility was called, it was learned that the task of editing nearly 30 spots together onto one reel from nearly 30 separate sources would require "hours of work" which could "only be done by union help" and only at "steep New York union shop prices." An estimate of cost for this service was quoted at about \$30 for each spot, amounting to about \$900 for all spots. This figure was far in excess of what the researcher could afford, and was many times more expensive than what every other campaign organization had charged for a similar service. For these reasons, attempts were made to acquire the commercials via other channels.

A call for help was put in to a New York based union which had for many years employed a family member of the researcher as a union auditor. On May 14, 1980, the help of the District 65 Credit union was enlisted; letters representing the researcher's needs were sent to the Kennedy campaign labor director, Leslie Israel, and to the Kennedy media department head, Phil Bakes, by Kevin Lynch, the District 65 Public Affairs Director. These letters were key in precipitating the desired response. On May 19, a letter was received by the researcher from Ms. Diane Schneider at the Kennedy camp, saying, in effect, that help in securing the needed spots would be forthcoming at a lower cost.

On May 27th, a letter was received from Ms. Melissa Moore of Political Media Systems saying that Phil Bakes had granted them permission to make the Kennedy primary spots available. Enclosed with her letter were two cassettes of Kennedy advertisements. These commercials were quickly duplicated and then returned. Total costs incurred for

this service amounted to no more than postal charges. This protracted chain of events, culminating in what can only be described as a most dramatic reduction of charges, was viewed as a paradigm example of political communication at work.

Procuring the Reagan spots--Procuring the televised spots of Ronald Reagan was as difficult as obtaining the Kennedy spots, but for different reasons. Initial contact with the Reagan headquarters was made by telephone to the Director of Broadcast Services, Rich Miller, on January 24th. A follow-up letter acknowledging the phone call was sent on January 26th. On the telephone, Miller said that he would inform the appropriate people of the research needs discussed.

During the third week of February, 1980, a letter was received from Gary Hoitsma, a press officer for Ronald Reagan, saying that word of the telephone call and a copy of the letter to Rich Miller had been forwarded to him. Options were mentioned, but nothing firm was established. On February 25th, a letter was sent to Gary Hoistma giving further information about the needs to start receiving tapes.

Over the next month, during repeated attempts to reach Hoitsma by telephone without success, a contact began to form with an assistant of Hoitsma, Robin Gray. Gray said that one possible way to obtain the Reagan primary television commercials might be to contact Richard Wirthlin, Ph.D., of Decision Making Information, a polling company in Santa Ana, California. On March 18th, a letter was sent to Wirthlin. This lead soon proved worthless; there was no response from Wirthlin.

It wasn't until April 11, 1980, that reasons were rekindled for believing that the Reagan advertisements could be acquired; a letter was received from an associate of Gary Hoitsma, David P. Prosperi, who

directed requests for the televised spots to the Philadelphia advertising agency that made them, Elliott Curson Advertising. By April 22nd, a letter following up a prior phone call was sent to Elliott Curson, acknowledging an agreement to supply the Reagan primary spots. On May 2, 1980, the Reagan spots were obtained.

The telephone and mail campaign conducted resulted in the acquisition of 140 political spot advertisements which comprised the data for this study. The table below displays the distribution and frequencies of commercials included for analysis by candidate and by party.

For this study, the decision was made to treat the Anderson campaign as that of an independent candidate. This judgment may be viewed as unorthodox, but it is justified for the following reasons.

First, candidate Anderson became an incipient independent candidate long before the primary races were over. Anderson remained on the primary ballots, and in fact gained votes in Republican primary races as a declared independent. Specifically, Anderson began investigating and courting the possibility of an independent campaign before the Wisconsin primary. As one New York Times article put it, "The Wisconsin primary represents one of the few remaining major opportunities for Mr. Anderson . . . to appeal to independent voters, since it permits voters to cross party lines" (New York Times, March 26, 1980, II, 6:1).

By the beginning of April 1980, some observers began to view Anderson as a catalyst who could reorder the political party system (New York Times, April 4, 1980, 10:1). Others soon noted Ronald Reagan's contention that Anderson had well begun to "read himself out of the party" (New York Times, April 6, 1980, 18:3).

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION AND FREQUENCY OF ADVERTISEMENTS
BY CANDIDATE, PARTY

| Candidate* | # ads | #30 sec. spots | #60 sec. spots |
|--------------|-------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Anderson (I) | 24 | 21 | 3 |
| Baker (R) | 14 | 12 | 2 |
| Brown (D) | 7 | 3 | 4 |
| Bush (R) | 22 | 21 | 1 |
| Carter (D) | 18 | 13 | 5 |
| Connally (R) | 15 | 11 | 4 |
| Crane (R) | 9 | 9 | 0 |
| Kennedy (D) | 26 | 19 | 7 |
| Reagan (R) | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| <u>Party</u> | | | |
| Republican | 65 | 58 | 7 |
| Democrat | 51 | 35 | 16 |
| Independent | 24 | 21 | 3 |
| <u>Total</u> | 140 | 114 | 26 |

*(R) = Republican; (D) = Democrat; (I) = Independent

By April 7, it had been reported that Anderson's efforts in the upcoming Republican California primary election had become "hampered by the belief . . . that Mr. Anderson would abandon the Republican party" (New York Times, April 7, 1980, IV, 9:1). On Friday, April 25, 1980, it was reported that ". . . Anderson declared his independent candidacy. . ." (New York Times, April 25, 1980, 1:1).

Yet in counterpoint to this declaration, Anderson's name continued to appear on Republican ballots in remaining primary races. The declared independent drew votes in such races in Michigan and Oregon (New York Times, May 22, 1980, II, 8:3). Therefore, the Anderson campaign was treated as that of an independent because of the unique aspects of his campaign which were in stark contrast to those of other Republican candidates.

Operational Definition of Methods of Presentation Construct

The literature reviewed concerning the impressions of campaign workers contained reference to an array of television production variables which purportedly related selected methods of presentation to the content of televised political spots in terms of candidate images and campaign issues. Systematic content analysis of the semantic issues and images of televised political spots was related to this array of presentation variables with an eye toward investigating the degree to which relevant production techniques correlated with images and with issues.

The task at hand was to name and operationalize the specific variables which were to be used to represent the construct of methods

of presentation. From the literature, some of the variables already suggested have included:

- orientation of candidate to camera
- camera angle itself
- use of music
- use of cutting or editing (montage)
- wardrobe of the candidate
- setting or locale of the commercial
- type of voice-over and other audio treatments
- presence of famous people and citizens with candidate

This array of categories could have been fashioned into the array of production variables for content analysis purposes. However, it was important to keep in mind that content analysis stands or falls by its categories; therefore, variables should be well-adapted to the research objectives. As Holsti has said:

A good operational definition satisfies two requirements: it is a valid representation of the analyst's concepts, and it is sufficiently precise that it guides coders to produce reliable judgments. Familiarity with one's data is an important asset for developing valid . . . categories, but even the most knowledgeable investigator may want to test his definition on a small sample of data before coding actually begins (Holsti, 1969, p. 95).

Here, Holsti has suggested, among other things, that familiarity with one's data can be an important asset for category development. Therefore, category development for the construct of methods of presentation was carried out after a review of a subsample of commercials was made. Additional variables from this review served as a supplement to the ones already isolated from the literature.

A random subsample of commercials (25 percent) was inspected for its methods of presentation in order to firm up the categories representing the methods of presentation construct for this study. Inspection of the visual and audio methods of presentation used in the

commercials helped to finalize this set of variables. Therefore, the categories to be defined to represent the construct of methods of presentation for this study were based on a literature review, a random subsample of the data, and the production background of the researcher.

Operationalization of Audio Methods of Presentation

Voice of Announcer--This variable was defined as the total time in seconds in each commercial devote^d to audio utterances by a professional narrator. Coders using stop watches and coding sheets listened to and watched each commercial and recorded the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning of each audio utterance spoken by a voice taken to be that of an announcer to the end of the turn which was being timed. The total number of seconds obtained by summing the values for all turns of this type represented the total time devoted to voices of announcers.

Voice of Candidates--This variable was defined as the total time for each commercial devoted to audio utterances by any candidate; these included the voices of Anderson, Baker, Brown, Bush, Carter, Connally, Crane, Kennedy, and Reagan. Coders scored this variable by listening to and watching each commercial and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning of each audio utterance spoken by a voice taken to be that of a candidate to the end of each turn that was being timed. The score recorded by coders was the sum of scores obtained for all turns of this type in each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to the voices of candidates.

Voices of Citizens and Others--This variable was defined as the total time in seconds for each commercial devoted to audio utterances by non-celebrity, non-famous citizens, supporters, and voters; in other

words, plain folk. Coders scored this variable by listening to and watching each commercial and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning of each audio utterance spoken by a voice taken to be that of a citizen, supporter, voter or other, to the end of each turn being timed. The score recorded by coders was the sum of scores obtained for all turns of this type in each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to the voice of a citizen or other. ("Other" is included in this variable to include voices of speakers who may not be citizens of the U.S., but who may be aliens.)

Voice of Famous Person--This variable was defined as the total time for each commercial devoted to audio utterances by public officials, actors, candidate family members, and other media personalities. Coders scored this variable by listening to and watching each commercial and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning of each audio utterance spoken by a voice taken to be that of a famous person (public office holder, celebrity, actor, media personality, candidate family member) to the end of each turn being timed. The score recorded by coders was the sum of scores obtained for all turns of this type in each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to the voices of famous people.

Music--This variable was defined for each commercial as the total time in seconds devoted to the presence of instrumental music (including drumming), or singing in the audio track. Coders scored this variable by listening to the audio track and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning to the end of each musical segment. Timing for each musical entity stopped when the music (or drumming) or singing ended. The score recorded by coders was the sum of times in seconds

obtained for all instances of music in each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to music.

Crowd Sounds--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time devoted to the presence of cheers, applause, chants, and whistles as part of the audio track. Coders scored this variable by listening to the audio track and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning to the end of segments of cheering and/or whistling and/or applause and/or chants. The score recorded by coders was the sum of times in seconds obtained for all instances of crowd sounds in each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to crowd sounds.

Thus ends the operationalization of variables located in the audio track which comprise the construct of methods of presentation for this study. We now turn to the operationalization of variables located in the video track selected to represent the construct of methods of presentation.

Video Variables

Talking Candidate--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to the presentation of any candidate who visually appeared to be engaging in speech. The visual frame had to have shown enough of the candidate's face to allow the inference that the candidate was engaged in speech. There was no restriction of the visual frame to show only the candidate's head; any other parts of his body or other people or objects may or may not have been included in the shot; nor was any requirement made of the audio track. The crucial qualifier that rendered a positive judgment from a coder in

deciding to code a shot as talking candidate was simply the coder's determination that (1) the candidate appeared on screen, and (2) the candidate appeared to be engaging in speech. Coders scored this variable by watching the video portion of each commercial, and recording the time in seconds that elapsed from the beginning of the candidate's mouth movement in speech-like action until the candidate ceased to appear on screen and/or ceased to be involved in the encoding of speech utterances. The score recorded by coders was the sum of times in seconds obtained for all instances of visual talking behavior by candidates for each commercial.

Talking Citizen--Same definition as that given for Talking Candidate, except that coding was done for Citizen.

Talking Famous Person--Same definition as that given for Talking Candidate except that coding was done for Famous Person.

Neutral Camera Angle--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time devoted to live action visuals containing objects which appeared to be viewed by a camera that was level with the featured object's height. If the object featured by the camera was a person, a normal camera angle was positively assessed when the person appeared to be viewed on a level even with his/her eye level. To identify normal camera angles, coders viewed each commercial and confirmed that neither the top surfaces nor the bottom surfaces of the featured object appeared to be favored. The score that was coded was the sum of times in seconds that elapsed in each commercial which showed objects from neutral camera angles. This resulted in a total time devoted to neutral camera angles.

Non-neutral Camera Angles--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time devoted to live action visuals containing objects which appeared to be viewed by a camera that was above or below the featured object's height. Coders viewed each commercial and coded the camera angles used and scored non-neutral camera angles when objects appeared to be viewed more from the top or bottom than from an even level with the object featured on screen. When the object's top surfaces were visible to the viewer significantly more than its bottom surfaces, or when the object's bottom surfaces were visible on screen more than its top surfaces, camera angle was coded as non-neutral. The scores coded were the sum of times in seconds that elapsed in each commercial which showed objects from high or low camera angles. This resulted in a total time devoted to non-neutral camera angles.

Orientation of Candidate to Camera-Direct--This variable was defined for each commercial as the total time in seconds devoted to visual talking shots which featured talking candidates that made eye contact with the camera lens, and appeared to be looking directly at the viewer. Coders recorded the amount of time in seconds that elapsed from when the eye gaze of the talking candidate was directed toward the camera lens until the eye gaze turned away from this orientation or until the talking candidate was no longer visible on screen. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments of talking candidates that featured a direct-to-camera eye gaze for each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to direct orientation of talking candidates.

Orientation of Talking Candidate to Camera-Indirect--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to visual talking shots which featured talking candidates that did not make eye contact with the camera lens, and appeared to be looking at someone in the same scene as the talking candidate on camera, but not at the viewer. Coders recorded the amount of time in seconds that elapsed from when the eye gaze away from the camera was established until the talking candidate was no longer visible on screen or until the eye gaze shifted to a direct orientation. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments of talking candidates that featured an indirect eye gaze for each commercial. This resulted in a total time devoted to indirect camera orientation of talking candidates.

Live Action Exterior Locale--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to normal action (whether film or video-tape visuals) that took place outdoors. Outdoor locales were recognized by the presence of sky, building exteriors, streets, traffic, grass, malls, parks, fountains, trees, and other natural and manmade objects either alone or in juxtaposition with one another so as to indicate external locales. Still pictures, freeze frames and other stop-action visuals (graphics) were not coded. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments featuring live-action exterior locales. This resulted in a total time for each commercial devoted to live-action exterior locales.

Live Action Interior Locales--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to normal action (whether film or video-tape visuals) that took place indoors. Indoor locales

were recognized by the presence of walls, drapes, maps, fireplaces, desks, phones, furniture, and other objects indicative of indoor settings either alone or in juxtaposition with one another. Still pictures, freeze frames and other stop-action visuals (graphics) were not coded. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments featuring live-action interior locales. This resulted in a total time for each commercial devoted to live-action interior locales.

(In some cases where the locale became known only after it was revealed by subsequent visuals, the prior segment was coded based on that subsequent information.)

Candidate Mode of Dress-Formal--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to the live action appearance of candidates wearing suits with the jacket on and the tie tied. Coders recorded the amount of time in seconds that elapsed for each segment where any candidate appeared on screen wearing such attire until the candidate ceased to appear on screen or until his attire changed so that he no longer had his suit jacket on and the tie tied. Candidates wearing top coats (or other attire) over suits were not coded in this category. Candidates with suit jackets slung over their arms were not coded in this category. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments containing such dress. This resulted in a total time devoted to formally attired candidates in live action. If more than one candidate appeared at the same time, that segment was coded once for the candidate most featured.

Candidate Mode of Dress - Non-Formal--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to live action appearance of candidates where it was possible to discern that the

candidate was not wearing a suit with the jacket on and the tie tied. Coders recorded the total time that elapsed for each segment where any candidate appeared and was not wearing such attire until the candidate ceased to appear on screen or until his attire changed to formal attire. Candidates wearing topcoats or other attire over suits were coded in this category. Candidates with suit jackets slung over their arms were also coded in this category. Coders summed the total amount of time in seconds for all segments featuring non-formal candidate attire in live action visuals. This resulted in a total time devoted to non-formally attired candidates. If more than one candidate appeared at the same time, that segment was coded once for the candidate featured most.

Visual Transitions - Cuts, Dissolves, Wipes--This variable was defined for each commercial as the total number of times that a change in picture occurred as either an instantaneous change from one shot to another (cuts), or as a simultaneous fade-in of one picture and fade-out of another (dissolves), or as a change in picture where one image appeared to push another image off the screen (wipes). Coders recorded the total number of times that cuts, dissolves, and wipes occurred in each commercial. This resulted in a frequency score of total occurrence of transitions.

Visual Still Pictures-Candidates--This variable was defined for each commercial as the time in seconds devoted to the appearance of motionless visuals of any candidate in either stop action freeze frame or photographs or still slides, etc. Coders recorded the number of seconds that elapsed for each segment that featured motionless visuals of any candidate from the beginning of the appearance of the candidate

in a still frame until either the image of the candidate left the screen or resumed motion. The score recorded by coders was the total time of all segments for each commercial that featured still pictures of any candidate. Camera movement on still visuals was not considered a resumption of movement.

Still Visual Pictures - Non-Candidates--This variable was defined as the time in seconds for each commercial devoted to the appearance of any motionless pictures that did not contain a candidate in either stop action freeze frame or still slides (this could include landscapes, other people, buildings, etc.). Coders recorded the number of seconds that elapsed for each segment that featured non-candidate motionless visuals from the beginning of the appearance of such visual until the still visual either left the screen or resumed motion. Camera movement on still visuals was not considered a resumption of movement. The score recorded by coders was the total time of all segments for each commercial that featured non-candidate still pictures.

Live Action Non-Talking Non-Candidates--This variable was defined as the time in seconds for each commercial devoted to the appearance of any non-candidate motion visuals that did not contain any talking persons. Examples of this variable were film footage of a spaceship taking off, film footage of the White House, silent individuals, and any other motion visuals that did not feature the appearance of a talking person. Other examples of this variable would include a visual of a newspaper spinning into view, or graphic crawls, or a human hand operating a calculator, or crowds marching but not speaking. Coders recorded the number of seconds that elapsed for each segment that featured non-candidate non-talking motion visuals from the beginning of

the appearance of such visual until the motion either ceased or the visual being measured left the screen. The score recorded by coders was the time of all segments for each commercial that featured live-action non-candidate non-talking motion visuals from the beginning of the appearance of such visual until the motion either ceased or the visual being measured left the screen. The score recorded by coders was the time of all segments for each commercial that featured live-action non-candidate non-talking persons.

Live Action Non-Talking Candidates--This variable was defined for each commercial as the total time in seconds devoted to the appearance of motion visuals of candidates not engaged in speech encoding behavior. Examples of this variable were film footage of a candidate shaking hands or playing softball or engaged in any other non-speech activity. Coders recorded the number of seconds that elapsed for each segment that featured live action silent candidates from the beginning of the appearance of the candidate until either the motion visual of the candidate left the screen or until the candidate once again engaged in speech encoding behavior. The score recorded by coders was the time of all segments for each commercial that featured motion visuals of candidates not speaking.

Thus ends the operationalization of variables selected to represent the methods of presentation construct for this study.

Coding Methods of Presentation

The variables just listed were conceptualized as data concerned with voice-overs and other sounds, camera angles, talking persons and other live-action visuals, locale, music, fashion of candidate's dress, use of cutting, orientation of candidates to the camera, and can be

recapitulated as follows:

| <u>Audio</u> | | |
|--|---------------------|------------------------|
| <u>Voice-overs</u> | <u>Music</u> | <u>Crowd Sounds</u> |
| 1 Announcer | 1 Singing, | 1 Whistles, |
| 2 Famous person | instrumental | chants, cheers, |
| 3 Citizens and others | | applause |
| 4 Candidate | | |
| <u>Video</u> | | |
| <u>Talking Persons</u> | <u>Camera Angle</u> | <u>Locale</u> |
| 1 Candidate | 1 Neutral | 1 Interior |
| 2 Famous persons | 2 Non-neutral | 2 Exterior |
| 3 Citizens and others | | |
| <u>Orientation of Talking Candidates</u> | | <u>Candidate Dress</u> |
| 1 Direct to camera | | 1 Formal |
| 2 Indirect to camera | | 2 Non-formal |
| <u>Transitions</u> | | <u>Still Visuals</u> |
| 1 Cuts, wipes, dissolves | | 1 Candidate |
| | | 2 Non-candidate |
| <u>Live-Action Non-Talking Visuals</u> | | |
| 1 Candidates | | |
| 2 Non-candidates | | |

Coding Procedures and Conventions Adopted

Coding the method of presentation variables was done by the researcher with the help of three coders selected from undergraduate classes in television production and broadcast programming practices at Illinois State University. Coders worked in pairs using a stop watch and paper and pencil to record judgments while video tapes of commercials were played.

Initially, the researcher worked directly with a coding helper; the job of the analyst was to watch each commercial and to supply verbal cues to a coder whose eyes were trained on a stopwatch so that the

duration of each variable could be measured. In all, three separate coders, on separate occasions, functioned as time monitors. The coders recorded information onto rough coding sheets for later entry onto final coding forms. These forms are included in Appendix B.

After a subset of commercials had been completely coded this way, one of the coders, now familiar with the coding procedures as well as with all the variables under study, was placed in the role of watching the remaining commercials and supplying verbal cues to the remaining coders, who continued to function as time monitors and information recorders. At all times, only one pair of coders was used. In this way, all the method of presentation variables were coded.

For each variable judged to be present in an advertisement, the minimum score it received, by convention, was a score of one second. All coder's judgments were rounded to the nearest second. Finally, for correlation and regression analysis purposes and for computation of mean and standard deviation scores, in the case of 60 second spots only, (18.5% of the data), all values were halved in order to make 60 second spots compatible with half minute spots. In 60 second spots containing variables with scores that were odd numbers, the final score assigned to the variable for correlation and regression analyses and descriptive statistics was one half the value recorded plus one-half point, thus bringing the score back to a whole number. (Example--if music lasted 53 seconds in a 60 second spot, its music score was $26.5 + .5 = 27$).

The training procedure adopted in order to code the methods of presentation construct was as follows:

1. Coders were familiarized with the category schema developed for the construct.

2. Examples of each variable were demonstrated to coders by having them view a stimulus tape composed of a five minute televised political spot not part of the data sample for this study.
3. Coders viewed and listened to video material and practiced coding methods of presentation variables from the five-minute stimulus tape.
4. Only one variable was coded by a pair of coders at a time.
5. Coders then viewed commercials and coded a single variable by timing the presence of the variable and recording the total time devoted to that variable for each commercial.

Operational Definition of Image

The semantic image score was defined for each commercial as the total number of positive evaluations made by coders of the words and phrases found in the text of each advertisement which matched key-words featured in a list of image attributes supplied by the analyst. A positive evaluation occurred when coders determined that a particular attribute was made about a current candidate rather than some other person who was not a candidate.

It should be pointed out that this method of acquiring candidate image data was a partial reduction of semantical content analysis to what has been called sign vehicle analysis by Lasswell (1949, p. 65). Such an analysis used a set of sign vehicles as a representative of a semantic class (in this case, candidate images). Judgments about the reference and meaning of sign vehicles based on context were made each time a sign was perceived to match a word or phrase found in a list developed by a panel of political communication scholars who functioned

as sign generators. In this way, the semantical signification of a given sign was assessed. As a result, a coder was involved with both perceptual discrimination of sign vehicles as well as judgments of meaning and reference based on the context of the term under study. This coding procedure struck a balance between executing either an infeasibly rigid but highly reliable pure sign vehicle analysis (which might include an inordinate number of image terms not referring to candidates) or a richly flexible but comparatively unreliable pure semantic analysis (where no list would be supplied, and judgments would be completely open-ended). The operational definition of the image construct as offered was a compromise between these two extremes.

Development of the Operational Definition of the Image Construct

An operational definition of the image construct should accurately, fairly, and systematically measure the degree to which each commercial conveyed semantic image material concerning, among other things, the experience, strength, trustworthiness, leadership, intelligence, knowledge, honesty, and good will of political candidates.

Delphi Panel---To construct such a definition, an expert panel of four political scientists and a communication scholar familiar with political propaganda discourse generated a list of candidate personality, character, and role references which they judged to be contained in a sample of advertisements being analyzed in this study. This Delphi Panel (Cegala and Bassett, 1976, p. 228) watched on television a 25 percent random subsample of commercials and was supplied with pencil and paper, a transcript of the advertisements they were to view, and

the following instructions:

We are interested in your expert assessment of the semantic image material contained in some television program content concerning political candidates. In the following effort, please concentrate on the images of candidates.

You will be shown a videotape of televised political spot advertisements for which you will be supplied a complete transcript of the audio track. On the paper provided, please write the key words and phrases that are used in the ads which refer to any personality traits, character attributes, or candidate's characteristics which are conveyed by the commercial about any candidate.

If you have any doubts about including a new term, it is better to err on the side of caution; when in doubt, do not leave it out. Please include all terms that refer to the character, personality, or role attributes of any candidates. If a term is suggested repeatedly, you may include it repeatedly.

After viewing, panel members were asked to eliminate redundancy across their responses by providing consensus information during a discussion period. This served two functions. First, it made known an agreed array of diverse terms and phrases used in the advertisements which were purported to be image references. Second, it revealed which terms were used most often. This additional information provided a rationale for using certain terms as category titles or divisions under which to subsume all other terms. This resulted in a list of words and phrases (sign vehicles) containing terms which guided the development of a set of categories that would represent the image construct for this study.

The panel of attribute generators then developed a classification scheme suitable for categorizing image attributes into the most elegant-appearing, inclusive, reliable, and parsimonious set of image categories. These categories were in part inspired by the terms

appearing with the greatest frequency. This final set of categories was one into which all other key terms selected for coding were ultimately coded, and has been reproduced in Appendix C.

Follow-up to Delphi Panel's Efforts--A follow-up effort was made by the researcher to expand the list created by the Delphi panel. This was considered necessary because the Delphi panel did not view all of the advertisements. The researcher selected those image terms from the remaining 75 percent of advertisements which were semantically similar to those terms selected by the panel, but were absent from the sub-sample viewed by the panel. This was done to make certain that the image terms contained in the final collection would be representative of the image material contained in the data as a whole. As it turned out, the additional terms which were extracted by the researcher represented about a quarter of the total number of terms comprising the final sign vehicle list. This list is the final part of the image code book, located at the back of Appendix C.

Classification Scheme of Image Categories

The final categories formulated by the Delphi panel for the image sign vehicles consisted of the following eight headings:

- | | |
|--------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Altruism | 5 Leadership |
| 2 Competence | 6 Personal Characteristics |
| 3 Experience | 7 Strength |
| 4 Honesty | 8 Other Special Qualities |

These divisions were used to categorize all sign vehicles encountered by checking the textual information contained in each commercial against the sign vehicle list of image terms. A description of each

category and a list of the image sign vehicles is given in the image code book, in Appendix C.

Plan for Coding the Image Terms

The key-words and the categories developed by both the Delphi panel and the follow-up procedure were submitted to coders so that the commercials could be scored in terms of the degree to which each advertisement contained semantic image information about candidates. Coders viewed and listened to each advertisement. They had the classification scheme of image categories, the sign vehicle list of image terms, and a transcript of the text of each advertisement. In every case where a word or phrase appeared in the text that was the same as one of the words (or phrases) on the finalized sign vehicle list, an evaluation was made by the coder based on the context of the word to determine whether or not the key-word (or phrase) referred to an attribute of a candidate's role or character. Each time that an affirmative evaluation was made, a score of one point was assigned to the category selected by the coder for the sign vehicle under examination.

For example, a coder might watch and listen to a particular spot wherein was contained a reference to Carter's record of telling the truth. Specifically, the audio track of the commercial might have contained the voice of a citizen saying, "Carter may have made mistakes, but at least you don't have to worry about whether or not he is telling you the truth." The coder checked her image sign vehicle list and noted the presence of the phrase "tells(ing) . . . truth." The coder determined that in the case of the utterance in question, the

phrase was used to refer to a candidate. Thus, the coder made a positive evaluation and therefore assigned one point to the image category where she felt such an attribution belonged for that commercial.

In this way, the amount of semantic image material contained by a commercial was measured. A total image score was assigned to each commercial by summing the points the commercial received for sign vehicles that were positively evaluated to refer to character attributes of candidates. In cases of negative references to candidates ("Carter does not tell the truth."), a point was still awarded if the reference about the truth-telling was made about a current candidate. A coder made a negative evaluation and refrained from awarding a score to a commercial only in cases where the image reference was made about someone who was not a candidate. (Example: "Leon Jaworski, an honest man, who tells the truth about George Bush, says")

Development of the Operational Definition of the Issue Construct

An operational definition of the issue construct should accurately, fairly, and systematically measure the degree to which each commercial conveyed semantical issue material concerning, among other things, references to national energy needs, defense, foreign policy, the economy, health and social welfare problems.

Delphi Panel---To create such a definition, a procedure exactly parallel to that followed in developing the definition of the image construct was used. The panel of four political scientists and a communication scholar, well-versed in the language of politics, generated a list of issue terms contained in a subsample of

advertisements. This Delphi panel watched on television a 25 percent subsample of advertisements and was supplied with pencil and paper, a transcript of all advertisements they viewed, and was given the following directions:

We are interested in your expert assessment of the semantic issue material contained in some television program content concerning political issues. In the following effort, please concentrate on the issues of the featured campaigns.

You will be shown a videotape of televised political spot advertisements for which you will be supplied a complete transcript of the audio track. On the paper provided, please write the key words and phrases used in the advertisements which refer to any topics linked to the national interest and/or civic concerns or policy concerns. If you have any doubts about including a new term, it is better to err on the side of caution; when in doubt, do not leave it out. Please include all terms that refer to topics linked to the national interest, policy, and civic concerns. If a term is suggested repeatedly, you may include it repeatedly.

After viewing, panel members were asked to eliminate redundancy across their responses by providing consensus information during a discussion period. This made known an agreed array of diverse terms used in the advertisements which were purported to be issue references. Also, it revealed which terms were used most often, thus allowing a rationale to form for using certain terms as category titles or divisions. This resulted in a list of words and phrases (sign vehicles) containing terms which were then used to develop a set of issue categories to represent the issue construct. The panel then developed a classification scheme suitable for categorizing issue terms into the most elegant-appearing, inclusive, reliable, and parsimonious set of issue categories. These categories were in part inspired by the terms

appearing with the greatest frequency across all panel members. This final set of categories was one into which all other issue terms selected for coding were ultimately coded.

Follow-up to Delphi Panel's efforts--A follow-up effort was made by the researcher to expand the list created by the Delphi panel. The researcher selected phrases and terms from the remaining 75 percent of advertisements which were semantically similar to those selected by the panel but which were absent from the subsample viewed by the panel. This was done to make certain that the issue terms contained in the final collection would be a representative list of the issue sign vehicles contained in the data as a whole. As it turned out, the additional terms and phrases extracted represented about one quarter of the total number of terms comprising the final sign vehicle list. This list is the final part of the issue code book, located at the back of Appendix D.

Classification Scheme of Issue Categories

The categories for the issue sign vehicles consisted of the following nine headings:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Carter's record as President | 6 Foreign Policy/Foreign Relations |
| 2 Domestic | |
| 3 Economy | 7 Government Management |
| 4 Energy | 8 National Security/Military Strength |
| 5 Federalism | 9 National Well-being |

These divisions were used to categorize all sign vehicles encountered by checking the textual information contained in each commercial against the sign vehicle list of issue terms. A description of each category

and a list of the sign vehicles is given in the issue code book in Appendix D.

Plan for Coding the Issue Terms

The key issue terms and the categories developed by the Delphi panel and the follow-up procedure were submitted to coders so that the commercials could be scored in terms of the degree to which each advertisement contained semantic issue material. Coders viewed and listened to each advertisement. They had the classification scheme of issue categories, the sign vehicle list of issue terms, and a transcript of the text of each commercial. In every case where a word or phrase appeared in the text that was the same as one of the words or phrases on the finalized sign vehicle list, an evaluation was made by the coder based on the context of the term or phrase to determine whether or not the key term referred to a current civic concern, policy, or topic linked to the national interest. Each time that a positive evaluation was made, a score of one point was assigned to the category selected by the coder for the sign vehicle under examination.

For example, a coder might watch and listen to a particular spot wherein was contained a reference to the past record of productivity of F.D.R. to push through legislation. Specifically, the audio track might have contained the voice of a citizen saying, "F.D.R.'s productivity as President was higher than others after him." The coder checked her issue sign vehicle list and noted the term "productivity." The coder determined that in the case of the utterance in question, the phrase was used to refer to a past president's record rather than to a current campaign issue of industrial productivity.

Thus, the coder made a negative evaluation and did not assign one point to an issue category.

In this way, the amount of semantic issue material contained by a commercial was measured by summing the total number of points the commercial received for each of the sign vehicles that were positively evaluated to be issue references.

Two-Step Coding Procedures Adopted for Coding Image and Issue Scores

Step one--Two coders from a graduate seminar class in political communication at Illinois State University were selected for the task of coding image and issue terms. Initially, coders were instructed to read and locate the sign vehicles appearing within the text of each advertisement that matched sign vehicles provided by the analyst. The sign vehicle lists which guided the location of terms were the ones developed by the Delphi panel and the researcher. Coders were instructed to place matched terms into the categories they thought were the most appropriate for the context, reference, and meaning of the term under examination. At first, this procedure was thought to be sufficient to yield data amenable to reliability checks, but a preliminary survey of the first batch of data revealed that some sign vehicles were missed by one coder while other terms that were secured by her were inadvertently excluded by the other. These discrepancies were eliminated by having the two coders check each other for completeness by comparing their lists of collected terms before coding them into categories. This shift in procedures made it possible to compute reliabilities for the image and issue constructs, since it

assured that both coders were categorizing identical lists of terms.

The coding of image terms was tackled first; issue terms were coded after all image coding was completed. Coding of image and issue terms was carried out as two separate efforts in order to maximize memory decay of one construct in its relation to the commercials before the coding of the other construct began. This was done to minimize the chances for systematic bias to enter into the coding. Ultimately, these procedures yielded two sets of coded image terms and two sets of coded issue terms, all the product of two coders.

Step two--It was found in the earliest stages of coding that if the analyst were to return a batch of coded items to the coders with those items underlined where disagreements had occurred, and if the coders were either to recode these mismatches (or rejustify and stick with their original decision), then an increase in the overall number of agreements would accrue. This shift in procedures was judged to be worth pursuing, and was adopted as a separate step in the coding of image and issue material.

Summary

In summary, the coding of the image and issue constructs may be viewed as a two step process; step one consisted of having two coders select and compare the collection of terms to be placed into categories and then, independently, having them categorize them. Step two began when coders submitted their coded material to the analyst for marking so that disagreements could be identified, and the analyst returned the coded material for adjustment, if coders

deemed it appropriate. In a few instances, recoded mismatches resulted in no net gain in the number of agreements. When all coding was completed, the remaining disagreements were resolved by discussion and debate among the coders and the researcher. This resulted in achieving complete agreement for both constructs.

The Reliability of Coder Judgments

A unitizing reliability format for the variables representing the methods of presentation construct was developed as follows: for all judgments made by two coders on the same subsample of advertisements for a single variable, the correlation between the values obtained by the coders was computed. An appropriate statistic for checking the reliability of the variables comprising the method of presentation construct is the Pearson r correlation statistic, which tests the null hypothesis that the bivariate data are independent. The higher the correlation between coder's judgments on a single variable across a random sample of commercials, the greater the unitizing reliability. Pearson r coefficients of correlation were computed and have been reported in Table 2 for a 10 percent random subsample of commercials. Coefficients for all variables except non-neutral camera angle were deemed acceptable, and the scores recorded for them were retained for analysis, while the camera angle variables (both neutral and non-neutral) were both recoded by the analyst. It was believed that the difficulty in coding the camera angle variables was due to a confounding of coder judgments caused by the variation in body types and ages of citizens and other persons who appeared on camera. Repeated viewing of some commercials was necessary to assure that judgments

TABLE 2

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS FOR TWO JUDGES' SCORES ON
METHOD OF PRESENTATION VARIABLES FOR A 10% RANDOM
SUBSAMPLE OF ADVERTISEMENTS (PEARSON r STATISTIC)
(N = 14)

| Variables | Correlation Coefficient |
|--|----------------------------|
| Audio Variables | |
| Voice of Announcers | .9909 |
| Voice of Candidates | .9954 |
| Voice of Citizens and Others | .9811 |
| Voice of Famous Persons | .9916 |
| Music | .9997 |
| Crowd Sounds | .9822 |
| Video Variables | |
| Video Talking Candidates | .9763 |
| Video Talking Citizens and Others | .9850 |
| Video Talking Famous Persons | .9916 |
| Neutral Camera Angle | .8378 |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angles | .2125* |
| Candidate Orientation Direct | .9997 |
| Candidate Orientation Indirect | .9644 |
| Exterior Locales | .9897 |
| Interior Locales | .8342 |
| Candidate Dress Formal | .9737 |
| Candidate Dress Informal | 1.0000 |
| Transitions | .9962 |
| Visual Still Candidates | .9918 |
| Visual Still Non-Candidates | .9855 |
| Live Action Non-Talking Non-Candidates | .9978 |
| Live Action Non-Talking Candidates | .8031 |

*All probability levels were less than .000, except for non-neutral camera angles, which had a P level of .233.

about camera angles were not subjectively biased by the variation in the prominence of facial features across the on-camera personnel due to weight or age. Much care was taken to make camera angle judgments not affected by misleading visual cues inhering in the subject.

A category reliability format for the categories representing the constructs of image and issue was developed as follows: for all judgments made by two coders on the same 10 percent subsample of advertisements (14 commercials) for a single variable (category), the percentage of expected agreement by chance was compared to the observed agreement based on the "proportion of items falling into each category. . ." (Holsti, 1969, p. 140). An index of reliability appropriate for nominal data (Scott, 1955, p. 321), was computed for the image and issue constructs after the two step coding procedure was carried out, and are reported in Table 3.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was designed to assess the research questions put forth in Chapter I. The first research question was, "What, and in what frequencies and proportions, are the semantic images and issues of the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primaries? What, and in what durations and proportions are the methods of presentation of these advertisements?"

To answer this question, the categories and variables comprising the constructs of image, issue, and methods of presentation were identified and described. Frequencies and proportions, reporting image and issue mentions across all image and issue categories for all

TABLE 3

RELIABILITY INDICES COMPUTED FOR TWO JUDGES' SCORES
ON ISSUE AND IMAGE CONSTRUCTS FOR A 10% RANDOM
SUBSAMPLE OF ADVERTISEMENTS
(SCOTT'S PI STATISTIC)

| Construct | Reliability Index |
|-----------|-------------------|
| Issue | .8262 |
| Image | .7045 |

commercials were computed, as were means and standard deviation scores for these variables.

Proportions of all variables were computed in order to compare the dominance of each variable against all others across all commercials. Finally, the duration of each of the method of presentation variables and the rate in seconds per minute devoted to these variables across all commercials was computed as were mean and standard deviations for these variables. Proportions of time devoted to these variables were computed in order to assess the dominance of each variable against all others for all commercials.

The second research question was, "What are the frequencies and proportions of these semantic images and issues by party and by candidate? What are the durations and proportions of methods of presentation by party and by candidate?" To answer this question, the categories and variables comprising the constructs of image, issue, and methods of presentation were identified, described, and broken down by candidate and by party. Frequencies and proportions reporting image and issue mentions across all image and issue categories for each group of commercials by candidate and by party were computed as were means and standard deviations for these measures. The total number of mentions across each candidate and party's group of commercials was computed for each category of image and issue and for each construct as a whole (composite score). Frequencies, proportions, and means and standard deviation scores were computed in order to compare the occurrence of each image and issue variable across each group of commercials by party and by candidate. Finally, the proportion of time devoted to each of the method of presentation variables for each

group of commercials by candidate and by party was computed as were means and standard deviation scores associated with these variables.

With respect to the above analyses, the only alteration of any variable values or category scores in any commercials was in the case of the means and standard deviation scores, which were based on halved values for 60 second spots (see below for exact description of the transformation process adopted). All other values are reported as measured. With respect to correlation and regression analyses, scores for image and issue categories, and values for method of presentation variables were also changed in the case of 60 second spots in the following way:

For each 60 second spot, all method of presentation variable values were halved in order to make them compatible with 30 second spots. In cases where the original number of seconds scored for a variable was an odd number, the convention was adopted to halve its value and add one half point in order to bring its score back to a whole number.

The same procedure was adopted for the frequency values computed for each of the eight image categories and nine issue categories. These altered category values were then summed in order to achieve for each commercial a composite image score and a separate composite issue score.

The third research question was, "What are the correlations between single method of presentation variables and the composite semantic image and issue scores of the televised political spot advertisements?"

To answer this question, data for all method of presentation variables and both composite image and issue scores for all commercials

were entered into a Pearson r intercorrelation model. This resulted in a 24 by 24 square matrix of Pearson r computed correlation values. The method of presentation variables and their composite image and issue correlates were viewed as the bivariate r values of interest; in this way, every variable from the methods of presentation construct was paired with a composite image score and a composite issue score yielding 44 correlation coefficients of interest. These were then interpreted in terms of their magnitude and direction.

The fourth question was, "To which method of presentation variable clusters do the semantic image and issue scores regress? Which method of presentation variables are the best predictors of semantic image and semantic issue scores in the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 American presidential primaries?"

