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A DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF THE RESPONSE OF SELECTED GROUPS  
TOWARD CONTROVERSIAL SYMBOLS AND SLOGANS

THESIS

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By

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The purpose of this study is twofold: (1) to describe the functions performed by symbols and slogans in communicating ideas, and (2) to quantify the responses of selected groups to contemporary controversial slogans and symbols.

Chapter II presents a theoretical description of the impact of symbols and slogans in society. Symbols are basically non-verbal efforts to catch attention, arouse emotion, and motivate beliefs. Symbols are often classified with slogans and functions in many of the same ways. A slogan may be defined as a stereotyping group of words, usually in the form of a short sentence, used to stimulate emotional reactions for the purpose of polarizing individuals and groups in support of or opposition to a cause. The wording of slogans is often represented by the use of familiar but vague terminology, the use of authoritative tone achieved through misuse of "is" and either/or thinking, and the use of brevity, simplicity, euphonic appeal and repetition in verbal structure. Slogans allow for easy release of hostility, may become verbal flags used to unite groups behind a cause, often appeal to the insecure personality, and tend to articulate the extreme positions.

Chapter III examines the contemporary "meaning" of two slogans and two symbols in the perceptions of certain political and social groups. The discussion focuses primarily on results obtained from the use of the semantic differential technique in testing. The study is limited to the four concepts which include (1) "Make love, not war," (2) "America, love it or leave it," (3) the "peace symbol," and (4) the American flag. Five groups of people were chosen to take the test including (1) young people at Lee Park in Dallas and at North Texas State University, (2) adults at a Unitarian church in Dallas, (3) students at a technical school in Dallas, (4) member of the Air National Guard, and (5) members of the John Birch Society. The results compared the mean scores of each group on each concept with nineteen adjective sets. Three additional groups were isolated by selecting subjects who rated themselves as either "very liberal," "very conservative," or "middle-of-the-road" on a self-rating scale included in the research package. The scores revealed a distinct separation between the groups. The "very conservative" and the John Birch Society strongly rejected the slogan, "Make love, not war," and the peace symbol; but they strongly affirmed the slogan "America, love it or leave it," and the American flag. The "very liberal," the Lee Park group, and the Unitarians reacted in an opposite pattern except for their reactions to the American flag which was neither affirmed or rejected. There was a shift toward "emotional" on the "emotional-rational" adjective set on the

part of all groups in relation to each concept. It may be concluded that (1) the perceived meaning of symbols and slogans was accurately recorded by the semantic differential technique, (2) that meaning is influenced by group affiliation, and (3) that meaning tends to be "emotional" rather than "rational."

Chapter IV discusses some relevant similarities between the four concepts studied in Chapter III and the theories described in Chapter II. The study concludes that symbols and slogans are highly persuasive techniques which are based at least in part on emotional stimulation. When logical interaction is needed, symbols and slogans should be avoided. When emotional motivation is needed, symbols and slogans may provide an effective means of persuasion.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Throughout history man has struggled with the conflicting forces of good and evil existing simultaneously within elements necessary for survival. Fire causes destruction yet provides comfort. Floods demolish homes, but water is essential for nourishment. Weapons destroy life in order to assure its continuation. Words and other symbols enhance communication and are necessary in the maintenance of group living, but can be used to destroy all they are meant to support. Hertzler notes that

Words may be used to shape people's beliefs, prejudices, fears, ideals, and aspirations. They are used to arouse wonder, indignation and horror. They are a profound means of influencing the thoughts of persons. They can stir the energies of persons and groups, and stimulate all manner of individual and social behavior. They are used in making pleas and requests for action. They are the instruments whereby men and their organizations issue their directives. . . informally and formally. . . to each other.

In our modern intercommunicating and interdependent world, there rages a "war of words," as various kinds of interest groups and authority groups devise and manipulate language to persuade, direct, mislead, confuse, exploit, enslave or regulate people.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Joyce O. Hertzler, A Sociology of Language (New York, 1965), p. 282.



This "war of words" can be described as a battle for men's minds. Within the battle, words and symbols like fire, water, or weapons may be used for either constructive or destructive results. They are the basic raw material in persuasive communication. One form of oral and written communication considered to be highly persuasive is the slogan. A close relative of the slogan is the non-verbal symbol often used to represent a movement. Although the symbol cannot be classified as a word or group of words, it carries a message and has an impact much like that of a slogan. These two interrelated weapons of communication-- symbols and slogans--are the subjects of this study. The purpose of this study is to describe the functions performed by symbols and slogans in communicating ideas, and to quantify the response of selected groups to contemporary controversial slogans and symbols.

Although this study will focus on the meaning and relevance of slogans, considerable attention will also be paid to symbols and their role in the communication process. This thesis will approach the study of slogans and symbols from two points of view. The first part, represented by chapter two, will present a theoretical description of the impact of slogans and symbols in society. The second part, which is discussed in chapter three, will examine the contemporary "meaning" of selected controversial slogans and

symbols in the perceptions of certain political and social groups.

### The Significance of the Study

This study is significant because (1) it is in line with the traditional kinds of rhetorical studies, and (2) symbols and slogans have played a significant roll in communication throughout history in the United States and other countries.

Since the time of Aristotle, rhetorical scholars have attempted to measure the effectiveness of persuasive communication. If it is considered socially and rhetorically significant to interpret the meaning and evaluate the persuasive effects of speeches, then it must also be socially and rhetorically significant to apply these tools of criticism and evaluation to symbols and slogans.

In The Measurement of Meaning, by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, the authors note:

Of all the imps that inhabit the nervous system - - - that "Little Black Box" in psychological theorizing - - - the one we call "meaning" is held in common consent to be the most illusive. Yet, again by common consent to social scientist, this variable is one of the most important determinants of human behavior. It therefore behooves us to try, at least, to find some kind of objective index.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suci, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning (Chicago, 1967), p.10.

Meaning consequently is deposited in symbols and slogans. Meaning is an important determinant of human behavior; therefore, symbols and slogans become a very significant form of communication to study. Hertzler adds in A Sociology of Language that:

The witchery of words and phrases in beguiling, spellbinding or stampeding people is demonstrated in . . . the use of catchwords and slogans by agitators, politicians, religious persuaders, advertisers, and all others who endeavor to catch the public . . .<sup>3</sup>

S. I. Hayakawa has suggested that with certain ritual verbalisms "we influence and to an enormous extent control human events . . ."<sup>4</sup> Joost A. M. Meerloo notes in Conversation and Communication that:

Present-day civilization has produced a struggle between spontaneity and sloganizing, commercialism and creativity, which will have an important influence on the development of the human mind.<sup>5</sup>

Meerloo further contends that the cold war has become "the perverted strategy of sloganizing." He suggests that before one attacks an enemy, he should capture the opposition's reservoir of slogans, making them his own. We live in an age of devaluation of language as seen by the fact that

<sup>3</sup>Hertzler, op. cit., p. 296.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>5</sup>Joost A. M. Meerloo, Conversation and Communication, (New York, 1952), p. 101.

