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*Presidential Debate Format and Perceptions of
Personality: Warmth Matters*

By

Joseph B. Greener

Honors Thesis

in

Leadership Studies
University of Richmond
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Advisor: Dr. George R. Goethals

SIGNATURE PAGE

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Abstract

Presidential Debate Format and Perceptions of Personality: Warmth Matters

Joseph B. Greener

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Undergraduate students were asked to read or watch a portion of the second 1976 Presidential Debate between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. Afterwards, subjects listed the four most memorable statements or moments from the debate. Although both groups listed content related moments, the Video group paid more attention to the personality of the candidates. Participants took a memory test where they matched quotes from the debate to Ford and Carter. While the initial hypothesis was that the Video group's focus on the visual and auditory cues of the speaker would hinder their success on the memory test, subjects in the Video condition actually performed better, probably because they were more engaged. Participants were also asked to rate the candidates on ten personal characteristics. In the transition from Transcript to Video, Carter burst ahead on the warmth dimension while Ford gained ground on the dynamism dimension (strength and activity). The differences in these dimensions in the Video condition compared to the Transcript condition had little effect on who the subjects thought performed better in the debate or who would make a better president. Yet Carter's gain on the warmth dimension in the Video condition led subjects to say they would more likely vote for him than those in the Transcript group. This finding provides support to the claim that the warmth of the candidate can drive voting behavior.

INTRODUCTION

I. The History of Presidential Debates

On October 3, 2012 Democratic President Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney, the former Governor of Massachusetts, entered the packed University of Denver arena for their first of three presidential debates. Up until this moment, an air of competition was almost illusory. Romney had competed in a drawn out series of primaries against the likes of former Senator Rick Santorum and Representative Ron Paul, which was seen as a divisive moment for the Republican Party. Once Mitt Romney earned the nomination for the Republican Party, the country seemed apathetic. His moment at the Republican National Convention was overshadowed by the buffoonery of actor Clint Eastwood, which left the Republicans little hope of defeating a sitting president with a struggling economy.

In the days leading up to the first debate, Gallup reported that Obama was leading Romney by a five-point margin that had remained steady in the previous weeks (Gallup). When moderator Jim Lehrer of PBS began the opening questions, many were stunned as Romney answered each question with confidence and poise whereas President Obama seemed vacant and checked out. As the pattern continued for the entire debate, Romney was seen as the clear victor and President Obama was subsequently described, “as if he were addressing reporters in the Rose Garden rather than beating back a challenger intent on taking his job” (Zeleny). In the coming weeks the margin for public support for Romney began to narrow and by the end of the month, surpassed the president’s lead and reminded the American people of the significant ramifications that can come from a televised debate.

The shift in the polls in the race between Obama and Romney was not unique in the history of presidential debates. In fact, these debates are believed to have affected many races, dating back to the first presidential debate in 1960 between Vice President Richard M. Nixon and Senator John F. Kennedy. In the summer leading up to a close race, Kennedy agreed to CBS's proposal to participate in a televised debate against his opponent. President Eisenhower and several key Republican advisors recommended that Nixon not participate in these debates because as the current vice president, the Republicans believed that Nixon had a strong edge on Kennedy and debating him could only hurt their odds. Yet Nixon disregarded the advice of his political allies and agreed to debate Kennedy when he was speaking in Chicago (Schroeder, 2000, pp.14). The first debate took place on September 26, 1960 in a CBS studio in downtown Chicago. Nixon's entire day leading up to the debate was spent campaigning. Thus, he appeared pale from the long day behind him and had a knee injury from getting out of his car, similar to a previous accident that occurred on Labor Day. Nixon wore a grey suit that washed out his skin and made him appear pale and sickly on television compared to Kennedy's confident and sun kissed glow that carried across the television.

Seventy million people watched the first presidential debate on television whereas several million listened by radio. The debate, moderated by Howard K. Smith, consisted of questions ranging from foreign policy issues such as Communism and national security to domestic issues concerning labor and agriculture (Schroder, 2000, pp. 5). Although both candidates sounded knowledgeable on the radio, those Americans watching the debate on television formed a different impression. Theodore White

famously described Richard Nixon as “tense almost frightened” where John Kennedy was seen as possessing “an air of confidence” (Schroeder, 2000, pp. 6).

By the end of the one-hour debate, the majority of those who watched the debate on television believed that John Kennedy had won the debate whereas those who listened to it on the radio found Nixon to be the winner. “Kennedy benefited greatly from the way he appeared on television, relative to Nixon” (Kugler & Goethals, 2008, pp.150).

Undecided voters who watched the debate overwhelmingly characterized Kennedy as closer to the “ideal leader” over Nixon, largely because of the debate’s visual effects. This has led numerous scholars within the fields of psychology and political science, to believe that the visual component of debates has altered the dynamics of presidential races (Kugler et al., 2008, pp. 150). Just listening to the content of the debate on the radio, Nixon was thought to be the winner. With the introduction of televised debates, the viewer is now presented with the potentially more demanding task of processing the visual and auditory cues of the candidates as well as their arguments. Televised debates add the effects of physical appearance that could not be previously assessed in a debate that was either read or listened to on the radio. Ultimately, Richard Nixon lost the presidency to John Kennedy by a narrow margin and many political researchers speculate that his poor debate performance on television cost him the election.

In the election of 1964 between Lyndon B. Johnson and Barry Goldwater, a debate was simply out of the question. Johnson assumed the presidency following the Kennedy assassination and refused to debate Goldwater due to his large advantage in the polls. Although Barry Goldwater defeated Governor Nelson Rockefeller for the Republican nomination, “Republicans had battered Goldwater...for almost half a year”

(Jamieson, 1996, pp. 185). Nixon avoided debating his opponents in 1968 when he was elected president against Hubert Humphrey and in his reelection against George McGovern in 1972, as he feared it could cost him the race again. With Johnson and Nixon's refusal to debate their opponents, presidential debates went on hiatus for sixteen years until the election of 1976 between incumbent Republican President Gerald Ford and Democratic Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter.

Televised presidential debates have occurred in every election cycle since 1976, yet their format has evolved over time. In addition to bringing back the presidential debate, the 1976 election also included the first televised vice presidential debate between Democrat Walter Mondale and Republican Bob Dole. The candidates for vice president have debated in every election since, with the exception of 1980. The vice presidential debates have delivered some of the most famous moments in debate history. In the 1984 election, Geraldine Ferraro was the vice presidential nominee of Democrat Walter Mondale. Ferraro was the first woman to participate in a vice presidential debate and has only been seconded by the former Governor of Alaska, Sarah Palin, when she was the Republican vice-presidential nominee in 2008. Although women like Hilary Clinton have participated in primary debates, no woman has been a major party presidential nominee and therefore no woman has participated in a presidential debate.

Although the debates are typically between the Republican and Democratic candidates, third party candidates have sometimes been invited to participate. During the 1980 election, John Anderson was invited to debate alongside Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter and was the first third party candidate to be invited to a presidential debate. Carter refused to debate both candidates at once, as he believed it would hurt his standing in the

eyes of the American people (Lehrer, 1995). Instead Reagan debated Anderson and Carter separately. This avoided the potential situation of a three-person debate. The first presidential debate with three candidates did not occur until 1992 with the candidacy of Ross Perot. Perot debated alongside incumbent George H.W. Bush and the Governor from Arkansas at the time, Bill Clinton. Despite Clinton's stellar performance in these debates, Perot also gained momentum and was able to attain the largest percentage of third party popular vote (19%) since Theodore Roosevelt in 1912 (Lehrer, 1995). Perot's debate performance demonstrated that he was a viable candidate for the presidency and illustrated the ways in which debates can help a candidate who has less visibility.

In addition to the changes of the candidates in presidential debates, there have also been several changes to their overall format. The 1960 election had Kennedy and Nixon sitting at desks and when a question was asked of them they would rise and move to the podium (Schroeder, 2000, pp. 15). Ever since, it has been the practice of the two campaigns to meet and agree upon a set of guidelines for the debate. The 1992 presidential election marked the first town hall style debate where the audience members generated the questions for the candidates, as opposed to the moderator. Town hall debates have continued until the present-day as they are believed to bring more perspectives and personal stories to the debates. Further, they allow voters to see the two candidates interact with many everyday people in ways that are rarely seen in regular campaign footage.

The debates most often occur at two podiums where the candidates are standing and faced somewhat apart. However in 2000, George W. Bush and Al Gore had one of their debates sitting at a round table alongside the moderator. This was the first debate of

its kind and presented the audience more of a conversation between the candidates. That same year the two vice presidential candidates, Dick Cheney and Joe Lieberman, also had their one debate in this same format.

Even though presidential debates can last as long as ninety minutes, each debate is often remembered, if at all, through a few of its most dramatic moments. In preparation for this study, three moments in the history of debates were considered, one from a presidential debate and two from vice presidential debates. While these moments typically occur throughout the debate, during the 2nd 1988 debate between George H.W. Bush and Michael Dukakis, the opening question was the most memorable of the night. Moderator Bernard Shaw asked Dukakis, “Governor, if [your wife] Kitty Dukakis was brutally raped and murdered, would you favor an irrevocable death penalty for the killer” (Schroeder, 2000, pp. 133). Dukakis replied “No, I don’t, and I think you know that I’ve opposed the death penalty during all of my life” (Schroeder, 2000, pp. 133). Although Dukakis’ answer appeared “passionless” in his stance against the death penalty and hurt his overall image, Shaw received ample criticism for a question that he believed Dukakis “would hit it out of the park, making Shaw seem too easy on the candidate” (Lehrer, 1995; Schroeder, 2000, pp. 134).

Although the moderator’s questions can bring about controversial comments by the candidates, the candidates themselves can solely be responsible for the moments that the American people will be talking about the next day. In the 1976 vice presidential debate between Bob Dole and Walter Mondale, Dole infamously said “I figured it up the other day: If we added up the killed and wounded in Democrat wars in this century, it would be about 1.6 million Americans-enough to fill the city of Detroit” (Lehrer, 1995).

To this surprising statement, Walter Mondale replied, “I think that Senator Dole has richly earned his reputation as a Hatchet Man” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 368). This reputation as a “hatchet man” stuck with Dole for the remainder of the election. Carter and Mondale launched a series of ads directly attacking Dole and reminding the American people that he would be a heartbeat away from the presidency. (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 367). Dole later said his comment referred to only the Korean and Vietnam Wars and not World War II, yet he gave the impression that the Republican Party cared more about partisanship than patriotism (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 338).

In the 1988 vice presidential debate between Dan Quayle and Lloyd Bentsen, several of the moderators repeatedly questioned Quayle about his youth and inexperience, as he had only served eight years in the Senate (Lehrer, 1995). Quayle said “I have far more experience than many others that sought the office of vice president of this country. I have as much experience in the Congress as Jack Kennedy did when he sought the presidency” (Lehrer, 1995). Bentsen’s rebuttal was the most famous line of the debate, and arguably the most famous rejoinder in debate history. “ Senator, I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you’re no Jack Kennedy” (Schroeder, 2000, pp. 41-42). Quayle in shock merely uttered “That was really uncalled for, Senator”, to which Bentsen said, “You are the one that was making the comparison, Senator- and I’m one who knew him well. And frankly, I think you are so far apart in the objectives you choose for your country that I did not think the comparison was well-taken” (Lehrer, 1995).

Television has allowed presidential debates to demonstrate more than mere content. The visual components of these debates lead the American people to try to more

easily focus on the personal qualities of the candidates that the text alone cannot, such as warmth and competence (Fiske et al., 2001). There are even moments in debates when the candidates say nothing at all, yet their nonverbal body language is studied and interpreted by the viewers (Goethals, 2005, pp. 95). The first town hall style debate was in 1992 between George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot. During exchanges between Clinton and Perot, the camera caught Bush looking at his wristwatch (Lehrer, 1995). The media then perceived Bush as apathetic and looking like he did not want to be there in a closely fought election. Since the transcript or radio of the debate could not broadcast this, television was able to capture this telling visual moment.

In the 2000 town hall debate between Al Gore and George W. Bush, the candidates were permitted to move around the stage. Jim Lehrer asked Governor Bush what he believed the differences were between him and Vice President Al Gore. Bush said, “The difference is that I can get it done; that I can get something positive done on behalf of the people. That’s what the question in this campaign is about. It’s not only about what’s your philosophy and what’s your position on issues, but can you get things done?” (Stephey, 2012). Unhappy with Bush’s reply, Gore aggressively approached Bush and came within inches of his face. In another perfect television moment, Bush calmly nodded at him before saying “And I believe I can”. (Stephey, 2012). As evidenced in 1992 and 2000, there are many memorable moments in debate history that are purely visual and unrelated to the content of the debate. Yet at the time, these momentary instances are impressionable in the eyes of voters watching them.