To answer this question, the data for all method of presentation variables were entered into a step-wise multiple regression model using the composite image scores as the dependent measure; this was also done using the composite issue scores as a dependent measure. These procedures helped to determine the degree of linear dependence of image and of issue (taken separately as single dependent measures) on method of presentation variables. Multiple R values yielded information indicating the variation in composite image scores and composite issue scores explained by the joint contribution of all method of presentation measures. These multiple R squared values were examined in order to determine the amounts of unique variance accounted for by each variable in the regression equation.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

Issue Mentions - Total

Table 4 reveals the frequencies, proportions, and descriptive statistics of issue mentions across nine issue categories for all political advertisements. As coded, the total number of issue mentions for all commercials was 649, nearly 20% of which belonged to the national well-being category. The category to receive the next highest percentage of issue mentions was the economy, with nearly 13 percent of issue mentions, followed by the energy and foreign policy/foreign relation categories, each with nearly 12 percent of all mentions. Domestic and national security/military defense issues, as coded, contained 10.2 percent and 10 percent of all mentions, respectively. The government management category received 11.4 percent of all mentions, and was the only other category to receive over 10 percent of all mentions. Federalism, with 9.4 percent of all mentions, and Carter's record as president, with only 2.5 percent of all issue mentions (16 mentions), were last. Inspection of the means and standard deviation scores reported in Table 4 reveals that the typical thirty second political spot contained just over four issue mentions, with a standard deviation of nearly three mentions, indicating that most 30 second spots contained approximately between one and seven issue mentions. The highest mean score for a single issue category

TABLE 4
FREQUENCIES, PROPORTIONS, AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF ISSUE
MENTIONS IN NINE CATEGORIES FOR ALL ADVERTISEMENTS, TOTAL

| | N* | %* | Mean** | S.D.** |
|------------------|-----|-------|--------|--------|
| Carter's Record | 16 | 2.5 | .11 | .48 |
| Domestic | 66 | 10.2 | .43 | .86 |
| Economy | 84 | 12.9 | .54 | 1.01 |
| Energy | 77 | 11.9 | .46 | 1.35 |
| Federalism | 61 | 9.4 | .41 | .76 |
| Foreign Policy | 77 | 11.9 | .48 | 1.05 |
| Gov't Management | 74 | 11.4 | .46 | .88 |
| Nat'l Security | 65 | 10.0 | .41 | .94 |
| Nat'l Well-Being | 129 | 19.8 | .79 | 1.24 |
| Total | 649 | 100.0 | 4.10 | 2.76 |

*Based on 140 ads, time = 83 minutes.

**Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

was .79 for the national well-being category, which had a standard deviation score of 1.24 associated with it. By contrast, Carter's record as president scored an average of only .11 mentions per 30 second spot with a standard deviation score of only .48. The category with the largest standard deviation score associated with it was that of energy, with a score of 1.35. The range of mean and standard deviation values among single issue categories was less than one unit (from .11 to .79 and from .48 to 1.35 respectively), indicating a narrow and relatively homogeneous distribution of issue category mentions. Inspection of Table 4 enables comparisons to be made among issue categories for all commercials analyzed.

Image Mentions - Total

Table 5 reveals the frequencies, proportions, and descriptive statistics of image mentions across eight image categories for all political advertisements. As coded, the total number of image mentions for all commercials was 383, over 30 percent of which belonged to the experience category. The category to receive the next highest percentage of image mentions was competence, with just over 15% of image mentions, followed by the "other special qualities" category, with over 13% of all mentions. The honesty category received 11.2 percent of image mentions, followed by the categories of leadership and strength, which received 10.4 and 10.2 percent of image mentions, respectively. Altruism, with 7 percent of image mentions, and personal characteristics, with only 2.1 percent of mentions, were last. Inspection of the means and standard deviation scores reveals that the typical 30 second spot contained 2.51 image mentions, with a standard deviation of under two

TABLE 5
FREQUENCIES, PROPORTIONS, AND DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS, OF IMAGE
MENTIONS IN EIGHT CATEGORIES FOR ALL ADVERTISEMENTS, TOTAL

| | N* | %* | Mean** | S.D.** |
|-----------------|-----|-------|--------|--------|
| Altruism | 27 | 7.0 | .16 | .44 |
| Competence | 58 | 15.1 | .39 | .65 |
| Experience | 117 | 30.5 | .74 | 1.22 |
| Honesty | 43 | 11.2 | .30 | .61 |
| Leadership | 40 | 10.4 | .27 | .59 |
| Personal | 8 | 2.1 | .06 | .23 |
| Strength | 39 | 10.2 | .26 | .55 |
| Other Qualities | 51 | 13.3 | .34 | .71 |
| Total | 383 | 100.0 | 2.51 | 1.88 |

*Based on 140 ads, time = 83 minutes.

**Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

mentions; hence, most 30 second spots contained approximately between one and four image mentions (a narrower range than that scored for the issue variable). The highest mean score was .74 for the experience category, which had a standard deviation of 1.22 associated with it. By contrast, the personal characteristics category scored an average of only .06 mentions per 30 second spot; its standard deviation score was .23. Hence, the range of mean and standard deviation values among single image categories was less than one unit (from .06 to .74 and from .23 to 1.22, respectively), indicating a narrow and relatively homogeneous distribution of image category mentions.

Audio Treatments - Total

Table 6 reveals the time, proportion of time, rate in seconds per minute, and descriptive statistics of the selected audio variables for all advertisements. As coded, the voices of candidates, by a substantial margin, were present over all other selected audio variables with 46.4 percent of time devoted to voices of candidates. Announcers' voices were heard nearly a quarter of the time, and were next most prevalent. Citizens and others monopolized an additional 14 percent of time, and music was present nearly 10 percent of time. Voices of famous people were present about 6 percent of the time. The audio treatment least prevalent was that of crowd sounds with only 5 percent of time devoted to the presence of them. In Table 6, the percent column sums to a percentage greater than 100 percent because some audio treatments included music or crowd sound as a background and occurred simultaneously with other audio variables, usually the voice of the candidate. As shown, candidates' voices were present at a rate of

TABLE 6

MINUTES, PROPORTION OF TIME, RATES IN SECONDS PER MINUTE, AND
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED AUDIO METHODS
OF PRESENTATION FOR ALL ADVERTISEMENTS, TOTAL

| | Minutes* | %* | Rate* | Mean** | S.D.** |
|------------------|----------|------|-------|--------|--------|
| Voice Announcer | 19.5 | 23.5 | 14.1 | 7.57 | 8.66 |
| Voice Candidates | 38.5 | 46.4 | 27.8 | 13.86 | 10.77 |
| Voice Citizen | 11.7 | 14.0 | 8.4 | 3.98 | 8.55 |
| Voice Famous | 4.9 | 5.9 | 3.5 | 1.62 | 5.90 |
| Music | 7.8 | 9.4 | 5.7 | 2.78 | 7.94 |
| Crowd Sound | 4.1 | 5.0 | 3.0 | 1.57 | 4.93 |

*Based on 140 ads, time = 83 minutes.

**Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

nearly 28 seconds out of every commercial minute; crowd sounds were present at a rate of only three seconds per minute. Inspection of the means and standard deviations reveals that the typical 30 second political spot contained nearly 14 seconds of candidates' voices, nearly eight seconds of announcers' voices, just under four seconds of citizens' voices, under two seconds of famous persons' voices, nearly three seconds of music, and under two seconds of crowd sounds. The audio variable with the largest standard deviation was that of the candidate's voice (10.77), indicating that most 30 second spots contained approximately between 3 and 25 seconds of candidates' voices. Thus, there is wide variation in the use of candidates' voices in televised political spots for the 1980 primaries. (The reader should be reminded that whenever means and standard deviations are reported, they are based on halved values for 60 second spots.) The audio variable with the smallest standard deviation was that of crowd sounds, with a score of 4.93, indicating in conjunction with the mean values associated with it, that only rarely did 30 second spots contain crowd sounds for longer than 7 seconds. Similarly, it was rare to find music present for more than about 10 seconds; citizens rarely spoke for more than 12 seconds. Inspection of Table 6 enables comparisons to be made among audio treatments for all commercials analyzed.

Video Treatments - Total

Table 7 reveals the time, proportion of time, rate in seconds per minute, and descriptive statistics of the selected video methods of presentation for all advertisements. As coded, neutral camera angles were present longer than any other video method of presentation, with

TABLE 7

MINUTES, PROPORTIONS OF TIME, RATES IN SECONDS PER MINUTE, AND
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED VIDEO METHODS
OF PRESENTATION FOR ALL ADVERTISEMENTS TOTAL

| | Minutes ^a | % ^a | Rate ^a | Means ^b | S.D. ^b |
|----------------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <u>Live Action Talk/Non-Talk</u> | | | | | |
| Talking Candidate | 38.5 | 46.4 | 27.8 | 14.08 | 10.07 |
| Talking Citizen | 12.0 | 14.4 | 8.7 | 4.14 | 8.60 |
| Talking Famous | 5.3 | 6.4 | 3.9 | 1.75 | 5.93 |
| Non-Talking Non-Candidate | 6.8 | 8.2 | 4.9 | 2.61 | 4.89 |
| Non-Talking Candidate | 4.1 | 4.9 | 3.0 | 1.38 | 3.56 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | | |
| Neutral Camera Angle | 59.5 | 71.6 | 43.0 | 21.01 | 7.76 |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | 6.0 | 7.2 | 4.3 | 2.38 | 5.45 |
| Still Candidate | 6.1 | 7.4 | 4.4 | 2.26 | 5.10 |
| Still Non-Candidate | 12.6 | 15.2 | 9.1 | 4.71 | 6.55 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | | |
| Candidate Direct to Camera | 21.1 | 25.4 | 15.2 | 7.74 | 10.54 |
| Candidate Indirect to Camera | 17.3 | 20.8 | 12.5 | 6.26 | 9.02 |
| Live Exteriors | 18.5 | 22.3 | 13.4 | 6.66 | 9.77 |
| Live Interiors | 43.1 | 51.9 | 31.2 | 16.71 | 10.39 |
| Candidate Formal | 36.0 | 43.4 | 26.1 | 12.98 | 10.47 |
| Candidate Informal | 5.8 | 7.0 | 4.2 | 2.08 | 6.45 |
| *Transitions | 598.0 | -- | 7.2 | 3.84 | 2.85 |

*Raw frequency given with rate and descriptive statistics.

^aBased on 140 ads, time = 83 minutes.

^bBased on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

71.6 percent of time devoted to them. Live action interiors were present 51.9 percent of the time and were the next most prevalent variable of those measured. Visuals of talking candidates were present 46.4 percent of time; candidates were formally dressed 43.4 percent of commercial time, and were directly oriented to the camera just over a quarter of the time. Over one fifth of the time, they were found in exterior locales; they were indirectly oriented to the camera also for over a fifth of the commercial time. Among the least prevalent video treatments were those of still non-candidates, which were present just over 15 percent of time, and talking citizens, present just over 14 percent of time. No other treatment was present over 9 percent of the time. The rate column of Table 7 reveals that neutral camera angles were present for 43 seconds out of every commercial minute, and live action non-talking candidate shots were present at a rate of only three seconds of every commercial minute. This column also reveals that there were 598 transitions present across all commercials, averaging a rate per minute of just over seven transitions.

Inspection of the means and standard deviations reveals that 30 second political spots typically contained about 21 seconds of neutral camera angles, about 17 seconds of interior locales, over 14 seconds of video talking candidates, nearly 13 seconds of formally attired candidates, nearly 8 seconds of candidates directly oriented to the camera, nearly 7 seconds of live exterior locales, over 6 seconds of candidates indirectly oriented to the camera, and no other video variable for over 5 seconds. In the majority of 30 second spots, the average number of transitions was not more than about four per spot.

The "direct camera orientation" variable had the largest standard deviation (10.54), indicating along with its mean score of 7.74, that 30 second spots rarely contained more than 18 seconds of candidates oriented in this fashion. Similarly, the variables of interior locales, video talking candidates, and formally attired candidates had standard deviations of over 10 seconds, indicating relatively wide variation in the use of these variables. From this, one can characterize the 30 second spot as often containing between 6 and 27 seconds of live interiors, between about 3 and 24 seconds of formally dressed candidates, and between about 4 and 24 seconds of video talking candidates. By contrast, the smallest standard deviation score was associated with transitions, with a score of 2.85, indicating that only rarely did 30 second spots contain more than seven transitions.

The data of Tables 4 through 7 can be used as a reference against which to compare the prevalence of variables as they occurred across groups of spots by party or candidate. Thus ends the presentation of data which may be used to supply a response to the first research question. Enumeration data and descriptive statistics which may be used to supply a response to the second research question are summarized in Tables 8 through 15.

Issue Mentions - Party

Tables 8 and 9 reveal the proportions and descriptive statistics of issue mentions comparing democratic, republican, independent parties, and the population across all issue categories. As coded, no spots made on behalf of the independent or republican candidates contained references to Carter's record as president; all such

TABLE 8

PROPORTIONS OF ISSUE MENTIONS, COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN,
INDEPENDENT PARTIES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Population *N=649 **M=83 | Democratic N=276 M=33.5 | Republican N=273 M=36 | Independent (Anderson) N=100; M=13.5 |
|------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Carter's Record | 2.5 | 5.8 | 0 | 0 |
| Domestic | 10.2 | 8.0 | 6.2 | 27.0 |
| Economy | 12.9 | 13.8 | 12.1 | 13.0 |
| Energy | 11.9 | 12.7 | 10.2 | 14.0 |
| Federalism | 9.4 | 5.8 | 15.4 | 3.0 |
| Foreign Policy | 11.9 | 14.5 | 11.3 | 6.0 |
| Gov't Management | 11.4 | 7.2 | 15.0 | 13.0 |
| Nat'l Security | 10.0 | 11.2 | 9.9 | 7.0 |
| Nat'l Well Being | 19.8 | 21.0 | 19.8 | 17.0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*N = Total Number of Issue Mentions.

**M = Total Commercial Time in Minutes.

TABLE 9

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* OF ISSUE MENTIONS IN 9 CATEGORIES COMPARING
DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT PARTIES AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Democratic | | Republicans | | Independent (Anderson) | |
|------------------|------------|------|------------|------|-------------|------|---------------------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Carter's Record | .11 | .48 | .31 | .76 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Domestic | .43 | .86 | .37 | .66 | .26 | .62 | 1.00 | 1.41 |
| Economy | .54 | 1.01 | .65 | 1.06 | .49 | 1.00 | .42 | .97 |
| Energy | .46 | 1.35 | .45 | 1.10 | .43 | 1.61 | .54 | 1.06 |
| Federalism | .41 | .76 | .28 | .49 | .63 | .96 | .13 | .34 |
| Foreign Policy | .48 | 1.05 | .65 | 1.21 | .45 | 1.05 | .21 | .51 |
| Gov't Management | .46 | .88 | .31 | .71 | .59 | 1.01 | .46 | .78 |
| Nat'l Security | .41 | .94 | .49 | 1.07 | .40 | .95 | .29 | .55 |
| Nat'l Well Being | .79 | 1.24 | .88 | 1.57 | .79 | 1.05 | .63 | .88 |
| Total | 4.10 | 2.76 | 4.39 | 3.12 | 4.03 | 2.32 | 3.67 | 3.07 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

mentions originated from the democratic camp, and comprised only 5.8 percent of democratic issue mentions; as it turned out, this proportion was among the lowest coded and was tied with the federalism category for commercials made on behalf of democrats. Similarly, the government management category, for democrats, was coded quite low, containing only 7.2 percent of all mentions. By contrast, democrats' spots had over a fifth of all mentions coded into the national well-being category; this amount was nearly matched by the other two parties' proportion scores for the same category. The only proportion higher than that coded for the national well-being category was for domestic issues for the lone independent candidate, John Anderson. For commercials made on behalf of Anderson, over a quarter of all mentions were for domestic issues. This is attributable to Anderson's substantial number of references to the issues of women's rights, the ERA, and gun control, among others.

One explanation for the different scores among parties in the category of Carter's record as president is that during the primaries, democratic candidates Kennedy and Carter (the incumbent) were locked in bitter infighting; Kennedy focused negative criticism on the Carter Camp in a bid to rally support hoping to win enough primaries to unseat Carter. Kennedy rallied increased support by communicating the view that the nation (and the democrats) could not survive another four years of Carter's inept administration. By contrast, the independent and republican party candidates focused issue references not on Carter's record, but on broader concerns.

Whereas spots made for democrats scored low on government management and federalism issues, republican spots focused over 30

percent of their issue references in these areas; Anderson spots focused over two thirds of all references on government management, domestic, economic, and energy issues. Overall, the parties put comparable weight to economic, energy, national security and national well being issues, with national well-being issues most prevalent across all parties.

Perhaps one explanation for the universal emphasis on national well-being issues is that they are not divisive; all citizens presumably view the continuance and growth of America as positive. Therefore, candidates run a lower risk of precipitating defections by mentioning the aspirations of the American Dream than they do by defending more controversial issue positions.

In spots made on behalf of republicans, after the national well-being category the greatest proportions were for the economy (12.1 percent), federalism (15.4 percent), foreign policy (11.3 percent); and government management (15 percent), while for democrats, the major categories were the economy (13.8 percent), energy (12.7 percent), and foreign policy (14.5 percent); for the independent, the major categories were domestic (27 percent), economic (13 percent), government management (13 percent), and energy issues (14 percent).

Table 9 shows that, as coded, the typical 30 second democratic spot averaged a low of .31 issue mentions and a high of .88 issue mentions, for Carter's Record and government management tied for the low average, and national well-being for the high average; standard deviations ranged between .49 (federalism) and 1.57 (national well-being). These values and ranges indicate that most democratic 30 second spots did not exceed two issue mentions for any specific

category (a narrow variation of issue mentions for specific issue categories). Overall, for such spots, the average number of total issue mentions for all categories was 4.39, with a standard deviation score of 3.12; hence for issues, generally the typical 30 second democratic spot contained between about one and eight issue mentions.

For republicans, the typical 30 second spots averaged a low of .26 issue mentions (not counting zero scores), and a high of .79 issue mentions for the specific issue categories of domestic and national well-being issues, respectively. Standard deviation scores ranged from .62 to 1.61 (for the domestic and energy categories, respectively). These values and ranges of means and standard deviations indicate that most republican 30 second spots generally did not exceed about two issue mentions for any specific category and indicate once again a narrow variation of issue mentions for specific categories. For all issues, the average number of mentions was 4.03, with a standard deviation of 2.32 (lower than the democrats), indicating that typical 30 second spots for republicans generally contained from two to six issue mentions, a range smaller than that computed for the democrats.

The typical independent 30 second spot averaged a low of .13 issue mentions (not counting zero scores), and a high of 1.00 issue mentions for the categories of foreign policy, and domestic issues, respectively. Standard deviation scores for specific issue categories ranged from .34 to 1.41 (for the federalism and domestic categories, respectively.) These values and ranges of means and standard deviations suggest that most such spots did not generally exceed about two issue mentions for any specific category and indicate once again a narrow variation of issue mentions for specific categories. For all issues, the average

number of mentions was 3.67, with a standard deviation of 3.07 (also lower than the democrats), indicating that the typical 30 second spot for the independent candidate generally contained between about one and seven issue mentions. Overall, advertisements made on behalf of democratic candidates exhibited slightly higher issue mentions, both from the standpoint of averages, and standard deviations; the democratic issue average was the only one to exceed that of the population.

Image Mentions - Party

Tables 10 and 11 reveal the proportions and descriptive statistics of image mentions comparing democratic, republican, independent parties, and population across all image categories. As coded, only democratic spots contained altruism scores in proportions higher than that coded for the population (13.3 percent vs. 7 percent for the population). The altruism score for republican spots was 1.2 percent of mentions. For Anderson's spots, 6.3 percent of mentions were coded as altruism mentions. This outcome is partly due to many mentions in Kennedy spots of "caring for the little guy," the helpfulness of Senator Kennedy, and Kennedy's compassion and understanding of personal problems ("... because he has suffered himself").

The democratic dominance in altruism is comparable to the republican's dominance in the competence category, although the proportions across parties in this case are not nearly as discrepant as they are for altruism. For competence, republicans' spots received nearly five percentage points more than did the population, while for this category democratic spots received 5 percent less; Anderson's spots were nearly dead even with the population.

TABLE 10

PROPORTIONS OF IMAGE MENTIONS COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN,
INDEPENDENT PARTIES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Population *N=383 **M=83 | Democratic N=158 M=33.5 | Republican N=162 M=36 | Independent (Anderson) N=63; M=13.5 |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| Altruism | 7.0 | 13.3 | 1.2 | 6.3 |
| Competence | 15.1 | 10.1 | 19.7 | 15.9 |
| Experience | 30.5 | 37.3 | 33.9 | 4.8 |
| Honesty | 11.2 | 11.4 | 13.0 | 6.3 |
| Leadership | 10.4 | 7.6 | 17.3 | 0 |
| Personal | 2.1 | 2.5 | 1.2 | 3.2 |
| Strength | 10.2 | 16.4 | 8.0 | 0 |
| Other Qualities | 13.3 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 63.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*N = Total Number of Image Mentions.

**M = Total Commercial Time in Minutes.

TABLE 11

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* OF IMAGE MENTIONS IN 8 CATEGORIES
 COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT PARTIES
 AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Democratic | | Republican | | Independent (Anderson) | |
|-----------------|------------|------|------------|------|------------|------|---------------------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Altruism | .16 | .44 | .35 | .63 | .02 | .12 | .17 | .38 |
| Competence | .39 | .65 | .28 | .57 | .46 | .75 | .42 | .50 |
| Experience | .74 | 1.22 | .96 | 1.04 | .79 | 1.46 | .13 | .34 |
| Honesty | .30 | .61 | .35 | .74 | .31 | .53 | .17 | .48 |
| Leadership | .27 | .59 | .24 | .51 | .40 | .70 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Personal | .06 | .23 | .08 | .27 | .03 | .17 | .08 | .28 |
| Strength | .26 | .55 | .49 | .67 | .19 | .46 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Other Qualities | .34 | .71 | .04 | .20 | .14 | .50 | 1.50 | .72 |
| Total | 2.51 | 1.88 | 2.78 | 1.89 | 2.32 | 2.02 | 2.46 | 1.41 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

For republicans, experience, leadership, and competence together accounted for over 70 percent of all mentions. Obviously there was a heavy republican emphasis in these areas. It is conceivable that this emphasis reflects the general dissatisfaction by republicans with the ineptitude of the democratic administration. Moreover, such emphasis was due to verbal claims of such images by some prominent republican candidates who were running. For example, John Connally, Howard Baker, and George Bush were all republican candidates who had active government service records and long national public recognition during their political lives; their commercials often mentioned abilities they were purported to have that were supposedly proven by illustrious track records. Some examples of this were references to Baker's Watergate experience, Connally's Texas governorship, and Bush's CIA work, all of which demonstrated their experience and competence as government officials.

Perhaps one of the starkest contrasts of Table 10 is in the comparison of leadership and strength scores between independent Anderson and the other parties. Anderson's zero scores in these areas are perhaps understandable since he had not achieved significant national prominence until after the primaries had begun; most of Anderson's opponents already had such recognition and were able to make leadership and strength claims more convincingly.

Substantially high strength scores accrued for democrats (higher than the population and the proportion of republican image mentions by over eight percentage points); one reason for this outcome is the constant mentioning in Carter spots that the incumbent was ". . . a solid man in a sensitive job." Hence, at times, an image

category was substantially affected by the repetition of a slogan.

Another example of this is in the inordinately high score received by the category of "other special qualities" for independent party advertisements. Here, 63.5 percent of all independent image mentions were coded into the "other special qualities" category, and nearly every one of the mentions so coded originated from the slogan "Think about the Anderson difference" which accompanied Anderson's spots.

Table 11 shows that, as coded, the typical 30 second democratic spot averaged a low of .04 image mentions and a high of .96 image mentions, for the specific image categories of other special qualities and experience, respectively. Standard deviation scores, for democrats ranged from .20 (for the other special qualities category) to 1.04 (for the experience category). These values and ranges of means and standard deviations indicated that most democratic 30 second spots did not exceed two image mentions for any specific category, and indicated a narrow variation of image mentions for specific categories. For all image categories in 30 second democratic spots, the average number of image mentions was 2.78, with a standard deviation score of 1.89, indicating that the typical 30 second spot for democrats generally contained between about one and five image mentions.

For republicans, the typical 30 second spot averaged a low of .02 image mentions and a high of .79 image mentions for the specific image categories of altruism and experience, respectively. Standard deviation scores ranged from .12 to 1.46 (for the altruism and experience categories, respectively). These values and ranges of means and

standard deviations indicate that most republican 30 second spots rarely exceeded about two image mentions for any specific category and again indicate a narrow variation of image mentions for specific categories. For all images coded the average number of mentions was 2.32 (lowest for all parties), with a standard deviation of 2.02 (highest of all parties), indicating that the typical 30 second spot for republicans generally contained between about zero and four image mentions.

For lone independent John Anderson, the typical 30 second spot, as Table 11 shows, averaged a low of .08 image mentions (not counting zero scores), and a high of 1.5 image mentions for personal characteristics, and other special qualities, respectively. Standard deviation scores ranged from .28 to .72 (for personal characteristics and other special qualities categories, respectively.) These values and ranges of means and standard deviations suggested that most independent 30 second spots did not exceed about two image mentions for any specific category, and indicated a quite narrow variation of image mentions for specific categories. For all images, the average number of mentions was 2.46, with a standard deviation of 1.41, indicating that the typical 30 second spot for the independent generally contained between about one and four image mentions. Overall, advertisements made on behalf of democratic candidates were the only ones whose mean and standard deviation for all image mention scores both exceeded that of the population.

Audio Treatments - Party

Tables 12 and 13 reveal the proportions of time and descriptive statistics of audio variables comparing democratic, republican, independent parties and population. As coded, for all parties, the number one and two audio treatments most used were those of voices of candidates followed by voices of announcers. Only commercials made on behalf of democratic candidates had a proportion score for the voice of candidate variable that was lower than that of the population. By a substantial margin, the independent exceeded the population score for the candidate's voice (56.5 percent of commercial time for Anderson vs. only 46.4 percent of time for the population). By contrast, Anderson's voice of announcer score was substantially lower than that of the population (16.7 percent of commercial time for Anderson vs. 23.5 percent of time for the population). The range of proportion scores among parties for citizen's voices was between 11.4 percent of time scored for republican and 16.4 percent of time scored for democratic spots (a range of five percentage points), with independent John Anderson's spots nearly even with the population (15.2 percent of time for Anderson spots vs. 14.0 percent of time for population). Hence, only republican spots had a proportion score lower than the population for this variable.

The range for scores among parties for "voices of famous persons" was large. The lowest score was for commercials made on behalf of the independent (1.5 percent of time) while, for democrats, the percentage of time was 10.7 percent. Thus there were relatively broad differences in the usage of famous peoples' voices by the different parties; republicans used famous person's voices only 3.1 percent of commercial time, while democrats used them much more liberally.

TABLE 12

PROPORTIONS OF TIME DEVOTED TO SELECTED AUDIO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
 COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT PARTIES AND
 POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Population | Democratic | Republican | Independent (Anderson) |
|-----------------|------------|------------|------------|---------------------------|
| | 83 Min. | 33.5 Min. | 36 Min. | 13.5 Min. |
| Voice Announcer | 23.5 | 22.7 | 26.7 | 16.7 |
| Voice Candidate | 46.4 | 40.3 | 48.2 | 56.5 |
| Voice Citizen | 14.0 | 16.4 | 11.4 | 15.2 |
| Voice Famous | 5.9 | 10.7 | 3.1 | 1.5 |
| Music | 9.4 | 5.5 | 16.6 | 0 |
| Crowd Sound | 5.0 | 5.6 | 6.2 | .25 |

TABLE 13

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED AUDIO METHODS OF
PRESENTATION COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT
PARTIES, AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Democratic | | Republican | | Independent (Anderson) | |
|---------------------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Voice Announcer | 7.57 | 8.66 | 7.82 | 9.39 | 8.29 | 9.42 | 5.08 | 2.52 |
| Voice Candidate | 13.86 | 10.77 | 11.18 | 11.43 | 14.79 | 10.88 | 17.08 | 7.64 |
| Voice Citizen | 3.98 | 8.55 | 5.28 | 10.05 | 2.79 | 7.68 | 4.46 | 7.06 |
| Voice Famous Person | 1.62 | 5.90 | 2.88 | 7.82 | 1.05 | 4.87 | .50 | 2.45 |
| Music | 2.78 | 7.94 | 1.78 | 6.41 | 4.59 | 9.90 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Crowd Sound | 1.57 | 4.93 | 1.94 | 4.84 | 1.83 | 5.79 | .08 | .41 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

Parties differed broadly with respect to the music variable also. Independent spots used no music, democratic spots used it only sparingly (5.5 percent of time) and republicans used music liberally (16.6 percent of time). Music was especially apparent in the commercials of Howard Baker, George Bush, and John Connally. Baker's spots sometimes had a country and western singing group with a banjo accompaniment that played nearly throughout some spots and were sometimes used as background music for the candidate's voice. This was thought to be quite surprising since in most cases, having lyrics under a voice over is quite confusing; it is generally considered a poor production practice since it introduces a potent source of noise into the verbal message. Nevertheless, this easily criticizable production technique was employed in the Baker campaign. George Bush's spots also used music but without lyrics; often it too was background audio for the candidate's voice (a more accepted technique). Finally, John Connally's spots often used music merely as punctuation for speeches by announcers or for the candidate himself, and sometimes used disco style band (and bandwagon) music as background throughout announcers' speeches. Thus there were relatively broad differences in the use of music both within and among the different parties, with the broadest use of it originating from spots made on behalf of republicans.

Data in Table 13 shows that, as coded, the typical 30 second democratic spot averaged a low of 2.88 seconds of famous persons' voices, with a standard deviation score of 7.82, indicating that rarely did such advertisements contain more than about 11 seconds of famous voices. Republican 30 second spots had a mean of only 1.05 seconds with a standard deviation of 4.87 for this variable, indicating

that republican spots used famous persons more sparingly and with less variation than did democrats. For Anderson spots, use of famous persons was nominal.

The greatest mean and standard deviation scores for democratic spots for an audio variable occurred for the voice of the candidate, which had a mean score of 11.18 and an accompanying standard deviation score of 11.43, indicating that generally democratic 30 second spots contained between about zero and 23 seconds of candidate's voices.

For republican spots, the greatest such scores were for the voice of the candidate, which had a mean of 14.79, and a standard deviation of 10.88, indicating comparable variation with democratic spots and further indicating that generally republican 30 second spots contained between about 5 and 26 seconds of candidate's voices. For independent spots, the greatest such scores were for the voice of the candidate, but these values contrast with those of the other parties indicating that the candidate's voice was used more than by the other two parties' advertisements and with greater stability and regularity. The mean and standard deviation scores associated with the typical independent 30 second spot for the candidate's voice were 17.08, and 7.64, respectively, indicating that such spots usually contained between about 10 and 25 seconds of the candidate's voice. Thus, whereas it was common to find democratic or republican spots that did not feature the candidate's voice at all, it was rare to find an independent spot that did not have Anderson's voice.

In general, spots made on behalf of the independent had substantially less variation in the audio variables selected for measurement than the other two parties; in every case, the standard deviation

score for each audio variable in independent spots was lower than that computed for the population.

Video Treatments - Party

Tables 14 and 15 reveal the proportions of time and descriptive statistics of video variables comparing democratic, republican, independent parties, and population. As coded, the four variables used most were those of neutral camera angles, interior locales, shots of talking candidates, and formally dressed candidates. Commercials made on behalf of the independent party candidate were the only ones to contain shots of a talking candidate for over half the total commercial time (57.9 percent of time). Democratic and republican spots contained this variable for only 42.3 percent and 45.9 percent of commercial time, respectively. Therefore the spots made for the independent candidate had the highest proportion of time devoted to talking candidate shots. Independent spots, in contrast to the other parties' spots, had no live action of non-talking candidates and no shots of the candidate dressed informally, whereas republican spots devoted nearly 15 percent of their time to informally dressed candidates and nearly 7 percent of time to live action of non-talking candidates; democratic spots devoted only 1.7 percent of time to informally dressed candidates and just over 5 percent of time to live action non-talking candidates. Therefore, a substantially greater amount of time was devoted to informally dressed candidates in spots made on behalf of republicans than the other parties; the republican party was the only one to exceed the population proportion on this variable. The proportion of time devoted to visuals of talking citizens in republican spots was the only one lower than that for the population although the range of scores across parties

TABLE 14

PROPORTIONS OF TIME DEVOTED TO SELECTED VIDEO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
COMPARING PARTIES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Population 83 Min. | Democratic 33.5 Min. | Republican 36 Min. | Independent (Anderson) 13.5 Min. |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|--|
| <u>Live Action Talk/Non Talk</u> | | | | |
| Talking Candidate | 46.4 | 42.3 | 45.9 | 57.9 |
| Talking Citizen | 14.4 | 16.6 | 11.7 | 16.3 |
| Talking Famous Person | 6.4 | 13.5 | 1.7 | 1.5 |
| Non-Talk Non-Candidate | 8.2 | 9.3 | 9.9 | .7 |
| Non-Talk Candidate | 4.9 | 5.1 | 6.6 | 0 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | |
| Neutral Camera Angle | 71.6 | 79.2 | 66.7 | 66.2 |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | 7.2 | 4.0 | 8.4 | 12.0 |
| Still Candidate | 7.4 | 5.3 | 11.1 | 1.8 |
| Still Non-Candidate | 15.2 | 6.4 | 21.7 | 19.5 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | |
| Candidate Direct to Camera | 25.4 | 20.6 | 24.6 | 39.2 |
| Candidate Indirect to Camera | 20.8 | 22.3 | 20.9 | 17.0 |
| Live Exteriors | 22.3 | 24.7 | 25.6 | 10.4 |
| Live Interiors | 51.9 | 60.7 | 48.7 | 67.5 |
| Candidate Formal | 43.4 | 47.2 | 37.2 | 57.7 |
| Candidate Informal | 7.0 | 1.7 | 14.5 | 0 |
| *Transitions | 7.2 | 5.6 | 9.0 | 6.4 |

*Only rate per minute given.

TABLE 15

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED VIDEO METHODS OF
PRESENTATION COMPARING DEMOCRATIC, REPUBLICAN, INDEPENDENT
PARTIES, AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Democratic | | Republican | | Independent (Anderson) | |
|--------------------------|------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| <u>Live Action Talk/</u> | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Non-Talking</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Talking Cand. | 14.08 | 10.07 | 12.24 | 10.62 | 14.29 | 10.29 | 17.42 | 7.38 |
| Talking Citizen | 4.14 | 8.60 | 5.31 | 10.10 | 2.99 | 7.70 | 4.75 | 7.29 |
| Talking Famous P. | 1.75 | 5.93 | 3.84 | 8.60 | .57 | 3.32 | .50 | 2.45 |
| Non-Talk Non-Cand. | 2.61 | 4.89 | 3.04 | 5.65 | 3.15 | 4.93 | .25 | .85 |
| Non-Talk Cand. | 1.38 | 3.56 | 1.61 | 3.48 | 1.71 | 4.15 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Neutral Cam. Angle | 21.01 | 7.76 | 23.16 | 5.73 | 19.95 | 8.44 | 19.29 | 8.82 |
| Non-Neut. Cam. Angle | 2.38 | 5.45 | 1.47 | 3.31 | 2.48 | 4.83 | 4.04 | 9.27 |
| Still Candidate | 2.26 | 5.10 | 1.86 | 1.94 | 3.19 | 7.12 | .63 | 1.53 |
| Still Non-Cand. | 4.71 | 6.55 | 2.06 | 2.23 | 6.32 | 8.84 | 5.96 | 2.55 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | | | | | |
| Cand Direct to Cam | 7.74 | 10.54 | 5.53 | 10.69 | 8.17 | 10.57 | 11.25 | 9.37 |
| Cand Indirect to Cam | 6.26 | 9.02 | 6.80 | 8.74 | 6.02 | 8.88 | 5.75 | 10.23 |
| Live Exterior | 6.66 | 9.77 | 7.88 | 9.94 | 7.14 | 10.80 | 2.75 | 4.15 |
| Live Interior | 16.71 | 10.39 | 17.55 | 10.04 | 14.66 | 11.68 | 20.50 | 5.06 |
| Cand Formal | 12.98 | 10.47 | 13.57 | 11.25 | 11.75 | 10.48 | 15.04 | 8.49 |
| Cand Informal | 2.08 | 6.45 | .61 | 2.65 | 4.00 | 8.82 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Transition | 3.84 | 2.85 | 3.12 | 2.24 | 4.62 | 3.34 | 3.25 | 1.96 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

for this variable was not large. By contrast the range of scores among parties for the "talking famous person" variable was comparatively large. For this variable the lowest score was for independent commercials (1.5 percent of time), while for democrats, the percentage of time was 13.5 percent. Thus there were broad differences in the use of visuals of talking famous persons by the different parties. (Republican's spots used visuals of talking famous persons only 1.7 percent of the time.)

As with visuals of talking famous persons, democratic commercials used neutral camera angles substantially more than the other parties (79.2 percent of time for democratic spots vs. only 66.2 percent of time for independent spots and 66.7 percent of time for republican spots). This is partly due to the broad differences in usage of still video by the different parties; democratic spots used still shots (both candidate and non-candidate stills) substantially less than the other parties did; as a result, a greater proportion of time was available in democratic spots for live action shots requiring camera angles. As Table 14 shows, republican spots used fully a third of their time for still visuals; independent spots used 21 percent of time for still visuals, but democratic spots used only 11.7 percent of time for still visuals.

In addition, the high scores for democratic spots on the neutral camera angle variable reflects comparatively low scores democratic spots received for non-neutral camera angles. As Table 14 shows, republican spots used 8.4 percent of time for non-neutral angles, while independent spots used 12 percent of time for non-neutral angles; democratic spots scored relatively low on this variable, with only 4 percent of time devoted to it. Together, these data explain the relatively

high scores in democratic spots for neutral camera angles.

Another major difference among parties was found in the candidate's direct orientation to the camera. The only proportion score to exceed that of the population for this variable was that of the independent party. For Anderson spots, nearly 40 percent of time was devoted to direct orientations, whereas for spots made on behalf of democrats, this proportion score was only half that magnitude; for republican spots, only 24.6 percent of time featured candidates oriented directly to the camera. By contrast the greatest proportion score for the variable of indirect orientation was found in democratic spots, followed by republican spots with independent spots last (with proportion scores of 22.3 percent, 20.9 percent and 17.0 percent of time respectively).

The use of live exteriors by the three parties differed markedly also. Whereas democratic and republican spots used live exteriors for 24.7 percent and 25.6 percent of time, respectively, the independent party spots used them only 10.4 percent of commercial time.

The use of formal dress among the parties differed such that the independent candidate exceeded the proportion score for formal dress by republicans by over 20 percent (57.7 percent of time vs. 37.2 percent of time for republicans). Democratic spots contained formally dressed candidates 47.2 percent of the time. Finally, Table 14 shows that republican spots had the highest transition rate, averaging nine transitions per commercial minute, followed by independent spots which scored 6.4 transitions per minute; democratic spots were last in transition rate per minute scoring only 5.6 transitions. Thus, roughly speaking, republican spots can be characterized as liberally using stills of candidates, informally dressed candidates, and transitions. Democratic spots

can be characterized as using visuals of talking famous persons, neutral camera angles, and live interiors, most often with formally dressed candidates. Independent spots featured direct orientations, live interiors, and a formally dressed talking candidate.

Data in Table 15 indicate that, as coded, the lowest mean score for a variable in the typical 30 second democratic spot was .61 seconds for informally dressed candidates, with a standard deviation score of 2.65, indicating that rarely did such advertisements contain more than about 3 seconds of informally dressed candidates in live action. For republicans the lowest mean score for a variable in the typical 30 second commercial was .57 seconds for talking famous persons, with an accompanying standard deviation score of 3.32, indicating that rarely did such advertisements contain more than about 4 seconds of talking famous persons. The lowest mean score for a video variable for independent 30 second spots was .25 seconds (not counting zero scores) for live action non-talking non-candidates, with an accompanying standard deviation score of .85, indicating that rarely did such spots contain more than about 1 second of live action non-talking non-candidates.

By contrast the greatest mean score for a video variable in democratic spots occurred for the neutral camera angle variable, which had a mean score of 23.16 and an accompanying standard deviation score of 5.73, indicating that, generally such spots contained between about 17 and 29 seconds of neutral camera angles. Likewise for the typical 30 second republican spot, the greatest mean score for a variable occurred for neutral camera angles, which had a mean score of 19.95 and an accompanying standard deviation score of 8.44, indicating that,

generally, such spots contained between about 11 and 29 seconds of neutral camera angles.

Finally, the greatest mean score for independent spots for a video variable occurred for live action interior locales, which had a mean score of 20.5 and an accompanying standard deviation score of 5.06, indicating that generally, such spots contained between about 15 and 25 seconds of live action interiors.

It is interesting to note that for 12 of the 16 variables in Table 15, the standard deviation scores computed for independent spots were smaller in magnitude than those coded for the other two parties; in other words, except for the variables of neutral camera angles, non-neutral camera angles, stills of non-candidates, and indirect candidate orientations, all variables were used in the independent's spots with greater stability and regularity than they were in spots made for either republicans or democrats.