"peace is war, and war is peace." Tyranny is called liberty and democracy is seen as tyranny. The fallacious verbal identification acts with a strength more powerful than political realities.<sup>6</sup>

Frederick Lumley expresses his opinion of the significance of slogans in his book, Means of Social Control.<sup>7</sup> He believes that slogans have an almost universal influence.

History speaks for itself in affirmation of the use of slogans in persuasion. Cato the Elder is said to have originated the slogan "delenda est Carthago" [Carthage must be destroyed] at the conclusion of Rome's struggle with Carthage in 146 B. C. According to Green's History, "quaint rhymes," considered to be essentially slogans, passed through the country in the Middle Ages during the Peasant's Revolt to 1377-1381 and served as a summons to revolt. When the English calendar was corrected in 1751 by the dropping of eleven days, opposition was aroused by the idea that eleven days wages were being lost and "Give us back our eleven days" became a popular slogan. Nelson's

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>7</sup> Frederick Elemore Lumley, Means of Social Control (New York, 1925), pp. 177-178: "That a slogan is in everybody's mouth for a time is a demonstrable fact; that the people who mouth it are to some extent influenced by it, would seem to be a sound deduction. At any rate, noted students of the subject have felt that such an inference is safe. . . In every age, after a brief period of uncertainty, the needs and aspirations of the masses eventually find expression in short, sententious phrases. Universally accepted, they ballast the nation's mentality, give guidance to the emotions, and give rise to a unity of consciousness and action."

signal at Trafalgar, "England expects every man to do his duty," is a more recent example of a slogan that took hold upon popular fancy. Other examples of national slogans are "Scotland forever" and "Erin-go-bragh."<sup>8</sup>

The American Revolution began with the slogan "No taxation without representation." Texas won its independence from Mexico amid shouts of "Remember the Alamo." America conquered the Western frontier with the motivation of "Go West, young man, Go West," and the blinding but courage-building statement, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." The Civil War was fraught with slogans and symbols. Even after the conclusion, the South found comfort in "Save your Confederate money. . .the South will rise again." Other memorable examples from the past are "Fifty-four-forty or fight," "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes," "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," "I'd rather be dead than red," and "Uncle Sam wants you."

Symbols such as the V for victory, the Republican elephant, the Democratic donkey, and even our American flag- -all seem turgid with meaning for those who support a cause.

Americans are presently engaged in a freeway dialogue of decals and bumper stickers conveying such statements as

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

"America, love it or leave it," "The flag. . .defend it," and "Silent Majority: Agnew tells it like it is," In rebuttal, flag users of a different persuasion have advocated "Peace now, get out of Viet Nam," "Make love not war," disarmament semaphores and ecology symbols.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, slogans are not only a modern device, but have served well to rally people around the standards of those leaders who are fighting for a cause. The truth in the saying: "The world will belong to the best maker of slogans," has been demonstrated over and over again throughout the course of history.<sup>10</sup> If in the future, the newly emerging slogan "Remember Kent State" comes to mean to students what "Remember the Alamo" meant to Texans, the results may greatly alter the stability of our educational institutions.

This chapter has delineated the purpose and significance of this thesis. The next chapter will discuss, in a theoretical framework, the role and function of slogans and symbols in complex social situations.

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<sup>9</sup>"The Fight Over the Flag: Patriots and Put-Ons," Time, XCVI, No. 1 (July 6, 1970), p. 8.

<sup>10</sup>Lumley, op. cit., p. 162.

## CHAPTER II

### THE FUNCTIONS PERFORMED BY SYMBOLS AND SLOGANS IN COMMUNICATING IDEAS

The intent of this chapter will be to examine the nature of symbols and slogans and their functions in the communication of ideas and feelings. Since both symbols and slogans function as means of social control in very similar ways, comparisons between the two forms of communication will be made when possible. This relationship between symbols and slogans should become more evident as the chapter progresses.

#### The Nature of Symbols

The term "symbol" has many referents. Psychology, sociology, religion, advertising, and other fields all have their special connotations of the word. In the following discussion, "symbol" will refer to a basically non-verbal drawing, picture, or logo that is designed to catch the attention and arouse emotions on behalf of a movement, organization, or a cause. Symbols are found in many forms. Among these are emblems, posters, pennants, bumper stickers, and flags. Chapultepec Castle in Mexico City has decorated stained glass windows with the picture of a grasshopper, the symbol representing the castle and surrounding park. An American battle flag in 1776 was decorated with the symbol of a coiled snake and the words "Don't Tread on Me."

Because symbols are frequently accompanied by or associated with slogans, the two forms of communication can frequently be discussed together. Much of what will apply to slogans will also apply to symbols; however, symbols are essentially non-verbal and possibly allow for more ambiguity in interpretation.

In The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America, Daniel Boorstin discusses what advertisers consider to be the essential qualities of an effective trade-mark. Much similarity can be found in the qualities of a good trade-mark and effective symbols used in or out of the field of advertising. Boorstin quotes from the 1960 May-June issue of Capital Airline's magazine for air travelers:

The trade-mark is a kind of shorthand symbol for a corporation. It is a memory trigger. If it is a good one, it can in an instant, utilizing conscious and unconscious forces, reflect a corporate image effectively and accurately. That corporate image can be worth tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions in sales. . . trade-marks should be adaptable to all media. . .visually effective when reduced to the size of a dime. . . effective when blown up for use on a billboard. . . effective in black and white or in color, on television, or letterheads, on the sides of trucks, on packages or in displays.

A good case in point of the kind of problem faced in this connection is the new Capital Airlines symbol introduced recently. This symbol had to be effective in the highly competitive environment of the busy airport. . .

The symbol must have eye-appeal. But at the same time it is important that it reflect the image that the company is trying to create. The IBM symbol, for example, would be totally wrong for Coca-Cola; Olivetti would be equally wrong for Esso. Yet each of these is considered an excellent one in its right.



In the battle for consumer recognition- -1,581 messages a family every day- -the shorthand message these trade-marks send is still being received.<sup>11</sup>

Like trade-marks, symbols send shorthand messages that trigger the memory and utilize conscious and unconscious forces to reflect an image not only of a product, but also of a president, a nation, a social movement, or even a religion. Visual affectiveness and adaptability may be just as useful in promoting the idea of black power as in convincing the American house wife to "put a dove in her dishwater," and a "tiger in her tank."

Machiavelli suggested that any person wishing to become a leader of men should appear before a multitude with all possible grace and dignity, and attired with all the insignia of his rank, so as to inspire the more respect.<sup>12</sup> Adolf Hitler used symbols as part of his propaganda machine, according to Qualter, in his treatise Propaganda and Psychological Warfare:

Uniforms, bands, flags, symbols were all part of the German propaganda machine, designed by Hitler and Goebbels to increase the impact of strong words by evidence of strong deeds.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Daniel J. Boorstin, The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America (New York, 1961), pp. 195-196.

<sup>12</sup> Philip Zimbardo and Ebbie B. Ebbesen, Influencing Attitudes and Changing Behavior (Reading, Massachusetts, 1969), p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., p. 11.