II. 1976 Presidential Election

Campaign

This study looks at the second presidential debate in 1976 between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter. This contest was selected because it included two politicians who are not as well known today and could better prevent subjects' political party biases. This race for the presidency began four years prior when in 1972, Richard M. Nixon was re-elected president in an incredible victory over Democrat George McGovern of South Dakota. Nixon won every state except for Massachusetts and the District of Columbia. At the time it was said "his ability to maintain support for his policies over four years and win reelection by a landslide in 1972 was a more remarkable feat than ending the [Vietnam] war itself" (Small, 1999, 69). Nixon won by the largest popular vote margin in a presidential election in American history, leaving him in a powerful position to push his agenda forward in the next four years. Nixon had run for the presidency or vice presidency in every election from 1952 to 1972 with the exception of 1964 (Small, 1999, pp. 1). The office Nixon had coveted for so long was firmly in his grasp, yet the impending Watergate Scandal would quickly take it all away from him.

In the summer leading up to the election, there were two burglaries at the Democratic National Committee headquarters in the Watergate office complex on May 28 and June 17, 1972. During the second of these burglaries, five men were apprehended and admitted to their involvement in the first. Following the election, the burglary trials began in January of 1973, which led to the convictions of several former CIA operatives. As Nixon's involvement became apparent, it was also discovered that he had recorded conversations in the White House. White House Counsel John Dean eventually

cooperated with the Senate Watergate Committee led by Senators Sam Ervin and Howard Baker (Small, 1999, p. 102). Dean told them that he and Nixon spoke about the cover up on many occasions that would be found on the White House tapes (Small, 1999, pp. 93). This led to Baker's infamous question throughout the investigations "What did the President know and when did he know it" (Small, 1999, pp. 285).

In addition to the pressure of Watergate, Nixon was dealing with his Vice President, Spiro Agnew. Agnew was the former Governor of Maryland and with the coaching of presidential speechwriter William Safire, he built a reputation as a "master of alliterative invective" that he later utilized to defend the Nixon administration against the press (Small, 1999, pp. 14). The late Safire wrote speeches for Agnew, the most recognized being where Agnew criticized left-wing Americans for being "nattering nabobs of negativism" (Bunch, 2009). Yet on October 10, 1973, Agnew became the second vice president to resign from office due to charges of bribery and corruption from his time as governor. Later on, it was determined that Agnew solicited \$147,000 in bribes where \$17,500 of those funds were received when he was vice president (Small, 1999, pp. 287).

For the first time, the nation implemented the 25th Amendment and Gerald Ford, the Republican Minority Leader of the House of Representatives, was nominated by President Nixon to replace Agnew as vice president on October 12, 1973. Ford was confirmed on November 27 by the Senate and by the House of Representatives on December 6 (Small, 1999, pp. 288). Nixon chose Gerald Ford because he was both well liked and well respected by Republicans and Democrats. Ford was known for his "reputation for personal integrity" in a time when the Republicans, and politicians in

general, were greatly distrusted by the American people (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 330). The Republicans saw him as one of the party's strongest leaders where the Democrats believed they could easily beat him if he was on the ticket in 1976. "Ford was considered so un-presidential as to serve as anti-impeachment insurance for Nixon" (Small, 1999, pp. 288). White House officials even remember Nixon joking with Nelson Rockefeller "Can you imagine Jerry Ford sitting in this chair?" (Small, 1999, pp. 288).

In July 1974, Nixon was ordered by a unanimous ruling of the Supreme Court to release the tapes that quickly led to Nixon's resignation on August 9, 1974. Nixon was the first president to ever resign from office, leaving Gerald Ford the 38th President of the United States, despite having never been elected either president or vice president (Small, 1999, pp. 294). In Ford's first month in office, he pardoned Nixon for his crimes on September 8, 1974. Although this decision was controversial, many believe Ford needed to "assure the American people that the long national nightmare of Watergate was over and that the system worked out" (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 330). Despite his reasoning, the American people overwhelmingly disdained his decision and his approval ratings dropped from 71% on September 1, 1974 to 50% by October 13 (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 330). In November of 1974, the Republicans lost numerous seats in the House and the Senate due to Watergate and a struggling economy. By 1975, there was high inflation that only added to the difficulties for the Republican Party while putting the Democrats in a better position to take control of the White House.

In addition to Ford's problems, in November of that year, the former Governor of California, Ronald Reagan declared he would run to be the Republican Party's candidate for president against incumbent Ford (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 335). Throughout the

primaries, neither candidate was able to garner enough delegates to declare victory for the Republican nomination. Once advertisement expert Peter Dailey joined Ford's campaign, Ford ran ads to showcase the office of the presidency and himself as a worthy incumbent, a strategy known as running from the Rose Garden (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 348). At the Republican convention in August 1975, Ford won the nomination on a close first ballot with a vote of 1187 to 1070 (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 338). Ford's appointed Vice President, Nelson Rockefeller, clearly did not want to run in 1976 (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 330). Therefore in order to appeal to the conservative base that narrowly selected him, Ford tapped Kansas Senator Bob Dole as his vice presidential running mate.

This turmoil for the Republicans brought a distinct advantage for the Democratic Party going into the 1976 election. At the time, the American people distrusted experienced politicians and were looking for an honest man for the White House who was more of a Washington outsider. One term Governor of Georgia, Jimmy Carter, seemed to be the perfect fit for the job as he went on to win the Iowa Caucus against California Governor Jerry Brown, Arizona Representative Mo Udall and Alabama Governor George Wallace, who ran during the primaries from his wheelchair (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 340). Although Carter went on to win the Democratic nomination, his reputation did not go unscathed. In April of 1976, Carter said, "he saw nothing wrong 'with ethnic purity being maintained' in neighborhoods" (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 341). After apologizing, he quickly developed an inconsistent standing on issues ranging from cuts to the defense budget, highway funding, and childcare legislation. Once he secured the nomination at the convention, Carter selected Walter Mondale of Minnesota as his running mate. Mondale was widely admired during the Democratic primaries, but had

dropped out before the races saying that he “lacked the overwhelming desire to be President” and hated the idea of campaigning for two more years where he would be “sleeping in Holiday Inns” (Hatfield, 1997).

Through advertising, both candidates had several key objectives to convey to the American people. Unlike previous presidential campaigns that focused on the issues, the 1976 election would be decided on the “personal character and integrity of the two candidates” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 329). Where Ford ran his campaign on the principle of being the incumbent president, Carter emphasized his Southern roots and his promise not to lie to the American people (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 346). Both candidates focused heavily on the South, a region in which Carter felt confident he could win the majority of states. This pressured Ford to campaign in Maryland, Missouri, Texas, and Florida that were not Southern enough to be out of his reach (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 351). Yet while Ford believed his greatest strength was his presidential stature, Chevy Chase of Saturday Night Live imitated the president as clumsy and always falling or tripping. “By walking into helicopter doors, confusing the names and locations of cities, states, and universities, and liberating Poland in his second debate with Carter, Ford freshened Chase’s repertoire” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 357).

Debate

In her account of the 1976 presidential race, Jamieson (1996) emphasizes the significance the presidential debates had for the election. After a sixteen-year hiatus from debating, the incumbent President Gerald Ford agreed to debate Jimmy Carter, the Governor of Georgia. After the Democratic National Convention, Ford trailed Carter by thirty-three points in opinion polls prior to the first debate due to Watergate, Nixon’s

pardon and the nation's high inflation (Lehrer, 1995). Ford needed something to save his chances at keeping the presidency and believed debates would allow him to get back into this race. Unlike the Kennedy-Nixon debates, the 1976 presidential debates were staged before a live audience, a tradition that has continued ever since. Carter often said that he had never even met a president before, and his first encounter with one would be at the first debate held on September 23, 1976 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Lehrer, 1995). The two were an odd looking pair for television. Visually, Ford was a former football player at the University of Michigan and appeared physically superior to Carter (Kraus, 1979, pp. 247). Yet the work of Chevy Chase convinced many Americans that his large stature fed into his clumsy behaviors.

Ford foresaw that during this first debate on domestic policy, Carter would attack him on the weak economy and his pardoning of Nixon. Once the debate began, Carter highlighted that Ford served as president during the worst recession since the Great Depression and was responsible for the high level of inflation. Ford took command of the debate as he effectively anticipated Carter's fairly weak attacks (Lehrer, 1995). The most memorable moment of this debate was a twenty-seven minute audio delay at the end of the debate. Overall, Ford was said to have won the first debate and achieved his goal of narrowing the gap in the polls with Carter (Lehrer, 1995).

Looking back at the history of presidential debates, the first debate between Carter and Ford stands out as an atypical debate. In most debates where a challenging candidate takes on an incumbent president, the challenger speaks with mostly negative language in order to insinuate the incumbent's weaknesses. In the first Ford-Carter debate, 52.1% of Carter's total comments in the first debate were rated as positive, which

is significantly more positive than challengers ever since (Lanoue, 2005). Ford was believed to be the winner of the first debate and Carter was perceived as somewhat less prepared to lead. Many scholars of presidential debates believe that Carter's overly positive tone may have been a large contributing factor to his weak perception during the first debate.

The second debate between Ford and Carter took place on October 6, 1976 in San Francisco, California. This debate was focused on foreign policy, primarily the effects of Communism in Europe. About twenty minutes into the debate, Max Frankel of *The New York Times* asked President Ford, "Mr. President, I'd like to explore a little more deeply our relationship with the Russians. They used to brag back in Khrushchev's day that because of their greater patience and because of our greed for business deals that they would sooner or later get the better of us. Is it possible that despite some setbacks in the Middle East, they've proved their point? Our allies in France and Italy are now flirting with Communism. We've recognized the permanent Communist regime in East Germany. We've virtually signed, in Helsinki, an agreement that the Russians have dominance in Eastern Europe. We've bailed out Soviet agriculture with our huge grain sales. We've given them large loans, access to our best technology and if the Senate hadn't interfered with the Jackson Amendment, maybe we - you would've given them even larger loans. Is that what you call a two-way street of traffic in Europe?" (Lehrer, 1995). In response, Ford gave the most memorable line of all three debates. "There is no Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford administration" (Lehrer, 1995). Looking back on this moment in 2000, President Ford believes that this moment may have cost him the election, as "he did not explain himself adequately". (Lehrer, 1995)

Ford afterwards said he meant to say, “the Russians would never dominate the Polish spirit” (Lehrer, 1995).

Although Ford’s gaffe in the second debate was his most difficult moment, Jimmy Carter faced similar troubles in the third debate. The final of these three debates occurred on October 22, 1976 in Williamsburg, Virginia. This debate did not have a specific issue focus and allowed both candidates to leave one last personal impression with a few weeks before the election. In the middle of October, *Playboy* released an interview with Jimmy Carter where he accused President Lyndon B. Johnson of lying and also said “I’ve committed adultery in my heart many times” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 362). This interview hurt his persona as a pure Southern man and Carter was quickly defending his actions. In 1964, Barry Goldwater ran under the campaign slogan “In you’re heart you know he’s right” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 219). After the *Playboy* interview surfaced, many Republicans campaigned against Carter using the slogan “In his heart he knows your wife”. Carter focused his performance in the third debate on defending his actions and stated, “from hindsight I would not do the interview again” (Lehrer, 1995).

In the last few weeks of the election, the personas of the candidates had quickly changed. At the beginning of the fall of 1976, Ford’s advertisements depicted him as presidential and Carter as “an outsider who is not a politician, but a farmer, engineer, and businessman” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 375). Over time, Ford’s running from the Rose Garden strategy was not as successful as his campaign has anticipated. Towards the end of the campaign, the Ford team ran ads depicting him as more casual with images of him in factories and businesses talking to the people. Jimmy Carter suffered accusations that he waffled on the issues and was not qualified to be president. As the days drew closer to

the election, Carter's campaign ran ads where he was dressed in formal suits, instead of looking like a Georgia farmer (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 375).

With Carter's *Playboy* interview in focus, NBC reported that 60% of voters were undecided entering Election Day on November 2, 1976 (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 372). As the returns came in that night, the election went back in forth with Carter winning every state in the South except for Virginia and Ford winning key states in the West. At 2:57 AM, Carter received Mississippi's seven electoral votes and the election was called for Carter (Witcover, 1977, pp. 10). Once all the votes were cast, Carter received 297 Electoral Votes to Gerald Ford's 240. The popular vote also went for Carter 50.1% to 48.0%. In a post-election NBC survey, one out of five voters said that they "had at some time thought they would vote for a candidate other than their final choice" (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 372). As with the 1960 race between Kennedy and Nixon, many historians and presidential debate scholars believe that the debate performances of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter influenced the result of this election. With the large effects of the 1976 debates, I wanted to study if a pivotal moment like Ford's comment on Eastern Europe affected people differently whether it was seen on television as opposed to reading the transcript or hearing it on the radio.