The mean and standard deviation scores associated with the typical republican 30 second spot for informally dressed candidates were 4.00 and 8.82, respectively, indicating that such spots usually contained not more than about 13 seconds of informally dressed candidates. This contrasts sharply with the zero scores recorded for the independent candidate for this variable and with the nominal values recorded for democrats. Thus, republican spots used informally dressed candidates in a comparatively liberal fashion. In like manner, it is possible to see wider variation in the application of still shots of candidates in republican commercials, as well as in stills of non-candidates. As for democratic spots, the relatively wider variation and more liberal usage occurs in the case of visuals of talking famous persons, and

talking citizens. Likewise, wider variation for independent spots occurred in the cases of non-neutral camera angles and indirect candidate orientations.

Thus ends the presentation of results which may be used to supply information concerning issue, image, audio and video variables by party. Enumeration data describing such variables by candidate will be presented in Tables 16 through 19; tables of mean and standard deviation scores for each variable by candidate will be presented in Appendix E and will not be discussed in the text because the N's associated with single candidates' advertisements are in most cases quite small.

Issue Mentions - Candidates

Table 16 reveals the proportions of issue mentions comparing candidate and population across all issue categories. As coded, it is clear that only democratic candidates Kennedy and Carter had non-zero scores on the issue of Carter's record as president; Kennedy commercials spent over 10 percent of all issue mentions here while only 4.2 percent of issue mentions in Carter advertisements dealt with Carter's record as president. This outcome is interesting because it reflects the nature of primary races, where infighting within a party is the major focus. It is appropriate that criticism of the democratic incumbent by the leading democratic challenger should occur in such contests, and the data in the first row of Table 16 bears this out.

On domestic issues, the only candidates' spots to exceed the population proportion were those of Anderson, Kennedy, and Reagan, with Anderson's proportion score substantially higher than the population for this variable. As mentioned before, in the discussion of

TABLE 16

PROPORTIONS OF ISSUE MENTIONS COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Pop. *N=649 **M=83 | Anderson N=100 M=13.5 | Baker N=64 M=8 | Brown N=82 M=5.5 | Bush N=81 M=11.5 | Carter N=71 M=11.5 | Connally N=54 M=9.5 | Crane N=48 M=4.5 | Kennedy N=123 M=16.5 | Reagan N=26 M=2.5 |
|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Carter's Record | 2.5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.2 | 0 | 0 | 10.6 | 0 |
| Domestic | 10.2 | 27.0 | 4.7 | 2.4 | 7.4 | 7.0 | 1.8 | 8.3 | 12.2 | 11.5 |
| Economy | 12.9 | 13.0 | 9.4 | 9.7 | 21.0 | 4.2 | 3.7 | 10.4 | 22.0 | 11.5 |
| Energy | 11.9 | 14.0 | 7.8 | 14.6 | 8.6 | 5.6 | 18.5 | 10.4 | 15.4 | 3.8 |
| Federalism | 9.4 | 3.0 | 9.4 | 9.7 | 8.6 | 2.8 | 25.9 | 16.7 | 4.9 | 26.9 |
| Foreign Policy | 11.9 | 6.0 | 26.6 | 17.1 | 3.7 | 9.8 | 3.7 | 14.6 | 15.4 | 7.7 |
| Gov't Management | 11.4 | 13.0 | 15.6 | 17.1 | 12.3 | 0 | 7.4 | 29.2 | 4.9 | 11.5 |
| Nat'l Security | 10.0 | 7.0 | 9.4 | 11.0 | 16.0 | 26.8 | 3.7 | 4.2 | 2.4 | 15.4 |
| Nat'l Well Being | 19.8 | 17.0 | 17.2 | 18.3 | 22.2 | 39.4 | 35.2 | 6.2 | 12.2 | 11.5 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*N = Total Number of Issue Mentions.

**M = Total Commercial Time in Minutes.

issue mentions by party, the main reasons for the inordinately high score for Anderson for the domestic category were his constant concerns for gun control legislation, passage of the ERA extension, and women's rights in general, among others.

By contrast, spots made on behalf of candidates Brown and Connally were least concerned with domestic issues, and had proportion scores for this category of only 2.4 percent and 1.8 percent of issue mentions, respectively. It is interesting that for candidate Connally, nearly 80 percent of all issue mentions were accounted for by the three categories of national well-being (35.2 percent), federalism (25.9 percent) and energy (18.5 percent). For Connally commercials, these were the only categories with scores substantially higher than the population; moreover, no other candidate's advertisements contained as high a concentration of total issue mentions in as few categories as did the Connally advertisements, although Carter's spots run a very close second.

For the economy, the only candidates' spots to exceed the population proportion were those of Anderson, Bush and Kennedy, with Bush and Kennedy's scores substantially higher than the population (21 percent of issue mentions for Bush commercials and 22 percent for Kennedy spots as compared to 12.9 percent of all mentions for the population). Many economic issue mentions from Bush and Kennedy spots concerned inflation, and unemployment as their major foci.

As for energy issues, the only candidates' advertisements to score substantially different proportions from the population were those of Carter, Connally, and Reagan, with Carter and Reagan spots scoring low proportions of 5.6 percent of issue mentions and 3.8 percent of issue

mentions respectively. By contrast, as mentioned before, Connally spots, as coded, devoted a hefty 18.5 percent of all issue mentions to energy issues. This proportion was nearly 7 percentage points higher than that scored for the population (11.9 percent for population).

The federalism category seemed to break along partisan lines, with democratic candidates' spots generally containing low proportions of issue mentions and republican candidates' spots generally containing substantially higher proportion scores than the population. The federalism scores for candidates Reagan, Crane, and Connally's spots were especially reflective of these partisan concerns. Whereas the population proportion for federalism was 9.4 percent, the proportion for Connally, Crane, and Reagan's commercials were 25.9 percent, 16.7 percent, and 26.9 percent, respectively. No other issue category had scores which differed so vastly from the population score for so many candidates from the same party. In addition, except for democratic candidate Brown, no democratic candidate had a federalism score higher than the population; Brown's federalism score was less than one percentage point higher than that scored for the population (an insubstantial difference of 9.7 percent of issue mentions for Brown advertisements vs. 9.4 percent of issue mentions for all advertisements). For the remaining democratic candidates (Carter and Kennedy), the proportions of federalism issue mentions were quite substantially lower than that for the population (2.8 percent of issue mentions from Carter spots and 4.9 percent from Kennedy spots, vs. 9.4 percent for the population).

Hence, federalism can be viewed as a partisan issue. (Anderson spots were coded such that only 3 percent of all issue mentions were

coded as federalism issues, while Bush and Baker, the only remaining republican candidates, had federalism scores of 8.6 percent and 9.4 percent of all mentions, respectively, the Bush score being nearly even with the population, and the Baker score equal to it.)

On foreign policy issues, both Baker and Brown's spots had substantially higher proportion scores than the population (26.6 percent for Baker spots and 17.1 percent of issue mentions for Brown's spots, vs. 11.9 percent of issue mentions for all commercials). Among the reasons for the exceptionally high foreign policy scores in Baker's advertisements were the references to the hostage crisis in Iran: the concern with making policy that would assure that we "never have another Iran in our lifetime," and that we provide adequate protection for our embassies.

On issues of government management, except for Brown's advertisements, there seems to be a tendency toward partisan concern similar to that coded for the federalism category, but it is not as sharply defined as in the case of federalism issues. For government management, it is clear that all republican party candidates except Connally exceed the population proportion, with Crane's commercials exceeding the population proportion by the most substantial margin (29.2 percent of all mentions vs. 11.4 percent for the population). This can be attributed to Crane commercials' mentions of waste in spending within government, specifically described as fraud, corruption, and mismanagement. Overall it can be said that Crane's commercials drew a highly critical and negative picture of the government machine. Carter spots, by contrast, had no mentions at all of government management issues; this may be attributed to the incumbent's desire to avoid

focussing on issues that might reflect the administration's failure to reduce the size of government. This issue may have been viewed as a particularly sore point with the administration since one of Carter's campaign pledges during the 1976 campaign was to reduce the size of the federal bureaucracy; not only did he fail to do this, but over the four years of his administration, it was apparent that he had allowed the bureaucracy to grow larger.

As coded, the only democratic candidate's spots to have a government management proportion score higher than that of the population were those of candidate Brown, (17.1 percent of issue mentions in Brown spots vs. 11.4 percent for the population). Finally, it is noteworthy that for the government management category, the proportion of issue mentions scored for candidate Reagan was nearly dead even with that scored for the population (11.5 percent for Reagan spots vs. 11.4 percent for the population).

As for national security/military defense issues, the only candidates' spots to exceed by a substantial margin that proportion for the population were those of Bush, Carter, and Reagan, with 16.0 percent, 26.8 percent, and 15.4 percent of all issue mentions, respectively, vs. 10.0 percent by the population. The inordinately high score for Carter's advertisements (over a quarter of all issue mentions went for national security issues) can be explained by Carter spots' mentions that his "number one responsibility is to defend this country, to maintain its security . . ." and ". . . to put a strong defense at the top of my priority list. . . ." Clearly as the incumbent under siege from the crisis in Iran and the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, it

was necessary to reflect to the electorate a well placed pre-eminent concern with national defense.

Finally, it is apparent from Table 16 that a substantial number of mentions was coded into the category of national well-being, the most substantial scores emanating from the Carter and Connally camps.

Carter's high score of 39.4 percent was the highest proportion of all candidates for this category. Overall, only three candidates (Crane, Kennedy, and Reagan) had a proportion score under 17 percent for the national well-being category. As mentioned before in reference to issue categories by party, one reason for the relatively great prevalence of national well-being issues across so many candidates may be that such issues are not by nature divisive; therefore, candidates run almost no risk of alienating members of the electorate who might see commercials that voice national well-being concerns liberally.

In summary, after national well-being issues, the major concerns of commercials made on behalf of the incumbent Carter were those of national security and foreign policy. For Kennedy commercials, the major concerns were foreign policy, economic, and energy issues. For Reagan spots, federalism and national security issues were predominant. Candidate Bush's commercials were mainly concerned with economic, government management, and national security issues, while Baker's spots were concerned mainly with foreign policy and government management issues. Anderson's spots dealt mainly with domestic, economic, energy and government management issues. Brown's advertisements dealt mainly with energy, foreign policy, and government management, while Connally spots' main issue emphases were in the energy and federalism areas. Finally, Crane's spots emphasized

government management, federalism, and foreign policy.

Image Mentions - Candidates

Table 17 reveals the proportions of image mentions comparing candidates and population across all eight image categories. As a preliminary caution, the reader must be advised that the overall numbers of image mentions coded for some candidates' advertisements were quite small; for example, candidate Reagan's spots, as coded, contained only four image mentions. Similarly, Brown's commercials had only 14 image mentions, while the overall image mentions for Crane's spots numbered 12. These low numbers must be kept in mind during the presentation of results.

As coded, altruism seemed to break along partisan lines; spots made on behalf of democratic candidates contained relatively high scores for this category, while republican spots had extremely low scores. The only republican candidate's spots to have a non-zero altruism score were those of Baker, with 5.4 percent of mentions coded into the altruism category (as compared to 7.0 percent for the population). Anderson's spots were coded such that 6.3 percent of all mentions were altruism references. Therefore, Baker's score for this variable was the lowest non-zero score of all candidates. By contrast, spots made for all three democratic candidates had altruism scores greater than or equal to the population proportion, with Kennedy and Brown's advertisements devoting 19.2 percent and 14.3 percent of all mentions, respectively, to images of altruism. Of these findings, the most interesting is the altruism theme expressed in Kennedy spots that Kennedy understands and cares about the problems of the average person

TABLE 17

PROPORTIONS OF IMAGE MENTIONS COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Pop. *N=383 **M=83 | Anderson N=63 M=13.5 | Baker N=37 M=8 | Brown N=14 M=5.5 | Bush N=48 M=11.5 | Carter N=71 M=11.5 | Connally N=61 M=9.5 | Crane N=12 M=4.5 | Kennedy N=73 M=16.5 | Reagan N=4 N=2.5 |
|-----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Altruism | 7.0 | 6.3 | 5.4 | 14.3 | 0 | 7.0 | 0 | 0 | 19.2 | 0 |
| Competence | 15.1 | 15.9 | 13.5 | 14.3 | 39.6 | 9.8 | 11.5 | 8.3 | 9.6 | 0 |
| Experience | 30.5 | 4.8 | 24.3 | 21.4 | 37.5 | 56.3 | 39.3 | 8.3 | 22.0 | 75.0 |
| Honesty | 11.2 | 6.3 | 2.7 | 28.6 | 8.3 | 11.3 | 9.8 | 75.0 | 8.2 | 25.0 |
| Leadership | 10.4 | 0 | 40.5 | 7.1 | 2.1 | 2.8 | 19.7 | 0 | 12.3 | 0 |
| Personal | 2.1 | 3.2 | 0 | 0 | 2.1 | 0 | 1.6 | 0 | 5.5 | 0 |
| Strength | 10.2 | 0 | 5.4 | 14.3 | 6.2 | 12.7 | 11.5 | 8.3 | 20.5 | 0 |
| Other Qualities | 13.3 | 63.5 | 8.1 | 0 | 4.2 | 0 | 6.5 | 0 | 2.7 | 0 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

*N = Total Number of Image Mentions.

**M = Total Commercial Time in Minutes.

"because he has suffered himself." Here implied references to Kennedy's loss of his brothers and the nightmare and haunting tragedy of Chappaquiddick were turned to the candidate's advantage; a positive image dimension was formed for Kennedy. He was drawn as a candidate whose personal losses have tempered him, made him a "more mature man," and have given him insight which would make him a more caring public servant.

For the competence category, it is immediately apparent that the highest proportion of image mentions emanated from spots made on behalf of candidate Bush; over 39 percent of all references from Bush commercials were coded into the competence category, with the population proportion less than half that magnitude (15.1 percent for population). No other candidates' spots exceeded the population proportion for competence. This inordinately high image score for Bush spots is explained by the presence of the slogan "George Bush will be a president we won't have to train," in many of his commercials.

The experience category received the greatest number of image mentions for the population, with 30.5 percent of all mentions coded as experience references. The experience category accounted for image mentions by more than a two to one margin over competence, the next highest coded. Only commercials of candidates Bush, Carter, Connally, and Reagan had proportion scores that were higher than that of the population (with 37.5 percent, 56.3 percent, 39.3 percent, and 75 percent of all mentions, respectively). Of the remaining candidates, substantial proportions of image mentions for the experience category were coded from Baker, Brown, and Kennedy advertisements (with between a fifth and a quarter of all image mentions coded into the experience

category for these candidates). The only candidates' spots to have experience scores that were insubstantial were those of Anderson and Crane, with 4.8 percent and 8.3 percent of image mentions, respectively. This outcome can perhaps be understood from the view that of all candidates whose commercials were included for study, Anderson and Crane were comparatively lacking in national visibility before the primaries. As Congressmen, these two candidates had experience on state and local levels, and were not featured in the national public eye as prominently as their opponents, who were governors and senators and were more able to publicize their backgrounds and experience from a national perspective.

Finally, the extremely high experience score for Carter spots (56.3 percent of all image mentions), can be explained by the image portrayed in Carter advertisements of the incumbent at work, being presidential. Carter's advertisements clearly capitalized on the fact that the prior four years of the Carter presidency had given candidate Carter the best possible experience. This emphasis is clearly reflected in Carter spots which repeatedly referred to Carter as "the President."

As for the honesty category, spots made on behalf of candidates Brown, Crane, and Reagan had substantially higher proportions of honesty mentions than the population (28.6 percent, 75 percent, and 25 percent, respectively, vs. 11.2 percent for the population), but it must be said that small numbers of image mentions are involved here.

The leadership category was dominated by large proportion scores from candidates Baker and Connally, who had 40.5 percent and 19.7 percent of image mentions, respectively, as compared with 10.4 percent of mentions for the population, coded as leadership references; by

contrast, Anderson and Crane's commercials had zero scores. Perhaps these outcomes may be understood again, from the perspective of national visibility; that is, both Baker and Connally had careers of high national visibility which permitted them to make claims of leadership ability, while Anderson and Crane did not, and therefore could not make credible leadership claims with equal ease. Carter's spots, surprisingly, had one of the lowest scores for leadership (2.8 percent of all image mentions); Bush spots had the lowest non-zero score (2.1 percent).

The two categories of personal characteristics and other special qualities were both extremely low scoring, except in the case of candidate Anderson, whose proportion scores of 63.5 percent for the "other special qualities" category was mainly due to the constant repetition of the slogan "Before you vote, think. Think about the Anderson 'difference!'," and variations of it. After Anderson's enormous other special qualities score of 63.5 percent, the next largest proportion score for either category was 6.5 percent; there were nine zero scores for these two categories across the remaining candidates.

Finally, in reference to the strength category, the only candidate whose commercials had a score substantially higher than that of the population was Kennedy; Kennedy's spots were coded such that over a fifth of all image terms were coded as strength references. This was partially due to references that Kennedy was a "stronger, more mature man," since he had suffered so much.

In summary, Table 17 indicates that the major image references in commercials made on behalf of the incumbent Carter were to his experience, strength and honesty. For Kennedy commercials, the major image

references were to his experience, strength, and altruism. For Reagan, only four image references were coded; they found their way into the experience and honesty categories. Candidate Bush's spots stressed competence above all, with experience the only close second, while Baker's spots stressed leadership, experience and competence.

Anderson's spots placed over half of all mentions in the other special qualities category, with competence references second. Brown's advertisements stressed honesty above all, followed by experience. Connally's main image emphases, as coded, were in the areas of experience, leadership, and strength, and fit the image of John Connally as "Big John" quite well. Finally, Crane's spots emphasized the images of honesty, with competence, experience, and strength all tied for a distant second place.

Audio Treatments - Candidates

Table 18 reveals the proportions of time devoted to selected audio methods of presentation comparing candidates and population. As coded, spots made on behalf of three candidates (Brown, Crane, and Reagan) did not use citizen's voices or famous voices and did not use music, or crowd sounds. In addition, candidate Brown's commercials did not use announcer's voices or any audio variable except that of the candidate's voice; 91.8 percent of commercial time was devoted to Brown's voice in his commercials. This proportion of time was substantially higher than scores for the same variable by other candidates' advertisements, the next most prevalent being Crane's commercials, which used the candidate's voice 73.3 percent of the time, and used the voice of an announcer 18.1 percent of time.

TABLE 18

PROPORTIONS OF TIME DEVOTED TO SELECTED AUDIO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Pop. 83 mn | Anderson 13.5 mn | Baker 8 mn | Brown 5.5 mn | Bush 11.5 mn | Carter 11.5 mn | Connally 9.5 mn | Crane 4.5 mn | Kennedy 16.5 mn | Reagan 2.5 mn |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Voice Announcer | 23.5 | 16.7 | 27.9 | 0 | 32.2 | 30.3 | 18.6 | 18.1 | 25.0 | 44.0 |
| Voice Candidate | 46.4 | 56.5 | 51.9 | 91.8 | 47.8 | 39.1 | 35.3 | 73.3 | 24.0 | 42.7 |
| Voice Citizen | 14.0 | 15.2 | 7.9 | 0 | 0 | 20.0 | 36.7 | 0 | 19.4 | 0 |
| Voice Famous P. | 5.9 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 9.8 | .9 | 0 | 0 | 21.1 | 0 |
| Music | 9.4 | 0 | 14.8 | 0 | 28.4 | 11.9 | 16.1 | 0 | 2.9 | 0 |
| Crowd Sound | 5.0 | .25 | 11.2 | 0 | 11.1 | 5.9 | .52 | 0 | 7.2 | 0 |

For all candidates' spots, which used both announcers' voices and candidates' voices, only the commercials of John Connally contained a third voice with greater prevalence than that of candidates and announcers. For Connally's spots, the citizens talked longer than announcers or the candidate. For all other spots that used both voices of candidates and announcers, the two most prevalent audio variables were those of candidates' voices followed by those of announcers. Crane and Reagan's advertisements used both announcers and candidates' voices and used no other audio variable.

Candidates Reagan, Bush, and Carter's spots used announcers' voices substantially more than did the population (44 percent, 32.2 percent, and 30.3 percent of time, respectively, vs. 23.5 percent of time for the population), while the commercials of Anderson, Brown, Connally, and Crane used announcers' voices substantially less than the population.

Of the nine candidates' spots coded, only the commercials of four featured famous voices; these were the commercials of Kennedy (whose commercials devoted 21.1 percent of time to voices of famous people), followed by the spots of Bush (9.8 percent of time), Anderson (1.5 percent of time), and incumbent Carter (whose spots featured famous voices an insubstantial .9 percent of time). The population percentage of time devoted to famous voices was 5.9 percent of time; hence, only commercials made on behalf of candidates Kennedy and Bush featured famous voices for a proportion of time greater than that scored for the population. In Kennedy spots, these famous voices belonged to actor Carroll O'Connor, and family members Rose and Ethel Kennedy, among

others. In Bush's advertisements, the voices were those of Lowell Thomas, Governor Hugh Gregg, and Capt. Jeremiah Denton.

Of all candidates' spots, only those of five candidates featured voices of citizens; those were the commercials of Connally (whose commercials devoted a hefty 36.7 percent of time to citizens' voices), followed by the spots of Kennedy (19.4 percent of time), Carter (20 percent of time), Anderson (15.2 percent of time), and Baker (whose spots featured voices of citizens only 7.9 percent of time). The population percentage for the voices of citizens variable was 14 percent of time; hence, only the commercials made on behalf of candidates Connally, Carter and Kennedy featured citizens' voices for a proportion of time substantially greater than that scored for the population. The commercials made for candidates Brown, Bush, Crane, and Reagan had zero scores for this variable.

As for music and crowd sounds, candidates Brown, Crane and Reagan's commercials were coded such that they received zero scores for these variables. Only candidates Baker, Bush, and Connally's advertisements had music scores substantially higher than that scored for the population (14.8 percent of time, 28.4 percent, and 16.1 percent of time, respectively, vs. 9.4 percent of time for the population). As for crowd sounds, only Bush and Baker's spots exceeded the population proportion substantially (each with about 11 percent of time devoted to crowd sounds as compared to only 5 percent of time for the population). Table 18 reflects a global summary statement that can be made concerning the overall audio treatments of each candidate's advertisements; for a few candidates, the proportions of time for all audio variables, when summed, exceed 100 percent. This is true for the

advertisements of candidates Baker, Bush, Carter and Connally, and occurs, it turns out, because spots for these candidates used at least two audio variables simultaneously. These commercials can be designated as containing "multi-track" audio styles of presentation. By contrast, the advertisements of candidates Reagan, Kennedy, Brown, Crane, and Anderson generally contained only one audio source at a time, and can be designated as commercials containing "single track" audio treatments. For these five latter candidates' spots, proportions of time for all audio variables, when summed, amount to less than 100 percent of time.

Video Treatments - Candidates

Table 19 reveals proportions of time devoted to selected video variables comparing candidates and population. As coded, the commercials with the simplest video formats (using the fewest variables) were those of candidate Brown, whose spots exclusively featured formally dressed talking shots of the candidate, oriented directly to the camera, on a neutral angle, in interior locales, with a minimum of transitions and still graphics. For Brown's commercials, nine of the sixteen variables selected for measurement obtained zero scores. Of those which obtained non-zero scores the proportions of time devoted to five of them were each between about 83 and 85 percent of commercial time. Just under 13 percent of Brown's commercial time was devoted to showing non-candidate stills which were name identification graphics. Finally, Brown's spots had the lowest transition rate per minute of all candidates (2.4 per minute).

Crane's advertisements were only slightly less simple in format. For Crane's commercials, half of the variables selected for measurement

TABLE 19

PROPORTIONS OF TIME DEVOTED TO SELECTED VIDEO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION (PERCENTAGES)

| | Pop. 83 mn | Ander- son 13.5 mn | Baker 8 mn | Brown 5.5 mn | Bush 11.5 mn | Carter 11.5 mn | Connally 9.5 mn | Crane 4.5 mn | Kennedy 16.5 mn | Reagan 2.5 mn |
|-----------------------------|---------------|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| <u>Live Action Talk/</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Non-Talking</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Talking Cand. | 46.4 | 57.9 | 44.2 | 83.9 | 45.1 | 36.6 | 31.6 | 82.6 | 32.5 | 43.0 |
| Talking Citizen | 14.4 | 16.3 | 4.4 | 0 | 2.3 | 19.7 | 37.9 | 0 | 20.0 | 0 |
| Talk. Famous P | 6.4 | 1.5 | 0 | 0 | 5.4 | 7.4 | 0 | 0 | 22.3 | 0 |
| Non-Talk Non- Candidate | 8.2 | .7 | 11.0 | 0 | 13.9 | 16.4 | 4.2 | 0 | 7.5 | 27.3 |
| Non-Talk Cand. | 4.9 | 0 | 10.6 | 0 | 4.8 | 9.3 | 8.7 | 0 | 3.9 | 6.0 |
| <u>Visual</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Neutral Camera Angle | 71.6 | 66.2 | 57.1 | 84.5 | 63.0 | 76.8 | 75.8 | 82.2 | 79.1 | 51.3 |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | 7.2 | 12.0 | 13.1 | 0 | 12.6 | 4.1 | 3.8 | 0 | 5.2 | 6.7 |
| Still Cand. | 7.4 | 1.8 | 19.8 | 0 | 14.8 | 4.8 | 7.9 | 0 | 7.4 | 3.3 |
| Still Non-Cand. | 15.2 | 19.5 | 9.8 | 12.7 | 11.0 | 7.1 | 49.5 | 13.7 | 3.7 | 18.0 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Cand. Direct to Camera | 25.4 | 39.2 | 0 | 85.1 | 30.4 | 0 | 9.6 | 74.4 | 13.5 | 43.0 |
| Cand. Indirect to Camera | 20.8 | 17.0 | 43.1 | 0 | 14.2 | 36.1 | 22.6 | 6.7 | 20.1 | 0 |
| Live Exterior | 22.3 | 10.4 | 2.5 | 0 | 43.6 | 21.4 | 35.3 | 0 | 35.2 | 9.3 |
| Live Interior | 51.9 | 67.5 | 65.8 | 85.1 | 27.4 | 66.1 | 44.2 | 81.5 | 48.9 | 50.7 |
| Cand. Formal | 43.4 | 50.7 | 52.1 | 84.2 | 23.8 | 44.6 | 16.0 | 82.2 | 36.7 | 50.7 |
| Cand. Informal | 7.0 | 0 | 2.3 | 0 | 23.3 | 3.8 | 24.7 | 0 | .8 | 0 |
| *Transition | 7.2 | 6.4 | 11.6 | 2.4 | 9.5 | 9.0 | 6.9 | 8 | 4.3 | 8 |

*Only rate per minute given.

obtained zero scores. These variables were the same as the ones that received zero scores in Brown's spots. The only real difference between the format for Crane's advertisements and that of Brown was the transition rate (8 per minute in Crane's spots vs. 2.4 for Brown's) and the addition of some live action visuals of Crane speaking with an indirect camera orientation.

Across five candidates, four variables were used with the most prevalence. For spots made on behalf of candidates Anderson, Baker, Carter, Crane, and Kennedy, the variables of talking candidates, neutral camera angles, live interiors, and formal dress were the most prevalent video formats (none were for less than a third of commercial time for these candidates). For candidate Connally, these four variables were prominent, but Connally's spots also used non-candidate stills substantially (49.5 percent of time). The exceptionally high score for Connally's commercials on this latter variable was due to the inclusion of a border wipe containing a slogan and identification graphic which remained on the screen while citizen testimonials were presented in the center of the screen. No other candidates' spots presented such graphics while another portion of the screen contained live action. Hence, Connally advertisements scored highest of all candidates on this variable.

The Reagan advertisements contained zero scores for a quarter of the video variables selected for measurement. Clearly the most common format visually for Reagan spots was to present the candidate dressed formally, oriented directly to the camera in interior locales, using neutral camera angles. The proportions of time for which these variables were in evidence in Reagan advertisements ranged from 43

percent of time to 51 percent of time. Over a quarter of the time Reagan commercials presented live action, non-talking, non-candidate visuals; this proportion was higher than that coded for all other candidates' advertisements for this variable, and was substantially higher than the population proportion (27.3 percent of time vs. 8.2 percent for the population). Often, these visuals were varied; some were of the candidate shaking hands with people while others were film segments of armament parades in Moscow. Nearly a fifth of the time of Reagan spots was devoted to non-candidate stills, among the highest scores on this variable for all candidates (18 percent for Reagan spots, and only 15.2 percent of time for the population). Only Anderson and Connally's spots had higher scores for this variable.

The commercials which used the largest number of video variables were those of candidates Baker, Bush, Carter, Connally, and Kennedy; of these five candidates, commercials made on behalf of Kennedy and Bush were scored such that they received greater than zero scores for every video variable selected for measurement; similarly spots made for the Carter and the Connally campaigns had only one zero value for a video variable. Finally, those made on behalf of candidate Baker contained only two zero scores for all variables measured. Therefore, in comparison to the presentational devices used in commercials made on behalf of Baker, Bush, Carter, Connally and Kennedy, those used in Anderson, Brown, Crane and Reagan's spots were less varied in number, and were more regularly used.

Across some candidates' groups of commercials, many video variables were used with differing emphases. For example, John Connally and George Bush's commercials showed substantial live action visuals of

them dressed informally. Such visuals were featured nearly a quarter of the commercial time; this was substantially greater than that coded for the population (7 percent of time for the population). By contrast, candidates Anderson, Brown, Crane and Reagan were always dressed formally (with suit jackets on and ties tied) in their spots (Brown and Crane for over 80% of available commercial time, and Anderson and Reagan for over half the available time, vs. only 43.4 percent of time for the population).

Commercials made on behalf of candidates Anderson, Baker, Brown, Carter, Crane, featured live interior shots for a proportion of time greater than that of the population (none less than 65 percent of time) while Bush's spots featured substantially less time on live interiors (27.4 percent of time). Connally's spots devoted substantially less time here also (44.2 percent of time, vs. 51.9 percent of time for population). The spots of Kennedy and Reagan were not substantially different from the population on this variable. Commercials made on behalf of candidates Bush, Connally, and Kennedy featured live exterior shots for proportions of time substantially greater than that for the population (43.6 percent, 35.3 percent of time, and 35.2 percent, respectively, vs. only 22.3 percent of time for the population).

Great variation was found with respect to the orientation variables across different candidates' groups of commercials also. Whereas the population proportion for candidates oriented directly to the camera was 25.4 percent of time, commercials made for Brown's campaign featured the candidate looking directly at the camera over 85 percent of the time. Crane's advertisements contained this variable 74.4 percent of the time. By contrast, commercials made for

the Baker and Carter campaigns obtained zero scores for this variable. As for the indirect orientation variable, whereas the population proportion was just over a fifth of the time, Baker and Carter spots were substantially higher (43.1 percent and 36.1 percent of time, respectively). Crane and Brown's spots devoted 6.7 percent and zero percent, respectively, to this variable.

As for the variable of still shots of candidates, it is clear that whereas the population contained such material for only 7.4 percent of the time, the commercials of Bush (and Baker especially) contained substantially more than the population (14.8 percent of time and 19.8 percent of time, respectively).

Finally, in the case of the variable of non-neutral camera angles, whereas the population proportion was 7.2 percent of time, the proportions scored for this variable in Anderson, Baker, and Bush advertisements were substantially higher (12 percent, 13.1 percent of time, and 12.6 percent of time, respectively). Only candidates Brown and Crane's spots refrained from using non-neutral camera angles.

Summary

As a summary of all enumerative data presented, four tables are offered which roughly reflect, by the use of plus and minus signs, the relative magnitude of each variable for parties and candidates as compared against those magnitudes scored for the population. Tables 31 through 34 in Appendix F contain this information.

Thus ends the presentation of data which may be used to supply a response to the second research question. Correlational data which

may be used to supply a response to the third research question has been presented in the next section.

Linkage Analysis

Intercorrelation coefficients of all selected method of presentation variables were reported in Table 20. As a preliminary procedure, elementary linkage analysis was performed on the intercorrelation matrix of method of presentation variables in order to cluster variables into typal memberships (McQuitty, 1957, pp. 209, 213). Results of McQuitty's linkage analysis yielded six variable families from the intercorrelation matrix. Two of these (families 3 and 5) were relatively informative and complex clusters; families 2, 4, and 6, by contrast, were composed of only two variables apiece, and family number 1 was composed of only three variables. Figure 1 presents all six families below.

Of the comparatively simple families yielded by the analysis, three of them (families 2, 4, and 6) linked only two variables apiece; these links were the result of either logical co-dependence or were obvious in nature. For example, the linkage of the variables of family 2 was obvious since visuals of a talking famous person were most often accompanied by the audio track of that famous person's voice. As for the linkage of the variables of family 4, this family features two variables which were logically co-dependent; that is, the occurrence of live action interiorsexcludes the possibility of the occurrence of live action exteriors, and vice versa. Therefore, it was no surprise that these two variables were so highly negatively related. Finally, in the case of the linkage of the variables of family 6, this family also featured two variables which were logically co-dependent; that is

TABLE 20

INTERCORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF ALL SELECTED METHODS OF PRESENTATION
(N=14)

| | *V. Ancr | V Cand | V. Citz | V. Fams Pers | Mu- sic | Crwd Snd | Talk Cand | Talk Citz | Talk Fams Pers | Non Ncnd | Non Cand | Neut Camr Angl | NonN Camr Arcl | Still Cand | Non Cand | Dir Camr | Indr Camr | Live Extr | Live Intr | Cand Form | Cand Infm | Tran- tion |
|-------------------------------|-------------|-----------|------------|--------------------|------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Voice Announcer | | -48 | -26 | -18 | 13 | 14 | -23 | -25 | -13 | 34 | 26 | -42 | 04 | 44 | -05 | -34 | 16 | -02 | -30 | -10 | 02 | 20 |
| Voice Candidate | -48 | | -51 | -34 | 01 | -08 | 79 | -51 | -31 | -06 | -12 | 16 | -01 | -36 | -14 | 62 | 16 | -34 | 46 | 59 | 15 | -13 |
| Voice Citizen | -26 | -51 | | -10 | -14 | -04 | -55 | 99 | -10 | -21 | -07 | 15 | -05 | 05 | 30 | -29 | -28 | 26 | -15 | -46 | -15 | 01 |
| Voice Famous P. | -18 | -34 | -10 | | -06 | -04 | -31 | -09 | 87 | -12 | -10 | 12 | -02 | -01 | -12 | -19 | -12 | 31 | -22 | -29 | -08 | -10 |
| Music | 13 | 01 | -14 | -06 | | 41 | -16 | -10 | -03 | 21 | 35 | -23 | 28 | 04 | 04 | -26 | 12 | 15 | -19 | -15 | 21 | 62 |
| Crowd Sound | 14 | -08 | -04 | -04 | 41 | | -10 | -06 | -04 | 22 | 28 | -10 | 36 | -05 | -13 | -23 | 17 | 10 | -02 | 03 | -03 | 40 |
| Talking Cand. | -23 | 79 | -55 | -31 | -16 | -10 | | -54 | -37 | -13 | -18 | 25 | 02 | -36 | -30 | 62 | 38 | -38 | 57 | 77 | 15 | -18 |
| Talking Citizen | -25 | -51 | 99 | -09 | -10 | -06 | -54 | | -11 | -20 | -08 | 15 | -05 | 04 | 31 | -29 | -27 | 28 | -16 | -46 | -15 | 04 |
| Talking Famous P. | -13 | -31 | -10 | 87 | -03 | -04 | -37 | -11 | | -09 | -00 | 18 | -10 | -01 | -11 | -21 | -15 | 31 | -23 | -29 | -07 | -16 |
| Non Talking/ Non Candidate | 34 | -06 | -21 | -12 | 21 | 22 | -13 | -20 | -09 | | 05 | -16 | 21 | -08 | -21 | -21 | 11 | 12 | -09 | -06 | -07 | 27 |
| Non Talking Cand | 26 | -12 | -07 | -10 | 35 | 28 | -18 | -08 | -00 | 05 | | -03 | 20 | -01 | -10 | -27 | 15 | 22 | -18 | 00 | 30 | 29 |
| Neutral Cam Ang. | -42 | 16 | 15 | 12 | -23 | -10 | 25 | 15 | 18 | -16 | -03 | | -52 | 28 | -41 | -16 | 28 | -06 | 13 | 26 | 23 | 11 |
| Non Neut Cam Ang. | 04 | -01 | -05 | -02 | 28 | 36 | 02 | -05 | -10 | 21 | 20 | -52 | | -09 | -12 | -29 | 37 | 08 | 03 | -03 | -00 | 34 |
| Still Candidate | 44 | -36 | 05 | -01 | 04 | -05 | -36 | 04 | -01 | -08 | -01 | -41 | -09 | | -11 | -23 | -12 | -07 | -30 | -28 | -07 | -05 |
| Still Non Cand. | -05 | -14 | 30 | -12 | 04 | -13 | -30 | 31 | -11 | -21 | -10 | -16 | -12 | -11 | | -07 | -26 | 03 | -23 | -20 | -06 | 08 |
| Cand Direct Cam | -34 | 62 | -29 | -19 | -26 | -23 | 62 | -29 | -21 | -21 | -27 | 28 | -29 | -23 | -07 | | -48 | -25 | 31 | 44 | 13 | -39 |
| Cand Indirect Cam | 16 | 16 | -28 | -12 | 12 | 17 | 38 | -27 | -15 | 11 | 15 | -06 | 37 | -12 | -26 | -48 | | -12 | 27 | 36 | 03 | 25 |
| Live Exterior | -02 | -34 | 26 | 31 | 15 | 10 | -38 | 28 | 31 | 12 | 22 | 13 | 08 | -07 | 03 | -25 | -12 | | -79 | -33 | 06 | 13 |
| Live Interior | -30 | 46 | -15 | -22 | -19 | -02 | 57 | -16 | -23 | -09 | -18 | 26 | 03 | -30 | -23 | 31 | 27 | -79 | | 48 | 01 | -13 |
| Cand. Formal | -10 | 59 | -46 | -29 | -15 | 03 | 77 | -46 | -29 | -06 | 00 | 23 | -03 | -28 | -29 | 44 | 36 | -33 | 48 | | -34 | -08 |
| Cand. Informal | 02 | 15 | -15 | -08 | 21 | -03 | 15 | -15 | -07 | -07 | 30 | 11 | -00 | -07 | -06 | 13 | 03 | 06 | 01 | -34 | | 03 |
| Transition | 20 | -13 | 01 | -10 | 62 | 40 | -18 | 04 | -16 | 27 | 29 | -20 | 34 | -05 | 08 | -30 | 25 | 13 | -13 | -08 | 03 | |

*Top headings same as side headings, abbreviated.