Perhaps one reason for the effectiveness of symbols is the ease with which they seem able to arouse emotions. Speaking of both verbal and non-verbal symbols, Gordon Allport, in The Nature of Prejudice, suggests the results of emotional connections:

When symbols provoke strong emotions they are sometimes regarded no longer as symbols, but as actual things. . . Such naivete in confusing language with reality is hard to comprehend unless we recall that word-magic plays an appreciable part in human thinking.<sup>14</sup>

The voodoo doll might once have been considered as only a symbol of a victim. Later on, however, it must have become so closely associated with the individual that a harmful blow to the doll was believed to be enough to inflict the same circumstance on the victim. Some groups of people, both in the past and the present, believe that the symbol of the cross has enough power within it to ward off evil spirits. A red rose will wilt at the first sign of a vampire and mustard seeds give courage.

Merl E. Bonney in Techniques of Appeal and of Social Control further expresses the relationship between emotional reactions and symbols.

Aside from the use of emotionally toned words to promote confidence through the technique of association, other symbols such as a crown, a cross, or a flag are also used extensively for this purpose. Such symbols are useful in this respect, because a king's crown is not simply an arrangement of metal and jewels but is an object which stands for all that royalty signifies.

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<sup>14</sup> Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York, 1958), p. 182.

Likewise the cross to Christians is much more than two pieces of wood nailed together; it is an object of profound emotional attachment. A national flag is not merely a piece of cloth tacked to a stick; it is a stimulant of patriotic devotion.<sup>15</sup>

Just as a favorable symbol may be associated with highly positive emotions, so also the destruction of confidence and the inspiration of fear may be associated with unfavorable symbols. Bonney suggests that the figure of Satan, symbol of evil, is associated in some religious literature with the kinds of behavior considered immoral or sinful.<sup>16</sup> The figure of death is often associated with the practice of using drugs and alcohol, or driving dangerously.

The fact that a symbol communicates seems undeniable, but what it communicates is a harder question to answer. Perception is a maze of mysterious and illusive indistinguishable relationships. Communication theorists are just beginning to understand how even the simplest of words can contain many different meanings for different people. The slogan "Meanings are in people not in words" is perhaps even more applicable to a symbol than to a slogan. If meanings are in people, the absence of words removes an interpretational boundary and provides opportunity for even more individuality

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<sup>15</sup>Merl E. Bonney, Techniques of Appeal and of Social Control (Menash, Wisconsin, 1934), pp. 28-29.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

of reactions. Bonney suggests that people are greatly aided in forming clear conceptions and in making rational decisions when the appeals which are directed to them are not couched in terms calculated to arouse emotional responses which pre-determine judgments in advance of a consideration of evidence.<sup>17</sup> Emotional response seems to be the key to the effectiveness of symbols. This basic relationship seems also true of slogans.

In short, symbols are basically non-verbal efforts to catch attention, arouse emotion and motivate beliefs. They make use of many of the best advertising techniques applied to the development of trade-marks. Symbols are memory-triggers that utilize conscious and unconscious forces to reflect an image. Their emotion-provoking power is enhanced because human beings have a tendency to confuse the symbol with the thing it represents. The specific meaning existing in symbols is difficult to isolate because of their non-verbal nature and the complexities of perception. Symbols are often seen together with slogans and function in many of the same ways. The following section will discuss slogans in an attempt to better understand their meaning.

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<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 51.

### The Nature of Slogans

The remainder of this chapter will deal specifically with slogans. A functional definition articulating major characteristics of a slogan will be formulated through observation of historical development of the word and present definitions found in available literature. Next, the areas of communication where slogans are most often used will be observed. Finally, the nature of slogans will be discussed in terms of specific characteristics and effects.

An interesting similarity is revealed between the development of the word "slogan" and its present use:

The slogan. . . comes to us from the Gaelic and appears to be a term formed by the contraction of two words, "Slaugh" meaning an army or fighting group, and "Ghairm" meaning a call or calling. Among the highlanders of Scotland, the "sluaghghairm" was the rallying-cry or gathering-call to assemble the hardy followers in times of clan danger or active aggression. It was variously the name of the clan and sometimes the name of the place of meeting. The loyal supporters of haughty chiefs, separated by mountains, rivers and local interests, were suddenly lifted out of themselves and swept together by "the slogan's deadly yell," as Sir Walter Scott has it.<sup>18</sup>

Today, a slogan still functions as a rallying cry to band people together and promote action and belief. Lumley defines the slogan as any brief, popularly received and

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<sup>18</sup>Lumley, op. cit., pp. 160-161.

reiterated challenge to immediate participation in competitive or conflicting social interactions.<sup>19</sup> In the past the "sluaghghairm" may have only been used in time of war, but today the slogan is seen everywhere from politics and advertising to religion.

Meerloo contends that certain words may so affect our nervous system as to give us a preconditioned physiological and emotional reaction. These catchwords or slogans then become pushbuttons that act as signals to discharge special feelings and action.<sup>20</sup>

Joyce Hertzler calls the slogan a "catchline" that labels and stereotypes social objectives and definitions. It functions as a stimulus to arouse known social attitudes and produce conditioned responses. If repeated often enough, it allays doubt, suspicion and criticism and smothers or substitutes for independent thought.<sup>21</sup>

In summary, a slogan may be broadly defined as a stereotyping group of words usually in the form of a short sentence used to stimulate emotional reactions for the purpose of bannng people together in support or opposition to a cause.

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>20</sup> Meerloo, op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> Hertzler, op. cit., p. 296.

Slogans and symbols have proven themselves to be affective conveyors of meaning throughout history in war, politics, religion, and advertising.

The slogan has never ceased to be an effective war instrument. A soldier returning from war in 1921 is said to have praised the slogan, "Get Germany" as being the outstanding, ever-reiterated, clarion challenge to American soldiers. This slogan helped the soldiers to associate readily and agreeably with all sorts of men, endure and even enjoy the otherwise deadening homesickness, become knit up into an invincible and terrific engine of destruction, recover miraculously from serious wounds, and to "put it across" while they were "over there."<sup>22</sup>

Slogans seem to be inspirational in not only war, but also politics.

The game of politics, whether of local, national or international proportions, would be a tame affair without slogans. . . The Reform Bill of 1832 was responsible for the appearance of two: "The Bill, the whole Bill and nothing but the Bill," and "To stop the Duke, go for gold," an exhortation with which London was placarded with the purpose of bringing about a run on the banks in order to prevent the Duke of Wellington from forming a government. . .

Famous slogans circulated in this country at various times, for political and broadly social effect are: "No taxation without representation," "The full dinner pail," "Remember the Maine," "Less government in business; more business in government," "Labor produces wealth," "Might makes right," "One big Union," . . . "Make the world safe for democracy."<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 165.