III. Debates and Persuasion

As evidenced with the debates of John Kennedy and Richard Nixon, the introduction of television has affected the manner in which people encounter the candidates. Accounts of the election suggest that those who listened to the 1960 debate on the radio believed that Nixon was the victor where those who saw the debate on

television found Kennedy to be victorious. This dichotomy raises the questions about how debate format affects the overall comprehension of each debate's content. One potential possibility is that once viewers began to watch debates on television, they process the arguments less and judge the candidates more on factors such as appearance, personality, and likeability instead of the content of the candidate's platform. If that is the case, does the audience even remember the content of the debate or will they only remember the visual characteristics of the candidates?

The present study considers these questions in relation to research on persuasion. Olson and Haynes look at ways in which leaders can "maximize their influence in a group" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp.199). The authors explain that if a leader can influence the opinions of the group, then they will be successful in influencing their actions to a certain extent. Their article looks at Al Gore's 2006 documentary film *An Inconvenient Truth*. Despite the critiques of Gore's arguments, he was able to shed light on global warming and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007 (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp.200).

Olson and Haynes define persuasion as "changes in either attitudes or beliefs in response to a message" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 200). They believe that persuasion can be divided into two distinct types where "one is based on strong arguments and one is based on cues that imply the position is correct (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 201). The first kind of persuasion can occur in written or oral communication with strong arguments that "elicit favorable thoughts and agreement based on rational analysis" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp.201). On the other hand, they see a second form of persuasion that occurs less rationally where people are less likely to process the

arguments because they pay attention to factors such as expertise, powerful speech, and the number of arguments given.

Olson and Haynes explain that people who watched *An Inconvenient Truth* are more likely to process Al Gore's argument through the latter form of persuasion because they trust him as an expert. Similar to credibility, they also believe that persuasion can be affected by "likeability, attractiveness, similarity to the recipients of the message, and power" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp.204). These factors are encompassed in the second form of persuasion where they are more important to the people considering this issue than the strength of the arguments. Olson and Haynes believe that Al Gore is persuasive not only because of his credibility, but also because of his humor, likeability, and "casual, friendly style" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 204). Through the example of Al Gore, Olson and Haynes demonstrate that a speaker's persuasive success not only derives from the strength of his or her arguments but the personal factors pertaining to the speaker as well.

Petty and Cacioppo (1984) would view Olson and Hayne's two kinds of persuasion in terms of the elaboration- likelihood model of the two routes to persuasion. The central route of persuasion "refers to persuasion that is based on information and strong arguments" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 201). Conversely, "the peripheral route refers to persuasion that is based on simple cues and assumptions" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 201). Persuasion by the central route is believed to be more difficult as people must focus more on the message and process each of the speaker's arguments. On the other hand, persuasion by the peripheral route "involves less effort, so people are likely to use it when the issue is less important" (Olson & Haynes, 2008, pp. 201).

Petty and Cacioppo believe central route processing “occurs when attitude change results from a person’s careful consideration of information that reflects what that person feels are the true merits of a particular attitudinal position” (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984, pp. 70). In order to achieve persuasion through the central route, the audience must be both able to process the arguments and motivated to process the information. On the other hand, peripheral route processing occurs “when either motivation or ability to scrutinize the message argument is relatively low” (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984, pp. 70). In such cases, attitude change may result from factors such as the appearance of the speakers.

Petty and Cacioppo conducted a study that investigated persuasion by both the central and peripheral routes. They gave subjects who were involved or uninvolved in issue messages that varied both the number of arguments and the strength of those arguments. The messages were given to college students and supported a faculty proposal to increase student tuition. Involved students read arguments pertaining to their school while uninvolved students read arguments pertaining to a different school. Further, subjects were given arguments that were either “cogent or specious” (Petty & Cacioppo, 1984, pp. 72). Lastly, they varied the number of arguments to have three strong arguments, three weak arguments, or three strong and three weak.

Petty and Cacioppo found that when the issue was of low relevance, subjects were more likely to believe messages with six arguments rather than those with three arguments. Therefore in situations of low involvement, the quantity but not the quality of the messages mattered. This further demonstrates that when subjects are not involved in the argument, they are more likely to be persuaded by the peripheral route as they are influenced by the greater number of arguments over the quality of those arguments. Yet

under high involvement, the number of arguments did not affect persuasion, as subjects were more likely to be persuaded by the arguments that were strong rather than numerous. This illustrates that involved subjects were persuaded by the central route where they processed the quality of the arguments over the peripheral cue of the number of arguments. The central route of persuasion favors the quality of the arguments where the peripheral route favors the quantity of the arguments.

Chaiken and Eagly (1983) see persuasion in a similar way to the elaboration likelihood model of Petty and Cacioppo. Chaiken and Eagly developed the systematic-heuristic model where systematic processing is synonymous with persuasion by the central route and heuristic processing is synonymous with persuasion by the peripheral route. The systematic process occurs when the audience is persuaded to the opinion of the speaker based on the content of the speech alone, and not any extraneous cues such as the speaker's appearance or personality (Chaiken & Eagly, 1983, pp. 79). When a person is unmotivated or unable to process the content of the argument, heuristic processing occurs. In heuristic processing, the audience members judge the message on the basis of extraneous cues like the speaker's tone of voice, their appearance, or their likeability (Chaiken & Eagly, 1983, pp. 79).

Chaiken and Eagly tested these methods by looking at the way people process persuasive messages across different forms of media. Their subjects were given a persuasive message by either a likable or an unlikable communicator. The messages were given to subjects either in text, audio, or video. The study found that likeable communicator was more persuasive with the video and audio conditions where the unlikeable communicator was more persuasive in the written condition. This occurred

because the subjects were more engaged in processing heuristic or peripheral cues in conditions compared to the written message condition. Chaiken and Eagly were able to conclude that the video and audio conditions “enhance the salience of communicator-related information” because “the communicator characteristics have a disproportionate impact on persuasion” (Chaiken & Eagly, 1983, pp.79-80). Therefore, Chaiken and Eagly were able to find that “communicator likeability was a significant determinant of persuasion only in the two broadcast modalities (Chaiken & Eagly, 1983, pp. 79).

In debates, the speaker is given the forum to persuade a group of potential voters to agree with his or her political platform. In order for speakers to be successful, they must be mindful of the distinction between persuasion through the central and peripheral routes. If those who watch the debate are not both able and motivated, they will process the information in the easiest way possible. Fiske and Taylor refer to the person who processes through the peripheral route as “the cognitive miser” (Fiske & Taylor, 1984, pp. 433). The cognitive miser principle explains that when a person is presented with a large influx of information, they will look for the easiest way to process the material. Therefore, a person who is watching a presidential debate might look for the easiest way to process the debate performance and the candidates’ argument by responding to looks, manner of speaking, height, weight, etc.

Processing by the peripheral route bypasses the systematic processing of the argument that is captured in the central route. The peripheral route’s processing can be harmful for the voting process because it diverts attention from the content of the issues to these other factors. Throughout American history, there are several instances in which the United States has selected an unfit president based on the principle of the cognitive

miser and heuristic processing. When the American people cannot follow or do not really care about the arguments of the candidates, they take the easier way of deciding a winner based on peripheral cues such as the candidates' appearance, personality, or demeanor. One example of this may have occurred with the election of President Warren Harding in 1920. Harding was said to have looked like a president, as he was the quintessential "tall, dark, and handsome model" ((Gladwell, 2005, pp. 72-73). Yet despite his good looks and defeat of the opposing candidate, James Cox, Harding is now believed to be one of the worst presidents in American history. The example of Harding shows that although processing by the peripheral route may be easier, the end result may not always be optimal.

Through determining an audience's motivation and ability to process information in political debates, one can better understand the route through which they are likely to be persuaded. It is indeterminable to calculate the time the process of persuasion takes, but systematic processing tends to be longer whereas heuristic processing can occur almost instantaneously. The latter can also be referred to as "thin slicing", where a person makes decisions instantaneously on the basis of immediate cues. Sometimes these intuitive gut reactions are even better, and sometimes worse, than decisions that have been slowly calculated (Gladwell, 2005, pp. 47-49).

In a televised debate, the visual and auditory cues are processed through the peripheral route, which allow watchers to more easily judge a candidate. Through judging a candidate's likeability or personality, viewers may find it simpler to align their vote with one candidate over the other. There may be less motivation to process content if the visual factors offer a quick and simple way to judge the candidates. Despite the

technological advances of televised debates, this easier form of persuasion may have inhibited voters from understanding the content of these debates and remembering the true argument at hand. Even when the viewers grasp the debate's content, the main arguments of the candidates' platforms may be lost to appearances and intonation.

In 1984, moderator Henry Trewhitt asked Ronald Reagan if his status as the United States' oldest president would hinder his endurance in long-lasting foreign policy crises. Without missing a beat Reagan replied, "Not at all, Mr. Trewhitt, and I want you to know that also I will not make age an issue of this campaign. I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and inexperience" (Kugler et al., 2008, pp. 153). Reagan's sarcasm brought laughter to the audience and made the comment the most memorable of the night and one of the most revered lines in the history of televised debates (Lehrer, 1995). Reagan's wit was effective because it signals a sense of command he has in this debate. Yet it also illustrates the difficulties with heuristic processing, as the visual component of this televised debate provided peripheral cues, such as Reagan's sanguine personality, that may have diverted from the systematic processing of the audience.

In sum, the evolution of modern televised presidential debates has produced a series of historic moments that have been forever captured on film. Presidential debates largely affect the public perception of presidential candidates, which can lead to changes in the likelihood of a person voting for a particular candidate. With the introduction of the televised debate in 1960, the American people may have begun to value what they saw from the candidates on TV more than what they heard or read in their remarks. They may value what the candidates say less than the way they said it.

IV. The Present Study

In this study, we will explore the way individuals process a video clip of a debate versus a transcript of that same exchange. In comparing these two media, we will be able to test the role of systematic and heuristic processing of the subjects by looking at their ability to remember the content of the debate and rate the characteristic of the candidates. In looking at the way people process the written transcript and the video clip, we will be able to test if people are persuaded by peripheral factors such as appearance, manner, personality or whether or not they appear to be a good leader. The goal of this thesis is to study whether and how much these factors affect people's judgments of the candidates.

The hypothesis of this experiment is that those who watch the video of the debate will be less able and less motivated than those who read the transcript to process the content of the debate because of the distractions and the appeal of the visual factors. Therefore, the group watching the video will perform worse on a memory test than the group who read the transcript because the viewer plays the cognitive miser when it is easier to process the visual and auditory components of the debate. The group watching the video will also have more definitive opinions on the questions gauging the candidates' personal characteristic, as it is easier to assess those traits visually.

This study will allow us to assess whether the peripheral factors we test will influence whether Ford or Carter did better or worse in the two formats. It will help us to determine if these peripheral factors will tip the debate in one direction or the other, and if so, will they undermine either the motivation or the ability to process the true content of the debate. My thesis may contribute to the field of leadership studies by providing insight on the mindset of present-day Americans voters in their selection of the United

States' highest office. If this study reveals that those who watched the video debate had lower memory scores, than this may mean that the peripheral factors on television may be more powerful than the content of speakers in political persuasion. Further, it may provide strong support to the idea that expansion of technology in the United States has made the American presidency more about likeability, appearance and popularity than before (Simonton, 1986, pp. 151).

METHODS

I. Study Overview

In the present study, the primary objective was to test the processing and comprehension of content during a presidential debate. The study investigated the manner in which a person processes the visual components of the debate, as well as its arguments. The study was a two group between-subjects design and the independent variable of this experiment was the medium through which the debate is presented by having one group read a portion of a transcript of a presidential debate, while the other watches the video clip of the same portion of the debate. Subjects were asked to complete an objective memory test and answer a series of questions about their perception of each candidate and the debate itself.

II. Debate Stimuli

Both the video and the transcript come from the second presidential debate between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in the 1976 election. This campaign was selected in order to avoid the use of candidates whom present-day college students would easily recognize. The majority of students would most likely recognize and have pre-formed opinions of Barack Obama, George W. Bush, Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush, and Ronald Reagan.

The 1960 debate between Kennedy and Nixon has been thoroughly investigated to determine the differences between comprehension of the debate content via radio or television. Unfortunately, researchers have found through studies of the Kennedy-Nixon debates that the results are not necessarily generalizable because of the fact that both candidates can be easily recognized. Beyond this recognition, it is possible that Kennedy

is looked at more favorably because of the subjects' sympathy to his assassination whereas Nixon is viewed more unfavorably because of Watergate and his resignation. In using Ford and Carter, both the problems of the subjects recognizing the candidates and having strong opinions of these candidates were reduced.

The second of the 1976 debates also allowed us to test the comprehension of a debate during one of its major moments. This experiment looked at the exchange between Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter where Ford famously says, "There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford administration" (Schroder, 2000, pp. 191). This dubious assertion is believed to have had a large impact on Ford's loss in the election later that fall. In using one of the pivotal moments of debate history, this debate will allow us to test the reactions of subjects to an important moment in debate history. Most importantly, it could provide information indicating the effect of both the content of the debate and peripheral factors such as visual and auditory cues.