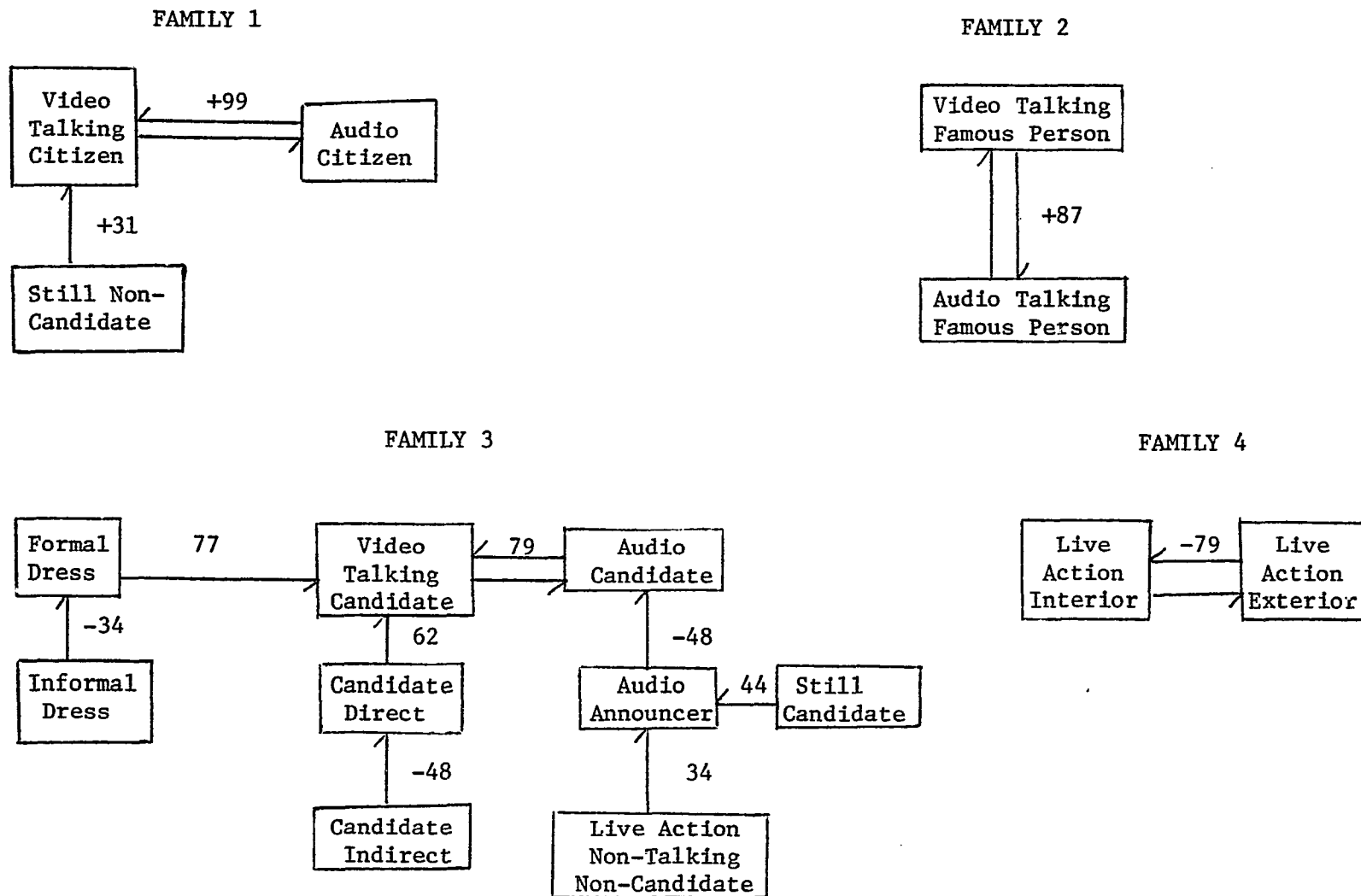


Figure 1 (continued on next page)

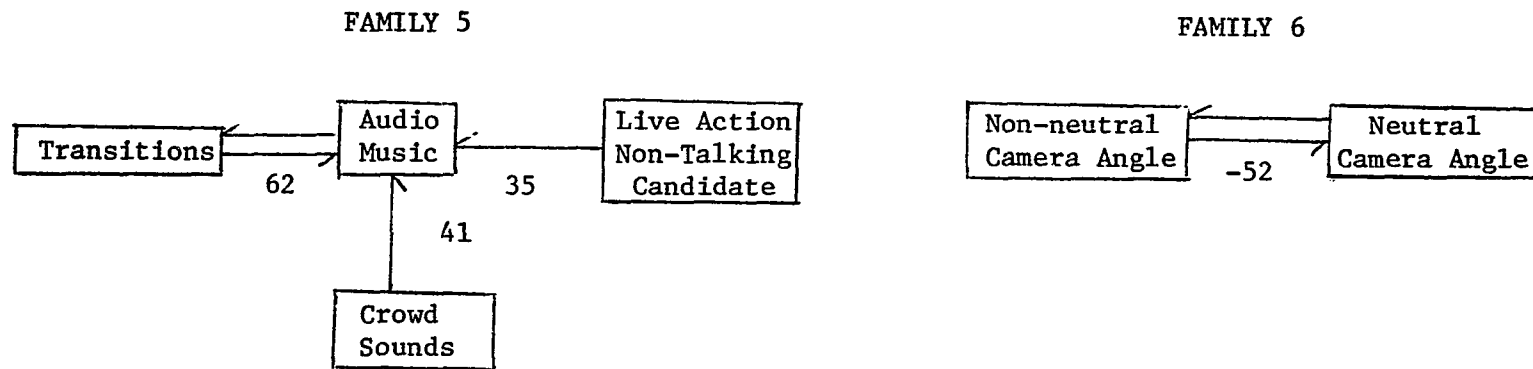


Figure 1. Elementary linkage clusters depicting correlation coefficients among typal memberships for six families of method of presentation variables. (Decimal points deleted)

the presence of neutral camera angles, by definition, barred the occurrence of non-neutral camera angles, and vice versa.

As for the variables in family number 1, the linkage of visuals of talking citizens with that of audio of citizens was obvious since such talking citizen shots were always verbal testimonials. The only additional variable of family number 1 was that of stills of non-candidates, however this variable did not emerge as strongly related to either composite image or issue scores (correlations of .18 and -.12, respectively, with image and issue) and was therefore viewed as relatively uninformative.

As for the more complex and informative clusters in the analysis, it was apparent from Figure 1 that variable cluster number 3 had the video and audio of talking candidates as the two most highly related variables ($r = .79$). Family 3 showed that additional variables to be positively linked to visuals of talking candidates were those of formal dress ($r = .77$) and direct orientations of the candidate to the camera ($r = .62$).

Family 3 indicated that video and audio of talking candidates were also positively related; the variables of formally dressed candidates and candidates oriented directly to the camera were also positively related to audio and video of talking candidates. Negatively related to candidates oriented directly was the variable of candidates oriented indirectly to the camera. Informally dressed candidates were negatively related to formally dressed candidates. Finally, live action of non-talking non-candidates and stills of candidates were both positively linked to audio of the announcer, while audio of the announcer was negatively related to audio of the candidate.

Family 5 of Figure 1 indicated the audio variable of music and the variable of transitions as the most highly related pair in family 5 ($r = .62$). Family 5 also showed that the variables of crowd sounds and live action non-talking candidates were both positively correlated with the music variable ($r = .41$ and $.35$, respectively). The combination of transition rate, music, live action shots of non-talking candidates, and crowd sounds, all positively related, indicated variables which may be viewed as a single cluster.

The possibility of designating this cluster as a device to promote either issue or image references is discussed after the correlations between the variables in the cluster and the composite semantic issue and image scores have been examined. Whereas elements of Family 5 were all positively related to one another, those of Family 3 were not. Therefore, it was useful to view Family 3 as containing two sub-clusters; one of four elements (video talking candidate, audio talking candidate, candidate direct orientation, and formal dress) and a second cluster comprised of the remaining five elements. The possibility of designating these two sub-clusters of variables as devices for promoting either issue or image references is discussed after the correlations between them and the composite semantic issue and image scores have been examined.

Correlations and Regressions

Correlation coefficients which helped to supply a response to the third research question were reported in Table 21. The correlates of composite semantic image and issue scores were computed using a Pearson r statistic.

TABLE 21

PEARSON r CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS COMPUTED ACROSS ALL
 ADVERTISEMENTS BETWEEN ALL METHOD OF PRESENTATION VARIABLES
 AND COMPOSITE SEMANTIC ISSUE SCORES AND IMAGE SCORES (N = 140)

| Variables | Issue* ^a | Image* ^a |
|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Voice Announcer | -.16 | .19 |
| Voice Candidate | .45 | -.48 |
| Voice Citizen | -.36 | .43 |
| Voice Famous Person | -.06 | .02 |
| Music | -.19 | .05 |
| Crowd Sound | .01 | .00 |
| Talking Candidate | .45 | -.41 |
| Talking Citizen | -.36 | .44 |
| Talking Famous Person | -.05 | .04 |
| Non-Talking Non-Candidate | -.04 | -.18 |
| Non-Talking Candidate | -.05 | .08 |
| Neutral Camera Angle | .17 | -.08 |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | -.15 | .02 |
| Still Candidate | -.16 | .28 |
| Still Non-Candidate | -.12 | .18 |
| Candidate Direct to Camera | .49 | -.38 |
| Candidate Indirect to Camera | -.08 | -.03 |
| Live Exterior | -.16 | .13 |
| Live Interior | .24 | -.20 |
| Candidate Formal | .42 | -.27 |
| Candidate Informal | .00 | -.14 |
| Transition | -.15 | .18 |

*Decimal points deleted.

^aThe correlation between composite semantic issue and image scores was $-.26$.

Correlation coefficients of moderate magnitude were as follows: For issue, no coefficient of correlation (absolute value) was greater than .49. Issue scores were positively linked (.49) to a direct orientation of the candidate to the camera. The association of the voice of the candidate to issue scores was also positive, that correlation being .45, or the next highest. Visuals of talking candidates were also positively associated with issue scores, with a correlation of .45. Candidate formal dress was positively associated with issue scores; the correlation computed was .42. Video and audio of talking citizens were found to be negatively associated with issue scores; the correlation of both variables with issue scores was $-.36$.

All associations mentioned so far were comparatively moderate in terms of magnitude. Live action interiors correlated .24 with issue scores. No other correlation exceeded .20 in magnitude.

For image, the highest correlation value computed between method of presentation variables and semantic image scores was $-.48$; this score linked in a negative association the audio voice of the candidate with the image construct. Image scores were positively linked to video and audio of talking citizens, with correlation coefficients of .44 and .43, respectively. A negative correlation $-.41$ was found between visuals of talking candidates and image scores. In addition, a negative relation was found to exist between image scores and direct orientations of candidates to the camera ($-.38$). Stills of the candidate were found to be positively associated with image scores (.28). Finally, for the remaining correlations whose magnitudes were equal to or greater than .20, a negative correlation was discovered between image scores and live action interiors ($-.20$).

All associations mentioned so far were comparatively moderate in terms of magnitude. No other correlation exceeded .20 in magnitude. With respect to the linkage clusters in Figure 1, it was interesting to note that of the variables in Family 3 which were directly linked to and positively associated with video of talking candidates, every one of them was positively associated with the composite issue variable and was negatively associated with the composite image variable. Of the remaining variables in Family 3, the voice of announcer and still candidate variables were positively associated with composite image scores ($r = .19$ and $.28$, respectively) and were negatively associated with composite issue scores ($r = -.16$ for both). These outcomes were expected since they were consonant with the impressions of campaign workers. However, the informal dress variable, surprisingly, was negatively associated with composite image scores, though only slightly ($r = -.14$), and had a zero correlation with composite issue scores; the indirect orientation variable was negatively associated with both composite issue and image scores, though very slightly ($-.08$ and $-.03$, respectively), as was the live action non-talking non-candidate variable ($r = -.04$ and $-.18$, with issue and image scores, respectively).

With respect to the variables in cluster Family 5, it was interesting to note that every variable except that of crowd sounds was both positively linked to image and negatively linked to issue. These outcomes were generally as expected. As for the crowd sound variable, an insubstantial correlation with both issue and image was discovered ($r = .01$ and $.00$, for issue and image, respectively).

Hence, generally, there was simple correlational evidence to support the view that some presentational devices accompanied issue references rather than image references and vice versa. The method of presentation variables for which this study supplies such empirical evidence and which were strongly linked to issues were those of formally dressed talking candidates, oriented directly to the camera, featuring voices of the candidates. As for methods of presentation strongly linked to images, these variables were stills of candidates, or live action shots of non-talking candidates presented with music, transitions, and voices of announcers. Such were the correlations between single method of presentation variables and the composite semantic issue and image scores of the televised political spot advertisements for the 1980 primaries. The information in Table 21 may be used to supply a response to the third research question.

Data related to regression equations which supplied information enabling a response to the last research question were reported in Tables 22 and 23. Table 22 lists the measures R and R^2 , which indicate the magnitude of the variance of composite issue scores accounted for by the values of the method of presentation variables in combination with one another. In addition, Table 22 contains the signs of the simple r^S , the F ratios computed for each partial correlation, beta weights, and the significance level for each reported variable. These measures were the result of a multiple regression analysis which used a forward stepwise selection procedure. All variables were displayed.

From Table 22, it was possible to discern a three variable solution which by the R^2 values accounted for over 32 percent of the total

TABLE 22

FORWARD STEPWISE ORDERED MULTIPLE REGRESSION MEASURES COMPUTED
 BETWEEN COMPOSITE ISSUE SCORES AND METHOD OF PRESENTATION
 VARIABLES IN COMBINATION WITH ONE ANOTHER
 (N=140)

| Predictor Variables | Multiple R* | R ² _* | Sign of Simple R | Beta | F | P |
|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|------|------|------|
| Candidate Direct to Camera | 49 | 24 | + | .49 | 44.7 | .05 |
| Talking Citizen | 55 | 30 | - | -.24 | 10.5 | .05 |
| Candidate Formal Dress | 57 | 32 | + | .18 | 4.4 | .05 |
| Music | 57 | 33 | - | -.10 | 1.6 | n.s. |
| Crowd Sound | 59 | 34 | + | .14 | 3.2 | .05 |
| Voice Announcer | 59 | 35 | - | -.09 | 1.3 | n.s. |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | 60 | 36 | - | -.09 | 1.3 | n.s. |
| Transitions | 60 | 36 | - | .12 | 1.5 | n.s. |
| Non-Talking Candidate | 61 | 37 | - | .08 | 1.0 | n.s. |
| Neutral Camera Angle | 61 | 37 | + | -.08 | .6 | n.s. |
| Non-Talking Non-Candidate | 61 | 37 | - | .06 | .5 | n.s. |
| Voice Citizen | 61 | 38 | - | -.41 | .5 | n.s. |
| Talking Famous Person | 62 | 38 | - | .05 | .3 | n.s. |
| Talking Candidate | 62 | 38 | + | .23 | .8 | n.s. |
| Still Non- Candidate | 62 | 38 | - | .05 | .4 | n.s. |
| Still Candidate | 62 | 39 | - | .12 | 1.1 | n.s. |
| Candidate Indirect | 63 | 39 | - | -.29 | .3 | n.s. |
| Voice Candidate | 63 | 39 | + | .14 | .3 | n.s. |
| Voice Famous Person | 63 | 39 | - | .08 | .1 | n.s. |
| Candidate Informal Dress | 63 | 39 | + | .04 | .0 | n.s. |
| Exterior | 63 | 39 | - | .01 | .0 | n.s. |
| Interior | 63 | 40 | + | .25 | .7 | n.s. |

*Decimal Points Deleted

TABLE 23

FORWARD STEPWISE ORDERED MULTIPLE REGRESSION MEASURES COMPUTED
 BETWEEN COMPOSITE IMAGE SCORES AND METHOD OF PRESENTATION
 VARIABLES IN COMBINATION WITH ONE ANOTHER
 (N=140)

| Predictor Variables | Multiple R* | R _{*²} | Sign of Simple R | Beta | F | P |
|------------------------|----------------|----------------------------|------------------------|------|------|------|
| Voice Candidate | 48 | 23 | - | -.48 | 41.5 | .05 |
| Talking Citizen | 53 | 28 | + | .26 | 9.3 | .05 |
| Still Candidate | 55 | 30 | + | .17 | 4.6 | .05 |
| Transitions | 57 | 33 | + | .15 | 4.3 | .05 |
| Non-Talking | | | | | | |
| Non-Candidate | 60 | 35 | - | -.19 | 6.1 | .05 |
| Voice Announcer | 60 | 37 | + | .17 | 2.2 | .05 |
| Talking Famous | | | | | | |
| Person | 61 | 37 | + | .18 | 2.1 | .05 |
| Candidate | | | | | | |
| Informal Dress | 62 | 38 | - | -.09 | 1.5 | n.s. |
| Candidate Direct | | | | | | |
| to Camera | 62 | 39 | - | -.11 | 1.2 | n.s. |
| Crowd Sound | 62 | 39 | + | -.04 | .3 | n.s. |
| Interior | 62 | 39 | - | .04 | .3 | n.s. |
| Exterior | 63 | 39 | + | .08 | .3 | n.s. |
| Candidate Indirect | | | | | | |
| to Camera | 63 | 39 | - | -.14 | .5 | n.s. |
| Talking | | | | | | |
| Candidate | 63 | 40 | - | .71 | 1.3 | n.s. |
| Still Non- | | | | | | |
| Candidate | 63 | 40 | + | .05 | .3 | n.s. |
| Non-Talking | | | | | | |
| Non-Candidate | 64 | 40 | + | .07 | .4 | n.s. |
| Non-Neutral | | | | | | |
| Camera Angle | 64 | 40 | + | .04 | .2 | n.s. |
| Candidate | | | | | | |
| Formal Dress | 64 | 41 | - | .12 | .2 | n.s. |
| Neutral Camera | | | | | | |
| Angle | 64 | 41 | - | .04 | .1 | n.s. |

*Decimal Points Deleted

variance of the semantic issue scores as measured across all advertisements. A linear combination of a direct orientation of the candidate to the camera, the absence of talking citizens, and formally dressed candidates was associated with 32 percent of the variance of composite semantic issue scores. The accompanying significant F-ratios indicated that regressing to method of presentation scores from semantic issue scores probably did not occur by chance. (Even though these data are not viewed from an inferential perspective, the significance levels, in addition to R^2 values, were examined and were considered useful as a guide to deciding which variables to include for solving the regression equations.) Every other F-ratio was not statistically significant at the .05 probability level except for the crowd sound variable. However, the amount of additional variance accounted for by including the crowd sound variable was not substantial. Hence, from this particular regression procedure, a three variable solution was indicated; therefore, the method of presentation variables which were the best predictors of semantic issue scores were the presence of a direct orientation of the candidate to the camera, an absence of talking citizens and others, and the presence of formally dressed candidates.

Table 23 lists the measures R and R^2 , which indicated the magnitude of variance of composite image scores accounted for by the values of the method of presentation variables in combination with one another. In addition, Table 23 contains the sign of the simple r , the F-ratio computed for each partial correlation, beta weights, and the significance level for each reported variable. These measures were the result of a multiple regression analysis which used a forward stepwise selection procedure. All variables were displayed.

From Table 23 it was possible to discern a seven-variable solution which, by the R^2 values, accounted for over 37 percent of the total variance of the semantic image scores as measured across all advertisements. A linear combination of the absence of the candidate's voice, the presence of video talking citizens and others, the presence of visual stills of the candidate, the presence of transitions, the absence of live action non-talking non-candidates, the presence of announcer's voices, and the presence of visuals of famous persons was associated with 37 percent of the variance of composite semantic image scores. The accompanying significant F-ratios indicated that regressing to method of presentation scores from semantic image scores probably did not occur by chance. (Again, the reader is reminded that these data are not viewed from an inferential perspective; nevertheless, both significance levels and R^2 values were considered useful as a guide to deciding which variables to include in the solution of the regression equations.) Every other F-ratio was not statistically significant at the .05 probability level. Hence, a seven variable solution was indicated; therefore, the method of presentation variables which were the best predictors of semantic image scores were the absence of candidates' voices, the presence of video talking citizens and others, visual candidate stills, transitions, the absence of live action non-talking non-candidates, the presence of announcer's voices, the presence of video talking famous persons. The regression data reported above served to answer the fourth research question.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

It will be the focus of this chapter to summarize the results of this study in terms of the salient findings of each research question. In addition, these results may be viewed as an explication of implicit audio-visual media codes that accompanied image and issue expression in televised political advertisements. The practical utility of such codes to predict image and issue scores is also assessed, as is the theoretical significance of these findings for communication theory. The value of political spots for the political system is briefly explored. Finally, limitations which may be imposed on the data and some fruitful research directions for the future are addressed.

Images, Issues and Methods of Presentation of Spot Advertisements in the 1980 Presidential Primaries: A Summary

Analysis of the images, issues, and methods of presentation of the 1980 televised primary spots revealed that most issue references concerned national well-being (19.8 percent of all issue mentions), the economy (12.9 percent of all issue mentions), foreign policy matters (11.9 percent), energy issues (11.9 percent), and government management concerns (11.4 percent of issue mentions). These findings were consonant with the political climate during the primaries and were not surprising. Clearly all of these issues were of prime concern to the political

system during the campaign period and to this extent, the procedures used to score commercials for issue content appeared adequate. During the campaign, the nation was at odds with soaring inflation and unemployment, and oil, Mid-East and foreign policy crises (high OPEC prices, the Iranian hostage situation, the Russian invasion of Afghanistan). These concerns were generally reflected in the findings of this study.

Most of the image references during the 1980 primaries were about experience (30.5 percent of all image mentions), and competence (15.1 percent of mentions). These outcomes were a reflection of a nearly unanimous view by candidates that the novice Carter administration had succeeded most in demonstrating general ineptitude; such a view was held by opponents of the incumbent from both major parties. Candidates roundly criticized the administration for an indecisive foreign policy and for ineffective governing on the domestic front as well. The qualities of experience and competence were claimed by many candidates as being those which were needed to direct the ship of state properly.

The predominant production techniques employed were those that featured voices of candidates (46.4 percent of commercial time), voices of announcers (23.5 percent of time), neutral camera angles (71.6 percent of time), live interiors (51.9 percent), formally dressed candidates (43.4 percent of time), and candidates oriented directly toward the camera (25.4 percent of time).

The issues and images of the 1980 primary spots by party and candidate revealed that democrats were most interested in matters of the economy, energy, foreign policy, and national security, while republicans were most concerned with federalism and government management.

Independent Anderson's main concerns were in the areas of domestic, energy, economic, and government management issues. (See Table 8.) Of the democratic candidates, Brown was most concerned with energy, federalism, and foreign policy issues. Kennedy's major issue focus was on domestic, economic, and energy concerns, and Carter's main issue focus was on his own record and the national security.

Of the republican candidates, Baker focused on foreign policy and government management; Bush focused on the economy, government management, and national security. Connally's commercials dealt with issues of energy and federalism, while Crane was most concerned with both federalism and government management. Reagan's main issue focus was on national security, and both federalism and government management. As for the lone independent Anderson, the main issue concerns were domestic, economic, and energy issues. (See Table 16.)

Most image references for democrats concerned altruism, experience, honesty, and strength, while republicans focused on competence, experience and leadership. Anderson was drawn as a man with unique personal characteristics and valuable other special qualities. (See Table 10).

As for other candidates, Baker's image was of a man with outstanding leadership abilities; Reagan was drawn as a man with great experience. Crane was characterized as brutally honest; Kennedy as a caring leader with strong personal qualities. Candidate Connally was characterized as Big John: a strong experienced leader. Carter was depicted as a strong honest President. Candidate Bush was drawn as highly competent and experienced. Finally, Brown was drawn as strong, honest, and caring. (See Table 17.)

The techniques or variable clusters correlated with images and issues revealed that issue spots had formats that presented formally dressed candidates talking directly to the camera; this has been designated as a "straight-forward" approach by media analysts and professionals. This approach typified issue commercials. Other production elements that most often accompanied this format included interior locales and neutral camera angles. These predictors of issue appeals constituted typical formats of issue-oriented commercials. (See Table 21.)

Image spots were associated most with still montages of candidates accompanied by famous person and citizens' testimonials, comparatively fast cutting, and, at times, announcer's voices. This approach typified image commercials. These predictors of image references constituted typical formats of "slickly packaged" image-oriented commercials. (See Table 21.) The reader is reminded that full descriptive accounts of enumeration data regarding proportions of issue and image mentions for all categories as well as accounts of the duration and proportions for all presentation variables by party and by candidate are reported in Chapter 3.

To the extent that the image-issue controversy has led to statements of the type: "political spots are preoccupied with images at the expense of issues," it is possible to say that such statements go too far. A more correct statement would be: "Some political spots are preoccupied with images at the expense of issues." As a result of this study, it is now possible to say not only that "some" spots are image or issue-oriented, but "which" spots are: the slickly packaged ones are image spots, and the straightforward ones are issue spots. Hence

this study has partially assessed the relationships of presentational methods to issue and image material. This study rejects the view that all political commercials contain more personality and character information than issue information, and denies that stimulating production techniques are provided at the expense of issue and image information. Rather these findings support the view that, depending on whether a particular commercial employs stimulating graphic appeals or more simple and direct formats, such a political spot will be image or issue oriented, respectively. In short, presentational formats are related uniquely to issue and image orientations.

Presentational Devices as Implicit Elaborated Codes

It has been the purpose of this study to locate within the domain of televised political spot advertising those presentational genres or codes which differentially promote or favor image creation over issue expression, and vice versa. Davis and Baran (1981, pp. 58-79) offer a fourfold typology of communication codes which locate presentational devices used in political spots as examples of implicit elaborated codes. For these authors, a code is ". . . a set of rules that structure [sic] a message so that effective communication can take place. . . . We can divide codes into two basic types, explicit and implicit, according to whether they have been consciously or unconsciously developed and whether or not they have been arbitrarily represented by the use of a second, more simplified coding scheme" (p. 59). As an example of explicit codes, the authors cite standardized language represented by standardized writing. The writing serves as a "secondary coding scheme" for representing them. As an example of an implicit code,

the authors cite gestures and other non-verbal forms of communication; these are codes which are not generally accompanied by a secondary coding scheme but which may be consciously employed.

Offered in addition to the notions of "explicit" and "implicit" to distinguish various media codes, is Basil Bernstein's differentiation of communication codes in terms of their universality (by how widely they can be understood). On this dimension, codes are viewed as either restricted or elaborated: Restricted codes are understood only within the localized contexts in which they are created, while elaborated codes are understood by people living in diverse communities. Restricted codes are exemplified by the phenomenon of the "in" joke or the communicative interactions between intimates, whose message transmissions do not contain enough information for a stranger to decode the meaning successfully (e.g., a wink between spouses); for the uninitiated, the message remains cryptic. Elaborated codes, on the other hand, are exemplified by those communications accompanied by accepted conventions that build redundancy into the transmitted message and allow for comparatively universal comprehension. An elaborated code may be exemplified by that of S. F. B. Morse. Thus, a fourfold typology of communication codes emerges which permits one to classify the presentational devices operating in televised political spot advertisements as examples of implicit elaborated media codes; they are audio-visual images understood (by diverse mass audiences) via implicit conventionalized formats without secondary coding schemes. Such schemes used to structure audio/visual images for the mass media are implicit. They are not yet represented by second-order typifications which systematically allow them to be decoded in a single "correct" way.

The results of this study may now make it more possible to define audio-visual image and issue codes within the domain of political commercials; the discovery and description of implicit genres which differentially promote images over issues and vice versa may be viewed as the creation of secondary coding schemes necessary to explicate those codes used to convey images and issues to the electorate.

The presentational devices associated with issue expression were those found in the major clusters of the linkage analysis which matched variables that were positively associated with composite issue scores (and were negatively correlated with composite image scores) in the simple correlations, and which emerged in the multiple regression equations that used composite issue scores as the dependent measure. All three analyses converged to indicate that formally dressed candidates, voices of candidates, and candidates oriented directly to the camera were the major presentation variables associated positively with issues. These variables surfaced across all three correlational analyses when the composite issue scores were the bivariate of analysis. An additional issue-related variable that surfaced when only two of the three correlational methods were considered included visuals of talking candidates. Taken together, these four variables may be designated as the "straightforward issue format." The devices associated with image expression surfaced in the major clusters of the linkage analysis, matched variables that were positively associated with image scores (and negatively associated with composite issue scores) in the simple correlations, and emerged in the multiple regression equations that used composite image scores as the dependent measure. All three analyses converged to indicate that a major positive relationship existed between

images and visual stills of candidates, high transition rates, and voice overs of announcers. Additional image-related variables which surfaced when just two of the three analyses were considered included music, live action of non-talking candidates, visuals of talking famous persons and visuals of talking citizens. Taken together, these seven image-related variables may be designated as the "slickly packaged image format." The characteristic that these eleven issue and image-related variables are either positively correlated to issues and negatively correlated to images or vice versa allows one to view them as orthogonal variables, and they may therefore be characterized as "pure" issue or image variables.

In summary, as a result of these findings, it is possible to distinguish between issue styles and image styles in political commercials. Issue-oriented spots use direct-to-camera-talking-candidates who are formally dressed. By contrast, image-oriented spots use announcer's voices, still pictures of candidates, live action of non-talking candidates, high transition rates, music, visuals of talking citizens, and talking famous persons. Hence, these specific variable clusters uniquely related to image or issue appeals may be viewed as models or taxonomies of secondary coding schemes which represent implicit elaborated image and issue codes of political commercials.

The Practical Utility of Image and Issue Codes

If it is true that some presentational styles promote issues and others promote images, then it should be possible to state with some accuracy where high and low issue and image scores will be found simply on the basis of the styles observed. In commercials where only

issue formats are observed, one would expect high issue scores and low image scores; likewise, in commercials where only image formats are observed, one would expect high image scores and low issue scores. Hence, a post hoc analysis was undertaken to determine whether production variables were helpful in predicting image and issue scores.

A point evaluation system was developed for rating (high, medium, or low) from information derived from presentation variables the position of any group of commercials with respect to composite image and issue mention rates. This system can be used to evaluate groups of commercials which use both image and issue formats. The advantage of such a system is that it permits anyone to score reliably groups of commercials in terms of their expected orientation to images and issues simply on the basis of presentational formats.

Procedures for Assigning Point Value

For commercials to be so evaluated, it was necessary first to compare the magnitudes of the proportion scores received by a group of advertisements for those presentation variables found to be issue and image related against those of the population. If the proportion score for an image-related variable within a candidates' group of advertisements was greater than that scored for the population, and if the variable was one which emerged across all three correlational analyses, then an image score of +2 points was awarded to that candidate's commercials for that variable. (Only variables which were both positively related to composite image scores and negatively related to composite issue scores were included.)

If the proportion score for an image-related presentation variable was greater than that scored for the population, but surfaced across only two of the correlational analyses, then an image score of +1 points was awarded to that candidate's commercials for that variable. For future reference, presentational variables that correlated positively with image scores, negatively with issue scores, and which surfaced across all three correlational analyses were designated primary image-related variables, while those that correlated positively with image scores, negatively with issue scores, but surfaced across only two correlational analyses were designated secondary image-related variables.

For variables correlated similarly with composite issue scores, in like manner, either +2 or +1 points were awarded. Conversely, -2 points were awarded for primary presentation variables whose proportion scores for a candidate's spots fell short of the population proportion and -1 point was awarded for secondary presentation variables whose proportion score for a candidate's spots fell short of the population proportion. (If a proportion score was found to be equal to the population proportion, no points were awarded.) Finally, all issue-related points scored were summed and a single value was obtained which equalled the sum of both plus and minus scores for all primary and secondary issue-related variables; in the same way, the sum of image-related points was obtained. This resulted in a rough overall index of image and issue scores based on selected presentation variables exclusively.

Table 24 reveals the sum of points for all primary and secondary image and issue related audio-visual variables, based on proportion

TABLE 24

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY IMAGE AND ISSUE RELATED AUDIO-VISUAL VARIABLES SHOWING POINTS SCORED
BASED ON PROPORTIONS BY CANDIDATES' SPOTS COMPARED AGAINST THOSE OF THE POPULATION

| | Candidates | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------|----|-------|----|-------|-----|------|----|--------|----|----------|----|-------|----|---------|----|--------|----|
| | Anderson | | Baker | | Brown | | Bush | | Carter | | Connally | | Crane | | Kennedy | | Reagan | |
| | * > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < | > | < |
| ISSUE RELATED VARIABLES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Formal Dress | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 |
| Voice of Candidate | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | -2 |
| Candidate Direct | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 |
| Secondary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Visual Talking Candidate | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 |
| Sub-Total | +7 | 0 | +4 | -3 | +7 | 0 | +4 | -3 | +2 | -5 | 0 | -7 | +7 | 0 | 0 | -7 | +4 | -3 |
| Issue Evaluation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Net Total | +7 | | +1 | | +7 | | +1 | | -3 | | -7 | | +7 | | -7 | | +1 | |
| IMAGE RELATED VARIABLES | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Primary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Voice of Announcer | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 |
| Still Candidate | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | -2 |
| Transitions | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 | 0 | -2 | +2 | 0 |
| Secondary | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Music | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 |
| Live Non-Talk Candidate | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 |
| Visual Talk Citizen | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | +1 | 0 |
| Visual Talk Famous Person | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 | 0 | -1 | +1 | 0 | 0 | -1 |
| Sub-Total | +1 | -9 | +8 | -2 | 0 | -10 | +7 | -3 | +8 | -2 | +5 | -5 | +2 | -8 | +4 | -4 | +6 | -4 |
| Image Evaluation | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Net Total | -8 | | +6 | | -10 | | +4 | | +6 | | 0 | | -6 | | 0 | | +2 | |

* > < Designate that a proportion score for a variable was greater than or less than that scored for the population.

scores for groups of commercials by candidate compared against those of the population. The relative magnitudes of all proportion scores were easily retrieved from the information in Tables 18 and 19.

As Table 24 shows, the commercials of candidates Anderson, Brown, and Crane received the highest possible point evaluation totals for issue related variables (all three received a +7 rating), while the commercials of candidates Connally and Kennedy received the lowest possible ratings (both receiving a -7 rating). As for point evaluations associated with image related variables, only the commercials of candidate Brown received the lowest possible point evaluation total of -10, while the advertisements of candidates Baker and Carter received relatively high point evaluations (both received a +6 rating for images.) The range of possible scores for a group of spots for issue-related presentation variables is 14 points, (from -7 to +7), while the range for image related variables was 20 points (from -10 to +10).

Classification of Point Values into Low, Medium, and High Levels

The range of evaluation scores for image and issue related presentation variables was broken into three equal intervals designated low, medium, and high. Then, actual issue and image mention rates were classified for groups of advertisements similarly in order to test predictions of the type, "Since candidate X's commercials received a low point evaluation score for image related variables, then the actual image mention rate for these spots will be low."

Table 25 displays the rates of actual issue and image mentions per minute comparing candidates and population. As shown the spots of Brown, Crane, and Reagan had the highest issue mention rates (with

TABLE 25

RATE OF ISSUE AND IMAGE MENTIONS PER MINUTE
COMPARING CANDIDATES, AND POPULATION

| Population and Candidates | <u>Rate</u> | |
|---------------------------------|-------------|-------|
| | Issue | Image |
| Population | 7.8 | 4.6 |
| Anderson | 7.4 | 4.7 |
| Baker | 8.0 | 4.6 |
| Brown | 14.9 | 2.5 |
| Bush | 7.0 | 4.2 |
| Carter | 6.2 | 6.2 |
| Connally | 5.7 | 6.4 |
| Crane | 10.7 | 2.7 |
| Kennedy | 7.5 | 4.4 |
| Reagan | 10.4 | 1.6 |

scores of 14.9, 10.7, and 10.4, respectively), while the spots of candidates Carter and Connally had the highest image mention rates (with scores of 6.2 and 6.4, respectively).

Issue and image-related point evaluation scores and actual issue and image mention rates were designated low, medium, or high for each candidate's group of advertisements. The number of successfully predicted outcomes (the number of times that outcomes designated by point evaluation classifications matched classifications by actual rates) was determined. In this way the practical utility of these issue and image codes was assessed.

In using evaluation scores to predict low, medium or high mention rates, the data consisted of "dichotomous outcomes of independent Bernoulli trials having constant probability of success" of one third (Hollander and Wolfe, 1973, p. 15). In this case, correctly predicted outcomes were classified as successes; these were compared to the overall number of trials in order to determine whether the probability for success was greater than one third; the binomial test determined the alpha level associated with the outcomes.

Table 26 reveals, by candidate, the summed point evaluation scores over all issue and image related presentation variables, the predicted location of issue and image mention rates within three levels of classification, the actual location of such rates, and the outcome of each prediction.

As Table 26 shows, by using point evaluation scores to classify spots as having either low, medium or high issue and image mention rates, it was possible to predict correctly the classification level of actual issue and image mention rates in nine out of eighteen cases.

TABLE 26

SUMMED POINT EVALUATION SCORES OVER ALL ISSUE AND IMAGE RELATED
PRESENTATION VARIABLES, PREDICTED AND ACTUAL LOCATIONS OF ISSUE
AND IMAGE MENTION RATES WITHIN THREE LEVELS OF CLASSIFICATION,
AND OUTCOMES OF PREDICTION BY CANDIDATE

| Groups of Spots by Candidate | | Point Evaluation Score | Predicted Location | Actual Location | *Outcome of Prediction |
|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Anderson | issue | +7 | High | Low | False |
| | image | -8 | Low | Medium | False |
| Baker | issue | +1 | Medium | Low | False |
| | image | +6 | High | Medium | False |
| Brown | issue | +7 | High | High | True |
| | image | -10 | Low | Low | True |
| Bush | issue | +1 | Medium | Low | False |
| | image | +4 | High | Medium | False |
| Carter | issue | -3 | Low | Low | True |
| | image | +6 | High | High | True |
| Connally | issue | -7 | Low | Low | True |
| | image | 0 | Medium | High | False |
| Crane | issue | +7 | High | Medium | False |
| | image | -6 | Low | Low | True |
| Kennedy | issue | -7 | Low | Low | True |
| | image | 0 | Medium | Medium | True |
| Reagan | issue | +1 | Medium | Medium | True |
| | image | +2 | Medium | Low | False |

*Number of successes = 9, number of trials = 18.

"Under the hypothesis that there is no basis for discrimination, the probability p of success is one third, whereas a basis of discrimination would correspond to values of p that exceed one third" (Hollander and Wolfe, 1973, p. 17). Statistically speaking, we consider the binomial test where $N = 18$ trials, $p = 1/3$, and the number of successful outcomes = 9.

The alpha level associated with this outcome = .07. Hence, there is evidence approaching the .05 alpha level of significance that presentational methods are useful in discriminating issue and image mention rates. Therefore, knowledge of presentational methods provides some utility for predicting image and issue scores in televised political spot advertisements.

The Agreement of These Empirical Findings with the Critical Impressions of Media Professionals

In Krippendorff's Content Analysis (1980), the author states the value of comparing "the results of a content analysis with data obtained independently and about phenomena not inferred by the technique" (p. 52). Agreement among various techniques used to inquire about the relationships within a set of phenomena constitute "what has become known as 'multiple operationalism'" (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 52). Such agreement aids in validity arguments, since independent sources of information which tend to concur may be interpreted as "indicating that they assess the same underlying phenomena" (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 52). Here it may be said that in general the empirical findings of this study which explicate image and issue-oriented styles of presentation of political commercials were in agreement with the intuitive and

critical impressions of media professionals and other analysts who have operated with and have studied similar variables (Rose and Fuchs, 1968; Napolitan, 1972; Dybvig, 1970). This study is validation for the statement that media professionals intuitively know what they are doing.

The Theoretical Significance of These Findings for Communication Theory and the Political System

Clearly one of the most important contributions that a study such as this can make is to provide a means of explicating those communication codes which are used to shape political action. By opening implicit elaborated codes to analysis, it becomes possible to facilitate the electorate's control and use of such messages. Communication theory should elucidate the secondary coding schemes that represent implicit codes. Getting the public to be better at understanding the communication of media professionals and political elites has been a major goal of the present study. Political communication research ought to represent codes for the electorate so that its members can become better consumers of important forms of political communication.

The development of applicable secondary coding schemes will also help the political system by enabling media professionals to develop and create messages more likely to be efficient vehicles for meeting the source's goals. Hopefully, this information will be used in turn to benefit and to meet the needs of the electorate.

The Value of Political Spots for the Political System

The value of televised political spot advertisements lies in their ability to communicate to diverse segments of the electorate from all

parties information about candidate images and campaign issues. To the extent that the electorate successfully and correctly judges the candidate's qualifications for office based on issue and image information potentially available from political spots, they are valuable to the ideals of contributing to informed choice.

Politicians who wish their messages to contribute to such choice should use spots that concentrate more time on expressing honest issue stances in a direct and personal way by doing their own talking in a simple direct style; in that way, implicit candidate images will come through. To some extent, tacit image material rides piggy back on all messages expressed by the candidate (especially in visual and paralinguistic channels), regardless of what the specific content of his message is. The major focus of attention therefore should be on policy stands and issue positions in order to maximize within severe time limits the information available for use by the electorate. Spots that rely solely on graphic appeals are not in the spirit of classical democratic theory, do not serve as an outlet for the sober and honest expression of the candidates, and do not adequately inform the electorate of issues as well as straightforward formats do.

It is arguable that no political spots adequately present complex issues and candidate images due to their severe time constraints, but this argument should not be taken as a justification for splashy emotional appeals designed only for name recognition, for example, and which forego or omit political issue and image information; rather this argument is a justification for eliminating political spots entirely. However, political spots are with us in modern campaigning, and for as

long as they remain on the national political scene, ways to improve them as information vehicles should be pursued.

Limitations and Future Research Directions

The foregoing analyses of the images, issues, and methods of presentation of political spots allow concluding remarks to be made within certain limits. One may question from an empirical standpoint, for example, the harsh judgment of some critics that political commercials ". . . emphasize image-making while ignoring political issues" (Patterson and McClure, 1973, p. 7). Contrary to this belief, the results from this study indicate that political advertisements do contain and emphasize references to both political issues and candidate images (649 issue references coded as compared to 383 image references). Clearly some political commercials do not ignore the issues. In addition, some aspects of the image-issue controversy may in part be resolved as a result of this study; findings support the view that semantic issue and image content is present in televised political spot advertisements, and that such material does vary in unique ways with respect to selected methods of presentation.

However, it must be kept in mind that this study addressed only semantic (verbal or textual) image and issue phenomena and did so from a composite frequency measure rather than from a conceivably equally valid time-based measure of visual candidate imagery. Candidate image phenomena, more than campaign issue phenomena, reside in the video portion of political commercials, and to the extent that images are located in this domain, this study did not explicate them. A fuller assessment of candidate images requires not only an analysis of image

mentions, but also an analysis of the time devoted to visual image dimensions. For this reason, if the claim by critics that political commercials emphasize image-making while ignoring political issues stems from a visual time-based measure of candidate images as well as from a frequency count, then this study offers only a partial basis for judging the correctness of their claim.

There are other limitations in this study which may have tempered the results and which therefore should be noted. One deals with the degree to which the reader is free to make characterizations of candidates based on the proportions of issue and image mentions in specific categories within a candidate's advertisements. In the majority of cases, the proportion scores of image and issue mentions were reflective of the candidate for whom the spots were made. For example, the comparatively high altruism score (across candidates), for Kennedy advertisements was correctly interpreted as an attempt to characterize candidate Kennedy as altruistic. But there were some cases where an issue or image mention contributed to a particular issue or image category, but was not directed at the candidate for whom the spots were made. For example this occurred in the case of Kennedy ad #13 (Tape 9a) (see Appendix G for complete transcript) where citizens say, ". . . it seems that you can't put your trust in someone who says 'trust me' but then turns around and does something different," and, "I think the job is a little too big for him." In these cases, the image mentions were directed at the incumbent Carter, not Kennedy. They were counted as image mentions in Kennedy advertisements, yet they did not refer to Kennedy. For this reason, such scores may not be universally inferred to be about the candidate for whom the

advertisements were made. Such ascriptions must be made with careful checking.