Mario Pei in The Story of Language suggests that language has hidden powers to stimulate political action, as proved by such slogans as "Workers of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains."<sup>24</sup>

Pei gives credit to the French revolution for producing the most slogans and political catchwords, but he also suggests that the Russian revolutionary leaders were "steeped in the lore of the earlier upheavel, and they used its terminology abundantly."<sup>25</sup>

Whenever there is a division of opinion over what seems to be a matter of importance to some people slogans appear.

The slogan also appears in religion and advertising although, in these kinds of persuasion, it is usually designed more for promotional purposes rather than to settle a difference of opinion. Although religion may possible use fewer slogans in the literal sense, the scriptures seen in the Bible provide a very popular verbal device which appears to be quite similar to the slogan. This device, known as the proberb, embellishes a large percentage of sermons and other religious promotional literature. Joyce O. Hertzler considers the proverb as a verbal controlling device:

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<sup>24</sup>

Mario Pei, The Story of Language (New York, 1966), p. 260.

<sup>25</sup>

Ibid., p. 260.



They are condensed language forms: the facts and principles are presented in short sentences, often in quaint or striking, figurative, pithy, even pungent form. They have been referred to as "nuggets of wisdom" and "capsular knowledge." Cervantes defined a proverb as "a short sentence drawn from long experience."<sup>26</sup>

"Do unto others as you would have them do unto you" has characteristics that match the definition of a slogan although it functions by a different name. Like the modern slogan "Black is Beautiful" it is a simple affirmation promoting an idea. Both statements are "pungent results of experiences" and are designed to create an emotional reaction.

Proverbs sometimes suggest more resignation than do slogans, as seen by the proverb: "When distress is greatest, rescue is close at hand." Thousands of victims of German persecution went to their deaths with this proverb in their minds or on their lips.<sup>27</sup> Having something short, strong, and persuasive to say may give people courage and/or strength of conviction whether it is a proverb or a slogan.

Last of the four areas in which slogans are seen as popular persuasive devices is advertising. Radio and television offer countless examples. Dina Shore is still remembered by many for her melodious suggestion: "See the U.S.A. in a Chevrolet." Advertising slogans are not only primar-

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<sup>26</sup> Hertzler, op. cit., p. 284.

<sup>27</sup> Meerloo, op. cit., p. 98.

ily promotional in nature, but also they usually lack any suggestion of hostility and often incorporate the use of questions and humor: "Wouldn't you really rather have a Buick?" "Does she or doesn't she? Only her hair dresser knows for sure." "Need gas- -or something?" "Let Hertz put you in the driver's seat."

Robert Townsend in his book, Up the Organization, proudly describes the results of the advertising campaign centered around the Avis slogan "We're number two. We try harder." The Avis international sales growth rate increased from ten per cent to thirty five per cent in only two years.<sup>28</sup>

Printer's Ink compiled a list of over three hundred and fifty slogans that were "nationally known" in the nineteen twenties.<sup>29</sup>

A radio station in Dallas recently sponsored a contest in which people were asked to name the products associated with certain slogans. The prize was a year's free shopping at any Kroger grocery store. The contest lasted several weeks and presented over fifty slogans. To the amazement

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<sup>28</sup> Robert Townsend, Up the Organization (New York, 1970), p. 20.

<sup>29</sup> Lumley, op. cit., p. 165.

of the sponsors, the number of "winners" was so large that it was necessary to use a theatre auditorium for a run-off to select the recipient of the prize. Although there were other variables influencing the number of people able to match the slogans to the products, the popularity of the slogans was at least one factor. Frederick Lumley suggests that no advertising campaign would be complete without the employment of slogans.<sup>30</sup>

War, politics, religions, and advertising are four of the most prominent areas where slogans are often used. Many other examples could be cited; however, the evidence observed in these four areas seems adequate proof that the use of slogans is wide-spread in society.

The basic reason for the popularity of slogans can probably be traced to the strong emotional appeal that slogans seem to possess; however, the question of why slogans possess such strong emotional appeal has only partially been answered. The remainder of this chapter will attempt to articulate some specific reasons.

A better understanding of the power of slogans may be achieved by observing specific characteristics and affects which seem to strengthen the emotional appeal of slogans. These persuasive advantages of slogans may be grouped into

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

seven interrelated categories for the purpose of discussion. The first three categories will deal with the wording of slogans. These categories pertain to (1) the use of familiar but semantically vague terminology, (2) the use of authoritative tone, and (3) the use of brevity, simplicity, euphonic appeal and repetition in verbal structure. Some of the results of these techniques will be presented as the categories are discussed; however, a more detailed description of the affects of slogans will be found in the remaining four categories, which will include: (4) the release of hostility, (5) the slogan as a verbal flag, (6) appeal to the insecure personality, and (7) the articulation of only the extreme positions.

One of the most obvious distinctions between slogans and other forms of communication lies in the type of words used. Bonney suggests that when familiar words or phrases are used it is clear that people have a better chance of understanding what is said to them.<sup>31</sup> The use of well-known terminology guarantees that most people will be able to supply a referent immediately, but there is no specific guarantee that everyone will supply the same referent.

"Catchwords" is a term that may be used to describe certain forms of words often seen in slogans. The "catchword" was originally the last word spoken by one actor as a cue

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<sup>31</sup> Bonney, op. cit., p. 334.

for the next speaker. It was also the first word of a printed page reproduced at the end of the previous page as an aid to the memory. Lumley suggests that today the aim of catchwords is to make sure that the attention of the hearer does not wander, that his memory does not stray, and that his loyalty remains constant.<sup>32</sup> Catchwords are seen in slogans for the purpose of achieving familiarity. They cut sharply into the miscellaneous moods and interests of common life, secure attention, indicate some desirable objective, and secure active participation on the part of the audience.<sup>33</sup> "Love" and "War" are familiar words that "catch" in the minds of Americans. Combined in the slogan, "Make love, not war," these "catchwords" aid in communicating a concise message and a desirable goal. The meaning is familiar to everyone even if an exact definition is more obscure.

Sometimes, the fact that exact definitions are difficult to supply can aid the slogan in achieving universal appeal. Vague words which are half pictorial, and half symbolic represent condensed emotional values and symbolize reality:

We have met them before: Flag, honor, and country, or more directly personal ones like prosperity, happiness, ambition. The "heard" meaning of all of these words differs from the spoken meaning; speaker and listener attach different associations and values to the same word.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Lumley, op. cit., p. 161.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>34</sup> Meerloo, op. cit., p. 99.

Meerlo suggests that people who crave inertia take refuge in catchwords because tiresome thinking becomes unnecessary, yet hidden instincts are justified. He writes:

The catchword is linked, both for its originator and its audience, with the unknown area of less civilized brute drives. Behind the slogan, "The Jews are an inferior race," is the deeply hidden instinctual meaning, "We want to steal their livelihood and satisfy our unconscious murderous passions."<sup>35</sup>

The vagueness of words used in slogans may help the user to satisfy emotional needs without actually being aware of what he is doing. The use of terminology which is able to catch attention and arouse emotion has the advantage of more widespread appeal. It allows the user to be released from any obligation to logical thought and, with the use of the element of vagueness, such wording may even help the user to disguise socially unexceptable motives even from himself. Familiar but vague wording may greatly enhance the persuasive power of slogans.