The debate clip begins twenty-two minutes into the debate with a question being asked of Gerald Ford by Max Frankel of *The New York Times*. The transcript and video clip did not provide any introductions or background of Ford, Carter, or Frankel. Following the question to Ford, Ford answers and ends his response with the Eastern European comment. Frankel asks a follow up question for Ford to clarify before Carter is given an opportunity to respond. Subjects read or watched until the end of Carter's response. The transcript of this debate (Appendix A) was identical to the video portion of the debate. The debate format did not control for incumbency information, as it referred to Gerald Ford as President Ford three times in both the clip and transcript.

III. Participants and Procedures

Participants were recruited by an email sent out to all undergraduate students (Appendix B). Eighty-eight students participated in the study with forty-four in each of the two conditions. Participants were randomly assigned to each of the two conditions keeping the groups proportional by gender. Of the total participants, twenty-four were male and sixty-four were female. In each of the two conditions there were twelve males and thirty-two females. The study took place in the Jepson Psychology Lab that has four rooms for subjects. Each of the subjects entered their assigned room that was set up with a computer-guided survey for the transcript or video condition. The rooms were rotated every day so that each of the four rooms served as the transcript or the video an equal number of times. The materials used in this study included the four computers in the lab with the survey from Survey Monkey (Appendix D). The video group also had a DVD of the 1976 debate in their computers that was reset to the right starting point before the subjects began the survey.

Prior to the test groups watching the video or reading the transcript, all subjects took a pre-test to ascertain biographical information and to test their political knowledge. In order to test subject's political knowledge, they were shown twenty pictures of famous political men and women from the last fifty years. For each picture, they were asked to identify their name and political party. Included in the twenty pictures were photos of Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter in order to test if the subjects had any knowledge or familiarity with the candidates in the clip they were about to see or the transcript they were going to read. If the subjects in both groups were very familiar with Ford and Carter, it could mean that their previous political biases might affect their opinions of the

candidates. The subjects received a score for how many of the men and women they could identify. The scores of the two groups were compared to note if one group had a higher political knowledge than the other.

When the transcript group finished answering the political knowledge questions, the next page of their survey began with the statement explaining the transcript of the debate that said: *Below is the verbatim transcript of part of a presidential debate between Candidate Gerald Ford and Candidate Jimmy Carter. There are two Moderators asking questions in this excerpt-Mr. Max Frankel and Ms. Pauline Fredericks. Once you have finished the first page, you will need to press next to continue reading.* Once they read through both pages of the debate they were able to continue answering questions. In watching the subjects take the survey in both conditions, we observed that the transcript group read through the transcript at a similar rate than it took the video group to watch the clip of the debate.

The video condition watched the same set of events through the medium of a seven and a half minute clip. This clip included the Eastern European comment and the footage was unedited. Once the video group finished answering the political knowledge they were prompted to play the DVD clip in the computer that was started at the correct moment. Subjects in this condition were told to stop the debate at a certain point in a statement that said: *Please click play to watch the brief clip of the debate. When you are finished, return to the survey and answer the following questions. The video clip should begin at minute 22:00. Please stop it when it reaches 29:45. If you have any difficulties, please alert the principal investigator.* The video group was told prior to starting the study that once they had watched the video clip, they would be able to continue

answering the survey questions.

IV. Measures

Four Statements

After participants watched or read the debate, they were given a brief memory test to gauge the differences in memory processing of both debate formats. First, the subjects were asked to list the four statements or moments that were most memorable to him or her. These lists will enable us to compare what and how much the subjects in each group recalled. We will also compare the differences in topics between the two conditions. Lastly, we will measure the word count for each response to determine which condition wrote more.

Memory Test

Then, the subjects were shown ten brief passages, including eight from the debate, ranging from one to three sentences. For each of these moments, the subject was asked to say if Candidate Ford, Candidate Carter, or neither said it. Of the ten passages, four are from Ford, four are from Carter and two are neither. These two extraneous passages come from the first 2012 presidential debate between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney. Afterwards, each subject will be given a score based on the correctness of his or her responses. We will compare the two conditions of identifying all ten passages, the two passages from the Obama-Romney debate, and the eight passages from the Ford-Carter debate.

Candidate Characteristics

The subjects were then asked to rate the qualities of the candidates on ten Likert-like scales from one to seven. These characteristics are intelligent, strong, warm, sense of

humor, leadership potential, trustworthy, competent, active, articulate, and personable. They are measured so that the quality “intelligent” is rated where one is “very unintelligent” and seven is “very intelligent” and so forth. Previous studies of presidential leadership have shown that people assess presidents through a social schema with the “components of strength, activity, and goodness” (Simonton, 1987, pp. 214). These are assessed through asking subjects to rate the characteristics of strong, warm, active, and personable. Further, social psychologists have found that “the layperson may conceive the ideal chief executive” as “both competent and trustworthy” (Simonton, 1987, pp. 215). Therefore we also asked subjects to rate candidates on their competence and trustworthiness to assess a possible correlation.

Video Group Variables

Then only the video group was given a set of questions to rate the candidates’ appearance and manner of speaking (Appendix C). They were given a Likert-like scale rating from one to ten, which prevents subjects from choosing answers in the middle. Subjects were asked if they found Candidate Ford and Candidate Carter attractive and if they liked their manner of speaking. This information will enable us to assess whether visual and auditory cues influences the participants’ opinions of Ford and Carter. Additionally, the video group was asked if they noticed Moderator Frankel’s visual reaction to Candidate Ford’s statement concerning the Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe. We hypothesize that the video group’s exposure to Frankel’s incredulous reaction will affect their perception of the debate.

Debate Evaluation Variables

Afterwards, subjects in both conditions were asked to answer a series of one to ten point Likert-like scales. Among these questions was whether or not they found the debate entertaining, interesting, and informative. We hypothesize that those who watched the debate will be more likely to rate the debate as more entertaining and interesting whereas those who read the transcript will be more likely to rate the debate as more informative. The portion of the debate largely included content related to foreign policy so the candidates are asked to rate each of the candidates' performances on foreign policy. They also answered on a one to ten scale whether or not they agree with Candidate Ford's statement that Eastern Europe was never under the domination of the Soviet Union. We hypothesize that the video group will be less likely to agree with Ford than the transcript group due to Moderator Frankel's reaction.

Debate Performance Variables

Then the groups were asked to answer a series of questions using one to ten point Likert-like scales answering their agreement to the statements that Ford and Carter performed well in the debate. Subjects were then asked to choose the winner of the debate with the options of Candidate Ford, Candidate Carter, or Neither. The subjects also were asked whether or not they think Candidate Ford and Candidate Carter would make a good president in order to assess the differences in those responses depending on debate format. They subsequently were asked to rate the likelihood they would vote for Carter and for Ford. Finally, they were asked who they would vote for if they were to vote in this election with the options of Candidate Ford, Candidate Carter, or Neither.

Debate Knowledge Variables

The participants responded to ten Likert-like scales asking how much subjects knew or had heard about this debate. This will test as to whether or not this portion of the 1976 debate is well known and may have influenced the results. Since this study was conducted close to the release of the 2012 movie *Argo* starring Ben Affleck where Jimmy Carter is arguably perceived in a negative light, subjects were asked whether or not they saw the movie. This will allow us to investigate whether exposure to the film affected perception of Carter.

Wrap Up Questions

The penultimate set of questions consisted of six Likert-like scales to measure the subjects' feelings about the debate. Subjects were asked to rate on a scale of one to seven how difficult it was to understand the content of the debate and how motivated they were to follow the content of the debate. Then they also were asked how difficult it was to answer the questions concerning the personalities of the candidate and to select a winner for the debate. Finally the subjects were asked to rate how difficult it was to recall the four statements or moments from the debate as well as how difficult it was to recall the speaker of the ten passages from the debate.

Demographics

Lastly, the subjects were asked their gender, year in college, school of study, party affiliation, range of GPA, and political orientation. The subjects were asked to rate their political orientation from one to ten, where one is liberal and ten is conservative. Subjects were asked to answer their political orientation on social issues, fiscal issues, and overall.

RESULTS

I. Summary of Hypotheses

We originally hypothesized that those who watched the video of the debate will be less able and less motivated to process the content of the debate because of the distractions and the appeal of the visual factors. Consequently, we believed the Video group would perform worse on the memory test than the Transcript group. Lastly, we hypothesized that the Video group would also have less variable opinions on the questions gauging the candidates' personal characteristics, as it is easier to assess those traits visually.

II. Results

Demographics

Table 1 below shows the answers to the demographics questions for subjects.

Table 1: Personal Information Answers in Percentages

	Transcript	Video
Male	27.3%	27.3%
Female	72.7%	72.7%
Freshmen	29.5%	29.5%
Sophomore	22.7%	18.2%
Junior	20.5%	27.3%
Senior	27.3%	25.0%
Arts	30.2%	36.4%
Sciences	41.9%	31.8%
Business	9.3%	15.9%
Leadership	18.6%	15.9%
Democrat	54.5%	58.1%
Republican	15.9%	16.2%
Neither	29.5%	25.6%
GPA Below 2.0	0%	0%
2.0-2.5	6.8%	0%
2.5-3.0	9.1%	9.3%
3.0-3.5	52.3%	44.2%
3.5-4.0	31.8%	46.5%

Table 1 illustrates that the subjects in the Video and Transcript groups were fairly similar. The samples are not representative of the University of Richmond campus as there are a disproportionate number of women, yet they are comparable on the other measures.

Subjects answered questions about their personal information to determine that the groups were fairly balanced. In the Transcript group, when asked to rate their political orientation on an eight-point scale (one being very liberal and eight being very conservative), Transcript subjects' ratings on social beliefs averaged 2.70 while their fiscal beliefs averaged 4.30. Their overall political orientation averaged 3.41. In the Video group, when asked to rate their political orientation subjects' ratings on social beliefs averaged 2.72 while their fiscal beliefs averaged 4.30. Their overall political orientation averaged 3.47.

After looking at the large difference between the subjects' social and fiscal beliefs, we ran a two-tailed "t" test within subjects. The results were highly significant within both the Transcript group ($t(43)=5.5, p<0.001$) and the Video group ($t(43)=5.2, p<0.001$). This illustrated that the subjects are significantly more liberal on social issues than fiscal issues in both conditions. Overall, subjects in the two groups were comparable in class, major, GPA, and political orientation.

Political Knowledge Variables

Prior to the test, both the Transcript and the Video group were given a political knowledge test with twenty photographs of famous political men and women to identify. The Transcript group scored an average of 10.27 out of 20 where the Video group scored an average of 10.95. The scores are relatively similar and proved to not be statistically

significant when compared using a two-tailed “t” test between subjects ($t(87)=0.8$, $p=0.426$). In the Transcript group, eighteen of the forty-four subjects were able to recognize Jimmy Carter and identify his political party. Also, nine of the forty-four subjects in the Transcript group were able to identify Gerald Ford. Of those nine, only six knew he was a Republican. Likewise in the Video group, twenty-one of the forty-four subjects recognized Jimmy Carter and knew he was a Democrat and thirteen of the forty-four subjects could identify Gerald Ford and knew he was a Republican. This demonstrates that the two conditions both possessed similar overall political knowledge and knew similar amounts about Carter and Ford, the men in the debate they would subsequently read or watch.

Four Statements

Once the subjects read or watched the portion of the second 1976 debate, they were asked to list the four statements or moments that stood out most to them. The Transcript subjects’ responses averaged 29.38 words where the Video subjects’ responses averaged 38.52 words. When compared using a two tailed “t” test between subjects ($t(87)=2.97$, $p=0.004$) the average number of words used between the two groups was shown to be statistically significant.

Each of the responses was also coded by the topic that was mentioned for each response. In the Transcript group the most popular coded responses included Moderator Frankel’s comment (17 times), the Pope (17 times), the Grain Deal (16 times), Ford’s Eastern European Comment (14 times), Carter’s Response (14 times), the frequent mentions of “uh” (13 times), nuclear missiles (11 times), and the Helsinki Agreement (9 times). On the other hand, the Video group’s most popular coded responses included

Moderator Frankel's comment (23 times), Ford's Eastern European Comment (19 times), the Pope (13 times), Carter's Response (12 times), Ford saying "I don't believe the Polish people consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union" (9 times), the Helsinki Agreement (9 times), Carter stumbling (8 times), and the Grain Deal (8 Times). Further, the Transcript group had seven responses about their opinions of the candidates (3 about Ford, 4 about Carter) where the Video group wrote eighteen responses about their opinions of the candidates (12 about Ford, 6 about Carter). Overall, both groups focused on the content of the debate in their responses but the Transcript group focused slightly more on the content where the Video group additionally focused on the candidates' traits.