In addition, some image and issue mentions were difficult to code, and, depending on the interpretations of the text, could have been reasonably coded into more than one category. This was apparent in the case of some image terms which might have been coded equally well into the experience or the competence categories.

With respect to the image and issue constructs generally, the relatively low image reliability reflected that images were more indefinite and amorphous than were issues. It may be that images by nature are more diffuse, are more difficult to present, and therefore require more complex production devices than issues do.

It seems clear that overt spoken self-promotion of image qualities by candidates is an unseemly and self-defeating activity in our culture; perhaps semantic images that appear in the spoken text by necessity must originate via testimonials by non-candidates. On the other hand, as stated earlier, images may be projected (tacitly revealed) by candidates directly via non-verbal aspects of their activity and presence during their expression of issue stances; images of this latter type were not coded in this study. As for equivocation with regard to the issue construct, the categories of federalism and government management seemed at times to be problematic.

Further, issue mention rates were considerably higher than image mention rates throughout the coding process; this was due to the explicit nature of the operational definitions of semantic issues and images which were used. There were cases where image terms appeared in an advertisement, but were not coded into any image category because

they did not explicitly refer to a specific current presidential candidate. An example of this occurred in the case of Reagan ad #1 (Tape 10) (see Appendix G for complete transcript) where the candidate says, "We have the ability . . . talent . . . drive . . . imagination. Now all we need is the leadership." Each one of the qualities mentioned were potential image terms, but none were coded because they were not explicitly ascribed to a current candidate. (The word "we" removed these potential image terms from the analysis.) Therefore, the lack of explicit reference to a particular current candidate kept some image terms out of the analysis.

By contrast, almost all issue terms were included for analysis. (An example of an issue term not coded occurred in the case of the mention of the word "depression" in Kennedy ad #1 (Tape 9) (see Appendix G for full transcript). In this case, the term "depression" was regarded as a reference to an episode during Herbert Hoover's administration and not to a current topic linked to the national interest.

The rigor of the operational definition of what constituted a codable semantic image term was sorely felt at times, but it was decided to keep the criteria rigorous so that there would be less chance for questioning how much was being read into the data that may have been more an artifact of interpretation than content. In retrospect it seems possible that this may have weakened the relationship of production variables to composite image scores; this was not viewed as a problem with respect to the coding of issue terms.

There was an obvious limitation of generalizability to all televised political spot advertising. Clearly since these data were only from the 1980 primaries, generalizing the results to general

elections and past and future campaigns is tenuous. However, the methods developed here can be used to assess images, issues, and presentational methods in other campaigns. There will always be the need to refine issue and image categories, and there is the possibility of new production techniques being adopted. To the extent that production styles remain essentially the same, minor refinement in the measurement of such variables should allow for the possibility of conducting quadrennial research efforts similar to the one conducted here.

Finally, with respect to the possibilities for relating other selected video variables to image and issue content, this study (apart from the phenomenon of simple cutting rate) did not address the dimensions of visual sequencing and more complex montage effects which some believe to be central to the visual communication of meaning to viewers. Future studies might strive to create measures sensitive to this dimension.

The results of this research indicated the existence of implicit elaborated media genres which were used to communicate images and issues in televised political spot advertisements. These genres were composed of a host of audio-visual media variables; orientation of the candidate to the camera, still pictures of candidates, voices of candidates and announcers, and the presence of citizens were among these variables. Overall, the explication of image and issue-related audio-visual variables constituted the explicit secondary coding schemes of the implicit elaborated codes used by media professionals in creating campaign spots. Future research should be geared toward continued analysis of these secondary coding schemes.

First, research efforts should try to refine the classification schemes used to tap the constructs of images, issues, and methods of presentation that were used here: most of all, the visual aspects of image material cry out for analysis. A more fully developed classification scheme for images, issues, and methods of presentation would aid in discovering the production variables most pertinent to the promotion of issues and images. As this research progressed, it became apparent that some presentation variables were not highly related to either image or issue scores (crowd sounds for example). Perhaps such variables can be dropped in subsequent studies. Presentational devices that might be included may be variables built on a full blown commitment to the sequencing aspect of montage effects.

Generally, for as far as the operational definitions went in modelling the constructs of images, issues and methods of presentation, the issue construct seemed easiest to model accurately. Issues were located predominantly in the verbal text of the advertisements. As for images, as stated before, they were only partly unpacked; this was true for presentational methods also. Both of these need more work and development. Images, more than issues often are located in the video part of the message as well as in the audio. While measurement of methods of presentation can be more and more refined, such extra refinement should be guided by strong conceptual rationale, or it becomes possible to refine infinitely and without justification. This can only lead to confusion; refinement for refinement's sake is merely a ponderous effort which yields little understanding.

There also is a great deal to be learned about the relationships between images and issues in televised political spot advertisements

and the presumed image and issue needs of the candidate and the electorate. Clearly decisions about what commercials to make are influenced by the perceived needs of the candidate in fitting the moment of the campaign. (Over the course of this study, it became apparent that the media organizations that were producing advertisements were keenly attentive to what images and issues to emphasize based on current events as well as poll data.) Perhaps a study of the content of political advertising in relation to times, locales, frequencies of airplay, media budgets, changes in world events, and shifts in poll positions of candidates (extrinsic variables) will lead to some generalization concerning just what aspects of the political system are of primary concern to the campaign organization. Theoretically, a systems approach may be helpful in assessing just what the impact is on campaign propaganda of poll data and the political agenda within the political system. Some theorists argue that poll information determines campaign organization behavior; perhaps the content of political advertisements is equally affected by international events.

Research in televised political propaganda is a challenging and rewarding endeavor for mass media message analysts. There are numerous levels of research which are more in need of analysis as televised political advertising increases unabated. The data provide a rich base for inquiry.

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APPENDIX A
MAIL CORRESPONDENCE WITH ALL
CAMPAIGN ORGANIZATIONS



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

February 3, 1980

Mr. Robert J. Sann
Robert J. Sann and Associates
530 9th Avenue
New York, N.Y.
10036

Dear Mr. Sann:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of Feb. 1. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of televised political spot ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy of the ads (video tape cassette format) that is produced for the primaries.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to work within bounds to be established by you and any other affected parties so that the confidentiality of any campaign strategy may be protected with certainty.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that I might come to New York to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal with my advisor, Dr. Thomas A. McCain which will enable me to cover necessary travel expenses.

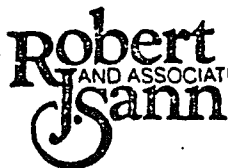
Please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave.
Apt. 2-R
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Tel: (614) 291-7493 (home)
(614) 422-3400 (off.)



AND ASSOCIATES, INC./630 NINTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, NEW YORK, 10036/(212)757-0702

February 14, 1980

Ohio State University Dept. of Communications
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

ATTN: Leonard Shyles

Dear Mr. Shyles,

As per our telephone conversation Tuesday, please find enclosed the John B. Anderson screening reel you requested. We would appreciate if when you are finished with the cassette, you will send it back to us.

Thank you for your cooperation. If we can be of further assistance, please do not hesitate to call.

Sincerely,

ROBERT J. SANN & ASSOC.

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Lauren Sann".

p.p. Robert J. Sann

Lauren Sann
(Asst. to RJS)

RJS/lis
enc.

Heather



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

February 25, 1980

Ms. Lauren Sann
c/o Robert J. Sann & Associates
630 Ninth Ave.
New York, N.Y.
10036

Dear Lauren:

Thankyou for sending me the video tape of the Anderson televised spot ads. I am returning the reel and I hope you will send me the next one if others are produced.

With your help, my research is progressing as planned; I am very thankful to you and your agency for this.

If other reels are available, please send them to the address given below.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

(Signature)

C/o Dept. of Communication
The Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio
43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

February 11, 1980

Mr. Dan Pero
Bailey Deardourff Agency
805 15th Street N.W.
Suite 430
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Dan:

I'm writing to thank you for agreeing to send me copies of the televised political spot ads of the primaries that you have prepared for the Baker campaign. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning these ads.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy of the ads, and I am enclosing a video tape (3/4 inch format) for this purpose.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to work within bounds you and other affected parties will set which will ensure the confidentiality of your campaign strategy.

You mentioned on the phone that if I supplied my own cassette, that I would be paying only for the time it took to dub copies. I would like you to know that at this time I am working from a zero budget. If you could possibly arrange to have the lowest possible charges attached to this service, I would be most grateful. In the meantime, I am planning a proposal with my advisor, Dr. Thomas A. McCain, which would enable me to pay some of the expenses which will undoubtedly accrue from this research.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore, I am limiting my research to just the primaries.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

Dept. of Communication
The Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Tel: (614) 422-3400 (ofc.)
(614) 291-7493 (home)

bailey, deardourff & associates, inc.

733 15th street, n.w., suite 1120, washington, d.c. 20005, 202-347-0779

March 13, 1980

703 442-0880

Va,

Mr. Leonard Shyles
Dept. of Communication
Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, OH 43210

Dear Leonard:

Enclosed is a cassette of the spots you requested, and, as you can see from the invoice, we were able to save you a substantial amount of money. We do, however, expect prompt payment for the amount indicated on the attached invoice.

These spots are to be used only for the preparation of your thesis, and Bailey, Deardourff and Associates must be named as the producer of all the commercials in any documentation that you use in your paper. They are not to be shown commercially in any way. You may show them, however, in a presentation format but BDA must be given credit for their production.

I am glad we could be of assistance to you, and if I can help further, let me know.

Sincerely,



Dan Pero
Assistant to the President

DP/slb

Enclosure

Attachment



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
March 6, 1980

Ms. Anita Winkler
c/o Ross McCause Assoc.
6356 Fountain Ave.
Hollywood, Calif.
90028

Dear Anita:

It was great talking to you yesterday on the phone about sending the political spot ads for Governor Brown's campaign for the primaries. I've enclosed a 3/4 inch format video cassette for dubbing purposes.

I will let you know how well the tape survives the mail. If you send it first class, I'm sure it will be OK; the address to mail to is given below. Thankyou very much once again for helping me get this research off the ground.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Leonard Shyles".

c/o Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 North Oval Mall
Rm. 205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

anita holland winkler

3/12/80

Dear Leonard:

Enclosed is the Brown cassette you requested -

don't let anyone ever tell you we're too

blown out here in Lotusland to be helpful!

Good luck on your research.

Anita



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

January 26, 1980

Mr. Bob Goodman
Robert Goodman Agency
Old Court and Falls Road
Box 512
Brooklandville, Md. 21022

Dear Mr. Goodman:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 24. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of televised political spot ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy (either on video tape or film) of each ad that is produced for the primaries.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and other affected parties such that the confidentiality of any campaign strategy may be protected with certainty.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that within a month you will be getting more information and ads; perhaps I can come to Washington to get copies of the ads at that time if a path can be cleared. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal with my advisor, Dr. Thomas A. McCain which will enable me to cover travel expenses.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles
35 E. Norwich Ave. Apt 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

February 27, 1980

Mr Tom Lias
732 N. Washington Street
Alexandria, Va.
22314

Dear Mr. Lias:

I'm writing in response to our telephone conversation this past Monday, when we discussed the possibility of your gaining clearance so that I may receive copies of the televised political spot ads that have been produced for George Bush's primary campaign.

As I wrote in my letter of January 26 to Bob Goodman, I want to assure you that my study for this dissertation will in no way be used for any purpose except as a part of my doctoral work here in the department of Communication. I wish to guarantee my promise to you as I have done before that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established. Your contribution to this research will be treated with confidentiality.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my research by the summer; therefore I am limiting my research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that you would try to get clearance as soon as you heard from me; please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal which will enable me to send you 3/4 inch cassette tape for video dubbing purposes and to cover mailing expenses for your efforts.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 N. Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio
43210

Tel: (614) 422-3400 (off.)
(614) 291-7493 (home)



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

January 15, 1980

Ms. Becky Hendrix
Carter-Mondale Reelection Campaign
1612 K. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Suite 508

Dear Becky:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 14. I would like also to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of paid political televised ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy (either on video tape or film) of each ad that is produced by your organization.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and others in your organization which will assure the confidentiality of any campaign strategy that you wish to protect.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore, I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries. Presently, I am preparing with my adviser, Dr. Thomas A. McCain, a proposal which will enable me to cover travel and phone expenses which I expect to incur so that I can get this research off the ground.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience (in an admittedly busy schedule) when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave.
Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio
43201



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
February 18, 1980

Ms. Becky Hendrix
Carter-Mondale Reelection Campaign
1612 K. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Suite 508

Dear Becky:

Thankyou for agreeing to send me the thirty and sixty second spot ads of President Carter's primary campaign. I have enclosed a one hour video tape (3/4 inch format) so that you can dub copies of the spots and the five minute films that you mentioned on the phone.

Again, let me assure you that these ads will be used for my dissertation research only, as my letter of Jan. 15 explains.

I would like to get the succeeding ads as they become cleared by you and your associates. I will mail back the tape when the time comes. As of now, I'd like to thank you for the first batch; I'm very happy to get this research started.

It will be best if you mail the tape to the address given below.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

Leon Shyles

C/o Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 North Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio
43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

April 9, 1980

Ms. Becky Hendrix
Carter-Mondale Reelection Campaign
1612 K. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006
Suite 508

Dear Becky:

Thankyou so much for offering to send the additional televised political spot advertisements which have been made for the Carter Reelection primary campaign races for the 1980 election.

I would like to thank you for making the first batch available to me for my research, and I would like you to know that they arrived in excellent condition.

I have enclosed a twenty minute 3/4 inch video cassette to be used for dubbing purposes so that I may receive the additional ads that you mentioned on the phone.

Thankyou very much for your help; send my best to President Carter. I will be in touch again soon.

Very truly yours,

Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

c/o Department of Communic.
The Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio
43210

**Rafshoon
Communications**

1612 K Street, N.W.
Suite 508
Washington, D.C. 20006
202/293-5454

March 11, 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
c/o Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 North Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, OH 43210

Dear Mr. Shyles:

Enclosed you will, ^{find} a one-hour video cassette which contains all of the spots (30 minute film, 5 minute, :60 and :30) that we have aired on behalf of the Carter/Mondale campaign. You will note that most of these spots have a New York tag on them. They, ~~however, were run in Iowa, New Hampshire, Massachusetts,~~ and Vermont and are currently on the air in Illinois with the appropriate tags, of course.

I do hope that this will be helpful to you in your research.

Sincerely,



Becky Hendrix
Assistant to
Gerald M. Rafshoon



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
January 26, 1980

Mr. Mitchell Stanley
Print Media Department
Connally for President Campaign
901 South Highland St.
Arlington, Va. 22204

Dear Mr. Stanley:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 24. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of televised political spot ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy of the ads (either on video tape or film) that is produced for the primaries.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and any other affected parties such that the confidentiality of any campaign strategy may be protected with certainty.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that you would inform Lee Speakerman of my needs; perhaps I can come to the Washington area to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal with my adviser, Dr. Thomas A. McCain which will enable me to cover necessary travel expenses.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave.
Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
February 3, 1970

Ms. Kim Turpin
Media Coordinator
Connally for President Campaign
601 South Highland St.
Arlington, Va. 22204

Dear Ms. Turpin:

It was a pleasure to talk to you on the phone this past Friday about getting copies of the televised political spot ads that you are using in the primary races this year. If you have gotten a copy of the letter I sent to Mitchell Stanley on January 26, then you know a little about my dissertation research for my doctorate degree in the Department of Communication here at Ohio State University.

The study I am planning requires that I get copies of the televised political spot ads as well as the dates they were produced and the scheduled air dates. I need the ads whether they are ever used or not. The video tape format that you mentioned on the phone will be fine (VTR cassette, three-quarter inch is what we use.)

I would like to come to your offices to get copies of the ads you have now and then pick up the rest of them for the succeeding primaries as they become available. As I told Mr. Stanley in the Jan. 26 letter, I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds that you believe will assure the confidentiality of your campaign strategy.

You mentioned on the phone that I might be able to come to the Washington area to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared. I am now in the process of writing a grant proposal which will enable me to cover travel and tape expenses.

Please let me know if I can come to see you in the next two weeks so that this research may begin.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave. Apt 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Tel: (614) 291-7493 (home)
(614) 422-3400 (ofc.)



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

February 7, 1980

Lee Spieckerman
Connally for President Campaign
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Va.
22204

Dear Lee:

Just a note to thank you for the quick and positive response concerning my research into televised political spot ads.

Enclosed is the sixty minute 3/4 inch video tape cassette to be used for dubbing the ads.

Since the package you will mail to me will be too large to fit in my home mail box, it would be best to send the cassette to my office address, given above, with attention to my name.

In addition, I have enclosed a check in the amount of postage to defray your costs.

I'll let you know how well the video tape survives the mails and other transits after I receive your first mailing.

With many thanks in advance,

Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles
c/o Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio
43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

February 25, 1980

Lee Spieckerman
Connally for President Campaign
901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Va.
22204

Dear Lee:

I'm writing to thank you for sending me the first reel of televised political spot ads produced for the Connally primary campaign. To refresh your memory, I now have the reel that begins with the 60 sec. piece called "John and Nellie" and ends with the piece called "New England Energy".

Enclosed is another video tape which can be used to dub the second batch if there are ones that you have which were not on the first reel.

I have not enclosed a check to cover postage this time; it's better if you send the tape to my office (address given below) and let them pay postage--then I can reimburse my department.

Many thanks once again for your help; I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

Leon Shyles

c/o Department of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 North Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio
43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400
May 10, 1980

Ms. Kim Turpin
2005 Columbia Pike
Apt. 425
Arlington, Virginia
22204

Dear Kim:

Please excuse the long delay; I just finished my general examination (written and oral) for admission to candidacy for the Phd in communication here at Ohio State and now I can proceed with the job of doing my dissertation.

I was very happy to speak to you about getting the log information that you have regarding the airdates, markets, and frequency of play of the televised political spot ads for the Connally primaries. The information I need is displayed in the enclosed forms which I have made with the intent of making it easy to supply such information. If you decide that it would be easier to supply what logs you have without entering the data on the forms I have provided, please feel free to do so. Whatever option you feel is most expedient will be best.

To summarize briefly, the information I need is this: I want to know, for each ad, the frequency of airplay, the markets and stations where they were aired, the dates of airplay, and the cost, if possible.

Your help is indispensable to me, and it will be happily acknowledged in my dissertation. As usual, the information you send me will be used only for my research and will otherwise remain confidential.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

c/o Dept. of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 N. Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210
Phone 614 422-3400

January 26, 1980

Mr. Carl Gagliardi
Crane National Campaign Headquarters
5600 Columbia Pike
Suite 211
Bailey's Crossroads, Va.
22041

Dear Mr. Gagliardi:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 24. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of televised political spot ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy of the ads (either on video tape or film) produced for the primaries.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and any other affected parties such that the confidentiality of any campaign strategy may be protected with certainty.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that we can establish correspondence in the hopes of getting this research off the ground; perhaps I can come to the Washington area to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal with my advisor, Dr. Thomas A. McCain, which will enable me to cover travel expenses.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave.
Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio
43201



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
February 12, 1980

Mr. Carl Gagliardi
Crane National Campaign Headquarters
5600 Columbia Pike
Suite 211
Bailey's Crossroads, Va.
22041

Dear Carl:

Thankyou for agreeing to mail me copies of the political spot ads you have made for the Crane primaries. I've enclosed a 30 minute 3/4 inch format video tape cassette for dubbing use.

On the phone Tuesday, you said you had nine 30 second spots, three 60 second spots, and a thirty minute piece. Please send me just the spots (the thirty and sixty second ones only). There is not enough tape for the long program.

I want to let you know that I am very happy to finally get this process started; I will let you know how well the video tape survives the mail. With some luck this arrangement will work. It will be best if you mail the tape to the address given below.

With many thanks,
Leonard Shyles

Len Shyles

c/o Department of Communic.
The Ohio State Univ.
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43201



CRANE • PRESIDENT • 1980

5600 COLUMBIA PIKE, SUITE 211, BAILEY'S CROSSROADS, VA 22041 703/931-4300

24 March 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
35 East Norwich Apt. 2B
Columbus, OH 43201

Dear Len,

Just wanted to let you know that I received your check in the mail today. Thank you. I guess since you've paid, you'll feel at ease now that you don't have to worry about my castration threat I made earlier.

Good luck with you project and best wishes in the future.

Sincerely,

Jonathan B. Hill
Jonathan B. Hill
Press Sec.

PMC/jbh



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

Department of Communication

154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

January 15, 1980

Ms. Audrey Shepard
Regional Director
Kennedy for President
National Campaign Headquarters
1250 22nd St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Audrey:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 14. I would like also to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of paid political televised ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy (either on video tape or film) of each ad that is produced by your organization.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and others in your organization which will assure the confidentiality of any campaign strategy that you wish to protect.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore, I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that Phil Bakes is the person who is handling media, and that I can come to Washington to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared.

In the meantime, I am preparing with my adviser, Dr. Thomas A. McCain, a proposal which will enable me to cover my travel expenses and phone bills etc. so that I can get this research off the ground.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience (in an admittedly busy schedule) when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave. Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

March 18, 1980

Ms. Melissa Osborne
Kennedy National Campaign Headquarters
1250 22nd Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.
20037

Dear Melissa:

Thank you so much for letting me send you a video tape to be used to dub the spot ads that have been made for the Kennedy primary bids.

After our phone conversation of March 7, I am hopeful that this research is finally getting off the ground. As I told Audrey Shepard in my letter of January 15, my time frame requires me to be in the final stages of my dissertation research by the summer, so I am very happy to enclose a 3/4 inch video tape for dubbing purposes now.

The best place to send the tape is in care of me at my office; the address is given below. I will let you know how the tape survives the mail- you can send it first class. Thank you once again for your essential help.

Sincerely,

Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

c/o Department of Communic.
154 N. Oval Mall
The Ohio State University
Rm. 205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio
43201



DISTRICT 65 U.A.W.

13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • 673-5120

May 14, 1980

Ms. Leslie Israel 6116-7
 Labor Director
 Kennedy for President
 National Campaign Headquarters
 1250 22nd Street, N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Leslie:

Leonard Shyles, son of one of our longtime members, is working on a research project involving television advertising during the current primaries. He's managed to get material, at cost, from all the candidates except Ted's campaign.

If someone in your office could contact Phil Bakes, who works on media at the campaign headquarters, and put in a good word, I'd appreciate it.

I gather there are no technical problems and he's willing to pay the same sort of fees he paid to the other campaigns.

Fully realizing that this is an outrageous nudge in the midst of your avalanche of responsibilities, I fall back on your warm heart.

In Solidarity,

Kevin P. Lynch
 Public Affairs Director



IT PAYS TO BELONG TO DISTRICT 65



DISTRICT 65 U. A. W.

13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003 • 673-5123

May 14, 1980

Phil Bakes
Media Department
Kennedy for President
National Campaign Headquarters
1250 22nd Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Bakes:

Leonard Shyles, son of one of our longtime members, is working on a research project involving television advertising during the current primary campaign. He's managed to get needed film material from all candidates except Ted. He's able to pay the campaign for the film, as long as the costs approximate those of the other campaigns.

Because of our role in the campaign to date, I've been asked to urge that the matter be expedited. Leonard assured me that he's received good cooperation from the campaign staff, but some sort of difficulty has developed over the cost estimates.

If you could look into the matter, I'd greatly appreciate it.

Fraternally,

Kevin P. Lynch
Public Affairs Director

KENNEDY FOR PRESIDENT

May 19, 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
35 East Norwich, 2-B
Columbus, Ohio

Dear Mr. Shyles:

I understand you have had problems trying to obtain copies of our campaign TV ads. I would be happy to help you straighten out this matter, but have been unable to reach you by telephone through Ohio State. If you would call me at 202/861-6025, I'm sure we can work something out.

Sincerely,

Diane Schneider 251-861

Diane Schneider

Political Media
Systems, Inc.
100 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

700 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Telephone
212 373 8585

May 27, 1980

Mr. P. Wilson
President

Mr. Leonard Shyles
c/o The Department of Communication
Ohio State University
154 North Oval Mall
Room 205 - Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Shyles:

PM

As per instructions from Phil Bakes at The Kennedy For President Committee, enclosed please find two 3/4" cassettes of representative Kennedy Television commercials. I understand that you will make dupes of these and send the originals back to me.

Since these cassettes are used quite often I must ask that you try to get them back to me as soon as possible.

Sincerely,



Melissa R. Moore
Assistant to Mr. Wilson



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

January 26, 1980

Mr. Rich Miller
Director of Broadcast Services
Communication Department
Reagan for President
1828 L. St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Suite 201

Dear Mr. Miller:

I'm writing to thank you for the considerate attention and warm reception you extended to me in our phone conversation of January 24. I would like to take this moment to inform you of my dissertation work concerning the content and application of televised political spot ads in this primary season.

The study I am planning will require information concerning the schedule of airplay (TV only) of the paid ads and the production dates of each ad, whether the ad is ever used or not. In addition, I need to acquire a copy of the ads (either on film or video tape) produced for the primaries.

I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to operate within bounds to be established by you and any other affected parties such that the confidentiality of any campaign strategy may be protected with certainty.

I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my dissertation by this summer; therefore I am limiting my area of research to just the primaries.

You mentioned on the phone that we could establish correspondence in the hopes of getting this research off the ground; perhaps I can come to Washington to get copies of the ads if a path can be cleared. In the meantime, I am preparing a grant proposal with my adviser, Dr. Thomas A. McCain, which will enable me to cover travel expenses.

Please let me know at your earliest convenience when we can proceed. Hopefully, the fruits of this research will benefit those in the future who, like yourself, are active participants in the political campaign process.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

35 E. Norwich Ave.
Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio
43201



REAGAN for PRESIDENT

9841 Airport Boulevard
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California 90045
(213) 670-9161

February 14, 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
35 E. Norwich Avenue
Apt. 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Dear Mr. Shyles:

Your letter of January 26th, addressed to Rich Miller at our Washington, D.C. office, has been forwarded to my attention.

We would like very much to cooperate with your request to receive film copies and information concerning our television advertisements, though I am presently not in a position to guarantee anything.

First of all, I will need to know whether you require this material now and on a continuing basis throughout the campaign; or would it be alright to provide you with this material immediately after the primaries, i.e., sometime in early June? This latter option may be easier for us to accommodate. Do you want to borrow or purchase?

Secondly, I don't believe it will be necessary for you in any case to travel to Washington or here to Los Angeles to pick up this material. If I am successful in arranging for you have it, I don't see why we couldn't ship it to you.

Please let me know if you should have any questions and thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Gary Hoitsma Robin Gray (Male)
Gary Hoitsma
Press Office
work w/ Hoitsma

cc: Nedra Carpel



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400

February 25, 1980

Mr. Gary Hoitsma
Reagan for President
6841 Airport Boulevard
Suite 1430
Los Angeles, California
90045

Dear Mr. Hoitsma:

Thank you very much for your letter of February 14 which discusses the possibility of receiving the televised political spot ads that have been produced for Governor Reagan for the primaries.

In answer to your question about when I need the ads, let me say that the most convenient way for me to work on my dissertation would be for me to receive the copies of the ads (on 3/4 inch video tape cassette preferably, or film) as soon as possible. As I explained to Rich Miller, I need to be in the advanced stages of my research by the summer. Therefore, perhaps you could send me the ads that you have already used, and I could continue to receive the later ads as they become available.

In response to your question as to whether I need to borrow or purchase, I need to borrow; I can return each batch within a couple of days after receiving it.

If a path can be cleared for you to send me the ads, that would be far better than my travelling to L.A. or Wash. I am working from a virtually zero budget, and as you say, the shipping idea would save a great deal of time, money, and effort.

Please let me know if we can proceed. As my letter to Rich Miller says, I guarantee that this material will be used for my dissertation research only, and I will not breach any trust you place in me. If you can send the material, mail it to the address below.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles
Leonard Shyles

The Ohio State University
c/o Dept. of Communication
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio
43210



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
March 18, 1980

Dr. Richard Wirthlin
Decision Making Information
2700 North Main Street
Santa Ana, California
92701

Dear Dr. Wirthlin:

I am writing to acknowledge a telephone conversation with Celeste Heritage and a letter correspondence with Gary Hoitsma, Robin Gray, and Rich Miller which have finally led me to you.

My interest in contacting you concerns my dissertation research about the televised political spot advertisements that have been produced for the Reagan primary campaigns for 1980. I have enclosed copies of my past correspondence as the quickest means of bringing you up to date on my quest to acquire copies of the spot ads for the primaries.

I would be most happy to mail blank 3/4 inch tape cassette stock which can be used for dubbing purposes if you will agree to send me the spot ads for the Reagan campaigns. Please let me know at your earliest convenience whether you can ship this material to me; I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my research by the summer.

With your help, I will be able to get this research off the ground. Let me assure you, as I have done in my previous letters, that I wish to guarantee my promise to you that my research will in no way endanger the progress of your organization to achieve the goals you have established, and I am willing to preserve the confidentiality of your campaign strategy.

Sincerely,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles

c/o Dept. of Communic.
The Ohio State University
154 N. Oval Mall
Rm. 205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Tel: (614) 291-7493 (home)
(614) 422-3400 (ofc.)

April 11, 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
The Ohio State University
c/o Dept. of Communication
205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Dear Mr. Shyles:

Per your letter of February 25 to Gary Hoitsma, we are unable to provide you with copies of Governor Reagan's televised political spot ads.

I suggest you contact the following firm for any arrangement of this type:

Elliot Curson Advertising
1001 Western Savings Bank Building
Philadelphia, PA 19107
215-732-7111

I wish you good luck with your research.

Sincerely,

David P. Prosperi
David P. Prosperi



The Ohio State University

Department of Communication

205 Derby Hall
154 North Oval Mall
Columbus, Ohio 43210

Phone 614 422-3400
April 22, 1980

Mr. Elliot Curson
Elliot Curson Advertising
1001 Western Savings Bank Building
Philadelphia, PA, 19107

Dear Mr. Curson:

I'm writing to thank you for agreeing to help me in my research for my doctoral degree by sending me copies of the spot ads for the Reagan campaign during the primaries for 1980.

Over the past months, I have been in contact with several people affiliated with the Reagan campaign, and they have finally led me to you; I have enclosed copies of my prior correspondence with Gary Hoitsma, Richard Wirthlin and others so that you can get an idea of my past involvement.

I have also enclosed a 3/4 inch video tape cassette to be used for dubbing purposes so that I may receive copies of the televised political spot ads used in the Reagan campaign. As my prior letters attest, I am working in a time frame that requires me to be in the advanced stages of my research by the summer, so I am deeply grateful that I have finally located the right person in you.

I would appreciate it if you would send the tape to my office; the address is given below. Thank you once again for your help; you have essentially made it possible for me to complete my dissertation; for this help you will be rightfully acknowledged.

Very truly yours,
Leonard Shyles

Leonard Shyles
c/o Dept. of Communication
The Ohio State University
154 N. Oval Mall
205 Derby Hall
Columbus, Ohio, 43210

Elliott Curson Advertising, Ltd.

Western Savings Bank Building
Philadelphia, Pa. 19107

Phone: 215-732-7111

May 2, 1980

Mr. Leonard Shyles
35 E. Norwich Avenue
Apartment 2-B
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Dear Leonard:

Enclosed are the Reagan commercials. Please send us a copy of the report when you complete it.

Good luck!

Sincerely,



Elliott Curson

EC:de
Enc.

APPENDIX B
CODING FORMS FOR IMAGE, ISSUE, AND
METHOD OF PRESENTATION CONSTRUCTS

Candidate: _____ Ad #1 _____ Coder: _____

| Ad Title: _____ | IMAGE CATEGORIES | SCORE SUB-TOTAL |
|--|------------------|--------------------|
| 1) ALTRUISM - | | |
| 2) COMPETENCE - | | |
| 3) EXPERIENCE - | | |
| 4) HONESTY - | | |
| 5) LEADERSHIP - | | |
| 6) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS - | | |
| 7) STRENGTH - | | |
| 8) OTHER SPECIAL QUALITIES - | | |
| WORK SPACE FOR LIST OF TERMS THAT MATCH TERMS ON SIGN VEHICLE LIST. | | GRAND TOTAL: |

SHILES

| Candidate: _____ AD # _____ Coler: _____ | |
|---|--------------------|
| AD Title: _____ | ISSUE CATEGORIES |
| | SCORE SUB-TOTAL |
| 1) Carter's Record as President - | |
| 2) DOMESTIC - | |
| 3) ECONOMY - | |
| 4) ENERGY - | |
| 5) FEDERALISM - | |
| 6) FOREIGN POLICY/ FOREIGN RELATIONS - | |
| 7) GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT - | |
| 8) NATIONAL SECURITY/ MILITARY STRENGTH - | |
| 9) NATIONAL WELL- BEING - | |
| WORK SPACE FOR TERMS IN ADS THAT MATCH SIGN VEHICLE LIST ISSUE TERMS - | GRAND TOTAL |

SHYLES

APPENDIX C
CODEBOOK FOR IMAGE
CONSTRUCT

Codebook for IMAGE sign vehicle list

The sign vehicles (terms and phrases) appearing after this code book are to be coded into the categories provided on the coding sheets. Each category heading is explained in order to help coders decide which categories are best suited for each sign vehicle listed.

PROCEDURE FOR CODERS

Coders will read the text of each advertisement; they will locate within the text the phrases and terms that appear which match sign vehicles listed in this code book.

When coders perceive a term appearing in the text of an ad which matches a term or phrase within this code book, the coder will judge the context and reference of the term in order to assign that term to the category best suited to the meaning. Coders will assign the term or phrase under examination to the issue category most appropriate for the context, reference, and meaning of that term (or phrase).

A term will qualify for inclusion based on two criteria:

- (1) The term or phrase matches a term or phrase within this code book.
- (2) The coder decides that the term or phrase is used to refer to an "attribute of a candidate"s role, character, or personality" and is in fact an image reference. The choice of the most appropriate category to place a selected term or

phrase will be guided by the category description provided.

Below are the image categories into which all positively identified image terms will be coded. (It is possible for a term or phrase from the text of an ad to match one in the sign vehicle list and be negatively evaluated as not referring to an image or "an attribute of a candidate's role, character, or personality." In cases like this, the coder will not place the term into any category.) This may be conceptualized as placing negatively evaluated terms into a category labelled "does not belong".

Following the array of image categories and their descriptions given below, is an alphabetical listing of all sign vehicles used for coding images. Coders must be completely familiar with this list before actual coding begins.

IMAGE CATEGORIES AND DESCRIPTIONS

(1) ALTRUISM--Altruism is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the proclivities and dispositions of candidates to be concerned with the needs of others. Image terms which assess a candidate's interest or lack of interest in moral purpose, selflessness, benevolence and generosity as well as the candidate's interest in the social and physical needs of others will be coded into this ALTRUISM category.

(2) COMPETENCE--Competence is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the abilities or lack of abilities of candidates to perform the functions of the presidency in a skillful and knowledgeable way. Terms which refer to a candidate's ability or lack of ability in administrative facility and dispatch as well as references to the candidates' efficiency, resources, and skills (or lack of same) will be coded in the competence category.

(3) EXPERIENCE--Experience is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the background and past accomplishments, roles and jobs (or lack of same) held by candidates. Terms which underscore past encounters or occasions or activities or lack of same will be coded in this experience category.

(4) HONESTY--Honesty is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each and which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the dignity, veracity, sincerity, uprightness, candor, and frankness or lack of same of candidates. All such honesty terms will be coded in this honesty category.

(5) LEADERSHIP--Leadership is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which

match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the superintendence, chieftanship, stewardship, guidance, direction, and forward-looking characteristics of candidates. All terms which describe candidates as either having (or lacking) ideas which ready the nation for the future will be coded in this leadership category.

(6) PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS--Personal characteristics is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus individual traits and personality distinctions unique to a candidate. Terms which describe a candidate's adaptableness, bravery, tenderness, adulthood, faithfulness, humor, placidity, assurance, temperance, youth, cheerfulness, sagacity, constancy, insight, humanity, faith, or lack of same, will be coded in this personal characteristics category.

(7) STRENGTH--Strength is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the rigor, robustness, vitality, will and resoluteness, lasting sustenance, durability, firmness, and resilience, or lack of same. Terms of this type will be coded into this strength category.

(8) OTHER SPECIAL QUALITIES--Other special qualities is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged

to be references that have as their primary focus the "charisma", "niceness", and "newness" or lack of same. Terms expressing the overall niceness of the candidate or which engender the belief that the candidate is able to be a viable candidate and office holder will be coded into this "other special qualities" category.

Thus ends the category descriptions for IMAGES. These were provided as a guide to coders who will code sign vehicles as image references.

An alphabetical listing of all sign vehicles for IMAGES follows.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF ALL IMAGE SIGN VEHICLES

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| able (ability (ies)) | Facing (es) (the) problems (issues) |
| Achieve (s, r, ment) | Familiar |
| Action | Family man (life) |
| Advisor(y) | Farmer |
| Alert | Father |
| Ambassador | Feeling(s) |
| Background | Fight (s, er, ing) (fought) |
| Believe (s, r) | Fighter pilot |
| Bumble (r) | Flexible (ility) |
| | Forthright (ness) |
| Campaign (ed, er) | Frank(ly) |
| Care(s) | |
| Changes(...)mind | Gentleman |
| Character | Governor |
| Charisma | |
| Commitment | Helpful (helps) |
| Compassion(ate) | Honest |
| Competence (ent) | Husband |
| Concern(ed) | |
| Confident (ce) | Idea(s) |
| Congressman (Congress) | Imagination |
| Consistent | Inconsistent |
| Courage (ous) | Integrity |
| Credential(s) | Intelligent (ce) |
| Credibility | Interested |
| Cruel | Involved |
| | |
| Dare (s, ing) | Job(...)too big for him |
| Decision-maker | |
| Determine (d) (ation) | Knowledge (able) |
| Different (ce) | Know(s) |
| Dignity | |
| Director | Leader (ship) |
| Discipline | Love of country |
| Do(es) the...job(s) | Loyal (ty) |
| Drive | |
| Duty | Makes decisions |
| | Manage(s) |
| Electable | Mastery |
| Endure (s, ed) | Mature (ity) |
| Envoy | Means what he says |
| Experience (d) | Mislead(s), misled |
| Expert | Moral purpose |
| | |
| | New (omit if used in the phrase New York, New Hampshire, or New England |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------|
| Officer | Vice chairman |
| Opportunistic | Vigor (ous) |
| Optimist(ic) | Vision (ary) |
| Peace-maker | Warm |
| Pessimist (ic) | Willing to act |
| Pioneer(ed) | Willing to take (make) |
| Prepared | a stand |
| President | Wit |
| Priest (hood) | Wonderful |
| | Work (er) |
| Qualified | |
| | Young |
| Ready | |
| Record | |
| Resolve (resolute) | |
| Responsible (ilities) (ity) | |
| Safe | |
| Says what he means | |
| Says what everyone (body, people) | |
| think(s) | |
| Secretary | |
| Secure (security) | |
| Sees beyond what others see | |
| Self-confidence | |
| Senator (Senate) | |
| Serene (ity) | |
| Solid | |
| Special qualities | |
| stand(s) up | |
| statesman (men) | |
| Strength | |
| Strong(er) | |
| Student | |
| Suffer(ed) | |
| Super great guy | |
| Talent | |
| Tell (s, ing)...truth | |
| Tolerant (ce) | |
| Tough | |
| Training (train(ed)) | |
| Trust (worthy) | |
| Understand(s) (ing) | |
| Unstable | |
| Up to the job | |

APPENDIX D
CODEBOOK FOR ISSUE
CONSTRUCT

Codebook for ISSUE sign vehicle list

The sign vehicles (terms and phrases) appearing after this code book are to be coded into the categories provided on the coding sheet. Each category heading is explained in order to help coders decide which categories are best suited for each sign vehicle listed.

PROCEDURE FOR CODERS

Coders will read the text of each advertisement; they will locate within the text the phrases and terms that appear which match sign vehicles listed in this code book.

When coders perceive a term appearing in the text of an ad which matches a term or phrase within this code book, the coder will judge the context and reference of the term in order to assign that term to the category best suited to the meaning. Coders will assign the term or phrase under examination to the issue category most appropriate for the context, reference, and meaning of that term (or phrase).

A term will qualify for inclusion based on two criteria:

- (1) The term or phrase matches a term or phrase within this code book.
- (2) The coder decides that the term or phrase is used to refer to a "topic linked to the national interest" and is in fact an issue reference. The choice of the most appropriate category to place

a selected term or phrase will be guided by the category descriptions provided.

Below are the issue categories into which all positively identified issue terms will be coded. (It is possible for a term or phrase from the text of an ad to match one in the sign vehicle list and be negatively evaluated as not referring to an issue or "topic linked to the national interest." In cases like this, the coder will not place the term into any category.) This may be conceptualized as placing negatively evaluated terms into a category labelled "Does Not Belong".

Following the array of issue categories and their descriptions given below, is an alphabetical listing of all sign vehicles used for coding issues. Coders must be completely familiar with this list before actual coding begins.

ISSUE CATEGORIES AND DESCRIPTIONS

(1) CARTER'S RECORD AS PRESIDENT--Carter's Record as President is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references to the blunders, failures, and errors of the incumbent. This will include assessments of the incumbent's problems of leadership, accomplishments, abilities, etc.