The second characteristic of slogans is the use of an authoritative tone. Many slogans achieve this tone with devices such as the use of "is" and its derivatives, and the use of language in an either/or configuration.

Don Fabun suggests that one of the chief causes of the problems in everyday communications is the misuse of the word "is." Often, the use of "is" implies that the subject

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 98.

has been thoroughly examined and the most complete answer has been found.<sup>36</sup> He further suggests the danger of this kind of assumption:

When we use "is" as if it was an " = " sign in common speech, as in "truth is beauty" or "knowledge is power" we begin to wander rather far afield from the world we actually experience.<sup>37</sup>

Not only can the misuse of the word "is" cause the individual to wander from realistic thought, but also, the authoritative tone gained by having "said all there is to say" may reduce the individual's sense of obligation to question persuasive statements. Many slogans such as "Black is beautiful," "America is the home of the free," and "Communication is the beginning of understanding," are examples of how "is" can give the statement a sense of completeness and authority.

A second device used in slogans to achieve an authoritative tone is language presented in an either/or configuration. Hitler is said to have persuaded the German people with the slogan, "Either you follow me or become a slave of Moscow." Bonney cites an excellent example of this technique used by

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<sup>36</sup> Don Fabun, Communications: The Transfer of Meaning (Beverly Hills, California, 1968), p. 39.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

Lenin.<sup>38</sup> Lenin compressed a great deal of meaning into a simple understandable form with the use of the either/or configuration in the slogan, "There are only two classes-- the exploited and the exploiters." He was able to take advantage of what Fabun calls a natural human tendency to categorize the elements of our world. The slogan "See one and you've seen them all" reflects this tendency. Fabun contends that it takes a conscious effort to recognize the differences and the nuances that make each thing unique in its own way.<sup>39</sup> Perhaps a workman who perceived himself as a member of the exploited in Lenin's time would have found recognition of other alternatives to be a difficult if not impossible task.

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Bonney, op. cit., p. 351: "The use of this technique is illustrated in a story to the effect that a very well educated man in Russia was once trying to dissuade a simple-minded workman from his allegiance to Lenin. According to the story the educated man had spent considerable time citing data and outlining profound arguments to prove to the workman that many of the things which his party professed to stand for were illogical and unsound, and after he had finished the workman replied, 'But Lenin says that there are only two classes-- the exploited and the exploiters--and that I am one of the exploited.' Thus had the worker's mind been narrowed to one major point by his revolutionary leader. He felt no need of attempting to answer profound arguments because to him only one thing was of any importance--that he was one of the exploited."

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Fabun, op. cit., p. 44.



The authoritative tone achieved with the misuse of "is" and language structured in an either/or configuration gains additional persuasiveness because of the fact that people often like to be commanded.<sup>40</sup> Man has never been able to make all of his life's decisions alone. Group living is necessary for survival but it is a complicated activity filled with the unexpected. Man has learned to look to authorities in religion and government to help give him rules for social living when he didn't have the time or the ability to reason through each specific situation for himself. The child develops a need for parental authority early in life. The slogan "Spare the rod and spoil the child" may have far-reaching implications. By the time an individual reaches adulthood, he is sometimes so accustomed to commands that he may have an almost subconscious desire to comply. By presenting slogans like authoritative commands the user may take advantage of man's desire to follow a leader.

The symbols of office and slogans surrounding it offer excellent examples of persuasiveness made stronger because of an authoritative tone:

On election day the voice of the people become the voice of God. Judge, jury, lawyers--the condemned man himself--are humbled alike before the majesty of the laws. Insignia of office have weight in and of themselves. "The office makes the man;" "When God gives a man an office, he gives him brains enough to fill it;" "A dog's obeyed

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Lumley, op. cit., p. 174.

in office"- - -are proverbial recognitions of this. We do not question a policeman's knowledge of law, we obey his uniform.<sup>41</sup>

In summary, authoritative tone in slogans gains persuasive power because verbal tactics such as the misuse of "is" and language structured in an either/or configuration imply that no additional thinking is necessary. Man's natural desire to be commanded gives additional potency to authority.

Slogans become even more powerful tools of social control because of their brevity, simplicity, euphonic appeal and ease of repetition. These attributes help slogans to be easy to remember and pleasing to say.

According to Lumley, slogans average about four words. The ideal is one phrase of from three to six words.<sup>42</sup> Making the slogan short compresses meaning into simple ideas that can be remembered. Hitler illustrated the advantages of this with his suggestion in Mein Kampf that the receptive ability of the masses is very small:

This being so, all effective propaganda must be confined to a very few points which must be brought out in the form of slogans until the very last man is enabled to comprehend what is meant by any slogan. If this principle is sacrificed to the desire to be many sided, it will dissipate the effectual working of the propaganda, for the people will be unable to digest or retain the material that is offered them. It will moreover, weaken and finally cancel its own effectiveness.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Hugh Dalziel Duncan, Communication and Social Order (London, 1962), p. 275.

<sup>42</sup> Lumley, op. cit., p. 171.

<sup>43</sup> Zambardo, op. cit., p. 11.

Brevity is essential for wide spread communication to be remembered. Brevity also has the additional advantage of supplying quick answers which take considerably more time to refute. "America, love it or leave it" is a short but powerful statement. It contains the either/or configuration which tends to ignore other positions. There is no quick way to articulate other alternatives. By the time another alternative is presented, the slogan user may have lost interest, labeled the reply as "weak and unorganized" or simply abandoned the verbal confrontation.

The ease with which slogans can be remembered is increased not only by brevity, but also because of euphonic appeal. One form of euphonic appeal is what Hertzler calls "word grip." She suggests that certain elements in tonal quality such tempo have the power to enhance the influence of communication.<sup>44</sup> Rhythm is a quality which relates to tempo, or the speed of delivery, and is often seen in slogans. Some are almost poetical. Examples from the nineteen twenties cited by Frederick Lumley are "Proven by the test of time," "The interest of one is the interest of all," "Woven where the wool is grown," and "The skin you love to touch."<sup>45</sup> More recent examples are "I'd rather be dead than red," and "Old soldiers never die- -they just fade away."

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<sup>44</sup>  
Hertzler, op. cit., p. 267.

<sup>45</sup>  
Lumley, op. cit., p. 170.

Euphonic appeal is also achieved with the use of an alliterative quality often found in slogans. Sometimes, alliteration is combined with antithesis.

During the silver controversy in this country, of which cause Bryan was a supporter in 1896, some opponents of the proposition were captivated by the assertion "The white man with the yellow metal is beaten by the yellow man with the white metal." In 1844 the watchword "Fifty-four forty or fight," almost provoked war. Probably no such excitement could have been produced by shouting "Twenty-one sixteen or fight."<sup>46</sup>

Sounds as well as letters are often repeated as seen in examples: "An apple a day keeps the doctor away," and "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." These techniques make slogans more pleasing to the ear.