Memory Test

Following the four statement questions, the two groups were given a memory test where they had to identify the speakers of ten statements from the debate as being said by Ford, Carter, or Neither. The hypothesis of this experiment was that those who read the transcript of the debate would perform better on all three measures of the memory test. Overall, the Video group performed at similar levels to the Transcript group with an average of 7.91 questions correct compared to the Transcript group's 7.73 ($t(87)=0.49$, $p=0.623$). We then looked at each group's performance in identifying the eight statements that were in the debate versus the two statements that should have been identified as "neither". Interestingly enough, out of the eight statements, the Transcript group scored an average of 5.08 where the Video group scored an average of 6.59 ($t(87)=1.95$, $p=0.055$). Additionally, the Transcript group scored an average of 1.75 out of the two neither statements where the Video group scored an average of 1.32 ($t(87)=2.90$, $p=0.004$). We also performed a chi-squared test looking at the number of subjects who

answered all eight or both statements correctly. In the Transcript group, five subjects answered all eight correctly where in the Video group thirteen answered all eight correctly ($\chi^2=4.47$, $p=0.05$). In the Transcript group, thirty-five of the subjects identified both of the neither statements correctly compared to twenty-three in the Video group ($\chi^2=7.28$, $p=0.01$).

Candidate Characteristics

Table 2 below shows the average score of Ford and Carter on the ten characteristics in both the Transcript and Video conditions. The Difference Column displays the difference between Carter and Ford in the respective condition, calculated by subtracting Ford's average from Carter's. Stars were also included to illustrate the significance of the difference scores. -

Table 2: Characteristic Averages

Characteristic	Transcript			Video		
	Carter	Ford	Difference	Carter	Ford	Difference
<i>Intelligent</i>	5.11	4.45	0.66**	5.00	4.05	0.95**
<i>Strong</i>	5.07	4.11	0.96**	4.50	4.30	0.20
<i>Warm</i>	4.63	3.57	1.06***	5.07	2.80	2.27***
<i>Humor</i>	4.68	3.00	1.68***	4.82	2.39	2.43***
<i>Leader</i>	5.02	3.95	1.07***	4.86	4.16	0.70*
<i>Trustworthy</i>	4.61	3.34	1.27***	5.05	3.16	1.89***
<i>Competent</i>	4.95	3.86	1.09***	4.91	3.82	1.09***
<i>Active</i>	5.09	4.45	0.64*	4.73	4.55	0.18
<i>Articulate</i>	4.95	3.89	1.06***	4.41	4.43	-0.02
<i>Personable</i>	4.91	3.61	1.30***	5.23	3.14	2.09***

* $p < 0.05$

** $p < 0.01$

*** $p < 0.001$

In the Transcript condition, Carter beat Ford on every characteristic especially on Humor, Personable, and Trustworthy. Carter's advantage was not as strong on Intelligent and Active. All of Carter's Transcript advantages are statistically significant but the most

significant advantages occur on Warm, Humor, Leader, Trustworthy, Competent, Articulate, and Personable. Carter also has a significant advantage on Intelligent and Strong and a slight statistical advantage on Active. In the Video condition, Carter had statistical advantages on Intelligent, Warm, Humor, Leader, Trustworthy, Competent, and Personable. The largest advantages were on Humor, Warm, and Personable, followed by Trustworthy, Competent, and Intelligent. Yet it is important to note that Carter’s Video advantages on Strong and Active were not statistically significant, nor was Ford’s very slight advantage on Articulate.

The most important findings on characteristics can be shown in the Net Difference column of the chart below. This column demonstrates how the advantage Carter has on Ford transitions from Transcript to Video.

Table 3: Advantage Transition from Transcript to Video

Characteristic	Carter Gain/Loss	Ford Gain/Loss	Net Gain/Loss^a
<i>Intelligent</i>	-0.11	-0/40	0.29
<i>Strong</i>	-0.57**	+0.19	-0.76**
<i>Warm</i>	+0.44*	-0.77***	1.21***
<i>Humor</i>	+0.14	-0.61**	0.75*
<i>Leader</i>	-0.18	+0.21	-0.37
<i>Trustworthy</i>	+0.44*	-0.18	0.62*
<i>Competent</i>	-0.04	-0.04	0.00
<i>Active</i>	-0.36	+0.10	-0.46
<i>Articulate</i>	-0.54*	+0.54	-1.08**
<i>Personable</i>	+0.32	-0.47	0.79**

*- p< 0.1

** - p< 0.05

*** - p<0.01

a: The numbers in the Net column show the result of subtracting Ford’s gain or loss in the transition from Transcript to Video from Carter’s gain or loss in the transition from Transcript to Video (See Columns 2 and 3 above). The numbers are the same as those obtained by subtracting Carter’s advantage over Ford’s in the Transcript condition from Carter’s advantage over Ford in the Video condition (See Table 1). Therefore, they show how much Carter gained or lost in his advantage over Ford in the transition from Transcript to Video.

As Carter moves to Video, his advantage increases on Intelligent, Warm, Humor, Trustworthy, and Personable. However, the increase is only significant on Warm, Humor, and Trustworthy. Carter's advantage decreases in Video on Strong, Leader, Active, and Articulate. Carter's advantage on Competent stays the same when transitioning from Transcript to Video. In the transition from Transcript to Video, Carter's largest gains are on Warm, Humor, and Personable and his largest losses are on Strong, Leader, and Articulate, with the losses on Strong and Articulate being significant. As seen in Table 3, these gains and losses are best summarized as follows. In the transition to Video, Carter is seen as less strong (-0.57), less leader-like (-0.16), and less articulate (-0.54) while Ford is seen as more strong (+0.19), more leader-like (+0.21), and more articulate (+0.54). Additionally, in the video condition, Carter is seen as warmer (+0.44), more humorous (+0.14), and more personable (+0.32) while Ford is seen as less warm (-0.77), less humorous (-0.61), and less personable (-0.47). Although we hypothesized that subjects in the Video group would answer less variably than the Transcript group, our hypothesis was incorrect as both groups answered variably on different characteristics.

We hypothesized that it would be easier for subjects in the Video condition to assess traits visually and their answers on the characteristics would be less variable than subjects in the Transcript condition. Table 4 looks at the variances of the two groups' answers as well as their ratio of Variance according to an F Table.

Table 4: Characteristic Variances

Characteristics	Carter Transcript	Ford Transcript	Carter Video	Ford Video	Carter Ratio^a	Ford Ratio^b
Intelligent	0.75	0.95	0.88	2.49	1.17	2.62**
Strong	1.23	1.44	1.10	2.48	1.12	1.77*
Warm	1.49	1.22	1.37	1.37	1.09	1.12
Humor	1.84	1.39	1.55	1.59	1.19	1.14
Leader	1.32	1.49	0.91	2.66	1.45	1.79*
Trustworthy	1.26	1.49	1.21	1.82	1.04	1.23
Competent	0.97	1.84	1.32	1.31	1.36	1.40
Active	1.57	1.41	1.21	2.11	1.30	1.50
Articulate	1.85	2.10	1.92	3.28	1.04	1.56
Personable	2.76	1.45	1.44	2.25	1.92*	1.69*

a-Carter ratio represents the division of the variance of Carter Transcript by Carter Video or Carter Video by Carter Transcript, depending on which number was higher.

b--Ford ratio represents the division of the variance of Ford Transcript by Ford Video or Ford Video by Ford Transcript, depending on which number was higher.

* p< 0.05

** p< 0.01

As seen in Table 4, Ford has higher variances in the Video condition on the measures of Intelligent, Strong, Leader, and Personable that affect his ratios. Carter also has a high variance ratio on Personable, which comes from his high variance on Transcript. Although the mean difference is not that different on Personable, subjects in the Transcript condition are less sure about Carter being Personable than in the Video.

Video Group Questions

After answering questions on the characteristics of the candidates, subjects in the Video condition only answered a series of questions pertaining to the visual cues of the debate. When rating their attractiveness on a ten-point scale, subjects rated Carter an average of 4.86 and Ford an average of 3.52. When compared with a two-tailed “t” test within subjects, the difference in averages was proven significant ($t(43)=3.2, p=0.002$). Subjects in the Video condition also rated the extent to which they liked the candidate’s manner of speaking on a ten-point scale from strongly agree to strongly disagree. Carter

received an average of 5.73 where Ford received an average of 4.59. When compared with a two-tailed “t” test within subjects, the difference in averages was proven significant ($t(43)=2.2, p= 0.035$). Lastly, the Video condition was asked to rate their agreement from one to ten of the statement “I noticed Moderator Frankel’s reaction to Candidate Ford’s statement concerning the Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe”. The subjects in the Video group strongly noticed the reaction, as their agreement to the statements had an average of 9.28.

Debate Evaluation

Subjects also rated the debate on ten-point Likert-like scales of entertaining, informative, and interesting. The answers to these questions showed little difference across condition. On the measure of entertaining, the Transcript condition rated the debate an average of 4.91 and the Video condition rated the debate an average of 4.87 ($t(87)=0.95, p=0.35$). On the measure of informative, the Transcript group rated the debate an average of 5.82 and the Video condition rated the debate an average of 5.48 ($t(87)=0.65, p=0.519$). Lastly on the measure of interesting, the Transcript group rated the debate an average of 5.41 and the Video condition rated the debate an average of 5.20 ($t(87)=0.35, p=0.707$).

As the debate focused on foreign policy, subjects were asked to rate whether they found Carter and Ford knowledgeable on foreign policy on a ten-point scale. Subjects in the Transcript group gave Carter an average of 6.80 and Ford an average of 5.98. The Transcript group rated Carter as higher than Ford on knowledge of foreign policy ($t(43)=2.35 p=0.027$). Subjects in the Video group gave similar answers for both candidates with Carter receiving an average of 6.00 and Ford receiving an average of

5.26 ($t(43)=1.6$, $p=0.113$). Carter's 0.80 drop in Foreign Policy from Transcript to Video was significant ($p<0.05$) but Ford's 0.72 drop was not ($t(87)=1.5$, $p=0.13$).

Subjects were also asked if they agreed with Ford's statement that there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. On a ten-point Likert-like scale, subjects in the Transcript group expressed their agreement in an average of 3.30 where the Video group's average of agreement was a 2.66. When compared using a two-tailed "t" test between subjects, the difference illustrated a trend that subjects were less likely to agree that Ford was correct in the Video condition ($t(87)=1.70$, $p=0.09$).

Debate Performance

Subjects rated Carter and Ford's overall debate performance on a ten-point scale. The Transcript condition subjects rated Carter's performance an average of 6.75 and Ford's performance an average of 4.82, giving Carter a 1.93 advantage. In the Video condition subjects rated Carter's performance an average of 6.72 and Ford's performance an average of 4.60, giving Carter a 2.12 point advantage over Ford. The difference in the Transcript and Video advantages was not statistically significant when compared using a two-tailed "t" test between conditions ($t(87)=0.20$, $p=0.832$). Additionally, subjects in the Transcript group believed Carter to be the winner of the debate 77.8%-11.1%, or a margin of 66.7%. Subjects in the Video group believed Carter to be the winner 75.0%-15.9%, or a margin of 59.1%. According to a chi-squared test, these margins are not significantly different ($\chi^2=0.75$, $p=0.390$).

Further, the subjects rated on ten-point scale their agreement that Carter and Ford would make good presidents. In the Transcript condition, Carter averaged 6.52 where Ford averaged 4.98 for a 1.54-point advantage of Carter over Ford. In the Video

condition, Carter averaged 6.50 where Ford averaged 4.41 for a 2.09 advantage of Carter over Ford. When compared in a two-tailed “t” test between subjects, the difference in these advantages was not proven significant ($t(87)=0.90$, $p=0.383$).

Similarly, subjects rated their likelihood to vote for Carter and Ford on ten-point scales. In the Transcript condition, Carter received an average of 6.64 where Ford averaged a 4.25 for a 2.39 advantage for Carter. In the Video condition, Carter received an average of 7.36 where Ford averaged a 3.63 for a 3.73 advantage for Carter. Even though the previous two advantages of the other two variables were not proven statistically significant, this variable illustrated a trend. When compared in a two-tailed “t” test between subjects, the difference in these advantages was almost significant ($t(87)=1.83$, $p=0.07$). Lastly, when asked whom they would vote for, subjects in the Transcript group selected Carter 77.3%-13.6%, or a difference of 63.7%, where subjects in the Video group selected Carter 81.8%-9.1%, or a difference of 72.7%. According to a chi-squared test, these margins are not significantly different ($\chi^2=0.20$, $p=0.60$).