(2) DOMESTIC ISSUES--Domestic issues is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus national welfare issues including SOCIAL programs.

Programs of government which have the government as the primary focus (like tax and budgetary programs) will not be coded as domestic issues.

Social problems of education, crime, violence, civil rights, industry and non-governmental institutions will be included in this category, with all social concerns of a clearly national character. Problems of a foreign or international nature will not be coded into this category of domestic issues.

(3) ECONOMY--Economic issues is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the impact of economic growth and recession on the standard of living, the status of business and finance, costs, prices, the work force, earning and buying potential, and changes of these statuses. Items of this type will be correctly coded as Economic issues.

(4) ENERGY--Energy is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus alternative methods of generating power

to do the work of running machines, heating homes, and keeping the level of power high enough to support the power requirements of the country in the future. In addition, terms referring to the impact of energy needs on the ecology of the nation (and world) and the general environment will be coded into this energy category.

(5) FEDERALISM--Federalism is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus topics concerning the status and value of governmental agencies as a needed source of support to the smooth running of government. Terms which refer to the general philosophy of applying bureaucracy to the solution of problems, and to the application of government agencies to mediate the ongoing progress of the nation will be coded into this federalism category.

(6) FOREIGN POLICY/FOREIGN RELATIONS--Foreign policy is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus international relationships, agreements, expectations, including occurrences, resolutions between nations, and negotiations among nations. Foreign trade and references to international trouble spots and the institutions that negotiate in foreign relations affairs will be included in this foreign policy category.

(7) GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT--Government Management is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the financial programs of government. Policies of taxation and problems of efficiency of government-initiated programs will be included. Topics concerning budgetary and fiscal policy and the financial status of the government will be included in this government management category.

(8) NATIONAL SECURITY/MILITARY STRENGTH--National security and military strength is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the safety of the nation from the military aggression of potential international enemies. Problems related to maintaining a safe margin of weapons protection against threats to the physical survival of the nation's people will be included as well as references to the maintenance of peace and avoidance of war.

(9) NATIONAL WELL-BEING--National well-being is a category into which coders will code all terms found in the text of each ad which match sign vehicles and are judged to be references that have as their primary focus the VISION OF THE AMERICAN DREAM and the hope of all Americans for the continuance and growth of the nation. References to the probable subsequent status of the nation in the long run and the values and commitment of the nation's citizens to strive

for the best course with the least dangers for America's continued success will be coded into this national well-being category.

Thus ends the category descriptions for ISSUES. These were provided as a guide to coders who will code sign vehicles as issue references.

An alphabetical listing of all sign vehicles for ISSUES follows.

ALPHABETICAL LISTING OF ALL ISSUE SIGN VEHICLES

| | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Achievement | Environment(al) (delays) |
| Afghanistan | ERA (extension) Equal |
| Agriculture | Right Amendment |
| Air | Experience...(w/ Congress) |
| Allies/Allied | Europe (an) |
| America(n)(s) | |
| American hostages | Failure(s) |
| America's in trouble | Factories...(closing down) |
| Automobile/Auto | Farm (er(s)) (exports) |
| | Federal spending |
| Balance(d) ... Budget | Fighting ... failure |
| Big and powerful institutions | Fiscal policy |
| Betrayal (ed) (of) Israel | Fixed income |
| Big business | Foreign (policy, relations, |
| Blunder | countries, country) |
| Bountiful life | Force(s) |
| Boycott ... olympics | France (French) |
| Brave achievement | Freedom |
| Budget | Future (of (...)) children) |
| Bureaucracy | |
| | Gas (gasoline) |
| Carter's failure | Gasless auto |
| Centralization of power | Get fed'l. gov't. out of |
| CETA | local & state(s) |
| Challenge(s) | Government (regulation, |
| Cities | spending) |
| Coal | Growth (growing) |
| Compassion | Gun(s) (control) |
| Competence | |
| Country (...) growing | HEW |
| Credit(s) | Hold down federal spending |
| Crime | Home(s) |
| Crisis (es) | Hostages |
| Cuba(n) | Housing |
| | |
| Danger | Inflation |
| Declining productivity | Intelligence (agency (ies)) |
| Defend ... country | Interest rates |
| Defense (costs) | International law |
| Deficit | Iran (ian) |
| Depression | Israel (i) |
| Drilling (...) wells | |
| | Japan (ese) |
| Economic (crisis, policy, | Justice |
| problem(s)) | |
| Economy | Lack of Leadership |
| Education (educate) | Lay-off(s) (Laid-off) |
| Elderly on fixed income(s) | Leadership |
| Endorsing Carter | Little Guy |
| Energy (policy, problem(s), | |
| need, crisis, cost, mess, | |
| security, deficit) | |

Mandatory controls
 Mexico (ans)
 Mideast (Middle East)
 Military (equality, power,
 strength, spending,
 budget)
 Money
 Moral purpose

 National health insurance
 National defense
 National resolve
 National security
 Natural resources
 Nation ('s) in trouble
 New York (NY) New England
 Not a second rate power
 Nuclear power

 Oil crisis
 Old(er) Americans
 Olympic boycott
 OPEC countries
 Opportunity (ies) for the
 1980's (of the '80s)

 Peace
 Power
 Price of oil
 Price(s)
 Public transit

 Record
 Regulation(s)
 Reporting requirements
 Respect of country
 Revenue sharing
 Rights
 Runaway prices
 Russia(n)

 Sacrifice
 SALT (II) (treaty)
 Second rate power
 Security
 "SEETA" (CETA)
 Self-discipline
 Small business
 Social (problems) (security)
 Solar
 Soviet
 Special force

Standard of living
 State department
 Strength
 Strong defense
 Super agencies

 Tax (es, ed) (cut(s))
 (credit (s))
 The nation's in trouble
 Tolerance
 Trade offensive
 Trust

 U.N. (United Nations)
 Unemploy (ed) (ment)
 Unification of people

 Violence

 War
 Waste
 Waste in ... military
 Water
 Welfare
 Welfare fraud
 Women's issues
 Women's movement
 Work harder

APPENDIX E
MEAN AND STANDARD DEVIATION SCORES
OF ALL VARIABLES BY CANDIDATE

TABLE 27

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* OF ISSUE MENTIONS IN 9 CATEGORIES
COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Anderson | | Baker | | Brown | | Bush | |
|------------------|------------|------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Carter's Record | .1 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Domestic | .4 | .9 | 1.0 | 1.4 | .2 | .6 | .3 | .5 | .3 | .6 |
| Economy | .5 | 1.0 | .4 | 1.0 | .4 | .8 | 1.0 | .8 | .8 | 1.3 |
| Energy | .5 | 1.3 | .5 | 1.1 | .4 | 1.3 | 1.0 | .8 | .3 | 1.1 |
| Federalism | .4 | .8 | .1 | .3 | .4 | 1.1 | .9 | .7 | .3 | .6 |
| Foreign Policy | .5 | 1.0 | .2 | .5 | 1.1 | 1.3 | 1.1 | 1.5 | .1 | .6 |
| Gov't Management | .5 | .9 | .5 | .8 | .6 | .9 | 1.6 | 1.0 | .5 | 1.0 |
| Nat'l Security | .4 | .9 | .3 | .6 | .4 | .7 | 1.0 | 1.2 | .6 | 1.2 |
| Nat'l Well Being | .8 | 1.2 | .6 | .9 | .6 | 1.1 | 1.4 | 1.5 | .8 | 1.0 |
| Total | 4.1 | 2.8 | 3.7 | 3.1 | 4.0 | 2.1 | 8.3 | 1.4 | 3.7 | 2.5 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec spots.

TABLE 27 (continued)

| | Population | | Carter | | Connally | | Crane | | Kennedy | |
|------------------|------------|------|--------|------|----------|------|-------|------|---------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Carter's Record | .1 | .5 | .2 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .5 | .9 |
| Domestic | .4 | .9 | .2 | .5 | .1 | .3 | .4 | .9 | .5 | .8 |
| Economy | .5 | 1.0 | .2 | .4 | .1 | .4 | .6 | 1.0 | .9 | 1.3 |
| Energy | .5 | 1.3 | .2 | .4 | .7 | 2.6 | .6 | 1.7 | .5 | 1.4 |
| Federalism | .4 | .8 | .1 | .3 | .9 | .8 | .9 | 1.1 | .2 | .4 |
| Foreign Policy | .5 | 1.0 | .3 | .6 | .1 | .5 | .8 | 1.7 | .7 | 1.4 |
| Gov't Management | .5 | .9 | 0 | 0 | .2 | .6 | 1.6 | 1.5 | .2 | .5 |
| Nat'l Security | .4 | .9 | .8 | 1.5 | .1 | .4 | .2 | .7 | .1 | .4 |
| Nat'l Well Being | .8 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.2 | 1.2 | 1.4 | .3 | .5 | .5 | .9 |
| Total | 4.1 | 2.8 | 3.2 | 3.1 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 5.3 | .7 | 4.2 | 2.7 |

TABLE 27 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Reagan</u> | |
|------------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Carter's Record | .1 | .5 | 0 | 0 |
| Domestic | .4 | .9 | .6 | .9 |
| Economy | .5 | 1.0 | .6 | .9 |
| Energy | .5 | 1.3 | .2 | .4 |
| Federalism | .4 | .8 | 1.4 | 1.5 |
| Foreign Policy | .5 | 1.0 | .4 | .9 |
| Gov't Management | .5 | .9 | .6 | .9 |
| Nat'l Security | .4 | .9 | .8 | 1.8 |
| Nat'l Well Being | .8 | 1.2 | .6 | .5 |
| Total | 4.1 | 2.8 | 5.2 | 2.3 |

TABLE 28

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* OF IMAGE MENTIONS IN 8 CATEGORIES
COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Anderson | | Baker | | Brown | | Bush | |
|-----------------|------------|------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Altruism | .2 | .4 | .2 | .4 | .1 | .3 | .3 | .5 | 0 | 0 |
| Competence | .4 | .7 | .4 | .5 | .4 | .7 | .1 | .4 | .9 | .8 |
| Experience | .7 | 1.2 | .1 | .3 | .6 | 1.2 | .3 | .5 | .7 | 1.1 |
| Honesty | .3 | .6 | .2 | .5 | .1 | .3 | .6 | .5 | .2 | .4 |
| Leadership | .3 | .6 | 0 | 0 | 1.0 | 1.0 | .1 | .4 | .1 | .2 |
| Personal | .1 | .2 | .1 | .3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .1 | .2 |
| Strength | .3 | .5 | 0 | 0 | .1 | .4 | .3 | .5 | .1 | .4 |
| Other Qualities | .3 | .7 | 1.5 | .7 | .2 | .6 | 0 | 0 | .1 | .3 |
| Total | 2.5 | 1.9 | 2.5 | 1.4 | 2.5 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.4 | 2.1 | 1.7 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

TABLE 28 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Carter</u> | | <u>Connally</u> | | <u>Crane</u> | | <u>Kennedy</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Altruism | .2 | .4 | .3 | .5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | .4 | .8 |
| Competence | .4 | .7 | .4 | .7 | .3 | .7 | .1 | .3 | .2 | .5 |
| Experience | .7 | 1.2 | 1.8 | 1.0 | 1.5 | 2.4 | .1 | .3 | .5 | .8 |
| Honesty | .3 | .6 | .4 | 1.0 | .3 | .7 | 1.0 | 0 | .2 | .5 |
| Leadership | .3 | .6 | .1 | .3 | .7 | .6 | 0 | 0 | .3 | .6 |
| Personal | .1 | .2 | 0 | 0 | .1 | .3 | 0 | 0 | .2 | .4 |
| Strength | .3 | .5 | .5 | .5 | .4 | .7 | .1 | .3 | .5 | .8 |
| Other Qualities | .3 | .7 | 0 | 0 | .3 | .8 | 0 | 0 | .1 | .3 |
| Total | 2.5 | 1.9 | 3.6 | 1.6 | 3.6 | 2.7 | 1.3 | .7 | 2.5 | 2.0 |

TABLE 28 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Reagan</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Altruism | .2 | .4 | 0 | 0 |
| Competence | .4 | .7 | 0 | 0 |
| Experience | .7 | 1.2 | .6 | .9 |
| Honesty | .3 | .6 | .2 | .4 |
| Leadership | .3 | .6 | 0 | 0 |
| Personal | .1 | .2 | 0 | 0 |
| Strength | .3 | .5 | 0 | 0 |
| Other Qualities | .3 | .7 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 2.5 | 1.9 | .8 | .8 |

TABLE 29

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED AUDIO METHODS OF
PRESENTATION COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Anderson</u> | | <u>Baker</u> | | <u>Brown</u> | | <u>Bush</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|------|--------------|------|-------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Voice Announcer | 7.6 | 8.7 | 5.1 | 2.5 | 9.3 | 9.3 | 0 | 0 | 8.8 | 11.7 |
| Voice Candidate | 13.9 | 10.8 | 17.1 | 7.6 | 15.8 | 8.5 | 27.7 | 1.0 | 15.0 | 12.8 |
| Voice Citizen | 4.0 | 8.5 | 4.5 | 7.1 | 1.8 | 3.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Voice Famous P. | 1.6 | 5.9 | .5 | 2.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3.1 | 8.1 |
| Music | 2.8 | 7.9 | 0 | 0 | 4.5 | 9.9 | 0 | 0 | 7.6 | 12.5 |
| Crowd Sound | 1.6 | 4.9 | .1 | .4 | 2.8 | 4.8 | 0 | 0 | 3.5 | 8.9 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

TABLE 29 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Carter</u> | | <u>Connally</u> | | <u>Crane</u> | | <u>Kennedy</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Voice Announcer | 7.6 | 8.7 | 9.1 | 7.6 | 6.7 | 9.8 | 5.4 | .5 | 9.0 | 10.8 |
| Voice Candidate | 13.9 | 10.8 | 10.9 | 9.8 | 9.9 | 12.7 | 22.0 | .9 | 6.9 | 10.0 |
| Voice Citizen | 4.0 | 8.5 | 6.7 | 11.3 | 10.4 | 13.2 | 0 | 0 | 5.7 | 10.3 |
| Voice Famous P. | 1.6 | 5.9 | .3 | 1.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5.4 | 10.4 |
| Music | 2.8 | 7.9 | 3.4 | 8.3 | 4.5 | 9.5 | 0 | 0 | 1.1 | 5.7 |
| Crowd Sound | 1.6 | 4.9 | 1.6 | 4.0 | .2 | .8 | 0 | 0 | 2.7 | 5.8 |

TABLE 29 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Reagan</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| Voice Announcer | 7.6 | 8.7 | 13.2 | 3.4 |
| Voice Candidate | 13.9 | 10.8 | 12.8 | 2.8 |
| Voice Citizen | 4.0 | 8.5 | 0 | 0 |
| Voice Famous P. | 1.6 | 5.9 | 0 | 0 |
| Music | 2.8 | 7.9 | 0 | 0 |
| Crowd Sound | 1.6 | 4.9 | 0 | 0 |

TABLE 30

DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS* ASSOCIATED WITH SELECTED VIDEO METHODS OF
PRESENTATION COMPARING CANDIDATES AND POPULATION

| | Population | | Anderson | | Baker | | Brown | | Bush | |
|---------------------------|------------|------|----------|------|-------|------|-------|------|------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| <u>Live Action Talk/</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Non Talking</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Talking Cand | 14.1 | 10.1 | 17.4 | 7.4 | 13.0 | 9.6 | 25.0 | 1.9 | 14.1 | 10.2 |
| Talking Citizen | 4.1 | 8.6 | 4.8 | 7.3 | 1.1 | 2.2 | 0 | 0 | .7 | 2.0 |
| Talking Famous P. | 1.8 | 5.9 | .5 | 2.4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1.7 | 5.6 |
| <u>Non Talking/</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non Cand | 2.6 | 4.9 | .3 | .8 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 0 | 0 | 4.4 | 5.4 |
| Non Talk Cand | 1.4 | 3.6 | 0 | 0 | 2.9 | 4.1 | 0 | 0 | 1.5 | 3.9 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Neutral Camera</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Angle | 21.0 | 7.8 | 19.3 | 8.8 | 16.9 | 10.6 | 23.0 | 5.9 | 19.8 | 8.1 |
| <u>Non Neutral</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Camera Angle | 2.4 | 5.4 | 4.0 | 9.3 | 3.1 | 5.7 | 0 | 0 | 4.0 | 5.7 |
| Still Candidate | 2.3 | 5.1 | .6 | 1.5 | 6.6 | 10.1 | 0 | 0 | 3.4 | 8.5 |
| Still Non Cand | 4.7 | 6.5 | 6.0 | 2.5 | 3.4 | 8.5 | 4.6 | 2.3 | 3.4 | 1.6 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Candidate direct</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| to camera | 7.7 | 10.5 | 11.3 | 9.4 | 0 | 0 | 25.1 | 2.0 | 9.5 | 11.1 |
| <u>Candidate indirect</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| to Camera | 6.3 | 9.0 | 5.8 | 10.2 | 12.7 | 9.4 | 0 | 0 | 4.5 | 8.0 |
| Live Exterior | 6.7 | 9.8 | 2.8 | 4.2 | .9 | 2.2 | 0 | 0 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| Live Interior | 16.7 | 10.4 | 20.5 | 5.1 | 18.4 | 12.4 | 25.1 | 2.0 | 8.6 | 11.7 |
| Cand. Formal | 13.0 | 10.5 | 15.0 | 8.5 | 15.1 | 10.1 | 25.0 | 1.9 | 7.5 | 8.1 |
| Cand. Informal | 2.1 | 6.4 | 0 | 0 | .8 | 2.0 | 0 | 0 | 7.3 | 11.1 |
| Transition | 3.8 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 2.0 | 5.9 | 2.7 | 1.4 | .5 | 4.7 | 4.4 |

*Based on halved values for 60 sec. spots.

TABLE 30 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Carter</u> | | <u>Connally</u> | | <u>Crane</u> | | <u>Kennedy</u> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|------|----------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| <u>Live Action Talk/</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Non Talking</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Talking Cand | 14.1 | 10.1 | 10.4 | 9.7 | 9.9 | 12.1 | 24.8 | .7 | 10.0 | 10.4 |
| Talking Citizen | 4.1 | 8.6 | 6.6 | 11.1 | 10.8 | 13.2 | 0 | 0 | 5.8 | 10.5 |
| Talking Famous P. | 1.8 | 5.9 | 2.5 | 5.9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5.8 | 10.7 |
| <u>Non Talking/</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Non Cand | 2.6 | 4.9 | 4.9 | 6.1 | 1.6 | 5.4 | 0 | 0 | 2.6 | 5.8 |
| Non Talk Cand | 1.4 | 3.6 | 2.4 | 4.3 | 1.9 | 5.7 | 0 | 0 | 1.5 | 3.2 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Neutral Camera</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Angle | 21.0 | 7.8 | 22.7 | 7.3 | 21.8 | 9.3 | 24.7 | .7 | 23.5 | 4.6 |
| <u>Non Neutral</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| Camera Angle | 2.4 | 5.4 | 1.3 | 3.1 | 1.4 | 3.7 | 0 | 0 | 2.0 | 3.8 |
| Still Candidate | 2.3 | 5.1 | 1.6 | 2.0 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 0 | 0 | 2.5 | 1.8 |
| Still Non Cand | 4.7 | 6.5 | 2.2 | 1.6 | 15.1 | 12.9 | 4.1 | .3 | 1.3 | 2.2 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| <u>Candidate Direct</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| To Camera | 7.7 | 10.5 | 0 | 0 | 3.7 | 9.7 | 22.3 | .7 | 4.1 | 9.8 |
| <u>Candidate Indirect</u> | | | | | | | | | | |
| to Camera | 6.3 | 9.0 | 10.2 | 9.4 | 6.5 | 10.5 | 2.0 | 0 | 6.3 | 8.4 |
| Live Exterior | 6.7 | 9.8 | 6.9 | 8.3 | 9.1 | 12.0 | 0 | 0 | 10.7 | 11.2 |
| Live Interior | 16.7 | 10.4 | 19.3 | 8.7 | 14.0 | 11.9 | 24.4 | .9 | 14.3 | 10.9 |
| Cand. Formal | 13.0 | 10.5 | 12.1 | 10.7 | 6.1 | 11.0 | 24.7 | .7 | 11.5 | 11.5 |
| Cand. Informal | 2.1 | 6.4 | 1.3 | 4.0 | 5.9 | 11.0 | 0 | 0 | .3 | 1.6 |
| Transition | 3.8 | 2.9 | 4.8 | 2.0 | 3.9 | 3.5 | 4.0 | 0 | 2.4 | 2.0 |

TABLE 30 (continued)

| | <u>Population</u> | | <u>Reagan</u> | |
|---------------------------|-------------------|------|---------------|------|
| | Mean | S.D. | Mean | S.D. |
| <u>Live Action Talk/</u> | | | | |
| <u>Non Talking</u> | | | | |
| Talking Cand | 14.1 | 10.1 | 13.0 | 3.0 |
| Talking Citizen | 4.1 | 8.6 | 0 | 0 |
| Talking Famous P. | 1.8 | 5.9 | 0 | 0 |
| <u>Non Talking/</u> | | | | |
| Non Cand | 2.6 | 4.9 | 8.2 | 5.8 |
| Non Talk Cand | 1.4 | 3.6 | 1.8 | 4.0 |
| <u>Visual Treatment</u> | | | | |
| <u>Neutral Camera</u> | | | | |
| Angle | 21.0 | 7.8 | 15.4 | 2.5 |
| <u>Non Neutral</u> | | | | |
| Camera Angle | 2.4 | 5.4 | 2.0 | 4.5 |
| Still Candidate | 2.3 | 5.1 | 1.0 | 2.2 |
| Still Non Cand | 4.7 | 6.5 | 5.4 | 5.9 |
| <u>Context</u> | | | | |
| <u>Candidate Direct</u> | | | | |
| To Camera | 7.7 | 10.5 | 13.0 | 2.4 |
| <u>Candidate Indirect</u> | | | | |
| To Camera | 6.3 | 9.0 | 0 | 0 |
| Live Exterior | 6.7 | 9.8 | 2.8 | 6.3 |
| Live Interior | 16.7 | 10.4 | 15.2 | 2.8 |
| Cand. Formal | 13.0 | 10.5 | 15.2 | 2.9 |
| Cand. Informal | 2.1 | 6.4 | 0 | 0 |
| Transition | 3.8 | 2.9 | 4.0 | 2.0 |

APPENDIX F

TABLES OF RELATIVE MAGNITUDES OF ALL
VARIABLES BY PARTY AND CANDIDATE
COMPARED AGAINST POPULATION

TABLE 31

RELATIVE MAGNITUDES OF ISSUE SCORES FOR PARTIES AND CANDIDATES AS
COMPARED AGAINST THE SAME VARIABLES SCORED FOR THE POPULATION

| | Party | | | Candidate | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|-------|------|--------|---------------|-------|--------------|--------|
| | Demo- crats | Repub- lican | Indep. (Andrsn) | Baker | Brown | Bush | Carter | Con- nally | Crane | Ken- nedy | Reagan |
| Carter's Record | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - |
| Domestic | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | + | + |
| Economy | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - |
| Energy | + | - | + | - | + | - | - | + | - | + | - |
| Federalism | - | + | - | **E | + | - | - | + | + | - | + |
| Foreign Policy | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | - |
| Gov't Management | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | + |
| Nat'l Security | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| Nat'l Well Being | + | E | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |

*Plus and minus signs reflect comparison to population proportions.

**Designates score equal to population proportion.

TABLE 32
RELATIVE MAGNITUDES* OF IMAGE PROPORTION SCORES FOR PARTIES
AND CANDIDATES AS COMPARED AGAINST THE SAME VARIABLE
PROPORTION SCORES FOR THE POPULATION

| | Party | | | Candidate | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|-------|------|--------|---------------|-------|--------------|--------|
| | Demo- crats | Repub- lican | Indep. (Andrsn) | Baker | Brown | Bush | Carter | Con- nally | Crane | Ken- nedy | Reagan |
| Altruism | + | - | - | - | + | - | **E | - | - | + | - |
| Competence | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Experience | + | + | - | - | - | + | + | + | - | - | + |
| Honesty | + | + | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + |
| Leadership | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - |
| Personal Characteristics | + | - | + | - | - | E | - | - | - | + | - |
| Strength | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Other Special Qualities | - | - | + | - | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

*Plus and minus signs reflect comparison to population proportions.

**E Designates score equal to population proportion.

TABLE 33

RELATIVE MAGNITUDES* OF SELECTED AUDIO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
 PROPORTION SCORES FOR PARTIES AND CANDIDATES AS COMPARED
 AGAINST THE SAME VARIABLE PROPORTION SCORES FOR THE
 POPULATION

| | Party | | | Candidate | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|-------|------|--------|---------------|-------|--------------|--------|
| | Demo- crats | Repub- lican | Indep. (Andrsn) | Baker | Brown | Bush | Carter | Con- nally | Crane | Ken- nedy | Reagan |
| Voice of Announcer | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | + |
| Voice of Candidate | - | + | + | + | + | + | - | - | + | - | - |
| Voice of Citizen | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Voice of Famous Person | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | - | + | - |
| Music | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | + | - | - | - |
| Crowd Sounds | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - |

*Plus and minus sign reflect comparison to population proportions.

TABLE 34

RELATIVE MAGNITUDES* OF SELECTED VIDEO METHODS OF PRESENTATION
PROPORTION SCORES FOR PARTIES AND CANDIDATES AS COMPARED
AGAINST THE SAME VARIABLE PROPORTION SCORES FOR THE
POPULATION

| | Party | | | Candidate | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------|-------|------|--------|---------------|-------|-------------|--------|
| | Demo- crats | Repub- lican | Indep. (Andrsn) | Baker | Brown | Bush | Carter | Con- nally | Crane | Ken- edy | Reagan |
| Talking Candidate | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | - |
| Talking Citizen | + | - | + | - | - | - | + | + | - | + | - |
| Talking Famous Per. | + | - | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + | - |
| Non Talking Non Cand. | + | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | - | + |
| Non Talking Candidate | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | + |
| Neutral Camera Angle | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | + | + | + | - |
| Non-Neutral Camera Angle | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - | - | - |
| Still Cand. | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | + | - | **E | - |
| Still Non-Can. | - | + | + | - | - | - | - | + | - | - | + |
| Cand. Direct | - | - | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - | + |
| Cand. Indirect | + | + | - | + | - | - | + | + | - | - | - |
| Live Exterior | + | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | + | - |
| Live Interior | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| Formal Dress | + | - | + | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | + |
| Informal Dr. | - | + | - | - | - | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Transitions | - | + | - | + | - | + | + | - | + | - | + |

*Plus and minus signs reflect comparison to population proportion.

**E Designates score equal to population proportion.

APPENDIX G
SCRIPTS FOR ALL TELEVISED
POLITICAL SPOT ADVERTISEMENTS
FOR PRIMARIES, 1980

SCRIPT KEY FOR AUDIO AND VIDEO SYMBOLS

The following symbols are used in the scripts for the televised political spot advertisements in this appendix:

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| ANNCR | Announcer |
| BG | Border Graphic |
| CAND | Candidate |
| CITIZ | Citizen |
| CU | Close Up Shot |
| DISS | Dissolve |
| EXT | Exterior |
| FA PER | Famous Person |
| F/Blk | Fade in from Black |
| FF | Freeze Frame |
| FTB | Fade to Black |
| ID Graphic | Identification Graphic |
| INT | Interior |
| K IN | Key In |
| K OUT | Key Out |
| LS | Long Shot |
| MS | Medium Shot |
| OTS | Over the Shoulder Shot |
| 2S | Two Shot |
| 3S | Three Shot |
| SLOG Graphic | Slogan Graphic |
| Still PIC | Still Picture |
| W | Wipe |
| Z IN | Zoom In |
| Z OUT | Zoom Out |

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #1 (Tape #1)

Title: "Others"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Bush, Reagan, Baker, Connally,
they're all the same, they all
think alike.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: You're absolutely right, and I
disagree with every single one
of them on energy, women's rights,
tax cuts.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Nobody would dare run for President
without supporting women's rights.
Big deal; it's like voting for
apple pie and the flag.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Not quite. There's only one
candidate who supports the ERA
extension, the very backbone of
the women's movement.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I'm tired of the Connallys, and the
Bakers, and the Bushes, and the
people with the big bucks comin'
off and tellin' me how to vote.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: I've got one of the smallest media
budgets in modern primary history.
The only way I can buy your vote
is with fresh ideas, not vague
promises. The time has come to
stop telling the American people
only what they want to hear, and
start talking frankly about the
sacrifices we all must make.TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)ANNCR: Before you vote, think. Think
about the Anderson difference.
Anderson for President.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

FTB

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #2 (Tape #1)

Title: "Issues" Length: 60 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

| | |
|---|--|
| F/Blk MS CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: The main problem I believe is energy, and no candidate I've seen or heard has any solution for it. |
| TAKE CU CAND INT | CAND: I've got a solution; it's to raise the gas tax and lower the social security tax. Unless we feel the crunch where it counts, we're never going to get anywhere. |
| TAKE SLOG Graphic (text) | ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: Look around at the factories that are closing down. Foreign countries, they're wrecking our economy. Whoever is elected President is going to have to change things overnight. |
| TAKE CU CAND INT | CAND: I'm sorry, but there are no quick solutions and you can't blame our inflation and declining productivity on any foreign country. Americans have to toughen up and work harder. |
| TAKE SLOG Graphic (text) | ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: Look, the leader who gets my vote has to do two things: increase military spending and cut the taxes. |
| TAKE CU CAND INT | CAND: I know you've been told this is possible, but it is my sad duty to tell you that this is not possible. Nobody can earn less and continue to spend more. This is irresponsible and dangerous. |
| TAKE SLOG Graphic (text; second sentence) FTB | ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. Anderson for President. |

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #3 (Tape #1)

Title: "Buy Voter Solo" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

AUDIO

CAND: I'm John Anderson. I'm running for President, and I want to buy your vote, not with money, but with some different ideas that challenge you to think. I'm telling you we can't afford a tax cut, I'm telling you we can't solve the energy problem with the Reagan-Connally-Bush rhetoric about drilling more wells. I'm telling you that we are facing a decade of tough sacrifices and I'm asking you to think about a candidate who dares to discuss them before the elections, not afterwards.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
first sentence)

ANNCR: Anderson for President. Think
about the Anderson difference.

FTB

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #4 (Tape #1)

Title: "Vote Purchase" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I'm tired of, you know, the
Connallys, and the Bakers, and
the Bushes, and the people with
the big bucks comin' off and
tellin' me how to vote.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: I've got one of the smallest
media budgets in modern primary
history. The only way I can buy
your vote is with fresh ideas,
not vague promises. The time
has come to stop telling the
American people only what they
want to hear, and start talking
frankly about the sacrifices we
must all make.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)

ANNCR: Before you vote, think. Think
about the Anderson difference.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)
FTB

Anderson for President.

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #5 (Tape #1)

Title: "Spending" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk SLOG Graphic (text) ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT CITIZ: Look, the leader that gets my
vote has to do two things:
increase military spending and
cut the taxes.

TAKE CU CAND INT CAND: I know you've been told this is
possible, but it's my sad duty
to tell you, that this is not
possible. Nobody can earn less
and continue to spend more. This
is irresponsible and dangerous.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence) ANNCR: Before you vote, think. Think
about the Anderson difference.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)
FTB Anderson for President.

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #6 (Tape #1)

Title: "Factory" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk SLOG Graphic (text) ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT CITIZ: Look around at the factories
that are closing down. Foreign
countries, they're wrecking our
economy. Whoever is elected
President is going to have to
change things overnight.

TAKE CU CAND INT CAND: I'm sorry, but there are no quick
solutions and you can't blame our
inflation and declining produc-
tivity on any foreign country.
Americans have to toughen up and
work harder.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence) ANNCR: Before you vote, think. Think
about the Anderson difference.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)
FTB Anderson for President.

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #7 (Tape #1)

Title: "Pack Energy" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Bush, Reagan, Baker, Connally,
they're all the same. They all
think alike.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: You're absolutely right, and I
disagree with every single one
of them on energy, women's rights,
tax cuts.

TAKE MS CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: The main problem I believe is
energy. And no candidate I've
seen or heard has any solution
for it.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: I've got a solution. It's to
raise the gas tax and lower the
social security tax. Unless we
feel the crunch where it counts,
we're never going to get anywhere.

TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

FTB

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #8 (Tape #1)

Title: "Pack Guns" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Bush, Baker, Reagan, Connally,
they all got the same ideas.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: You're absolutely right and I
disagree with every single one
of them on energy, women's rights,
tax cuts.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Please, can't there be one
Republican who has the courage
to support gun control.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Well, I'm for the registration
of all hand guns at the time of
purchase. I'm also for mandatory
prison terms for all persons using
a hand gun in a crime.

TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

FTB

2/03/80

ANDERSON Ad #9 (Tape #1)

Title: "Women"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Nobody would dare run for President without supporting women's rights. Big deal; it's like voting for apple pie and the flag.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Not quite. There is only one candidate who supports the ERA extension, the very backbone of the women's movement.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE CU FA PER INT
K IN: Lower Third (Senator Ed Brooke)

FA PER: When the women of this country acknowledge that John Anderson alone has courageously and consistently fought for all of their rights, yes, John Anderson can win. (APPLAUSE).

K OUT

TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

FTB

1/29/80

ANDERSON Ad #10 (Tape #1)

Title: "Solo"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU MONITOR (Reagan)
Z OUT, PAN MS CAND INT

CAND: If the secret to becoming President means telling the American people only what they want to hear, then we are indeed a nation in trouble.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: To promise an increased military budget on one hand, while promising to cut your taxes with the other, is a cruel trick. You know, I know, and even they know, this can't be done. A tax cut may be popular, but it is irresponsible. They all love to talk about women's rights, but none of them will support the ERA extension, the only hope for the women's movement.

TAKE MS CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE MS CAND INT

CAND: I wish I too could blame our inflation and declining productivity on foreign countries, but I can't. The problem is a lack of self-discipline.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: What does leadership really mean if we can't openly discuss the sacrifices that will be required from all of us in this decade?

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
first sentence)
FTB

ANNCR: Anderson for President. Think about the Anderson difference.

1/29/80

ANDERSON Ad #11 (Tape #1)

Title: "Secret Solo" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU MONITOR (Reagan)
Z OUT, PAN MS CAND INT

CAND: If the secret to becoming
President means telling the
American people only what they
want to hear, then we are indeed
a nation in trouble.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: To promise an increased military
budget on one hand, while prom-
ising to cut your taxes with the
other, is a cruel trick. You know,
I know, and even they know, this
can't be done. It is irrespon-
sible.

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
first sentence)

ANNCR: Anderson for President. Think
about the Anderson difference.

FTB

2/04/80

ANDERSON Ad #12 (Tape #1)

Title: "Women Solo"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT (with
monitors)
TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: They all love to talk about
women's rights, but none of
them will support the ERA
extension.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: I wish I too could blame our
inflation and declining produc-
tivity on foreign countries, but
I can't. The problem is a lack
of self-discipline.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: What does leadership really mean,
if we can't openly discuss the
sacrifices that will be required
from all of us in this decade?

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
third sentence)

ANNCR: Before you vote, think. Think
about the Anderson difference.
Anderson for President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #1 (Tape #2)

Title: "Critical Issues" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk SLOG Graphic (text) ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT CAND: Hopefully, alot of people are going to be participating in that Republican primary.

CITIZ: That's really your strategy, in part to attract Democratic cross-overs? . . .

Z OUT (Remain CU CAND INT) CAND: It's a new coalition of democrats, independents, and republicans. I don't know why in this year when the issues are so critical, we're talking in terms of war and peace; we ought to take the same old narrow partisan approach to the nominating process that we always have. I think we need a new broader coalition.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text; second sentence) ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. Anderson for President.
FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #2 (Tape #2)

Title: "Women Constituency" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: People have often asked me, "What are your constituencies?" The women! We have been terribly interested in using our campaign in an effort to promote women's rights because we are in a crucial period. Most of the other candidates say they're for ERA. Only one has been for the extension legislation that gives us that additional 33 months that we are going to need to secure ratification, and I have been talking about it in my campaign.

TAKE 2S Citizens INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

Z OUT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. Anderson for President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #3 (Tape #2)

Title: "Women Voice Constituency" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: People have often asked me, "What are your constituencies?" The women! We have been terribly interested in using our campaign in an effort to promote women's rights, because we are in a crucial period. Most of the other candidates say they're for ERA. Only one has been for the extension legislation that gives us that additional 33 months that we are going to need to secure ratification, and I've been talking about it in my campaign.

TAKE 2S Citizens INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

Z OUT

TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

ANNCR: Anderson of Illinois, for
President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #4 (Tape #2)

Title: "Very Impressive" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: Well, I'm a democrat and I'm very strong for the democratic party, but I've been extremely impressed by Mr. Anderson, by his forthrightness. He just doesn't seem like the ordinary run of Republicans.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He does not seem to be just making political conversation, but he seems to be trying to get at the issues from a really basic standpoint, and that's very impressive.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. Anderson for President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #5 (Tape #2)

Title: "Electable" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: I would definitely vote for John Anderson because I feel that he's a very forthright candidate, an honest man and a very intelligent man.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: We want a Republican who can win.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He's a very able and, shall we say, electable person who stands for some things I stand for. I think it's, it's where he stands on issues.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: I enjoyed the way he was talking about a whole new coalition of different types of voters.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson difference. Anderson for President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #6 (Tape #2)

Title: "Voters Want Action" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk CU CAND INT (podium)
Z OUT 3S CAND and Citizens

CAND: I'm trying to build a coalition
in this campaign, of democrats,
independents, and Republicans,
to help me to become the fortieth
President of this country in
saying, "I don't owe my office to
any particular group in this
country. I owe it to a new coali-
tion of voters in this country,
who have elected me because they
want action."

TAKE CU CAND INT

Z OUT MS CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
second sentence)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson differ-
ence. Anderson for President.

FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #7 (Tape #2)

Title: "Centrist"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT (profile) CAND: I think I represent a broad
centrist theme as far as political
philosophy is concerned, that is
appealing to an awful lot of
people in this country who are
not ideologues of the right or
the left, and who sense and have
some real dissatisfaction with
some of the stereotypes that are
being offered by both major
parties today.

Z OUT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text) ANNCR: Anderson for President.
FTB

3/10/80

ANDERSON Ad #8 (Tape #2)

Title: "New and Different Message" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk SLOG Graphic (text) ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

TAKE CU CAND INT CAND: Unless we toughen up here at home
and begin to exert a greater
measure of self-discipline on our
energy consumption; unless we do
something to attend to our econom-
ic problems here at home, we
simply cannot project the kind of
power and influence in other
quarters of the globe that we
might want to do; so in that
sense, I think I am bringing a new
and, and different message.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text; ANNCR: Think about the Anderson differ-
second sentence) ence. Anderson for President.

FTB

3/12/80

ANDERSON Ad #9 (Tape #2)

Title: "Illinois Crossover" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk Graphic (5 Still PIC-ANNCR: Think about the Anderson

Candidates)

F/Blk Graphic (5 Still PIC-ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
Candidates)

difference.

W CU CAND INT

CAND: It has become an ugly political tradition in this country to tell people only what they want to hear, to treat voters like children with sugar-coated explanations and fairy-tale solutions. This kind of politics may have been acceptable in the 60s and 70s, but not today. Today we are a nation in trouble.

FF CU CAND, W Graphic
(5 Still PIC-Candidates)
TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

ANNCR: If you are a democrat, Republican, or independent, ask for a Republican ballot on Tuesday and support Anderson of Illinois for President.

FTB

3/12/80

ANDERSON Ad #10 (Tape #2)

Title: "Illinois Energy Crossover" Length: 30 sec. Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk Graphic (5 Still
PIC-Candidates)ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

W CU CAND INT

CAND: Of course you are angry about the
high cost of energy. I know that,
and you want a President who says
he can solve this problem. Well,
it is my sad duty to tell you the
truth. The days of cheap energy
are gone forever, and no amount
of saber-rattling and flag-waving
by the President or my opponents
will lower the price of oil.
Energy prices are going to climb
still higher, no matter who is
elected.TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)ANNCR: Anderson of Illinois for
President.

FTB

3/12/80

ANDERSON Ad #11 (Tape #2)

Title: "Illinois Crossover: All Things to all People" Length: 30 sec.
Agency: RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk Graphic (5 Still
PIC-Candidates)

ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

W CU CAND INT

CAND: I know that it isn't easy to
decide which candidate is best.
It isn't easy because the issues
have been intentionally avoided
and blurred as the candidates
position themselves for maximum
popularity. By nature, Presiden-
tial candidates try to be all
things to all people. However,
when you take the time to examine
each of the men and each of the
issues, you will discover a
dramatic difference.

TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)

ANNCR: Anderson of Illinois for
President.

FTB

3/12/80

ANDERSON Ad #12 (Tape #2)

Title: "Illinois Crossover Leadership" Length: 30 sec. Agency:RJ Sann

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk Graphic (5 Still
PIC-Candidates)ANNCR: Think about the Anderson
difference.