Brevity and euphonic appeal not only make slogans memorable because they simplify and/or rhythmically decorate communication, but also because they enhance the ease with which slogans can be repeated. Joyce Hertzler suggests that repetition of words and phrases can have a paralyzing effect.

Robert Owen said, "Never argue; repeat your assertions." Noisemaking using words as bullying with the use of amplifiers the illogicality of the words and sentences uttered over them is hidden, doubt and criticism are beaten down and the fear or hesitation of the shouters is evaded or masked.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

<sup>47</sup> Gustav Scheiser, "Structures and Dynamics of Personal Relations" American Sociological Review, 8(June, 1943), pp.302-304, cited in Joyce O. Hertzler, A Sociology of Language, p.295.

Napoleon said that the only figure in rhetoric of serious importance is repetition.<sup>48</sup> Perhaps this ease of repetition is one of the slogan's most powerful persuasive elements.

In summary, the first three categories have discussed the nature of wording usually found in slogans. Familiar but vague terminology arouses emotion, inhibits logical thought, appeals universally and sometimes disguises motives. Authoritative tone makes the articulation of other alternatives more difficult, and appeals to man's natural desire to be commanded. Brevity and euphonic appeal make slogans easy to remember and repeat. Together, these three elements must provide slogans with strong persuasive power.

As the first three categories have been discussed, the results of kinds of wording have also been suggested; however, further discussion of the effects and/or uses of slogans is needed in order to understand their significance as tools of social control. The remaining four categories will present other social control attributes of slogans which can only partially be explained by the use of forms of wording seen in categories one, two, and three.

The first social control advantage not mentioned previously is the ease with which slogans allow people to verbally express hostility. Meerloo suggests that catchwords or slogans

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<sup>48</sup> Lumley, op. cit., p. 171.

make it easier for groups to discharge pent-up wrath.<sup>49</sup> The mother who coined the slogan, "Children should be seen and not heard" probably knew quite well that verbal devices are a most effective means of dealing with anger and frustration. Unfortunately, many adults are taught to suppress their feelings rather than to express them. When hostility develops, a prefabricated verbal weapon may provide a vivid opportunity for emotional release. Not only is the person able to express hostility, but at the same time he is expressing a familiar idea which may gain him association with a group who support his feelings.

The second characteristic of slogans as devices for social control is the tendency for slogans to become verbal flags to represent a movement or a philosophy behind which groups of people cluster in support. Meerloo gives examples of how slogans can become verbal flags:

In times of political turmoil catchwords flower and there is a craving for easy slogans. Opportunists invent new combinations of words to solve the world's woes. Old combinations fall into disrepute and become suspect. Discussion- -talking out matters in everyday language- - becomes difficult and even dangerous. You are expected to have an up-to-date political vocabulary. If you don't understand radical slang you cannot be a radical; if you have no ear for capitalist slang, you cannot identify with the capitalist, either.<sup>50</sup>

Slogans used as verbal flags identify and represent a stereotyped view of a movement's position. They can also be

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<sup>49</sup> Meerloo, op. cit., p. 101.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

used as a rallying cry to group individuals together giving them direction and a sense of security.

The insecure person who is constantly threatened by his environment may be most vulnerable to slogans. Such a person may find a deep sense of personal identity with the slogan. With its use, he may be aligned with a group for security. Just as the "watchword" was used in medieval times to gain admittance through castle gates after dark, the insecure person may use a slogan to gain approval and acceptance from his group. Since a slogan possesses an air of authority which is difficult to refute, the insecure person may be able to avoid threatening arguments and agonizing situational evaluations with its use. He has a "rule to think and live by" which provides simple answers to threatening questions.

When insecurity exists on a national scale, as it did in Germany after World War One, then the appeal of slogans becomes even broader. What is true of the individual suffering from insecurity may become true of the group as a whole. Just as the child who seems the toughest may well be the most frightened inside, so an entire nation that feels weak may verbalize intolerant superiority through slogans.

Nations that have recent recollections of fighting for their statehood often record the fact in a slogan; Indonesia's Merdeka and Kenya's Uhuru both mean "freedom," while Ireland's An Poblacht Abu is "Up the Republic!" Some slogans are ephemeral, describing a situation which is temporary, like Yemen's "Free Yemen Fights for God, Iman, and Country against Imperialistic Egyptian Agression," which appears on Yemenite stamps. It remained for a South African nationalistic organization, the

Afrikaaner Broederbond, to develop a slogan that was linguistic as well as political: Een volk, een land, een taal, "One people, one land, one language."<sup>51</sup>

A nation struggling to establish its identity can use the slogan as not only a verbal flag symbolizing the new nation, but also as an ego builder to create a sense of security.

The last characteristic of slogans as tools of social control may be the most potentially dangerous. Because slogans compress meaning and function as verbal flags, they often articulate only the extreme positions on an issue. The symbol-slogan battle generated out of the war in Viet Nam, the racial issue, and the youth versus the establishment controversy offer some contemporary examples. "America, love it or leave it" articulates one extreme while "America, change it to love it" expresses the other. Automobile bumper stickers are a very popular source of these slogans. Between these two positions there must be a large number of people who cannot completely agree with either side; however, their opinions are not publicized with constant repetition and simplicity. When the radical newspapers in the South became the loudest vehicle of communication before the Civil War, bipolarization began and war resulted. When slogans articulating extreme positions become too popular they may serve as

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<sup>51</sup> Pei, op. cit., p. 277.



catalysts for bipolarization. Hopefully, the United States is not destined to experience another internal conflict of the magnitude of the Civil War; however, the conflicts that do exist may be harder to solve if slogans articulating only the extreme become a strong device for structuring popular opinions.

In an effort to combat the tendency of slogans to articulate only the extreme, Time magazine has recently printed a full page symbol-slogan advertisement designed to unite the extremes rather than to separate them. Five men representing conflicting groups in our society are pictured struggling to right an American flag. Their positions closely parallel the sculpture of American soldiers righting the flag on Iwo Jima. Below the picture are the words, "Keep America."<sup>52</sup> Although this is only an isolated example perhaps it indicated that just as "fire can be fought with fire" so symbols that tend to bipolarize can be fought with symbols which tend to unite.

In summary, the discussion of slogans has presented a definition and a brief view of four areas in society where persuasion through slogans exists. The remainder of the chapter presented a discussion of seven groups of interrelated characteristics which partially explain the emotional appeal and persuasive power of slogans. Slogans may be defined as a stereotyping group of words usually in the form of a short

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<sup>52</sup>Time, XCVI, No. 1 (July 6, 1970) p. 66.

sentence used to stimulate emotional reactions for the purpose of banning people together in support or opposition to a cause. This kind of communication is seen in war, politics, religion, and advertising. The power of slogans is enhanced by (1) the use of familiar but semantically vague terminology, (2) the use of authoritative tone, (3) the use of brevity, simplicity, euphonic appeal and repetition in verbal structure, (4) the ease with which hostility may be released through slogans, (5) the use of slogans as verbal flags, (6) the tendency of slogans to appeal to the insecure personality of an individual or a nation, and (7) the tendency of slogans to articulate only the extreme positions on an issue.