Debate Knowledge

Subjects also rated their prior knowledge of this debate on a ten-point scale. In the Transcript condition, they rated their prior knowledge an average of 1.39 where the Video condition rated their prior knowledge an average of 2.02. When compared using a two-tailed “t” test between subjects, the difference was barely significant ($t(87)=2.0$, $p=0.049$). This illustrates that subjects in the Video condition claimed they knew more than the Transcript condition. Whether Video subjects actually did know more will be further addressed in the Discussion section. Finally, in the Transcript condition only 13.6% of the subjects had seen the film *Argo* compared to 18.2% of subjects in the Video

condition. There is no indication that seeing the movie did not affect the results of this study.

Wrap-Up Questions

Table 5 shows the results to the six wrap up questions of the subjects' opinions of the study, measured by seven-point scales.

Table 5: Wrap Up Questions Results

Variable	Transcript	Video
Difficulty to comprehend the debate	4.16	3.61
Motivation to comprehend the debate	3.55	3.25
Difficulty to answer personality questions	4.41	3.80
Difficulty in deciding winner of the debate	3.74	3.50
Difficulty in recalling four statements	4.21	4.54
Difficult in identifying ten speakers	4.25	3.70

Of these six variables, three of the variables were found not significant. On the measure of motivation to comprehend the debate, the Transcript groups' responses averaged 3.55 where the Video group's responses averaged 3.25 ($t(87)=0.85$, $p=0.39$). On the measure of difficulty in deciding a winner for the debate, the Transcript groups' responses averaged 3.74 where the Video group's responses averaged 3.50. ($t(87)=0.58$, $p=0.561$). On the measure of difficulty in recalling four moments from the debate, the Transcript groups' responses averaged 4.21 where the Video group's responses averaged 4.54. ($t(87)=0.92$, $p=0.36$).

The results on the measure of difficulty to comprehend the debate were suggestive as subjects in Transcript group's responses averaged 4.16 where the Video group's

responses averaged 3.61 $t(87)=1.42$, $p=0.15$). Likewise, the results on the measure of difficulty in identifying the ten speakers of the passages were suggestive as the Transcript groups' responses averaged 4.25 where the Video group's responses averaged 3.70. ($t(87)=1.55$, $p=0.12$). Lastly, on the measure of difficulty to answer the personality questions illustrated a trend as the Transcript groups' responses averaged 4.41 where the Video group's responses averaged 3.80. ($t(87)=1.69$, $p=0.095$).

III. Ancillary Tests

After our preliminary tests, we looked at the correlations between the strongest characteristics observed in our study (See Table 5). We looked at how they correlated with each other to determine if the presence of one was more likely to correlate with the presence of another.

Table 6 Characteristic Correlations

Characteristics	Carter Transcript	Ford Transcript	Carter Video	Ford Video
Personable-Warm	0.72	0.57	0.75	0.79
Personable-Strong	0.36	0.32	0.50	0.48
Personable-Humor	0.75	0.39	0.71	0.62
Personable-Articulate	0.45	0.47	0.40	0.47
Warm-Strong	0.31	0.02	0.43	0.28
Warm-Humor	0.70	0.52	0.76	0.73
Warm-Articulate	0.44	0.14	0.34	0.27
Humor-Strong	0.35	0.18	0.23	0.24
Humor-Articulate	0.42	0.07	0.14	0.11
Strong-Articulate	0.65	0.49	0.37	0.57

Table 6 shows several strong correlations in the Transcript and Video conditions. In both conditions for both candidates Personable and Warm, Personable and Humor, Warm and Humor, and Strong and Articulate are all strongly correlated. Further, Warm and Strong as well as Humor and Articulate show very little correlation, especially for Ford.

Table 7 shows the relationships we looked at between Keith D. Simonton’s characteristics that compose great leaders: strong, warm, personable, and active. Simonton believes that these characteristics should be strongly correlated for the subjects’ perceptions of a leader because they are core traits in understanding other human beings.

Table 7: Simonton Correlations

Characteristics	Carter Transcript	Ford Transcript	Carter Video	Ford Video
Leader-Strong	0.66	0.74	0.56	0.76
Leader-Warm	0.62	0.26	0.61	0.41
Leader-Personable	0.70	0.56	0.58	0.56
Leader-Active	0.59	0.43	0.60	0.69

When looking at Simonton’s correlations, we were able to see strong correlations between all of the four characteristics. These results are interesting because Carter had his largest advantages on Warm and Personable and smaller advantages on Strong and Active. This demonstrates that even though Carter may not be exceptionally strong in the Leader, Strong, or Active dimensions, his ability to be Warm and Personable in the Video condition provide him with a large advantage over Ford.

Dr. Hoyt helped us test the link between subjects in the Video condition’s ratings of Carter on Warm and their likelihood to vote for him. Regression techniques were used to test whether the link between the Transcript and Video conditions and voting intentions for Carter is mediated by perceptions of candidate warmth (Baron & Kenny, 1986). To test this mediation, first we conducted a regression analysis predicting voting intentions from condition. Similar to our t-test analyses, we see that those in the video condition have greater intentions to vote for Carter than those in the transcript condition ($b=0.73$, $p=0.061$, one-tailed). The next criterion is to demonstrate that the

causal variable, condition, predicts the mediator, warmth. Regression analyses confirm that condition significantly predicts warmth, such that those in the video condition viewed Carter as warmer than those in the transcript condition ($b=0.44$, $p=0.044$, one-tailed).

The final criteria for mediation is to show that the mediator variable is significantly related to the dependent variable and the original causal variable, condition, should be substantially reduced or eliminated when the mediator is entered into the analysis. To test this we ran a regression analysis with both condition and warmth as predictors of voting intentions. Consistent with these criteria, condition was no longer significant ($b=0.37$, $p=0.193$, one-tailed) and warmth significantly predicts domain identification ($b=0.81$, $p < 0.001$, one-tailed). Thus, these analyses suggest that the increased intentions to vote for Carter in the video compared to transcript condition are driven at least in part by increased perceptions of warmth.

DISCUSSION

I. Summary of Results

Our results illustrated that the subjects in the Transcript and Video groups were very similar in regards to gender, age, GPA, political orientation, and political knowledge. Nevertheless, the Video group wrote significantly more words in their explanations than the Transcript Group. Also, we found that the Transcript group focused on the content of the debate where the Video group focused on both the content and the candidates themselves. Also, out of the eight statements said by Ford or Carter, the Video condition answered more questions correctly than the Transcript condition.

In the Transcript condition, Carter had statistical significant advantages on Intelligent, Strong, Warm, Humor, Leader, Trustworthy, Competent, Active, Articulate, and Personable. In the Video condition, Carter had statistical significant advantages on Intelligent, Warm, Humor, Leader, Trustworthy, Competent, and Personable but not on Strong, Active, and Articulate. In the transition from Transcript to Video, Carter's significant gains compared to Ford were on Warm, Humor, and Personable and his losses were significant on Strong and Articulate. Therefore, we found in the transition to Video, Carter is seen as less strong, less leader-like, and less articulate while Ford is seen as stronger, more leader-like, and more articulate. Additionally, in the Video condition, Carter is seen as warmer, more humorous, and more personable while Ford is seen as less warm, less humorous, and less personable.

Lastly, Carter loses his significant edge on knowledgeable on matters of foreign policy in the Video compared to Transcript condition. And although subjects were not more likely to rate Carter the winner of the debate or a better president across conditions,

subjects in the Video condition trended toward saying more often that they would vote for Carter than in the Transcript condition.

II. Memory Tests

In the Transcript condition, subjects focused more on the content of the debate such as the United States' relationship with the Pope, the grain deal, nuclear missiles, and the Helsinki Agreement. In addition to the content of the debate, subjects in the Video condition also highlighted the way the candidates responded and were more likely to use direct quotes. Subjects in the Video condition were also more likely to mention moments like Carter's stumbling or Carter laughing. Overall, the statements in the Video condition averaged a greater number of words and seemed more detailed.

When we looked at the two groups' scores of the eight statements that were said by Ford or Carter, the Video group scored significantly higher. We believe these results demonstrate that subjects in the Video condition found the debate format more familiar, as most students would be used to watching a debate as opposed to reading one. This familiarity may have led to greater engagement. As Petty and Cacioppo explain, when people are more motivated to process arguments, they are more likely to better understand them.

Opposite of what we hypothesized, it now appears that the Video group's focus on the candidates motivated them to become involved with the debate, which helped them perform better on the memory test. The engagement of subjects in the Video condition also meant that they focused more on the candidates' traits than subjects in the Transcript condition. This led to them to better understand the debate and also better able

to match correctly statements to the speaker. Therefore, seeing the debate as opposed to reading the debate may increase processing motivation without harming ability.

III. Characteristic Observations

In both conditions, Carter was rated higher on the characteristic scales than Ford. Yet in the transition from Transcript to Video, Carter gained on Warm, Humor, and Personable while losing his edge over Ford higher on Strong, Active, and Articulate. We believe the difference between Transcript and Video could be attributed to the fact that subjects felt more comfortable judging a candidate with the added visual and auditory cues than without them.

As evidenced with the higher scores on the memory test, subjects who watch the Video are paying closer attention. Since the Video group was motivated to watch the debate based on the candidates, they were also paying better attention to the candidates in assessing their characteristics. This allowed the Video group to see Carter as warmer, more humorous, and more personable based on the visual and auditory cues. Conversely, these visual and auditory cues exposed them to Carter's stumbling and nervousness that led to lower scores on Strong and Articulate. With Ford, the Video condition saw his stiffer personality, which led to his lower scores on Warm, Humor, and Personable, all areas that Carter excelled in.

Tiane Lee and Susan Fiske are scholars of leadership perception that believe that "warmth and competence are two core dimensions with which perceivers are concerned" (Lee, 2008, pp. 101). Further, they found that all characteristics of leaders could be divided into categories of warmth or competence. For the purposes of our study, six of our characteristic measures were perceived based on the candidate's competence

(Intelligent, Strong, Leader, Competent, Active, and Articulate) where four of our characteristic measured would be perceived based on the candidate's warmth (Warm, Humor, Trustworthy, Personable). Lee and Fiske believe competence illustrates a person's ability to accomplish tasks where warmth measures their interpersonal skills (Lee, 2008, pp. 101).

Unlike Lee and Fiske, Dean K. Simonton believes that leadership is driven by perceptions of "strength, activity, and goodness" (Simonton, 1987, pp. 214). Although we did not measure goodness, we did test for strength and activity. Our study found both theories to be partially correct. The transition from Transcript to Video illustrated that the subjects perceived leaders based on warmth or "dynamism" (strength and activity). As the correlations in Tables 6 of the Results section show, Warm is highly correlated with Personable and Humor where Strong is highly correlated with Active and Articulate. And as Table 7 in the Results section showed, both sets of factors are correlated with Leader.

Similarly, Charles Osgood, George Suci, and Percy Tannenbaum looked at the correlation between strong and active. They coined the convergence of potency and activity into a new factor called "dynamism" or "dynamic" (Osgood, 1967, pp. 119). Since the Strong and Active factors are strongly correlated for Ford, this debate demonstrates that the candidates were not assessed along dimensions of Warm or Competent as Lee and Fiske would think, but perceived as Warm or Dynamic.

IV. Warmth Matters

Although we did not find a significant Video advantage for Jimmy Carter on debate performance and being a good president, we found a trend that subjects in the

Video group were more likely to vote for Carter than the Transcript group. Why would subjects in the Video condition be more likely to vote for Carter?

Kathleen Hall Jamieson believes that the 1976 election was unique because it centered on the “personal character and integrity of the two candidates” (Jamieson, 1996, pp. 329). Where President Gerald Ford ran on the incumbency, Governor Jimmy Carter emphasized his Southern-Christian roots to earn the trust of the American people who felt betrayed by both Ford and Nixon. Even though Carter may have lacked the experience to be president, he sought to earn the American people’s trust. For him, his goals were not to necessarily defeat Ford on measures that Ford would excel at such as Strong, Active, Articulate, and Leader but to accentuate his traits that would be more relatable to the American people: Trustworthy, Warm, Personable, and Humor. In the transition from Transcript to Video, Carter loses his advantage on the dynamic factors but makes significant gains on the warmth factors. With Carter’s voting advantage on Video, this allows us to believe that sometimes even if a candidate loses on strength, activity, and leadership capability, voter behavior may actually be driven by the more interpersonal traits of being warm, personable, trustworthy, and humorous.

Although we originally believed that the visual and auditory cues would deter understanding of the debate, the memory test led us to conclude that they aided the subjects in a better understanding of the debate. Just as the Video subjects had a better understanding of the content of the debate, they also had a better understanding of the personalities of the candidates. Many scholars who have looked at the Ford-Carter debates believe that Carter’s positive tone may have been a large contributing factor to

the perception that he is weak. We did find that Carter looked less strong in the Video group than he did in the Transcript group.