W CU CAND INT

CAND: Let me ask you. What does leader-
ship mean if we can't openly
discuss the sacrifices that will
certainly be required from all of
us in the coming decade? If you
share my opinions, if you believe
America has to meet the challenges
of the future with sacrifices and
hard work, instead of hollow
promises and wishful thinking,
then I urge you to support my
candidacy in any way you can.TAKE SLOG Graphic
(Anderson for President.)ANNCR: Anderson of Illinois for
President.

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #1 (Tape #3)

Title: "Watergate" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT

ANNCR: Howard Baker. Republican leader
of the Senate. Candidate for

DISS LS CAND: w/Citizens INT
K IN: Lower Third (November
1979)

President.

CAND: I ask you to judge me. Then come

K OUT
TAKE CU CAND INT

with me. Judge me. Judge me now
as you judged me on Watergate in

DISS LS CAND w/Citizens INT
K IN: Lower Third (June 1973)

this very room. . . I'm trying to
focus on the President. What did

K OUT
TAKE CU CAND INT

the President know and when did
he know it?

W Still PIC CAND and
ID Graphic (Baker; address)
DISS Still PIC CAND and
ID Graphic (Baker)

ANNCR: Howard Baker. Judge him. Then
tell him you'll come with him for
America.

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #2 (Tape #3)

Title: "Iran" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: America must resolve that she's not going to be pushed around. That doesn't cause a war, that stops a war. (APPLAUSE).

K IN: Lower Third (Sen. Howard Baker); K OUT
TAKE MS CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CITIZ: When the Shah's army killed more than 60,000 Iranian people with their U.S. equipped weapons, why weren't you raising your voice in support of international law? And the United States government shipped 150,000 barrels of oil for the Shah's army to kill the Iranian people, why weren't you concerned about international law?

TAKE MS CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE MS CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Because my friend, I'm interested in 50 Americans, that's why. . . (APPLAUSE). . . And when those 50 Americans are released, then I'm perfectly willing to talk about them.

TAKE LS CITIZ, Z OUT, PAN

TAKE MS Citizens INT, PANS
TAKE MS Citizens INT, PANS
TAKE CU CAND INT and
SLOG Graphic (Baker Republican President Now.)

MUSIC: "That old pride that we used to have, a feelin' comin' back you see, what's special about America is mighty special to me. What's special about America is mighty special to me."

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #3 (Tape #3)

Title: "Leadership" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT

CAND: We've lost three Ambassadors

who've been murdered in the last

TAKE 3S Citizens INT

18 months. The world is beginning

TAKE OTS CAND INT

to perceive that we're so afraid

TAKE CU CAND INT

of Vietnam and of staying strong

K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)

that you can do anything to the

United States and nothing ever

K OUT

happens in return. Now my

friends, I don't want a war, but

the surest way to stay out of a

war is to convince the people of

this world that America is still

strong and has not lost her appe-

tite for leadership. (APPLAUSE).

TAKE 3S Citizens INT;

Z OUT LS Citizens

DISS MS CAND INT and

SLOG Graphic (Baker Republican
President Now.)

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #4 (Tape #3)

Title: "Agriculture" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

| | |
|---|---|
| F/Blk CU CAND EXT | CAND: . . . Toward me a little bit. . . |
| | This is Howard Baker. When you |
| Z OUT LS Farm House EXT | focus on Iowa's beauty, you see |
| FF Still PIC LS Farm House EXT (MONTAGE) | America's strength. . . |
| DISS Still PIC MS CITIZ- EXT | MUSIC: "I believe in my country. . ." |
| DISS Still PIC MS Equipment- EXT | CAND: . . . America should be feeding |
| | the world. We should start a new |
| DISS Still PIC LS Farm EXT | trade offensive in our foreign |
| DISS Still PIC LS Farm EXT | produce. And I want a Vice Pres- |
| | ident who knows how to promote |
| | farm exports to run the program. |
| DISS Still PIC MS CITIZ EXT | Like your farms, your caucusses |
| | on the 21st make Iowa something |
| DISS Still PIC MS CITIZ EXT | special in this land, and I hope |
| DISS Still PIC LS House EXT | you'll take part. So, we can |
| Z OUT | |
| K IN: ID Graphic (Baker) | bring back the America that was |
| | something special in this world. |
| FTB | |

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #5 (Tape #3)

Title: "Salt II" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W LS Citizens INT ANNCR: When Afghanistan showed the President the Russians' lie, he put

TAKE OTS CAND (podium) INT his Salt II Treaty on hold. But what stopped it before the invasion? Senator Howard Baker.

TAKE CU CAND INT; CAND: If we defeat the treaty, we'll be
K IN: Lower Third (November 1, 1979)

K OUT of our own fate once again. And we have the confidence to negotiate a new Salt treaty that is

DISS MS CAND INT safe for this country under a new President, who will be safe for this country.

DISS Still PIC CAND and ANNCR: Baker. A strong man who will be
ID Graphic (Baker) safe for this country. (APPLAUSE).

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #6 (Tape #3)

Title: "We Can" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W Still PIC CU CAND ANNCR: On Monday night let's pick a
President who's up to the job.
The democrats can't do it, but
we can. We can. Howard Baker.
He knows Washington well enough
to change Washington and proved
it by starting revenue sharing.
Howard Baker. He knows the world
well enough to lead, and proved
it by stopping the Salt II Treaty.
By the way, are you going to the
caucusses? You know the hostages
in Iran can't vote. But we can.
We can.

W Still PIC CU CAND

W Still PIC CU CAND

K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

FTB

1/28/80

BAKER Ad #7 (Tape #3)

Title: "Baker Bio" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W Still PIC CU CAND ANNCR: By a vote of the Senators in both parties, he's the most respected member of the United States Senate. Howard Baker. He is the Republican leader of the Senate, chosen unanimously, and now he is running for President. Howard Baker. He started revenue sharing, was Vice Chairman of the Watergate hearings, and stopped the Salt II Treaty. Listen to his campaign. It's different. A lot of people run for President.

W Still PIC CU CAND

K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

FTB

Baker tells you what he'll do as President.

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #8 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/Saving" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk LS CAND, Citizens;
INTANNCR: A lot of people run for President.
Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

CITIZ: The philosophy in the United

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)
TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT
K OUT
TAKE CU CITIZ INTStates has been saying, "If you
save any money and invest it,
we're gonna clobber you." . . .

CAND: . . . Oh I know, you are so right.

TAKE MS CAND INT

I think we should propose giving
a credit against your gross income
of the amount that you save. May-
be not a hundred percent of it,
but a significant part of it; so
that people once again will have
an incentive to save.

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

TAKE MS CAND INT

FF Still PIC MS CAND
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FTB

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #9 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/First Brigade" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey
Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND, Citizens; ANNCR: A lot of people run for President.
INT

Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE MS CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)

CAND: One of the things I'd do to make
sure we never have another Iran
in our life time would be to con-
stitute a special force, called
the First Brigade. . .

K OUT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE 3S CAND, Citizens;
INT

CITIZ: . . . Like the old Commandos. . .

CAND: . . . Exactly. Or a quick reac-
tion force. And the next time
you had a threat to American
lives, American Embassies, they
would know that we were capable
of reacting.

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FTB

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #10 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/Education" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey
Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND, Citizens;
INT

ANNCR: A lot of people run for President.
Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE MS CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)

CAND: My objective is to break up the
HEW, to break up the Super Agen-
cies. I'd like to see us make a
national commitment that 10% of
the money spent by the Federal
Government on education will be
moved out of administration and
into the classroom. I think
education has always gotten the
short end of the stick in HEW.

TAKE 2S Citizens INT
K OUT
TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FTB

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #11 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/Auto" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND, Citizens,
INT

ANNCR: A lot of people run for President.
Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: We would obliterate the energy
dificit in this nation, if we
had an automobile that didn't

TAKE 2S Citizens INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT;
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)
K OUT

burn gasoline. And what it means
is a clarion call from a new
President who says, "We've gotta
do this." I want a program that
says, in ten years time this na-
tion will develop an automobile
that does not burn gasoline.

TAKE LS CAND INT
TAKE 2S Citizens INT,Z IN

TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FTB

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #12 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/Small Business" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey
Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND, Citizens; ANNCR: A lot of people run for President.
INT

Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: Do you have any ideas on how you
might be able to help small
business?

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)
K OUT
TAKE 3S Citizens INT

CAND: I think small business is being
absolutely choked with reporting
requirements from the government.

TAKE MS CAND INT

I propose that if you're going to
have small business fill out a
form, you better figure out a way
to get it attached to the income
tax form. You get one crack at
it, once a year, to relieve that
burden of reporting.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE MS CAND INT

FF Still PIC MS CAND
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)

ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FTB

2/01/80

BAKER Ad #13 (Tape #3)

Title: "Platform/Revenue Sharing" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Bailey
Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND, Citizens;
INT

ANNCR: Alot of people run for President.
Very few tell you what they'll do
as President.

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
Howard Baker)
K OUT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: If I were President of the United
States today, I would strongly
urge that revenue sharing be con-
tinued and greatly expanded. You
know, revenue sharing, I think,
has been the biggest single step
to move us away from the central-
ization of power in Washington,
and to create the flexibility to
do what you must do. In Concord,
and Amherst, throughout New
England, I'm proud to have co-
sponsored that bill when it was
first introduced in the Congress.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CITIZ: Revenue sharing has been great for
a town like Amherst. We hope that
it will continue.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: I went home to my little home town
in Tennessee, Huntsville, this was
shortly after revenue sharing was
passed, and my cousin says, "Now
you've really done it. They're
scrapping like cats and dogs over
how to spend the revenue sharing
money," . . . (LAUGHTER). . . And
I said, "Well, when do you remem-
ber they scrapped over anything
before." Because they had no
money to spend. It's been a great
program.

TAKE 3S Citizens INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

ANNCR: Baker. Ready for the 80s. Ready
for the job.

FF Still PIC CU CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Baker)
FTB

2/18/80

BAKER Ad #14 (Tape #3)

Title: "N.H. Pics" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Bailey Deardourff

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND EXT

CAND: This is Howard Baker. When my

TAKE LS Building EXT

camera is focused on New Hamp-

TAKE Still PIC LS Building EXT
(MONTAGE)

shire's beauty, I also see the

DISS Still PIC MS Wood Pile,
EXT

kind of sturdy independence your

DISS Still PIC LS Ice Lake,
EXT

primary is famous for. You know

DISS Still PIC LS Ice Lake,
EXT; DISS Still PIC LS
Ice Lake EXT

this is more than a beauty contest

DISS Still PIC LS Flag,
Z OUT EXT

for front runner of the month.

We're electing the President of

DISS Still PIC 2S Citizens,
EXT

the United States. I've tried

DISS Still PIC MS CITIZ INT

to tell you what I'd do as Pres-

DISS Still PIC 2S Citizens,
EXT

ident. And now I'm asking for

DISS Still PIC MS Home INT

your vote. With some republican

DISS Still PIC LS Building,
EXT; K IN; ID Graphic (Baker)
DISS Still PIC MS Bridge,
Z OUT EXT; ID Graphic remains

common sense and that sturdy New

Hampshire independence, your

primary can lead the way again.

Thank you.

FTB

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #1 (Tape #4)

Title: "Defense" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor CAND:
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.); Corner
W Deaf Signer (not coded)
DISS CU CAND INT

Z IN (Slow)

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTB

The President isn't a magician. He can't snap his fingers and solve all of our problems. But the President can give us an intelligent foreign policy. One that protects our future. This year's election is particularly important. The President elected in 1980 will either continue to bumble away America's power, or the new President will rebuild this nation's strength. I'd start by revamping the state department, our intelligence services. We've been caught off guard too many times, in Cuba, Iran, Afghanistan. Next, I'd get rid of the waste in our military, and use the money to strengthen our defenses where it really counts, like the Mid East. Then I'd demand that our allies in Europe and Japan pay their fair share of our common defense costs. America can't be the policeman of the world. We shouldn't try. But we must protect our own interests. We're not a second rate power, and we should stop acting like one.

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #2 (Tape #4)

Title: "Balanced Budget" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor CAND;
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.); Corner
W Deaf Signer (not coded)
DISS CU CAND INT

Z IN (Slow)

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTB

AUDIO

A year ago I began speaking out in favor of an amendment to balance the federal budget, and suddenly people in Washington started calling me impractical. Some of my opponents even used the word "opportunistic" to describe my plan. Well, I know something about balanced budgets. We've had one in California during each of the six years I've been Governor; and during that time I've been able to reduce taxes by more than a billion dollars. A billion dollars in tax cuts. At the same time, we adopted the nation's most effective environmental protections. We expanded early childhood education. We doubled college scholarships. We developed the country's most effective energy conservation program and stopped the growth of nuclear power. So, it's possible to accomplish a lot and still hold down government spending. I'm the only democratic candidate for President who favors a balanced budget amendment. My position may be unusual, but I think it's about time the federal government starts to live within its means.

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #3 (Tape #4)

Title: "Oil" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor CAND:
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.); Corner
W Deaf Signer (not coded)
DISS CU CAND INT

Edmund G. Brown, Jr.); Corner
W Deaf Signer (not coded)

Z IN (Slow)

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTB

AUDIO

America gets half its oil from a few Sheiks, the Ayatollah, and a handful of other foreign countries. Five years ago, our foreign oil bill was \$18 billion. This year, it's \$65 billion. And the OPEC countries aren't alone in this rip-off of the American consumer. They have partners in the multi-national oil companies and a confused federal government. I believe we need realistic price controls on oil and a ceiling on the price of home heating oil. The U.S. government, not private oil companies, should deal with foreign suppliers to get the lowest price for the American people. We can expand use of solar energy and develop other alternatives. And we can reduce the need for the Ayatollah's oil with tougher automobile mileage standards and more public transit. The oil problem demands strong regulation on the big oil companies, and it's time to start, right now.

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #4 (Tape #4)

Title: "Why Run" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor CAND:
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.)
DISS MS CAND INT

When I was a student at St. Brendan's Grammar School in San Francisco, some of my friends, like children everywhere, wanted to be President, but I rejected politics, and eventually I spent four years studying for the priesthood. Now people ask me why I'm running for President and why I'm opposing an incumbent of my own party. Well, I love this country, but during the past decade, I've watched America lose out around the world. We're no longer respected for our strength and our moral purpose, or even our competence. I'm running for President because I believe our country needs fundamental changes, and I don't see that happening. A little tinkering here and there won't do the job. We need a government with the discipline to balance the budget, stop the growth of nuclear power and the vision to try new approaches to energy, to foreign relations, and to rebuilding our economy. The 1980s will challenge America, perhaps more than any previous time, and I'm determined to see us meet that challenge.

Z IN CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTP

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #5 (Tape #4)

Title: "Why Run" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.)

CAND: I love this country, but during
the past decade, I've watched
America lose out around the world.
We're no longer respected for our
strength, our moral purpose, or
even our competence. I'm running
for President, because I believe
our country needs fundamental
changes, and I don't see that
happening. A little tinkering
here and there won't work. We
need a President with the disci-
pline to balance the budget and
a vision to stop the growth of
nuclear power. I'm determined
to see a stronger America, that's
why I'm running.

DISS MS CAND INT

Z IN CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTB

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #6 (Tape #4)

Title: "Balanced Budget" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (Governor CAND: My friends here in New England
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.)

DISS CU CAND INT

Z IN (Slow)

sometimes say my ideas sound impractical. My opponents have even used the word "opportunistic" to describe my proposal to balance the federal budget. Well, I'm the only democratic candidate for President who supports a balanced budget amendment. That's because I believe inflation, particularly the sky-rocketing price of food and energy, is the most serious domestic problem facing America. A democrat who favors a balanced budget may be unusual, but there's nothing opportunistic about living within our means.

FTB

3/11/80

BROWN Ad #7 (Tape #4)

Title: "Defense" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ross McCanse

VIDEOF/Blk ID Graphic (Governor
Edmund G. Brown, Jr.)DISS CU CAND INT
Z IN (Slow)TAKE SLOG Graphic (Brown
for President.)
FTBAUDIO

CAND: The President elected this year
will either continue to bumble
away America's power and prestige,
or the new President will rebuild
America's strength. I'd start
by revamping the state department
and our intelligence services, so
we won't be caught off-guard so
often. Then I'd get rid of the
waste in our military and use the
money to strengthen defenses where
it really counts, like the Mid
East. We're not a second rate
power, and we shouldn't act like
one.

12/26/79

BUSH Ad #1 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Interior"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS Citizens INT

ANNCR: (APPLAUSE AND MUSIC UP AND UNDER).

George Bush.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CAND: There is a change in America

TAKE MS CITIZ INT

today. You can see it all across

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE LS Citizens INT

this country. The opportunity of

TAKE LS CITIZ INT

the 80s belongs to us, to lead our

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

country out of a condition of

TAKE MS Citizens INT

weakness into a position of

TAKE 2S Citizens INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

strength. But we're not going to

TAKE MS CAND INT

go back to make that happen, we're

TAKE LS Citizens INT

going to work and excel in what we

TAKE LS Balloons Going Up INT

do. We're going to be strong,

TAKE CU CAND INT

we're going to lead, and we're

going to win.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)ANNCR: George Bush: A President we
won't have to train.

FTB

12/26/79

BUSH Ad #2 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Mill"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk 3S CAND, Citizens,
INT

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT, PAN

TAKE 3S CAND, Citizens INT

TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens,
Z IN INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens,
Z IN CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: (MUSIC UP AND UNDER). I'm George Bush. If you want to know what inflation is doing to our country, visit a place where Americans work hard to make our industry the finest in the world. But inflation is robbing them of every incentive. . . I am the only candidate that made a payroll. I built a business. I know what productivity is. I know what workin' for a living is and making a paycheck. And frankly, the guy that gets hurt the most by inflation is the person that has a job. . .

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)

ANNCR: George Bush: A President we won't have to train.

FTB

12/26/79

BUSH Ad #3 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Montage"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND EXT

ANNCR: (MUSIC UP AND UNDER). This time

TAKE 2S Citizens EXT,

Z IN CU CITIZ

TAKE CU CAND EXT

Americans have seen the opportu-

ity of the 1980s for the country

and for the world. This time,

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT, PAN

there'll be no replays of the

TAKE CU CAND EXT

past. This time there is George

TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens EXT

Bush. George Bush has emerged

from the field of Presidential

TAKE CU CITIZ w/Child EXT

candidates because of what he is,

TAKE CU CAND EXT

a man who's proved he can do the

TAKE LS Citizens INT

tough jobs, and lead this country.

TAKE CU CAND INT

George Bush: A President we won't

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

have to train, this time.

FTB

12/26/79

BUSH Ad #4 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Exterior"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS Citizens EXT

CAND: I've seen this country up close.

TAKE MS CAND EXT (car)

(CHANTS AND MUSIC UNDER). I hear

what Americans are saying. Yes,

TAKE LS Citizens EXT

they want change. Yes, they want

TAKE MS CITIZ EXT,

solutions. But they don't want

PAN MS CAND EXT

TAKE CU CAND EXT

yesterday's ideas, promising

TAKE 2S Citizens EXT

everything to everybody. Ameri-

TAKE MS CAND EXT

cans today are ready to roll up

TAKE MS Citizens EXT

their sleeves, and rededicate this

TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT

country to excellence, to princi-

ple, and to leadership from

TAKE MS CAND EXT (from
behind) Z IN

strength, and that's why I'm

TAKE MS CAND EXT

optimistic about our future.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)ANNCR: George Bush: A President we
won't have to train.

FTB

12/26/79

BUSH Ad #5 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Governor Gregg" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk MS FA PER w/Citi-
zens EXT

Z IN (Slow) MS FA PER EXT

Z IN (Slow) CU FA PER EXT

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

FTB

FA PER: My name is Hugh Gregg. People
say to me, "Governor, how's the
Presidential campaign going in
New Hampshire?" Well, I'll tell
you this: Four years ago, I was
governor Ronald Reagan's Chairman;
at the same time, Congressman
Cleveland from New Hampshire was
President Ford's Chairman. But
this time, we're united, united
behind George Bush, a candidate
who's young enough, tough enough
to make a great President of the
United States.

ANNCR: George Bush: A President we
won't have to train.

2/15/80

BUSH Ad #6 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Lowell Thomas Endorsement" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND w/Citizens, FA PER:
Z IN MS CAND EXT; W Graphic
(From George Bush Campaign)
TAKE MS CAND EXT (from back)
TAKE MS CAND EXT (from front)

DISS MS CAND EXT

TAKE CU CITIZ w/Child EXT

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT
TAKE CU CAND EXT

DISS CU CAND INT

TAKE LS Citizens INT

TAKE MS Citizens INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

FTB

Hello, everybody. This is Lowell Thomas with a comment from my many friends in New Hampshire as we near this important Tuesday primary. Along with so many others, I feel we need new leadership, and many of us believe that of all the candidates, George Bush is the one who has the credentials and the special qualities that a President should have. That's the way I feel about it, and I hope you'll agree that George Bush is our man. This is Lowell Thomas saying so long.

2/15/80

BUSH Ad #7 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Jaworski Endorsement" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND EXT (car),
W Graphic (From George Bush
Campaign)

TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT
TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT

DISS CU CAND EXT

TAKE CU CAND EXT

TAKE CU CAND EXT

DISS CU CAND w/Citizens EXT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE OTS CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

FTB

ANNCR: Today, still another strong statement from a prominent American in support of the Presidential campaign of George Bush. Leon Jaworski, the special prosecutor whose independence and determination brought the ultimate truth of Watergate to light, stated, quote: "George Bush has the ability and the integrity to earn the complete trust of the American people." Jaworski added that based on his own knowledge of the candidates, George Bush would be the best President our country could have for the 1980s.

2/07/80

BUSH Ad #8 (Tape #4a)

Title: "ADM Denton" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| F/Blk FILM CU FA PER EXT FA PER; | (WHISTLES AND APPLAUSE). No one |
| K IN: Lower Third (Capt. Jeremia Denton) | ever knew the meaning of freedom |
| TAKE FILM 3S FA PER, Citizens EXT | better than I did on that day in |
| TAKE FILM 2S FA PER, CITIZ EXT | 1973. . . God Bless America. . . |
| K OUT | |
| TAKE FILM CU FA PER EXT | |
| TAKE MS FA PER Z IN CU FA PER, | (CHEERS). . . And today, seeing our |
| INT; K IN: Lower Third (RADM. Jeremia Denton U.S. - Ret.) | security and freedom seriously |
| K OUT | threatened, I believe we need a |
| | strong, experienced President; |
| TAKE Still PIC CAND | George Bush. George Bush will be |
| | a President we won't have to |
| DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.) | train. (MUSIC UP AND OUT). |
| FTB | |

4/07/80

BUSH Ad #9 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Housing"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEO

F/Blk MS Citizens EXT
Z OUT LS Citizens EXT

DISS CU CAND EXT Z OUT

AUDIO

CAND: Three years ago, a family making \$18,000 a year could afford to buy this house. Today, it would take an income close to \$35,000. I'm George Bush, and I wonder if Jimmy Carter understands what his policies are doing to the working people of this country. High interest rates, inflation, and unemployment are ruining the lives of Americans. Carter's policies are wrong, and if he'd come out of the Rose Garden he'd know it.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)

ANNCR: George Bush. He's the one candidate Jimmy Carter hopes he never has to run against.

FTB

4/07/80

BUSH Ad #10 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Inflation" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS Citizens EXT

CAND: Americans are being ravaged by 20% inflation, and it's clear now that Jimmy Carter can't deal with it.

DISS CU CAND EXT Z OUT

I'm George Bush, and I know what to do: cut back government spending and regulation, cut out programs that aren't working, cut out the fat from welfare and "Ceeta," cut taxes by 20 billion dollars, and you just watch this country get back on its feet again. Jimmy Carter isn't willing to act. I am.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)

ANNCR: George Bush. He's the one candidate Jimmy Carter hopes he never has to run against.

FTB

4/13/80

BUSH Ad #11 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Older Americans" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CAND: Meeting people like Bernice and

Z OUT 3S CAND, Citizens EXT

John tells you first hand just how
devastating inflation is on older
Americans. I'm George Bush, and

Z IN CU CAND EXT

since Jimmy Carter took office,
rents have gone up 30%, the cost
of food is up 36%, people on fixed
incomes just aren't going to make
it. Hold down federal spending;
give a break to older Americans
for a change.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

ANNCR: George Bush. He's the one
candidate Jimmy Carter hopes he
never has to run against.

FTB

3/09/80

BUSH Ad #12 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Fed Up"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: President Carter, what you don't seem to understand is people are really fed up. If we don't get tough with inflation, we're going down the drain. If we don't build up our military capability, we're going to get stung, again. America is in trouble, at home, abroad, with itself. The job has to be done now. This country is not ready to give up its future.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)
FTB

3/09/80

BUSH Ad #13 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Cases"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: President Carter, let's get down to cases. This country doesn't have an energy policy. The more we pay, the less we get. The more we regulate, the less we produce. Our country's hurting. America doesn't want to depend on others, we want to believe in ourselves again and not be subject to anyone, anywhere. This country is not ready to give up its future.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)
FTB

2/01/80

BUSH Ad #14 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Rescue"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk FILM LS Boat Crew,
EXTTAKE LS Crew EXT; K IN:
Graphic (Sept. 1944)

K OUT

TAKE MS CAND EXT

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ EXT

TAKE CU CAND EXT

LOSE FILM

DISS Still PIC CAND INT

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

FTB

ANNCR: This is not a professional film.

It was made Sept. 22, 1944, by a
crew-member of the USS Finback,
an American submarine that sur-
faced in Japanese patrolled waters
to rescue a downed American flier.
For George Bush, the distinguished
flying cross, and a personal
commitment to preserve peace for
our country by maintaining a
strong national defense. . .
(MUSIC UP AND UNDER). . . His
record in world diplomacy and as
director of the CIA make George
Bush a President we won't have
to train.

8/28/79

BUSH Ad #15 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Biography 60 sec." Length: 60 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOF/Blk (MONTAGE) Still PIC, ANNCR:
CU CAND Z IN INTDISS Still PIC MS Plane EXT
Z INDISS Still PIC MS CAND Z IN,
CU CAND INTDISS Still PIC 2S CAND, CITIZ,
(oil well) EXT

DISS Still PIC MS CAND EXT

DISS Still PIC MS CAND (car),
Z IN EXT

TAKE Still PIC CU CAND EXT Z IN

TAKE Still PIC CU CAND INT

TAKE Still PIC MS CAND INT

TAKE Still PIC 2S CAND,
CITIZ EXT

TAKE Still PIC CU CAND INT

DISS Still PIC CU CAND INT
Z INDISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

FTB

AUDIO

(MUSIC UP AND UNDER). In World War II, he was the youngest fighter pilot in the United States Navy; shot down, rescued, recipient of three air medals, and the Distinguished Flying Cross. He earned his college degree in two and a half years, then crossed his own frontier into Texas where he pioneered new techniques to produce energy from our country's offshore reserves. Now, again he wanted to serve his country, this time, in a Houston Congressional district which had always been in the hands of democrats, he became the first republican elected to the United States Congress. All Americans know this man as the Ambassador who stood up for our country before the world, the envoy who assured the success of our China initiative, the leader we trust to protect our rights and safeguard our security. We turn to him when a tough job has to be done. George Bush. A President we won't have to train.

4/07/80

BUSH Ad #16 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Farmers"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEO

F/Blk LS Farm EXT
Z OUT

DISS CU CAND EXT, Z OUT

AUDIO

CAND: Pennsylvania farmers are being squeezed between inflation and interest rates so high they can't borrow the money to get their next crop planted. I'm George Bush, and I wonder if Jimmy Carter even knows that hundreds of American farmers are losing their land. High interest rates won't stop inflation, but they will destroy Americans. There's a far better way to run this country; we all know it, and I can do it.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)

ANNCR: George Bush. He's the one candidate Jimmy Carter hopes he never has to run against.

FTB

4/07/80

BUSH Ad #17 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Pa. Employment" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOF/Blk LS Tower EXT
Z IN Building EXT

DISS CU CAND EXT, Z OUT

DISS SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)
FTBAUDIO

CAND: Does the President of this country know that industries are shutting down and more and more workers are losing their jobs in Pennsylvania? I'm George Bush, and I don't believe Jimmy Carter knows what he's done to this state. Pennsylvania steel and coal are in trouble. Carter's high interest rates and over-regulation are closing down mines and making it impossible for domestic steel to be competitive. If there is policy here it's wrong, and we have to change it.

3/09/80

BUSH Ad #18 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Inflation" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: I'm George Bush. As I campaign across this country I see American families being devastated by inflation. It's an issue we must address: One by insisting that government live within its means; two, by recapturing billions of dollars being lost in excessive government regulations; three, by cutting taxes to stimulate jobs and savings. We can't sit by and we can beat inflation.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)
FTB

3/09/80

BUSH Ad #19 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Defense"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: I'm George Bush. The national defense of this country is not adequate. Everyone talks about it, but let's be specific: reject the Salt Treaty, and send it back, build up our conventional forces and modernize our Navy, strengthen our alliances with Europe and Japan. Our commitment in this country is to peace, but peace in this world comes only with the strength and the will to maintain it.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)
FTB

3/09/80

BUSH Ad #20 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Energy"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Goodman

VIDEO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

AUDIO

CAND: I'm George Bush. In 1976, candidate Jimmy Carter said we didn't have an energy policy. We still don't. Sure we have to conserve, but let's be more specific about what we have to do: get the government out of the energy business; tax dollars should go into research, not more bureaucracy. We've got to produce more energy; that means coal, safe nuclear, solar. We've pulled together before; we can do it now.

DISS SLOG Graphic (George Bush for President.)
FTB

3/11/80

BUSH Ad #21 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Asking Too Much" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEO

F/Blk CRAWL (text)

(START ROLL)

W Still PIC CAND INT; K IN:
SLOG Graphic (George Bush
for President.)
FTB

AUDIO

ANNCR: In Tuesday's primary, John Anderson is asking for republicans to support him, yet he sent letters everywhere asking Americans to support democrats like George McGovern. John Anderson refuses to express support of the nominee of his own party for President. John Anderson has even refused to rule out running against republicans himself as a third party candidate. Now, as republicans, aren't we being asked a little too much? A better idea for the party and our country is George Bush.

3/11/80

BUSH Ad #22 (Tape #4a)

Title: "Pictures of Past (ALT)" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Goodman

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W Still PIC Carter

ANNCR: In 1976, we elected a former
governor, President. He offered
simplistic answers to our prob-

W Still PIC Reagan

lems. That didn't work. This
year, we are being asked to make
the same mistake again. Another
former governor with no national
experience; the faces of the past.

W Still PIC CAND INT

For our future, our President must
be experienced and new. George
Bush. If we care about the
future.

K IN: SLOG Graphic (George
Bush for President.)

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #1 (Tape #5)

Title: "Things"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEO

F/Blk CU BALLOT
Z IN (Slow)

DISS Still PIC CAND; K IN;
ID Graphic (Carter)

FTB

AUDIO

ANNCR: A man brings two things to a
Presidential ballot. He brings
his record, and he brings himself.
Who he is, is frequently as impor-
tant as what he's done. In the
voting booth the voter must
weigh both record and character
before deciding. Often it's not
easy, and the voter winds up
asking, "Is this the person I
really want in the White House
for the next four years?" A man
brings two things to a Presiden-
tial campaign. He brings his
record and he brings himself.
Vote for President Carter
March 25.

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #2 (Tape #5)

Title: "Hope"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS White House EXT
Z IN

TAKE MS CAND INT

DISS MS CAND EXT

TAKE MS CAND EXT
Z IN MS FA Persons EXT

TAKE MS CAND INT

DISS LS CAND w/FA Persons EXT
TAKE CU FA PER EXT
TAKE CU FA PER EXT

TAKE MS CAND (podium) EXT
Z OUT LS CAND w/Citizens

Z IN MS CAND, FA Persons,
EXT
FF Still PIC
DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
Carter)

FTB

ANNCR: More than a century ago
Abraham Lincoln called the
United States of America the
"last best hope on earth."
That idea has never been far
from the minds of the men who
have been President since Lincoln.
In some way, it's a part of almost
every big decision they make.
President Carter has been alert
for every possibility to encourage
exchanges between free men; for
these exchanges can often lead
to genuine peace.

CAND: To get peace in the Mideast is
more important than my being re-
elected. And we've made everybody
angry in the process at one time
or another, but we've made steady
progress. Now we've got a prospect
for peace.

ANNCR: More than most presidents in recent
times, President Jimmy Carter has
been a peacemaker, and he has not
forgotten that we are still the
last best hope on earth.

CAND: And I would like to say to these
two friends of mine, blessed are
the peacemakers for they shall be
the children of God.

ANNCR: President Jimmy Carter. Peacemaker.

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #3 (Tape #5)

Title: "Mideast"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT

CAND: To get peace in the Mideast is more important than my being re-elected. And we've made everybody angry in the process at one time or another, but we've made steady progress. Now we've got a prospect for peace.

DISS MS CAND w/FA Persons EXT

TAKE CU FA PER EXT

TAKE CU FA PER EXT

TAKE LS CAND w/FA Persons, ANNCR: In his quest for peace in the world, President Carter has not forgotten the words of Abraham Lincoln when he called the United States of America the

"last best hope on earth."

Z IN MS CAND w/FA Persons, EXT
DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
Carter)
FTB

President Jimmy Carter. Peacemaker.

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #4 (Tape #5)

Title: "Sticktoitive" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS CAND INT (podium)
K IN: Lower Third (Address
to Congress)

K OUT
TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
Carter)

CAND: With these energy and economic
policies we will make America
even stronger at home in this
decade. We will never abandon
our struggle for a just and a
decent society here at home.
Our material resources are limited.
Our problems are too complex for
simple slogans or for quick
solutions. We cannot solve them
without effort and sacrifice.

ANNCR: The President. A solid man in
a sensitive job.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #5 (Tape #5)

Title: "America"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT (podium) CAND:
 TAKE LS CONGRESS; K IN: Lower
 Third (Address to Congress)

K OUT
 TAKE LS CONGRESS INT
 TAKE CU CAND INT
 TAKE MS CONGRESS INT
 TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE 2S FA Persons INT (Amy
 and Rosalyn)
 TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE LS CONGRESS INT
 TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND

DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
 Carter) ANNGR:

FTB

There's a new spirit of unity and
 resolve in our country. We move
 into the 1980's with confidence
 and hope and a bright vision of
 the America we want. An America
 strong and free. An America with
 a clean and bountiful life in our
 cities and on our farms. An
 America secure in filling its own
 energy needs. An America of
 justice, tolerance, and compas-
 sion. For this vision to come
 true, we must sacrifice, but this
 national commitment will be an
 exciting enterprise that will
 unify our people. Together as
 one people let us make of this
 time of challenge and danger, a
 decade of national resolve and
 of brave achievement.

President Carter. A man of
 resolve. A man of achievement.

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #6 (Tape #5)

Title: "Together"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: There's a new spirit of unity and

TAKE LS Citizens INT

resolve in our country. We move

K IN: Lower Third (Address)

into the 1980's with a bright

K OUT

vision of the America we want.

TAKE CU CAND INT

An America strong and free. An

TAKE LS Citizens INT

America at peace. Together let

TAKE CU CAND INT

us make of this time of challenge

and danger, a decade of national

FF Still PIC CU CAND

resolve and of brave achievement.

DISS ID Graphic (Carter)

ANNCR: President Carter. A man of

resolve. A man of achievement.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #7 (Tape #5)

Title: "Family"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk LS White House EXT
Z IN

ANNCR: (MUSIC UP AND UNDER) The

White House is today the pivot
point of some of the most impor-
tant decisions in the world. It
is also a home.

TAKE 2S CAND, FA PER INT

TAKE CU FA PER INT

CAND: (MUSIC UNDER) I don't think

there's any way that you can
separate the responsibilities of
a husband and a father and a basic
human being from that of being a
President. What I do in the
White House is to maintain a good
family life which I've considered
to be crucial to being a good
President.

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE 2S CAND, FA PER INT

TAKE CU FA PER, PAN
CU CAND INT

TAKE 2S CAND, FA PER INT

TAKE CU FA PER, PAN
2S CAND, FA PER INT

DISS ID Graphic (Carter)

ANNCR: Husband, father, President. He's
done these three jobs with
distinction.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #8 (Tape #5)

Title: "Team"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk LS White House EXT
Z INANNCR: There is today a whole new
tradition in the American

TAKE CU FA PER INT

Vice Presidency.

K IN: Lower Third (V.P.
Walter Mondale)FA PER: There are 1.3 million more people
at work today than the day you

K OUT

were sworn in, in that state alone.

CAND: Just in California?

FA PER: Just in California....

CAND: There's never before been a
partnership between a President
and Vice President to equal what
I have with Walter Mondale. He's
thoroughly familiar with the
responsibilities that I have.

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE CU FA PER INT

He shares those responsibilities
in the finest sense of the word.DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
President Carter)

ANNCR: Carter and Mondale. A team.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #9 (Tape #5)

Title: "Security"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk LS White House EXT
Z INANNCR: At a White House briefing the
President makes an emphatic
point....

TAKE MS CAND INT (podium)

CAND: My number one responsibility is
to defend this country to maintain
its security, and I put a strong
defense at the top of my priority
list and it's going to be main-
tained that way. Thank-you.TAKE MS Citizens INT
TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens INTANNCR: He has fought for a strong defense,
for reform of the bureaucracy for
peace in the Middle East, and for
our energy security.DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
President Carter)

CAND: I hope you'll come and help me now.

ANNCR: The President. He's fighting for
all of us.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #10 (Tape #5)

Title: "Work"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: My own inclination is to get the nose of the federal government out of local affairs and out of state affairs whenever they can be handled in a state or in a community.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

ANNCR: He used to be a full time farmer. He does a different kind of work today, but it's still work; long hours of hard work.

TAKE MS Citizens INT
TAKE OTS CAND INT

TAKE MS CAND INT
Z OUT LS CAND INT

CAND: I'll make a decision on it today.

Z IN CU CAND INT

ANNCR: (MUSIC UNDER) His decisions reach out to touch the lives of millions. In the course of any day, he focusses on every vital issue facing the nation.

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Our comprehensive nationwide health program has been presented to the Congress. For us to depart from those two basic documents is a serious mistake. My number one responsibility is to defend this country, to maintain its security.

TAKE 2S CAND, CITIZ INT

TAKE MS CAND INT (podium)

ANNCR: It's nothing at all like being alone in a Georgia field driving a tractor for ten hours in the hot sun. Yet no other candidate can match his work experience or his life experience. President Carter. A solid man in a sensitive job.

TAKE LS Citizens INT
TAKE MS CAND, Citizens INT
DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect President Carter)
FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #11 (Tape #5)

Title: "Enertruth" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT (podium) CAND: I'm not gonna try to sugarcoat
K IN: Lower Third (Address) it for you. The energy future
will not be pleasant for you or
for me or for other Americans.

K OUT ANNCR: You may not always agree with
President Carter, but you'll
never find yourself wondering if
he's telling you the truth. It's
hard to think of a more useful
TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens INT (podium)
TAKE OTS CAND INT (podium) quality in any person who becomes
TAKE MS CAND INT (podium) President, than telling the simple
truth.

CAND: ...Will lessen the incentive for
industry and jobs to move out of
New England.

DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect ANNCR: President Carter. For the truth.
President Carter)
FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #12 (Tape #5)

Title: "Inflatruth" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT (podium)
K IN: Lower Third (Address)

CAND: The inflation that we have today
has been gaining momentum for more
than ten years. It cannot be
halted overnight.

K OUT

ANNCR: You may not always agree with
President Carter, but you'll
never find yourself wondering if
he's telling you the truth. It's
hard to think of a more useful
quality in any person who becomes
President, than telling the simple
truth.

TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens INT
(podium)

TAKE OTS CAND INT (podium)

TAKE MS CAND INT (podium)

CAND: ...As long as it takes us to
win it together.

DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
President Carter)
FTB

ANNCR: President Carter. For the truth.

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #13 (Tape #5)

Title: "Strength"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk LS White House EXT
Z IN

CAND: Above all the other responsibilities that I have as President, the security of my nation and your nation is paramount. But I think if we don't have those weapons and don't have the will and the capability to defend ourselves, then that's the best avenue toward war. If the Soviets or anyone else ever think that we are weak or vulnerable, or we lack determination, or we lack the will to defend ourselves and our allies, that's when we're in danger of losing American young men and women in combat. We now spend about 5% of our gross national product on defense. The Soviets spend about 15% of their gross national product on defense. I am not going to let this country be vulnerable under any circumstances, and I'm not ever going to let our defense capability be inferior to that of the Soviet Union or any other nation.

TAKE MS CAND INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND

DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
President Carter)ANNCR: President Carter. He's fighting
for all of us.

FTB

2/21/80

CARTER Ad #14 (Tape #5)

Title: "Peacemaker" Length: 60 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CITIZ INT

K IN: Lower Third (Towns
Meeting)

K OUT

TAKE MS CAND INT (podium)

TAKE LS Citizens INT, PANS ANNCR:

TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens INT
(podium)TAKE CU CAND INT
DISS SLOG Graphic (Reelect
President Carter)

FTB

CITIZ: My name is Laurie Michaels, and I'm from Sayre, Oklahoma, and we do welcome you to our city, Mr. President. And instead of a question, I have a comment. As a citizen of the United States of America, of western Oklahoma, of the rural community, and more particularly, as mother of three, excuse me, of three teenage sons, I want to express to you my personal prayers and gratitude for your role as peacemaker in the world today. (APPLAUSE).