In the following chapter the slogans, "Make love not war," and "America, love it or leave it," will be discussed along with the peace symbol and the American flag as examples of meaningful communication. The planning, administration and results of a semantic differential test using these four examples will be explained in hope of partially analyzing group reactions to these examples of present conflicts within the United States.

## CHAPTER III

### THE CONTEMPORARY " MEANING" OF SELECTED CONTROVERSIAL SLOGANS AND SYMBOLS IN THE PERCEPTIONS OF CERTAIN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL GROUPS

The first part of this thesis presents a theoretical description of the impact of slogans and symbols in society. Although it is difficult to actually prove or disprove the theoretical constructs, they can be described through the process of experimentation. The second part of this thesis describes the results of a research project that attempts to quantify the meanings of various symbols and slogans in the perceptions of certain political and social groups. Two slogans and two symbols which are widely used in this country were selected for this study.

This discussion focuses primarily on results obtained from the use of the semantic differential technique in testing. This chapter presents the background and scope of the study, the procedures used, the results obtained and the resulting conclusions.

#### Background of the Study

The idea of using the semantic differential technique to describe the "meaning" of symbols and slogans originated in

a class project during the spring of 1970 at North Texas State University. A pilot study was developed to determine if any relevant information could be obtained with the use of the semantic differential technique.

In this study, three slogans, one symbol, and a picture taken from the cover of Life depicting the youth communes were used.<sup>53</sup> The slogans were (1) "America, love it or leave it," (2) "If you outlaw guns only outlaws will have guns," (3) "Make love, not war." The symbol used was the "peace symbol" which consisted of a circle dissected by a straight horizontal line in the center and two radial lines in a pie-shaped configuration. A semantic differential type test using these five pieces of communication in relation to several bipolarized adjective sets was administered to four groups of people differing in age and life styles.

The reactions of these groups appeared to be both strong and varied. A group of young people whose appearance and behavior indicated that they were members of the so-called "hippie-liberals" (Group I) reacted in a fashion which was almost the opposite of a group of relatively middle-aged individuals in a men's Optimist Club (Group II). These reactions were plotted on a seven-point scale running from extreme affirmative, represented by seven, to extreme negative, represented by one. All of the scales were compressed into single scores.

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<sup>53</sup>Life, LXVII, No. 3, (July 18, 1969).

In relation to the slogan, "America, love it or leave it," the young people's mean score was 2.3, while the men's club mean was 6.6. The young people reacted with a 5.8 mean score on the slogan "Make love, not war," while the men's club reacted with a mean score of 2.8. The peace symbol reaction was 6.2 for the young people and 2.3 for the men's club. A similar reaction was revealed for the picture from Life and the other two slogans.

The results suggested the conclusion that the young people were strongly in favor of the peace symbol, the Life picture, and the slogan, "Make love, not war," while the men's club was in strong opposition to these. The opposite reactions appeared to be true for the other two slogans which were highly favorable to the men's club and highly unfavorable to the young people.

Although a difference of opinion between two such groups of people may naturally be expected, such a strong contrast in reactions represents a vivid picture of the distance between the two groups. Because the perceptions of these two groups in relation to the meaning of these five pieces of communication were so intensely different and in opposition to one another, a more extensive study of the relative meaning of symbols and slogans was indicated. The results of the pilot study coupled with a rhetorical curiosity about symbols and slogans served as motivation for the present study.

### The Scope of the Study

This study is limited to two symbols and two slogans which broadly represent the youth versus the "establishment" controversy that has recently created conflict of ideologies related to politics, war, social mores and education.

T. George Harris noted in Psychology Today that many recent events such as the shootings at Kent State, the moratorium on "normal activities" at many universities, and the student-faculty coalition suggest that two American civilizations are in open conflict in something very close to a cultural civil war.<sup>54</sup> Philip E. Slater in his article, "Cultures in Collision" from Psychology Today distinguished between the two cultures in the following way:

The old culture, when forced to choose, tends to give preference to property rights over personal rights, technological requirements over human needs, competition over cooperation, violence over sexuality, concentration over distribution, the producer over the consumer, means over ends, secrecy over openness, social reforms over personal expression, striving over gratification, oedipal love over communal love, and so on. The new counterculture tends to reverse all of these priorities.<sup>55</sup>

The slogans and symbols chosen were selected because they seem to be the most obvious representations of cultural collision and bipolarization.

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<sup>54</sup> T. George Harris, "When Life-Style Becomes Lethal," Psychology Today, IV (July, 1970), p. 29.

<sup>55</sup> Philip E. Slater, "Cultures in Collision," Psychology Today, IV (July, 1970), p. 31.

The first statement chosen was "Make love, not war." This slogan was used because of its widespread popularity with the young, its association with the anti-war movement which exists in society today, and its general popularity with groups who support change in our social, political and educational structure. The use of this slogan does not seem to be limited to individuals under thirty, nor is its meaning limited to the idea of rejection of present military involvements, although these are its most obvious characteristics.

The second statement used was "America, love it or leave it." The wording of this slogan does not indicate that it carries exactly the opposite message from the first statement; however, the pilot study revealed that it possibly appeals more to groups of individuals who more strongly support the present established life-style in society. Although it is possible to define the word "love" in different connotations so that this slogan could be used by either side on almost any issue, its use can be attributed most often to individuals who consider themselves as members of the so-called "establishment." It was not chosen because it specifically refutes the anti-war movement, but because it broadly represents opposition to criticism and change.

Many of the people who identify with the slogan, "Make love, not war," also identify with a variety of youth-oriented movements for change in education, morals, and life-style. Conversely "America, love it or leave it," seems to appeal

more to individuals who support the status quo. The slogan, "America, change it or lose it" may be a more precise verbal refutation of "America, love it or leave it," but "America, change it to love it" does not seem to be displayed as often.

The peace symbol described in the pilot study was chosen because, like the first slogan, it appeals to the youth orientated movements for social and political change. Although it is specifically associated with anti-war ideology, its wide use indicates that its meaning may have broader implications.

Groups opposing its use believe that it was originally the anti-Christ symbol used in the middle ages by rebels against the Catholic Church. The association between the peace symbol and the "anti-Christ" idea may possibly be somewhat relevant to groups who oppose its use. Since Communism also rejects Christianity, some individuals may see the symbol as a Communistic device used as part of a program to win the minds of the young. The belief that Communism is associated with the peace symbol may have affected the reactions of some individuals who took the test.

The American flag was the second symbol chosen for use in the study. Probably the best known symbol of America, it may also be one of the most controversial at the present time. Tom Johnson observed, in a report in the Dallas Morning News, that the issue created by a number of flag insult cases in Dallas has generated a considerable judicial burden. This situation appears to be prevalent throughout the nation.