Even though this may have influenced their perception of Carter's strength, his weakness may have worked to his advantage in becoming more relatable to subjects on Video. We also observed that Carter had significant advantages over Ford in the visual and auditory factors that the Video group observed in both attractiveness and tone of voice. Perhaps subjects in the Video condition are more motivated to watch the debate because they are familiar with its format. As the visual and auditory cues come in the transition from Transcript to Video, the Video subjects might better formulate the candidates' characters based on these non-content related factors. Therefore they see Carter as the more innocent but likeable "choir boy" against the bumptious Ford and feel more inclined to vote for the man they like and can trust, Jimmy Carter.

Simonton's model of leadership only partially applies to this scenario. Carter's Video voting advantage cannot be attributed to strength or activeness but simply to his goodness. Of all of these factors, Carter gains the largest advantage on warmth. As illustrated with the correlations, his advantage on Warmth is highly correlated with increases on Humor, Personable, and Leader. These factors are highly intertwined and allow Carter to make up the losses on Strong, Active, and Articulate that occur when Video subjects see Carter stumble and appear meeker next to the former University of Michigan football player Gerald Ford.

The relevance of warmth was most closely studied by social psychologist Solomon Asch, who conducted a study in 1946 where he gave subjects a list of a man's characteristics. When Asch described a man as "intelligent, skillful, industrious, warm,

determined, practical, and cautious” the subjects formed their impression of him and also believed he would have other characteristics not listed such as honest, wise, and popular (Asch, 1961, pp. 243). Asch discovered that when he kept the original characteristics but substituted cold for warm, the subjects’ impressions completely changed. Therefore Asch concluded that a person’s warmth is a “central trait” and a key part of people’s impression forming process (Asch, 1961, pp.252).

Presidential debates expose voters to candidates in ways where they can form impressions. With the transition to televised debates, voters are no longer merely exposed to the content of the arguments but are guided to form opinions of the candidates based on visual and auditory cues. As Asch found, whether or not a person is warm is highly influential in our impression forming process. This is also true of debates. If voters like a candidate based on his or her personality, they will be more likely to vote for him or her. Our study found that warmth was the indicator of an increase in subjects’ likelihood to vote for Carter, which leads us to the conclusion that warmth can drive voting behavior. As a candidate appears warmer to potential voters, they are more likely to earn their votes.

V. Limitations and Further Research

Through this research, we were able to find the importance warmth has in regards to voting behavior as well as the effects the medium of a presidential debate had on the subjects’ ability to recall its content. This study was limited as it only looked at one debate, the second 1976 debate. In order to determine the generalizability of these findings, we would repeat this study with a different debate. Further, this debate highlighted a crucial moment in debate history and more routine debates might not

illustrate as strong of results. Future research could also look at a range of moments from debates to determine if our findings were consistent with both memorable and forgettable debate moments.

Our research also found an important relation between the medium the presidential debate was presented and memory. Future research could further vary the format of debates by altering the presentation of voice, words, looks, and motions. For example, the debate could be presented with just audio, a video with still pictures, or a silent video. Research could also be done to compare three media: video, audio, and written to see if there are differences between having no cues, just auditory cues, or visual and auditory cues. Altering the way in which the debate is presented could potentially affect both memory for content and the subjects' perceptions of the candidates' personalities.

VI. Conclusion

This study of the impact on presidential debate format led us to two main conclusions. First, although the subjects in the Video condition paid more attention to personality, they remembered more because they were both more motivated and engaged. Secondly, the Video group's engagement led them to write more and perform better on the memory test.

Given that the Video group remembered more, what were their key impressions of the candidates? Carter burst ahead on the warmth dimension while Ford was superior on the dynamism dimension. The differences in these dimensions compared to the Transcript condition had little effect on who the subjects thought performed better in the debate or who would make a better president. Yet Carter's gain on the warmth dimension

of the Video may have led subjects to say they would more likely vote for him than in the Transcript group. This finding provides support to the claim that the warmth of the candidate can drive voting behavior.

This finding has serious implications for the realm of politics. Our study shows that when given the choice between a candidate who is warmer or a candidate who is more dynamic, the subjects said they would be more likely to vote for the candidate who excelled on the warmth dimension. Perhaps this illustrates that when voters are also given the choice between warmth and dynamism, they will also be more likely to sacrifice dynamism for warmth. Although this may initially seem to be a failure of the leader-follower relationship, Mark Van Vugt claims our aversion to dominance is normal and has been observed throughout the evolution of the human race (Van Vugt, 2008, pp. 182). Therefore, leaders must convey a sense of warmth if they are dynamic otherwise they will be merely seen as dominant.

Our initial concern that voters were too focused on the candidates and were not paying attention to the content of presidential debates was not well grounded. When watching a presidential debate people are not forced to choosing between focusing on the personality of the candidates or the content of the debate. In fact, the two factors may go hand in hand as focusing on the personality may help a person's ability to remember the content. In our case, the subjects' focus on the candidate allowed us to see that people are more likely to vote for a candidate who is Warm and Personable even if they are not Strong and Active. After all, warmth matters.

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Appendix A

Below is the verbatim transcript of part of a presidential debate between Candidate Gerald Ford and Candidate Jimmy Carter. There are two Moderators asking questions in this excerpt-Mr. Max Frankel and Ms. Pauline Fredericks.

MODERATOR FRANKEL: Mr. President, I'd like to explore a little more deeply our relationship with the Russians. They used to brag back in Khrushchev's day that because of their greater patience and because of our greed for - for business deals that they would sooner or later get the better of us. Is it possible that despite some setbacks in the Middle East, they've proved their point? Our allies in France and Italy are now flirting with Communism. We've recognized the permanent Communist regime in East Germany. We've virtually signed, in Helsinki, an agreement that the Russians have dominance in Eastern Europe. We've bailed out Soviet agriculture with our huge grain sales. We've given them large loans, access to our best technology and if the Senate hadn't interfered with the Jackson Amendment, maybe we - you would've given them even larger loans. Is that what you call a two-way street of traffic in Europe?

CANDIDATE FORD: I believe that we have uh negotiated with the Soviet Union since I've been president from a position of strength. And let me cite several examples. Shortly after I became president in uh December of 1974, I met with uh General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and we agreed to a mutual cap on the ballistic missile launchers at a ceiling of twenty-four hundred, which means that the Soviet Union, if that becomes a permanent agreement, will have to make a reduction in their launchers that they now have or plan to have. I've negotiated at Vladivostok with uh Mr. Brezhnev a limitation on the MIRVing of their ballistic missiles at a figure of thirteen-twenty, which is the first time that any president has achieved a cap either on launchers or on MIRVs. It seems to me that we can go from there to uh the uh grain sales. The grain sales have been a benefit to American agriculture. We have achieved a five and three quarter year uh sale of a minimum six million metric tons, which means that they have already bought about four million metric tons this year and are bound to buy another two million metric tons to take the grain and corn and wheat that the American farmers have produced in order to uh have full production. And these grain sales to the Soviet Union have helped us tremendously in meeting the costs of the additional oil and - the oil that we have bought from overseas. If we turn to Helsinki - I'm glad you raised it, Mr. uh Frankel. In the case of Helsinki,

thirty-five nations signed an agreement, including the secretary of state for the Vatican - I can't under any circumstances believe that the - His Holiness, the Pope would agree by signing that agreement that the thirty-five nations have turned over to the Warsaw Pact nations the domination of the - Eastern Europe. It just isn't true. And if Mr. Carter alleges that His Holiness by signing that has done it, he is totally inaccurate. Now, what has been accomplished by the Helsinki agreement? Number one, we have an agreement where they notify us and we notify them of any uh military maneuvers that are to be undertaken. They have done it. In both cases where they've done so, there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford administration.

MODERATOR FRDERICKS: Governor Carter?

MODERATOR FRANKEL: I'm sorry, I - could I just follow - did I understand you to say, sir, that the Russians are not using Eastern Europe as their own sphere of influence in occupying mo- most of the countries there and in - and making sure with their troops that it's a - that it's a Communist zone, whereas on our side of the line the Italians and the French are still flirting with the possibility of Communism?

CANDIDATE FORD: I don't believe, uh Mr. Frankel that uh the Yugoslavians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Rumanians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. Each of those countries is independent, autonomous: it has its own territorial integrity and the United States does not concede that those countries are under the domination of the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, I visited Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania to make certain that the people of those countries understood that the president of the United States and the people of the United are dedicated to their independence, their autonomy and their freedom.

MODERATOR FREDERICKS : Governor Carter, may I have your response?

CANDIDATE CARTER: (chuckle) Well, in the first place, I'm not criticizing His Holiness the Pope. I was talking about Mr. Ford. The uh fact is that secrecy has surrounded the decisions made by the Ford administration. In the case of the Helsinki agreement - it may have been a good agreement at the beginning, but we have failed to enforce the so-called basket three part, which insures the right of people to migrate, to join their

families, to be free, to speak out. The Soviet Union is still jamming Radio Free Europe-Radio uh uh Radio Free Europe is being jammed. We've also seen a very serious uh problem with the so-called Sonnenfeldt document, which apparently Mr. Ford has just endorsed, which said that there's an organic linkage between the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. And I would like to see Mr. Ford convince the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country that those countries don't live under the domination and supervision of the Soviet Union behind the Iron uh Curtain. We also have seen Mr. Ford exclude himself from access to the public. He hasn't had a tough cross-examination-type press conference in over thirty days. One press conference he had without sound. He's also shown a weakness in yielding to pressure. The Soviet Union, for instance, put pressure on Mr. Ford and he refused to see a symbol of human freedom recognized around the world, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The Arabs have put pressure on Mr. Ford, and he's yielded, and has permitted a boycott by the Arab countries of American businesses who trade with Israel, or who have American Jews owning or taking part in the management of American - companies. His own secretary of commerce had to be subpoenaed by the Congress to reveal the names of businesses who were subject to this boycott. They didn't volunteer the information. He had to be subpoenaed. And the last thing I'd like to say is this: This grain deal with the Soviet Union in '72 was terrible, and Mr. Ford made up for it with three embargoes, one against our own ally in Japan. That's not the way to run our foreign policy, including international trade.

Appendix B: Email

Are you interested in participating in a study looking at presidential debates? Participants will be asked to answer survey questions and will earn \$8 for partaking in the half hour study. Information given in this study will be confidential and will not cause any harm to the participants. The results of this study will be used in developing a thesis for the Jepson School's Honors Program and may be presented or published. If you are interested in participating, please email Joey Greener at joey.greener@richmond.edu or Dr. Goethals, professor of Leadership Studies at ggoethal@richmond.edu.

Appendix C: Video Group Questions Only

Indicate your agreement to the following statements:

I found Candidate Carter attractive.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Strongly disagree) (Strongly agree)

I found Candidate Ford attractive.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Strongly disagree) (Strongly agree)

I liked Candidate Carter's manner of speaking.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Strongly disagree) (Strongly agree)

I liked Candidate Ford's manner of speaking.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Strongly disagree) (Strongly agree)

I noticed Moderator Frankel's reaction to Candidate Ford's statement concerning the Soviet Domination of Eastern Europe.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
(Strongly disagree) (Strongly agree)

Purpose of the Study

Research Subject Information and Consent Form

Title: The Impact of Presidential Debate Format

Purpose of Study: The purpose of this research study is to learn how people comprehend the content of presidential debates when they read or watch the debates.

Description of the Study and Your Involvement: If you decide to be in this research study, you will be asked to answer questions to understand your knowledge of American politics. Then you will read a transcript or watch a video of an excerpt from a presidential debate. You will be asked to answer questions on what you read or watched.

Principal Investigator: The principal investigators for this study are Joseph Greener, a senior at the University of Richmond and Dr. George Goethals, professor of Leadership Studies.

Risks and Discomforts: The project will take approximately 30 minutes of your time to complete. This survey only asks general questions and will not cause any distress. If you feel upset or uncomfortable at any time, please stop answering the survey. This may be done at any time during the study.

Benefits: You will learn about the particular debate you are going to look at as well as the candidates and topics involved in the excerpt. You will also receive \$8 as monetary payment for taking part.

Costs: There are no costs for participating in this study other than the 30 minutes the study takes.

Alternatives: Alternative treatments are unnecessary as this is not a treatment study. Instead of taking this study, alternatives that exist are to take other studies or to not participate in any study.

Confidentiality: The answers given will not be told to anyone. You will not need to provide your name at any time and your answers will not be associated with your name. The findings of this study will be presented and published but your name will not be used.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal: Participation in this study is completely voluntary. There is no penalty for stopping during the study and you may do so at any time. Questions also may be left blank at any time if you do not wish to answer them.

Questions: If you have any questions please contact

George Goethals, Professor of Leadership Studies
Jepson Hall Room 235
University of Richmond, Richmond, VA 23173
804- 287-6354
ggoethal@richmond.edu

If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, feel free to contact Dr. R. Kirk Jonas, Chair of the University of Richmond's Institutional Review Board for the protection of Research Participants at 804-484-1565 or rjonas@richmond.edu.

Participant's Consent: The study has been described to me and I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation in the project at any time without penalty.