(APPLAUSE UNDER) People have disagreed with President Carter on various issues, but on one point there is absolute agreement stretching all across the nation. More than any other President in recent times, this man has been a peacemaker. Keep him on the job.

4/09/80

CARTER Ad #1 (Tape #6)

Title: "Flip-flop"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Rafshoon

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I think Senator Kennedy oughta learn how to be practical instead of being liberal too much.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I think he changes his position. I mean he goes from one thing to another.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He goes from one issue to the other without stabilizing himself.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I think he's saying what the people in the country want to hear just to get votes.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: If he's in front of a certain group he'll say something to appease them, instead of speaking the truth of what he really believes.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

DISS Still PIC CAND

CITIZ: Kennedy changes his mind too often. Carter is more trustworthy.

ANNCR: Re-elect President Carter.

FTB

4/09/80

CARTER Ad #2 (Tape #6)

Title: "Criticism"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Rafshoon

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Kennedy is a pretty good man.
But he has his faults and he's,
you're not sure of what he's gonna
do next. He's promised alot of
things. He was in the Senate for
I don't know how many years. Why
didn't he do some of these things
then?

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I've heard him criticize Carter,
but I've never heard him state
what he'd do.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He's throwin' dirt at Carter.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He was in Congress for like 20
years now almost, and he had a say
in what could be done and what
couldn't be done, and what has he
done about it? Nothin'.

DISS Still PIC CAND

ANNCR: Re-elect President Carter. A
solid man in a sensitive job.

FTB

4/09/80

CARTER Ad #3 (Tape #6)

Title: "Less"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Rafshoon

VIDECAUDIO

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: I don't think Kennedy's qualified to be President. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: I don't think he has any credibility. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ INT | CITIZ: I don't believe him. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: I just don't think he's the man for the job. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: I don't trust him. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ INT | CITIZ: We're taking a chance with Kennedy. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: I'm gonna vote for Carter because I think he's the best qualified. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ INT | CITIZ: Carter's got his hands full with Kennedy, he's got his hands full with the country, and the economic situation, he's got his hands full with Iran and Afghanistan. He's not doing a bad job. |
| TAKE CU CITIZ EXT | CITIZ: Between Kennedy and Carter, I would definitely go with Carter myself. I trust him. |
| DISS Still PIC CAND | ANNCR: Re-elect President Carter. A solid man in a sensitive job. |

FTB

4/13/80

CARTER Ad #4 (Tape #6)

Title: "Unprepared" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Rafshoon

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I couldn't vote for Kennedy
because I don't feel he's, he's
prepared to go into this position
right now.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: He's just tryin' to take advantage
of his name it seems like, in some
respects.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

CITIZ: He was in Congress for like 20
years now almost, and he had a
say in what could be done and what
couldn't be done and what has he
done about it? Nothin'.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I just don't feel he's qualified
as Carter is right now, that's,
you know, that's all I feel, you
know. Out of everything I've
watched now, and all I've listened
to, Carter I feel is, you know,
the man. I feel that Carter cares
more about people like me.

DISS Still PIC CAND

FTB

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #1 (Tape #7)

Title: "John and Nellie" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEO

F/Blk W CU CITIZ EXT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

DISS Still PIC CAND, FA PER;
K IN: ED Graphic (Connally)

FTB

AUDIO

CITIZ: I watched John Connally the other day, and I was very impressed naturally with the man's great ability, his mastery of the language, his great experience, and particularly, you know, his early background, and so forth. But you know what interested me more, perhaps than anything else...by watching Mrs. Connally. She looked at him like they had just met about two weeks ago, and she said to herself, "Why, there is a wonderful man." She'd hang on every word he had to say. And even with his team wit, which is really something, she smiles like a young bride. It was really something to look at. And I...I really, that really impressed me a great deal. And it wasn't anything that was part of any kind of showmanship; it was part of a woman that had an enduring love for a man whom she had a great deal of affection, a great deal of respect for. To me, I think every woman in America would love to be sittin' there and have a husband like that.

ANNCR: John Connally. Leadership for America.

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #2 (Tape #7)

Title: "Not Just Another Governor" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W CU CITIZ EXT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

CITIZ: I look for somebody who has
compassion, somebody who has a
good head on their shoulders,
and somebody who's strong enough
that can take us out of all these
problems we're now facing and I
think John Connally can do the job.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: Down the road a few miles is a
place called Disney World and in
Disney World is a place called
"Hall of President." I don't
know if you have ever been there,
or not, but John Connally is the
kind of leader that would belong
in the Hall of Presidents. That's
my belief.

TAKE MS CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: I think John Connally is a very
honest man.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally has got the exper-
ience that we need, and we need
him in the White House.

TAKE MS CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: He has the strength and the
dignity to carry off the job like
the presidency.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: He's determined; he's got the
experience in big government.
He's not just an ex-governor
like Jimmy Carter.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: So his main objective will be
running the country and not
running the campaign.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: I just think he's a strong person,
and he has all the leadership
qualities that this country needs.

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)
FTB

ANNCR: John Connally. Leadership for
America.

8/14/80

CONNALLY Ad #3 (Tape #7)

Title: "Means What He Says" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk 2S Citizens EXT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

CITIZ: I think John Connally really is
the right man for the job. He's
the kind of man who can make the
right decisions at the right time,
and we need somebody like that
right now.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: I think John Connally will stand
up to anyone.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally is one of the few
true statesmen left in the
United States.

TAKE 2S Citizens INT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally definitely says
what he means, and he means what
he says, and he will come across
to everyone like that.

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

ANNCR: Connally. Leadership for
America. (MUSIC UP AND OUT).

FTB

8/14/80

CONNALLY Ad #4 (Tape #7)

Title: "Strength" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ INT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

CITIZ: I think John Connally represents
strength.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: He has this intangible thing
called charisma.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally will certainly
stand strong on his principles.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: I think he's more than that. I
think John Connally is a symbol
of what this country stands for.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: And he's really a super great guy.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: A perfect all-around gentleman.

TAKE MS CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally ranks among our
great leaders of the nation today.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT [BG]

CITIZ: I think he's going to make a
great President.

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

ANNCR: John Connally. Leadership for
America.

FTB

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #5 (Tape #7)

Title: "Turn Things Around" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

CITIZ: Look at how the country is now.
Are...are we messed up now? If
we had John Connally, I believe
he could turn it all around.

TAKE MS CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: You've got to be able to work
with the Washington establishment,
and certainly John Connally has
done that and done it well.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: There's no doubt in my mind that
of all the Republican candidates,
announced or unannounced, and
certainly, uh, the Democratic
candidates, that John Connally is
by far the best man for the job.

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

ANNCR: Connally.

FTB

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #6 (Tape #7)

Title: "First Time Voting" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CITIZ EXT;
SLOG Graphic (Connally
Leadership for America)
[Border throughout]

CITIZ: This'll be the first time I'm
voting and I'm thinking about
voting for John Connally, because
he's a strong person, and I'm
sure that he will be able to get
inflation and our taxes down.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT [BG]

CITIZ: John Connally has served as
advisor to many presidents, has
a lot of political knowhow, and
is familiar with the Washington
scene; and for that reason I
think that he probably would be
much better able to know how to
deal with Congress.

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

ANNCR: Connally.

FTB

11/29/79

CONNALLY Ad #7 (Tape #7)

Title: "Bandwagon #1" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEO

F/Blk LS BAND EXT, Z IN
 TAKE LS CAND EXT (podium)
 TAKE CU CAND EXT
 TAKE CU CITIZ (shirt) EXT Z OUT
 TAKE MS CAND w/CITIZ EXT
 TAKE MS BAND EXT
 TAKE MS BAND EXT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT, Z OUT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT PAN
 TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens EXT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT
 TAKE MS CAND w/Citizens EXT
 TAKE LS CAND w/Citizens EXT Z IN
 DISS Still PIC CAND;
 K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)
 FTB

AUDIO

ANNCR: (MUSIC UP AND UNDER) All across
 America interest and excitement
 in the John Connally campaign is
 growing. His experience as
 Secretary of the Navy, Secretary
 of the Treasury, governor of Texas,
 and advisor to four American
 presidents uniquely qualifies
 John Connally to lead America into
 the 1980's. Join the John Connally
 campaign. (MUSIC FADES OUT).

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #8 (Tape #7)

Title: "John Connally for President" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT Z IN CU CAND: People in America are basically a generous, compassionate people. I don't think there's anyone that I know, uh, rich, poor, democrat, republican, independent, or anyone else, who doesn't want to take care of elderly people, dependent children, of infirm people, people who can't provide for themselves. Everybody wants to do that, uh, that's a humane instinct with which we are blessed. But what has become, um, almost unbearable in the minds of a great many people is the fact that those who produce in this country are being taxed and taxed and taxed for a great many people who are non-producers. They're not the aged or infirm. They're just non-producers.

K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

K OUT

Z IN

DISS Still PIC CAND;
K IN: Graphic (phone #)

TAKE ID Graphic (Connally)

FTB

ANNCR: To help John Connally turn this country around, call toll free 1-(800)-331-1000. John Connally. Leadership for America.

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #9 (Tape #7)

Title: "Turn Country Around" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT

CAND: We either have to turn this

K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

country around. We have to
change the...the reach of govern-
ment into the lives of everyone.

K OUT

Or in my judgment this free enter-
prise system as we know it, this
free market system, the individual
opportunities that you and I have

TAKE LS Citizens INT

always treasured are going to be
gone. Government's going to be
telling us what to do, and when

TAKE MS CAND INT

to do, and how to do; and I don't
believe in that. I believe that
this country is the greatest
country on earth, because we have
been a free people.DISS ID Graphic (Connally) ANNCR: Connally. Leadership for America.
FTB

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #10 (Tape #7)

Title: "Fair Trade" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEO

F/Blk CU CAND INT (podium)
TAKE CU CAND INT (podium)
TAKE MS CAND INT
TAKE LS CAND Z IN MS INT

AUDIO

CAND: Why do we permit other countries
to abuse this nation? We open
our doors; we believe in free
trade, but first we have to say
to our trading partners we believe
in fair trade. And if they're
not going to let our goods and
services into their country, then
they better be prepared not to
have unrestricted access to this
market. It's just that simple.
(APPLAUSE...).

TAKE ID Graphic (Connally) ANNCR: John Connally. Leadership for
America.

FTB

8/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #11 (Tape #7)

Title: "We Know Freedom" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOF/Blk MS CAND Z IN CU INT
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

K OUT

AUDIO

CAND: Some people are pessimistic about America, but I'm not. I think we're going to survive because we're a god-fearing people. We're going to survive because we have the best system, and we're going to survive because we know freedom and freedom is the most precious thing in the world. Freedom always overcomes tyranny, and you'll never get anyone to accept anything less than freedom, if they've ever experienced it or have any concept of it.

TAKE 1D Graphic (Connally) ANNCR: Connally. Leadership for America.
FTB

12/6/79

CONNALLY Ad #12 (Tape #7)

Title: "Farming: A Philosophy" Length: 60 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: Today, agriculture in this country is not appreciated the way it should be, simply because only 4% of the people of America actually live and work on the farms and ranches. Fortunately, I was one of those who grew up (MUSIC UNDER) with the soil under my feet and between my toes, and I know what it gives you. I know what it means to your feeling of security, to your self-confidence. I know what it means to the serenity that it provides you. You see the mysteries of life really unveiled before your eyes. With the planting of the crops, you see the seeds sprout, you see the crops grow, you see them bloom, you see them produce the fruits, and you see them begin to wither and die. You see life's cycle, and you know that you're witnessing one of the great mysteries of life, in addition to one of the means by which men and women survive in this world. (MUSIC FADES OUT).

DISS LS CAND EXT (farm) Z IN
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

DISS MS CAND EXT
K OUT
DISS MS CAND EXT TILT

DISS LS CAND EXT Z IN CU

DISS CU CAND EXT,
PAN CU HAND EXT

DISS MS CAND Z OUT LS EXT

DISS CU CAND EXT
FF Still PIC CU CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

FTB

12/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #13 (Tape #7)

Title: "Quiz #1"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Which candidate for the
republican nomination for
President has experience as
governor of a major state?

W Graphic (boxes)
W Graphic (text)

Which candidate has more exper-
ience in national defense, both
as a decorated naval officer
and as Secretary of the Navy?

W Graphic (boxes)
W Graphic (text)

Which candidate has more
experience in international
affairs, both as Secretary of
the Treasury, and member of
the foreign intelligence
advisory board? John Connally.

W Graphic (boxes)
W Still PIC CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

Experienced leadership for
America.

FTB

12/14/79

CONNALLY Ad #14 (Tape #7)

Title: "Quiz #2"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk W Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Which candidate for the
republican nomination for
President has years of exper-
ience working with Congress?
Which candidate campaigned
vigorously for the republican
presidential nomination in
1976? Which candidate for the
republican nomination has been
an advisor to four American
Presidents? John Connally.
Experienced leadership for
America.

W Graphic (boxes)

W Graphic (text)

W Graphic (boxes)

W Graphic (text)

W Graphic (boxes)

W Still PIC CAND;

K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

FTB

1/31/80

CONNALLY Ad #15 (Tape #7)

Title: "New England Energy" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Ailes

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND INT
K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

K OUT

Z IN CU CAND INT

K IN: ID Graphic (Connally)

FTB

CAND: As I travel here in the Northeast, people ask me why we have such an energy mess in this country. Well, one reason is, we've allowed unreasonable environmental delays to roadblock the development of our own natural resources. Of course we want clean air and clean water. Nobody wants to destroy the environment. We all breathe that air and drink that water. But I can't think of a worse environment than being cold, hungry, and unemployed. And isn't it time we adopted a realistic energy policy?

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #1 (Tape #8)

Title: "Defense" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text) ANNCR: Phil Crane on defense. . .

TAKE MS CAND INT

K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)Z IN CU CAND INT
K OUT

CAND: You know, we've only been toying
with American military power. For
years, we've been getting weaker
while the Russians get stronger.
They know that. That's why they
moved into Afghanistan and that's
why the Iranians seized our
American hostages, knowing we
wouldn't do anything. What
bothers me is that we're not even
equal to the Russians, and we've
got to be stronger. As your
President, we're going to get
that job done.

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #2 (Tape #8)

Title: "Welfare" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on welfare. . .

TAKE MS CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

CAND: It's now costing us \$6,700 a year
to support each person on welfare.
That's \$27,500 a year for a family
of four, and that's senseless be-
cause a lot of that money isn't
going to the people who need it,
it's going on fraud, waste, theft,
and to support an enormous bureau-
cracy. We've got to change that
system, and as your President,
we're going to get that job done.

Z IN CU CAND INT

K OUT

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #3 (Tape #8)

Title: "Taxes" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on taxes. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: Do you realize the government

K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

taxes people for just being
married? It's true; a husband
and wife who both work probably
pay hundreds or even thousands of
dollars more in taxes, than if
they were just single and living
together. That's not only unfair;
it's preposterous. And it's
typical of the many urgent changes
that have to be made in our tax
system. As your President, we're
going to get that job done.

Z IN

K OUT

TAKE CU CAND INT

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #4 (Tape #8)

Title: "Energy" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on energy. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT

CAND: The government's handling of the

K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

energy crisis is a classic case of
closing the barn door after the
horse is gone. The big news is
we're going to limit oil imports.

Z IN
K OUT

What I want to know is why haven't
we encouraged the search for al-
ternatives: more nuclear power,
domestic oil, gas, coal produc-
tion? We need action, and as your
President we're going to get that
job done.

TAKE CU CAND INT

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #5 (Tape #8)

Title: "Inflation" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on inflation. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

CAND: Inflation is now at the highest
level in 33 years. And the worst
thing about it is that it raises
your income and pushes you into
higher and higher tax brackets,
so you end up caught in the cross-
fire. Your money is worth less,
and you pay a higher percentage
of it to the government. It's
unfair, and it's got to be
changed. As your President, we're
going to get that job done.

Z IN
K OUT

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #6 (Tape #8)

Title: "Education" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on education. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

CAND: Education is getting so expensive
that you can barely afford to send
your kids to college anymore,
particularly when you have to pay
for it out of taxed income, and
that's wrong. You shouldn't be
forced to jeopardize the future
of your children. You need a tax
relief on college fees. It's only
fair, and as your President, we're
going to get that job done.

Z IN

K OUT

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #7 (Tape #8)

Title: "America" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on America. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)CAND: The world has never thought less
of us than it does now. We need
help. But the Mexicans refuse to
take back the Shah, Japan contin-
ues to buy Iranian oil, and the
French won't boycott the Olympics.
We get no support because we have
no respect. It's got to change.
We've got to protect and enforce
American interests in the world,
and as your President, we're going
to get that job done.Z IN
K OUTTAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #8 (Tape #8)

Title: "Government" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on government. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)

CAND: Last year, the government took
\$3 billion of your money and spent
it on travel. And what about the
saunas, vacation resorts, private
chefs, private dining rooms, and
even a private gasoline pump for
the Congressional leadership and
Cabinet Secretaries who make
\$50,000 a year and more? It's
got to end. And as your Pres-
ident, we're going to get that
job done.

Z IN

K OUT

TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)

ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

2/13/80

CRANE Ad #9 (Tape #8)

Title: "Taxes #2" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Campaigns, Inc.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk ID Graphic (text)

ANNCR: Phil Crane on taxes. . .

TAKE CU CAND INT
K IN: Lower Third (Phil
Crane, Congressman)CAND: The National Tax Payer's Union has
called me the biggest skin-flint
in Congress. For ten years, I've
been fighting tooth and nail gov-
ernment spending that causes high
taxes. Look at your own paycheck.
The difference between what you
earn and what you take home goes
to the government. You should
take home more, the government
less. As your President, we're
going to get that job done.Z IN
K OUTTAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE CU CAND INT
TAKE SLOG Graphic (Phil
Crane for President.)ANNCR: Phil Crane says what everybody
thinks. That's why we need Phil
Crane for President.

FTB

3/27/80

KENNEDY Ad #1 (Tape #9)

Title: "Green Archie A" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS FA PER EXT

FA PER: Friends, Herbert Hoover hid out in the White House too, responding to desperate problems with patriotic pronouncements, and we got a hell of a depression. But I'm afraid Jimmy's depression is going to be worse than Herbert's. I'm supporting Senator Kennedy because he's out there facing issues: inflation, sky-high prices, an almost worthless dollar, unemployment. I trust Ted Kennedy. I believe in him in every way, folks.

Z IN CU FA PER EXT

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
first sentence) w/W
Still PIC CAND
FTB

ANNCR: Kennedy for President. We gotta
fight back.

3/27/80

KENNEDY Ad #2 (Tape #9)

Title: "Green Archie B" Length: 60 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS FA PER EXT

FA PER: Friends, I've seen some oddities off stage as well as on, but never anything odder than Jimmy Carter in a democratic primary, because he may be the most Republican president since Herbert Hoover. And he may give us a depression that'll make Hoover's look like prosperity. Our money is worth less and less every day because of runaway prices. Soon it won't be worth the paper used to print it. We're looking at industrial lay-offs and unemployment in all parts of the country. We have a foreign policy nobody understands. And Jimmy stays in Washington making warm-hearted speeches. Maybe that's smart political strategy, but I hope it doesn't fool too many people. I hope you'll support a man who's out there facing the problems. I mean my friend Senator Ted Kennedy. I've always liked him politically and personally, and I believe in him friends, in every way. So let's give him our vote, and give ourselves the best chance for a future with confidence and security. Thank-you.

Z IN CU FA PER EXT

DISS SLOG Graphic (text;
first sentence) w/W
Still PIC CAND
FTB

ANNCR: Kennedy for President. We gotta
fight back.

4/09/80

KENNEDY Ad #3 (Tape #9)

Title: "Grin"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND (Carter) INT ANNCR: When it came to inflation,
 interest rates, food prices,
 housing, rents, even foreign
 affairs, this man's attitude
 was, "I'll keep my fingers
 crossed." You know the results.
 During 17 years in the Senate,
 this man's attitude has always
 been, "Fight until the job is
 done." We have a choice. We
 can choose a man who'll do the
 job, or we can keep our fingers
 crossed.

DISS MS CAND w/Citizens EXT,
 PANS

DISS CU CAND INT (podium)
 Z IN

CAND: (CROWD)....is willing to take a
 stand, and so am I.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text;
 second sentence) w/W
 Still PIC CAND
 FTB

ANNCR: Take a stand. Kennedy for
 President.

4/10/80

KENNEDY Ad #4 (Tape #9)

Title: "Fingers Crossed" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND EXT

ANNCR: (CROWD). When it came to infla-

tion, this man's attitude was,

FF MS CAND EXT

"I'll keep my fingers crossed."

DISS CU Paper (FILM of ticker)

Today, we have 20% inflation.

DISS CU Clock, Z OUT LS

On housing, interest rates, even

DISS MS CAND EXT (Carter)

foreign affairs, his attitude was,

FF MS CAND EXT (Carter)

"I'll keep my fingers crossed."

DISS MS CAND w/Citizens EXT

This man's attitude is, "Fight

until the job is done." His

DISS CU CAND INT (podium)

colleagues have named him one

Z IN

of our most effective Senators.

We have a choice. We can choose

a man who'll do the job, or we

FF Still PIC CU CAND;
K IN: SLOG Graphic (Kennedy
for President.)
FTB

can keep our fingers crossed.

Take a stand. Kennedy for

President.

4/16/80

KENNEDY Ad #5 (Tape #9)

Title: "Calculator" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU Calculator tape; ANNCR:
INT, PAN, Z OUT, Z IN CU

In 1976, Jimmy Carter promised
he'd balance the budget. He's
given us a deficit of over 150

TAKE CU Hand INT

billion dollars, the highest in
any four year period in our

TAKE CU Numbers INT

history. In 1976, he promised

TAKE CU Buttons INT

he'd control inflation and

interest rates. Both have reached

TAKE CU Calculator INT

almost 20%, the highest in our
history. In 1976, he promised

alot, but when you add it all

TAKE CU Tape INT

up, the figures show that Jimmy

DISS SLOG Graphic (text);
w/W Still PIC CAND
FTB

Carter just can't manage. Kennedy
for President.

5/06/80

KENNEDY Ad #6 (Tape #9)

Title: "Space Senator" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk FILM MS Rocket EXT

TAKE LS Rocket EXT, FILM

DISS CU CAND EXT

Z OUT 3S CAND, Citizens EXT

ANNCR: (ROCKET SOUND UP AND UNDER). This country put a man on the moon, yet we're told we can't meet the challenges we face today. Ted Kennedy says we can. He knows the American spirit is still alive, but that we need leadership which shares that spirit.

DISS CU CAND EXT

CAND: The American people are prepared to respond. What I think is necessary, is that we're going to have a vision established by a President, goals established by a President, dreams established by a President.

DISS SLOG Graphic (text; first sentence.)

ANNCR: Kennedy for President. If you believe, we can do better.

FTB

5/06/80

KENNEDY Ad #7 (Tape #9)

Title: "Endorsement #2" Length: 30 sec. Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU FA PER EXT

CITIZ: Our foreign policy is in a
shambles because we have not
had strong dynamic leadership.
I think that's what the country
needs.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Kennedy's a very able man, and
I think he'll surround himself
with very good people.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I think he's also a man who is
very familiar with how Congress
operates, and therefore as
President would have a very warm
relationship with Congress.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I've had reservations about the
Senator, but his behavior during
this campaign has shown strength,
it's shown courage; it's relieved
me of any doubts.

DISS SLOG Graphic (Kennedy
for President.) w/W
Still PIC CAND
FTB

5/06/80

KENNEDY Ad #8 (Tape #9)

Title: "McGovern"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS FA PER EXT

FA PER: Farmers are caught in the most painful cost price squeeze of the last 50 years. The price of everything they buy has gone sky-high. The price of the things they have to sell are lower than five years ago. For 17 years, I've watched Ted Kennedy in the Senate fighting for the interest of the American farmer. I have not the slightest doubt that he would continue that fight for economic justice as President of the United States.

Z IN CU FA PER EXT

DISS SLOG Graphic (Kennedy for President.) w/W
Still PIC CAND

ANNCR: Kennedy for President.

FTB

5/06/80

KENNEDY Ad #9 (Tape #9)

Title: Untitled

Length: 30 sec.

Agency:

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND (Carter) INT ANNCR: This man has mislead our country into the worst economic crisis since the depression. His broken promises cost New York a billion dollars a year. He betrayed Israel at the UN, his latest foreign policy blunder. This man has endured personal attacks in order to lead the fight for specific answers, like mandatory controls to stop inflation. Let's join Ted Kennedy in fighting back against four years of failure.

DISS MS CAND w/Citizens EXT

DISS CU CAND INT (podium)

CAND: (CROWD)....is willing to make a stand, and so am I.

DISS SLOG Graphic (Kennedy for President. Democratic Primary, Tuesday, March 25) ANNCR: Kennedy for President. Let's fight back.

FTB

2/07/80

KENNEDY Ad #1 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Durkin"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU FA PER INT

Z IN

K IN: Lower Third (Sen.
John Durkin)

K OUT

TAKE ID Graphic (Kennedy)

FTB

FA PER: I'm Senator John Durkin. Federal energy policy is victimizing the people of New England every day. Federal energy policy is a prime cause of our runaway inflation. Federal energy policy is pushing home heating oil to over a dollar a gallon, and will soon push gasoline to a dollar fifty a gallon or higher. Federal energy policy has produced enormous profits for the major oil companies. Since coming to the Senate, I have fought an uphill battle to change the federal energy policy which unfairly discriminates against New England. My fight to change federal energy policy is your fight, our fight. One man in the U.S. Senate has stood shoulder to shoulder with me in our fight, our fight for energy at a reasonable cost and our fight against energy-induced inflation. That man is Senator Edward Kennedy. It's time we had a President from New England. That's why I'm supporting Ted, and that's why I'm asking you to vote for him on February 26.

ANNCR: Kennedy.

2/07/80

KENNEDY Ad #2 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Takeover"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

Z IN

FF Still PIC CU CAND;
K IN: ID Graphic (Kennedy)
FTB

CAND: The Russian takeover of
Afghanistan began not two months
ago. The President was warned
against giving the Shah asylum
many months ago. Afghanistan
and Iran: is it crisis of
failure that keeps Jimmy Carter
secluded in the White House?
When we finally find out, it
may be too late. Let's not
allow that to happen. New
Hampshire has made the differ-
ence in the past. New Hampshire
can make the difference in 1980.

2/07/80

KENNEDY Ad #3 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Energy"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: You pay 98 cents a gallon for home heating oil. Gasoline, now a dollar sixteen a gallon. Elderly people face a cruel choice between heat for their homes and food on their tables. And oil refiners' profits went up 800% last year. Jimmy Carter decontrolled the price of oil, so you pay while the oil companies profit. New Hampshire can make the difference in 1980. .

Z IN

FF Still PIC CU CAND

K IN: ID Graphic (text)
FTB

ANNCR: Kennedy.

2/07/80

KENNEDY Ad #4 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Promises"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: Everybody remembers the candidate who said in 1976, "I'll never mislead you, and you can depend on it." But do you remember what else he said? He said he would reduce inflation and unemployment to 4% by the end of his first term, that he would never use high interest rates to fight inflation, that he would never decontrol the price of oil and natural gas, that nuclear power is the resource of last resort, that he would get the Equal Rights Amendment passed during his first year in office, that he would balance the budget and reduce the size of government. But now he's secluded in the White House telling us to rally around his failure over-seas. He refuses to discuss the issues, but America cannot afford to forget the problems President Carter has left behind. New Hampshire can change that. New Hampshire can make the difference in 1980.

Z IN

FF Still PIC CU CAND

K IN: ID Graphic (Kennedy) ANNCR: Kennedy.
FTB

1/11/80

KENNEDY Ad #5 (Tape #9a)

Title: "UAW"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT, Z OUT

CAND: There's a writer that, uh, once said that for every complicated issue, there's a simple easy answer, and it's wrong. And I don't pretend to have all of the answers. I do have a strong personal commitment. I think, uh, people ought to be able to work and find a job for a decent wage. I think they ought to be able to educate their children, in a, in a quality-education school. I think the people ought to be free from bankruptcy, from sickness and illness. I think elderly people ought to be able to live in some degree of peace and dignity. A community ought to be free from violence and from crime. I've been involved in each and every one of those issues for 17 years, and I believe I can make a difference.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE OTS CAND INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE MS Citizens INT

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

TAKE CU CAND INT

FF Still PIC CU CAND

K IN: ID Graphic (Kennedy) ANNCR: Kennedy. A choice for the 80s.
 DISS ID Graphic (Kennedy)
 FTB

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #6 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Quality"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk Still PIC CU FA PER ANNCR: What kind of man is Edward
Kennedy?

CU FA PER EXT (unfreeze) FA PER: Well, what can I say? I see it
K IN: Lower Third (Mrs. Ethel Kennedy) in my own life and uh, I see how
K OUT he's helps the children and always
with a sort of nice, light touch.

TAKE MS FA PER EXT Z IN CU He seems to care for those who
can't care for themselves. That's
all I'm trying to say. And he's
got this wonderful quality that
he seems to see beyond what other
people do.

FF Still PIC CU FA PER
DISS Still PIC CAND
FTB

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #7 (Tape #9a)

Title: Untitled

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND INT

CAND: We cannot afford a lack of competence in foreign policy, and we cannot afford to break faith with our closest allies in the world. Never again should America cast its vote in the United Nations against the security of Israel. Never again should a President have to give the excuse that he didn't know what was happening and that the Secretary of State didn't know what he was doing.

TAKE SLOG Graphic (Kennedy for President. Democratic Primary, Tuesday, March 25)
FTB

ANNCR: Kennedy for President. Let's fight back.

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #8 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Suffer"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk Still PIC CU CITIZ

ANNCR: What kind of man is Edward
Kennedy?

CU CITIZ INT (unfreeze)
K IN: Lower Third (Muriel
Sutherland Snowden, social
worker)
K OUT

CITIZ: The kinds of things that he has
suffered uh, could have broken
him, but I think that what has
happened with the Senator is that
it has made him a stronger, a more
mature man, and again, a man who
has great feeling for other people
because he has suffered himself.

DISS Still PIC CAND
FTB

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #9 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Reforms"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ INT

K IN: Lower Third (Mrs. F.
Leyland, Waltham)K OUT
Z IN

CITIZ: Many people that hold office, and you go and talk to them. . .you talk to them, and they promise you all kinds of things, but they don't do them. But whatever people that I know of have gone and asked him to do, he has done something, one way or the other for them, to help them out.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT

K IN: Lower Third (Arthur
Obermayer, small businessman)
K OUT

CITIZ: He's concerned with the little guy, he wants to help him, he wants to make sure that the big and powerful institutions in our country today don't end up controlling everybody and everything.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

K IN: Lower Third (Roberta
Bial, Registered Nurse)
K OUT

CITIZ: Because he's interested in reforms, uh, and that is what, you know, to me, somebody who's in that office should be doing, and the fact that he's interested in doing that, in my, you know my gut feeling is that he's just got to be a warm person who cares about people.

DISS Still PIC CAND

DISS ID Graphic (Kennedy)

FTB

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #10 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Cares"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ INT, Z IN CITIZ: But whatever people that I know
K IN: Lower Third (F. Leyland) of have gone and asked him to do,
K OUT he has done something, one way or
the other for them, to help them
out.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT CITIZ: He's concerned with the little
K IN: Lower Third (Obermayer) guy, he wants to help him, he
wants to make sure that the big
K OUT and powerful institutions in our
country today don't end up con-
trolling everybody and everything.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT CITIZ: My gut feeling is he's just got
K IN: Lower Third (Bial) to be a warm person who cares
K OUT about people.

DISS Still PIC CAND ANNCR: Kennedy.
FTB

2/20/80

KENNEDY Ad #11 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Prepared"

Length: 60 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU FA PER INT
K IN: Lower Third (Mrs.
Rose Kennedy)
K OUT

FA PER: He's worked very hard. I think
he can work very hard. They tell
me he works very hard, he's very
well prepared for the bills, for
instance. He does his homework,
he does it thoroughly.

TAKE CU CITIZ INT
K IN: Lower Third (Muriel
Sutherland Snowden, social
worker)
K OUT

CITIZ: The kinds of things that he has
suffered, uh, could have broken
him, but I think that what has
happened with the Senator is that
it has made him a stronger, a more
mature man, and again, a man who
has great feeling for other people
because he has suffered himself.

TAKE CU FA PER EXT
K IN: Lower Third (Mrs.
Ethel Kennedy)
K OUT
TAKE MS FA PER EXT
Z IN CU FA PER EXT

FA PER: I see how he's helps the children,
and, uh, always with a sort of
nice, light touch. He seems to
care for those who can't care for
themselves. That's all I'm trying
to say. And he's got this wonder-
ful quality that he seems to see
beyond what other people do.

FF Still PIC FA PER
DISS Still PIC CAND
FTB

3/27/80

KENNEDY Ad #12 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Smile"

Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CAND (Carter) INT ANNCR: This man has mislead our country into the worst economic crisis since the depression. His failures and broken promises at home and abroad are endangering the growth and future of our country.

DISS MS CAND w/Citizens EXT This man has endured personal attacks in order to lead the fight for specific answers (CROWD CHEERS) like mandatory controls to stop inflation. Let's join Ted Kennedy in fighting back against four years of failure.

DISS CU CAND INT (podium)

CAND: . . . is willing to make a stand, and so am I. (CHEERS & APPLAUSE).

TAKE SLOG Graphic (text; first sentence) w/W ANNCR: Kennedy for President. We gotta fight back.
Still PIC CAND
FTB

5/14/80

KENNEDY Ad #13 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Testimonials - Not This Time" Length: 30 sec. Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: Well, four years ago, I supported Carter. I was very enthusiastic about him. He seemed like the kind of person that would provide the leadership we needed. I haven't seen that kind of leadership from him.

TAKE CU FA PER EXT

CITIZ: I think this nation is embarrassed by the leadership we've had.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: And it seems that you can't put your trust in someone who says, "Trust me," but then turns around and does something different.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I think the job is a little too big for him.

TAKE CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I voted for him last time, but never again.

W Graphic (ballot)

ANNCR: If you believe we've got to do better, there's only one choice on June 3rd.

FTB

5/18/80

KENNEDY Ad #14 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Choice 4 More Years - Ohio" Length: 30 sec. Agency: GPI

VIDEOF/Blk Graphic (June 3,
1980)DISS CU CAND (Carter) INT
K IN: Graphic inserts (dates)
[1981,1982,1983,1984]

K OUT

W Graphic (ballot)

FTB

AUDIO

ANNCR: If Ohio hands the democratic nomination to Jimmy Carter on June 3rd, everyone says the race will be over, and so will our choices. And Ohio will be telling all of America that we want four more years of Jimmy Carter leading this country the same way he has for the past four years. But if we don't give the nomination to Jimmy Carter the possibilities open up, and so will the democratic convention. It's up to you, Ohio. If you want democrats to have a choice at the convention, there's only one choice on June 3rd. Ted Kennedy.

5/18/80

KENNEDY Ad #15 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Worried Woman Ohio" Length: 60 sec. Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CU CITIZ EXT

CITIZ: I know that my mother worked very hard to make sure that my brother and myself could have opportunities and an education, and now I'm repeating the cycle and I have the same worries that she had and they're even, I think, they're even bigger worries than she had, because the future of my children, I think, is even more unsure.

PAN CU CAND EXT

ANNCR: For the first time in American history, most parents don't believe their children's futures will be better than their own. Maybe that's because our own President tells us, America can't solve the problems it faces today. But if you believe we've got to do better, you can still choose a man who believes we can.

PANS, CU CAND EXT

CAND: . . . I just reject those leaders that say we can't do better. This country has always done better when it's been challenged. We have the ability to do better, and I think that is what is an issue in 1980, and I would think you would feel that this country could do better.

Z IN

W Graphic (ballot)

ANNCR: If you believe we've got to do better, there's only one choice on June 3rd.

FTB

5/19/80

KENNEDY Ad #16 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Eagle Ohio" Length: 30 sec. Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk Still PIC CU CAND ANNCR: Ted Kennedy on foreign policy.

CU CAND INT (unfreeze) CAND: The American Eagle has arrows in
one claw and olive branches in the
other. American foreign policy
has to reflect both. It has to
have the strength, the determina-
tion, the confidence of our allies,
and the respect of our adversar-
ies; but it also has to be tire-
less in the effort of pursuing the
goals of peace in the world.

W Graphic (ballot) ANNCR: It's up to you, Ohio. If you want
democrats to have a choice at the
convention, there's only one
choice on June 3rd.

FTB

3/15/80

KENNEDY Ad #17 (Tape #9a)

Title: "Sense of Duty" Length: 30 sec.

Agency: GPI

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk MS CAND w/Citizens, ANNCR: (CROWD CHEERS). (MUSIC UP AND
EXT UNDER). Probably because he wants
to prove himself, as himself, he
downplays the idea but it's there.
TAKE LS Citizens EXT It remains. It's undeniable. The
DISS LS Citizens EXT, PANS, Z IN dream that we can be all that we
TAKE CU FA PER EXT can be. It's still there. It
TAKE CU FA PER INT (podium) remains possible, that sense of
TAKE LS Citizens EXT, duty, the feeling for the average
Z IN, PANS American, that ability to bring
TAKE CU CITIZ EXT together the very finest minds in
TAKE CU CITIZ EXT this country to meet the crisis
TAKE CU CAND INT (podium) that we face. . .

CAND: . . . is not prepared to sound
retreat. It is ready to advance,
it is willing to make a stand, and
so am I. (CROWD CHEERS).

K IN: SLOG Graphic (Kennedy
for President.)
FF Still PIC CU CAND
FTB

2/01/80

REAGAN Ad #1 (Tape #10)

Title: "Leadership" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Elliott Curson Adv.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CRAWL (text)

ANNCR: Some of our leaders say our country has to stop growing, that our children may have to accept a lower standard of living than we've had. Ronald Reagan doesn't buy that.

DISS CU CAND INT

CAND: This is the greatest country in the world. We have the ability to solve our economic problems, our energy problems, even our social problems. We have the talent, we have the drive, we have the imagination. Now all we need is the leadership.

Z IN

DISS ID Graphic (Reagan)
FTB

2/01/80

REAGAN Ad #2 (Tape #10)

Title: "Welfare" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Elliott Curson Adv.

VIDEOAUDIOF/Blk Graphic (newspaper
clipping)

ANNCR: When Ronald Reagan became Governor

California's welfare system was in

DISS Graphic (clipping)

such bad shape, that the only hope

seemed to be a federal take-over.

DISS Graphic (clipping) PAN

When he left office, 340,000 fewer

DISS Graphic (clipping)

people were on welfare; benefits

DISS Graphic (clipping)

were 43% higher; and the system

was a model for 11 other states.

DISS CU CAND INT

CAND: In California, the answer to the
welfare problem wasn't more power-
ful Washington, it was less. The
closer programs are brought to the
people, the better they'll work.

Z IN

It's time we had a President who

DISS ID Graphic (Reagan)
FTB

knows how to make this happen.

2/01/80

REAGAN Ad #3 (Tape #10)

Title: "Foreign Affairs" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Elliott Curson
Adv.

VIDEOAUDIO

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| F/Blk FILM LS (tanks) EXT | ANNCR: Ronald Reagan spoke out on the |
| | danger of a Soviet Arms buildup |
| TAKE (FILM) MS (flag) Z OUT, | long before it was fashionable. |
| EXT | |
| TAKE (FILM) 2S Citizens EXT | He's always advocated a strong |
| TAKE (FILM) LS (tanks) EXT | national defense and a position |
| TAKE (FILM) LS (truck) EXT | of leadership for America. He |
| | has a comprehensive program to re- |
| | build our military power. |
| DISS CU CAND INT | CAND: We've learned by now that it isn't |
| | weakness that keeps the peace, |
| Z IN | it's strength. Our foreign policy |
| | has been based on the fear of not |
| | being liked. Well, it's nice to |
| | be liked, but it's more important |
| DISS ID Graphic (Reagan) | to be respected. |
| FTB | |

2/01/80

REAGAN Ad #4 (Tape #10)

Title: "Government" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Elliott Curson Adv.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CRAWL (text)

DISS FILM MS CAND INT,
w/CitizensDISS Still PIC 3S CAND,
Citizens INT

DISS CU CAND INT

DISS ID Graphic (Reagan)
FTB

ANNCR: Only one man running for President has made government better. When Ronald Reagan became Governor of California, he inherited a deficit that was growing by a million dollars a day. After eight years as Governor, Reagan had reorganized state government, balanced the budget, and returned 5.7 billion dollars to the people.

CAND: I'm tired of hearing the American people blamed for the failures of government. It's time Washington had a government that stopped complaining, and started performing.

2/01/80

REAGAN Ad #5 (Tape #10)

Title: "Taxes" Length: 30 sec. Agency: Elliott Curson Adv.

VIDEOAUDIO

F/Blk CRAWL (text)

ANNCR: Ronald Reagan believes that when you tax something you get less of it. We're taxing work, savings, and investments like never before. As a result we have less work, less savings, and less invested.

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CAND: I didn't always agree with President Kennedy, but when his 30% Federal tax cut became law, the economy did so well that every group in the country came out ahead. Even the government gained \$54 billion in unexpected revenues. If I become President, we're going to try that again.

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