By clicking the "submit" button on this page you are confirming that you have read and understand the above information, that you are above 18 years of age, and that you providing your consent to participate.

Political Knowledge Questions

1. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***2. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

3. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***4. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

5. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***6. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

7. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***8. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

9. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***10. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

11. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***12. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

13. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***14. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

15. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***16. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

17. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.

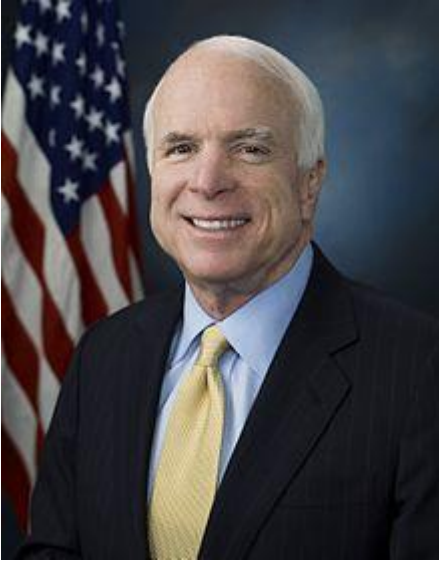


***18. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

19. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***20. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

21. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***22. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

23. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



24. Select his or her political party:

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

25. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***26. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

27. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.

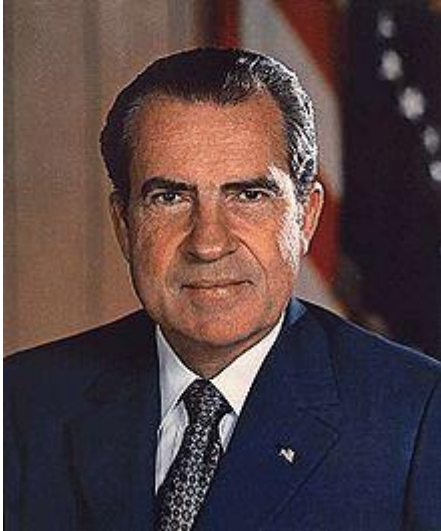


***28. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

29. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***30. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

31. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***32. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

33. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



*** 34. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

35. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***36. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

37. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***38. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Political Knowledge Questions

39. Write the Name of each of the men and women shown below his or her picture. If you do not know the answer to a question, you may leave it blank.



***40. Select his or her political party:**

- Republican
- Democrat

Debate Transcript

Below is the verbatim transcript of part of a presidential debate between Candidate Gerald Ford and Candidate Jimmy Carter. There are two Moderators asking questions in this excerpt-Mr. Max Frankel and Ms. Pauline Fredericks. Once you have finished the first page, you will need to press next to continue reading.

MODERATOR FRANKEL: Mr. President, I'd like to explore a little more deeply our relationship with the Russians. They used to brag back in Khrushchev's day that because of their greater patience and because of our greed for - for business deals that they would sooner or later get the better of us. Is it possible that despite some setbacks in the Middle East, they've proved their point? Our allies in France and Italy are now flirting with Communism. We've recognized the permanent Communist regime in East Germany. We've virtually signed, in Helsinki, an agreement that the Russians have dominance in Eastern Europe. We've bailed out Soviet agriculture with our huge grain sales. We've given them large loans, access to our best technology and if the Senate hadn't interfered with the Jackson Amendment, maybe we - you would've given them even larger loans. Is that what you call a two-way street of traffic in Europe?

CANDIDATE FORD: I believe that we have uh negotiated with the Soviet Union since I've been president from a position of strength. And let me cite several examples. Shortly after I became president in uh December of 1974, I met with uh General Secretary Brezhnev in Vladivostok and we agreed to a mutual cap on the ballistic missile launchers at a ceiling of twenty-four hundred, which means that the Soviet Union, if that becomes a permanent agreement, will have to make a reduction in their launchers that they now have or plan to have. I've negotiated at Vladivostok with uh Mr. Brezhnev a limitation on the MIRVing of their ballistic missiles at a figure of thirteen-twenty, which is the first time that any president has achieved a cap either on launchers or on MIRVs. It seems to me that we can go from there to uh the uh grain sales. The grain sales have been a benefit to American agriculture. We have achieved a five and three quarter year uh sale of a minimum six million metric tons, which means that they have already bought about four million metric tons this year and are bound to buy another two million metric tons to take the grain and corn and wheat that the American farmers have produced in order to uh have full production. And these grain sales to the Soviet Union have helped us tremendously in meeting the costs of the additional oil and - the oil that we have bought from overseas. If we turn to Helsinki - I'm glad you raised it, Mr. uh Frankel. In the case of Helsinki, thirty-five nations signed an agreement, including the secretary of state for the Vatican - I can't under any circumstances believe that the - His Holiness, the Pope would agree by signing that agreement that the thirty-five nations have turned over to the Warsaw Pact nations the domination of the - Eastern Europe. It just isn't true. And if Mr. Carter alleges that His Holiness by signing that has done it, he is totally inaccurate. Now, what has been accomplished by the Helsinki agreement? Number one, we have an agreement where they notify us and we notify them of any uh military maneuvers that are to be undertaken. They have done it. In both cases where they've done so, there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford administration.

MODERATOR FRDERICKS: Governor Carter?

MODERATOR FRANKEL: I'm sorry, I - could I just follow - did I understand you to say, sir, that the Russians are not using Eastern Europe as their own sphere of influence in occupying most of the countries there and in - and making sure with their troops that it's a - that it's a Communist zone, whereas on our side of the line the Italians and the French are still flirting with the possibility of Communism?

Debate Transcript

CANDIDATE FORD: I don't believe, uh Mr. Frankel that uh the Yugoslavians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Rumanians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. Each of those countries is independent, autonomous: it has its own territorial integrity and the United States does not concede that those countries are under the domination of the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, I visited Poland, Yugoslavia and Rumania to make certain that the people of those countries understood that the president of the United States and the people of the United are dedicated to their independence, their autonomy and their freedom.

MODERATOR FREDERICKS : Governor Carter, may I have your response?

CANDIDATE CARTER: (chuckle) Well, in the first place, I'm not criticizing His Holiness the Pope. I was talking about Mr. Ford. The uh fact is that secrecy has surrounded the decisions made by the Ford administration. In the case of the Helsinki agreement - it may have been a good agreement at the beginning, but we have failed to enforce the so-called basket three part, which insures the right of people to migrate, to join their families, to be free, to speak out. The Soviet Union is still jamming Radio Free Europe-Radio uh uh Radio Free Europe is being jammed. We've also seen a very serious uh problem with the so-called Sonnenfeldt document, which apparently Mr. Ford has just endorsed, which said that there's an organic linkage between the Eastern European countries and the Soviet Union. And I would like to see Mr. Ford convince the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country that those countries don't live under the domination and supervision of the Soviet Union behind the Iron uh Curtain. We also have seen Mr. Ford exclude himself from access to the public. He hasn't had a tough cross-examination-type press conference in over thirty days. One press conference he had without sound. He's also shown a weakness in yielding to pressure. The Soviet Union, for instance, put pressure on Mr. Ford and he refused to see a symbol of human freedom recognized around the world, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. The Arabs have put pressure on Mr. Ford, and he's yielded, and has permitted a boycott by the Arab countries of American businesses who trade with Israel, or who have American Jews owning or taking part in the management of American - companies. His own secretary of commerce had to be subpoenaed by the Congress to reveal the names of businesses who were subject to this boycott. They didn't volunteer the information. He had to be subpoenaed. And the last thing I'd like to say is this: This grain deal with the Soviet Union in '72 was terrible, and Mr. Ford made up for it with three embargoes, one against our own ally in Japan. That's not the way to run our foreign policy, including international trade.

Memory Test

***41. List the 4 statements or moments that stood out most to you in this debate:**

1

2

3

4

Memory Test

Please identify the following passages as a quote Candidate Carter said in the debate, Candidate Ford said in the debate, or neither.

***42. Now, what has been accomplished by the Helsinki agreement? Number one, we have an agreement where they notify us and we notify them of any military maneuvers that are to be undertaken.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***43. They didn't volunteer the information. He had to be subpoenaed.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***44. As a matter of fact, I visited Poland, Yugoslavia and Romania to make certain that the people of those countries understood that the President of the United States and the people of the United are dedicated to their independence, their autonomy and their freedom.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***45. I don't believe that the Yugoslavians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Romanians consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union. I don't believe that the Poles consider themselves dominated by the Soviet Union**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***46. Well, first of all, I will eliminate all programs by this test — if they don't pass it: Is the program so critical it's worth borrowing money from China to pay for it?**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

Memory Test

Please identify the following passages as a quote Candidate Carter said in the debate, Candidate Ford said in the debate, or neither.

***47. And I would like to see him convince the Polish-Americans and the Czech-Americans and the Hungarian-Americans in this country that those countries don't live under the domination and supervision of the Soviet Union behind the Iron Curtain.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***48. Well, in the first place, I'm not criticizing His Holiness the Pope.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***49. Under the president's policies, middle-income Americans have been buried. They're just being crushed. Middle-income Americans have seen their income come down by \$4,300. This is a tax in and of itself. I'll call it the economy tax. It's been crushing.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***50. In both cases where they've done so, there is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

***51. In the case of the Helsinki agreement - it may have been a good agreement at the beginning, but we have failed to enforce the so-called basket three part, which insures the right of people to migrate, to join their families, to be free, to speak out.**

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

Post-Test

Rate Candidate Ford on a scale of 1-7 (1 worst, 7 best)

52. Intelligent

Very unintelligent

Very intelligent

53. Strong

Very weak

Very strong

54. Warm

Very cold

Very warm

55. Sense of humor

Poor sense of humor

Good sense of humor

56. Leadership potential

Poor potential

Excellent potential

Post Test

Rate Candidate Ford on a scale of 1-7 (1 worst, 7 best)

57. Trustworthy

Very untrustworthy

Very trustworthy

58. Competent

Very incompetent

Very competent

59. Active

Very passive

Very active

60. Articulate

Very inarticulate

Very articulate

61. Personable

Not personable

Very personable

Post Test

Rate Candidate Carter on a scale of 1-7 (1 worst, 7 best)

62. Intelligent

Very unintelligent

Very intelligent

63. Strong

Very weak

Very strong

64. Warm

Very cold

Very warm

65. Sense of humor

Poor sense of humor

Good sense of humor

66. Leadership potential

Poor potential

Excellent potential

Post Test

Rate Candidate Carter on a scale of 1-7 (1 worst, 7 best)

67. Trustworthy

Very untrustworthy

Very trustworthy

68. Competent

Very incompetent

Very competent

69. Active

Very passive

Very active

70. Articulate

Very inarticulate

Very articulate

71. Personable

Not personable

Very personable

Post Test

Indicate your agreement to the following statements:

78. I believed Candidate Carter performed well in this debate.

Very bad

Very good

79. I believe Candidate Ford performed well in this debate.

Very bad

Very good

80. Who did you believe was the winner of the debate?

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

Post Test

Indicate your agreement to the following statements:

81. On the basis of what I have seen in this debate, I believe Candidate Carter would make a good president.

Strongly
disagree

Strongly
agree

82. On the basis of what I have seen in this debate, I believe Candidate Ford would make a good president.

Strongly
disagree

Strongly
agree

83. I would be likely to vote for Candidate Carter.

Strongly
disagree

Strongly
agree

84. I would be likely to vote for Candidate Ford.

Strongly
disagree

Strongly
agree

85. If you were to vote in this election, who would you vote for?

- Candidate Ford
- Candidate Carter
- Neither

Post Test

Indicate your agreement to the following statements:

86. How much had you heard or read about this debate, or any question in it, prior to today's experiment?

Nothing

Significant
Amount

87. Have you seen the 2012 movie Argo starring Ben Affleck?

Yes

No

Wrap Up Questions

Indicate your response on a scale of 1-7

88. How difficult was it to understand the content of the debate?

Not difficult

Very difficult

89. How motivated were you to follow the content of the debate?

Not motivated

Very motivated

90. How difficult was it to answer questions concerning the personalities of the candidate?

Not difficult

Very difficult

91. How difficult was it to select a winner for the debate?

Not difficult

Very difficult

92. How difficult was it to recall 4 statements or moments from the debate?

Not difficult

Very difficult

93. How difficult was it to recall the speaker of the 10 passages from the debate?

Not difficult

Very difficult

Personal Information

94. Gender Identification

- Male
- Female
- Neither

95. Year

- Freshman
- Sophomore
- Junior
- Senior

96. School of Study

- Arts
- Sciences
- Business
- Leadership Studies

97. Party Affiliation

- Democrat
- Republican
- Neither

98. Cumulative GPA Range on a 4.0 Scale

- Below 2.0
- 2.0-2.5
- 2.5-3.0
- 3.0-3.5
- 3.5-4.0