Henry Luce, publisher of Time, suggested that the national mood of today demands a reappraisal of the meaning of the American flag. He concluded that we need to better understand the "ifs, hows and whys of its present-day symbolism, where it is a unifying and where a divisive force."<sup>56</sup> The flag is being displayed not only in its customary fashion, but also on clothing in every area from the lapel to the seat of the pants, as a design to decorate glass ware, beadspreads, automobiles, and countless advertisements.

In support of their own causes, many groups seem to attach great importance to how the flag is shown. Time noted that the so-called "hard-hats" may possibly consider the flag to be an ego ideal purified of all doubts and contradictions which represents the motherland and should be defended like a wife or mother against any form of assault. Yet, James Stearn, a twenty-four year old Viet Nam veteran countered, in the same Time article, that he fought in Viet Nam for the kind of political freedom which would allow him to come home and wear the American flag as a shirt if he pleases.<sup>57</sup> Many American moderates are hesitant to fly the flag at all for fear that such a previously simple gesture of patriotism may now be

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<sup>56</sup> Tom Johnson, "Jurors Face Key Role in Flag Insult Cases," Dallas Morning News, (August 9, 1970), Sec. 1, p. 37.

<sup>57</sup> Henry Luce, "A Letter from the Publisher," Time, XCVI, No. 1, (July 6, 1970), p. 5.

missinterpreted because of the present bewildering political, cultural, commercial, civic and patriotic implications.<sup>58</sup> Dr. Paul Chodoff, professor of psychiatry at George Washington University, suggested that how a man feels about the flag may be a better index of his feeling about the country than what he says about the country.<sup>59</sup> As a result, both sides--the "youth" and the "establishment"--have appropriated the flag as a unique symbol with a particular meaning for their group.

The major factor that distinguishes which group it represents seems to be the manner in which it is displayed. More unorthodox representations of the flag and/or its design are used by groups in support of change, while groups in support of the status quo display the flag in more orthodox fashion. The anti-establishment youth may choose to sew the flag to the cuff of bellbottomed trousers, while the pro-establishment adult may wear it on the lapel. Unusual design using the flag motif seems to appeal more to the proponents of change while more conservative individuals refrain from distorting the flag in any fashion.

Automobile stickers are one of the best examples of how both sides differ in the manner of displaying the flag.

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<sup>58</sup> "Who Owns the Stars and Stripes," Time, XCVI, No. 1 (July 6, 1970), p. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

Proponents of change display the flag design with a peace symbol superimposed on its surface or as the body of a dove with head, tail and wings connected at the appropriate location. More conservative individuals seem to prefer stickers which represent the flag in a straight rectangular fashion.

The proposition that orthodox representation of the flag appeals more strongly to members of the so-called "establishment" who resist sweeping changes in life-style and social structure is the determining factor. The symbol used is a waving flag represented in an orthodox manner taken from an automobile sticker sold at a conservative book store in Dallas. It is used not because it literally refutes the peace symbol, but because it may appeal more strongly to individuals who reject the peace symbol and support the "establishment."

In summary, the scope of this study is limited to two symbols and two slogans which seem to best represent the cultural conflict existing in our society today. They seem to possess many of the characteristics of symbols and slogans discussed in Chapter Two, and are popular enough to stimulate reactions from various social and political groups.

#### Method of Procedure

The procedures involved in this study consisted of developing an appropriate research design, selecting the subjects for the study, and actually administering the research package. The following discussion describes the nature of the test, the groups chosen, and the actual testing situations.

In the Measurement of Meaning by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum, the semantic differential is described not as a specific test but as a very general way of obtaining a certain type of information. This highly generalized technique of measurement must be adapted to the requirements of each research problem to which it is applied.<sup>60</sup> The test, based on the nature of the problem, utilizes a series of rating scales with seven equal-distant intervals from which the subject may select in revealing his attitude toward the concept. These scales, in the form of bipolarized adjective sets such as "good-bad" or "fair-unfair," are used for the purpose of rating one or more concepts. Osgood defines the word "concept" as the stimulus to which the subject's checking operation is a terminal response. This may be either verbal or non-verbal in nature.<sup>61</sup>

In this study the concepts chosen are the "peace symbol," described earlier in this chapter, the American flag, and the two slogans, "America, love it or leave it," and "Make love, not war." The rating scales consist of twenty adjective sets with seven spaces between each bipolarized set. To determine which adjective sets would be most relevant to the concepts, sample tests were given to groups similar to those used in the final testing situation. The final test was developed

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>61</sup> For a more detailed description of the semantic differential technique see Charles E. Osgood, George J. Suce, and Percy H. Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 76, and James G. Snider and Charles E. Osgood, Semantic Differential Technique - A Sourcebook, (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), pp.3-56.

after evaluating a variety of adjective sets to determine which ones were both comparable in positive and negative poles and relevant to the concepts.

Each concept is represented at the top of a page followed by the nineteen adjective sets. Although the same adjective sets were used for each concept, the positive and negative poles were mixed and rotated in order to facilitate careful consideration of each set in relation to each concept.

A list of instructions and examples intended to assure correct use of the test without communicating any message which might bias a subject taking the test was included. The last page of the test contains some questions designed to partially determine how each individual perceives his position in the "youth" versus the "establishment" controversy. The subjects were asked to merely rate themselves in terms of their political philosophy on a continuum with "very liberal" at one end and "very conservative" at the other. Three other political responses also were illicit, but revealed very little significant information. An example of the actual test as it was administered is included in the Appendix of this thesis.

Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif in their book, Social Psychology, suggest that the semantic differential technique has the advantages of being easy to assemble and score. Furthermore, it is useful in obtaining an over-all evaluative aspect of perceived meaning represented in finer gradations than techniques that require simply "agree" or "disagree" answers. They also

suggest that the technique is based on certain assumptions which make evaluations of individual responses difficult.<sup>62</sup> Since the present study does not explore individual reactions in depth, but, rather, broader group perceptions of meaning related to the chosen concepts, the semantic differential technique was sufficient for the purpose of the study.

In summary, the test consists of instructions followed by four concepts with twenty bipolarized adjective sets used as rating scales. The last page consists of rating scales designed to determine how each individual views his political position. Hopefully, this information partially reveals the subject's standing in the so-called "youth" versus the "establishment" controversy. The information obtained on the last page serves along with the characteristics of the groups chosen as material for comparison with the group reactions to the four concepts. Unfortunately, not enough information is elicited on the last page to provide valid statistical comparisons.

The second step in procedures consisted of choosing groups which broadly represent a wide variety of ages and views on life style and political philosophy. Groups exhibiting behavior which has caused them to be considered as generally liberal or generally conservative in life style and political philosophy have been used for the purpose of comparison.

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<sup>62</sup>Muzafer Sherif and Carolyn W. Sherif, Social Psychology, (New York, 1969), p. 375.

Formulating definitions for "liberal" and "conservative" has been a primary problem. Since the connotations of these words differ with individual perception, only broad guidelines were established. A "liberal" was comparatively defined as a person who generally supports liberal political candidates, is prone to favor educational, political, and social change, and is less prone to adhere to established patterns and authority.

A "conservative" was defined as a person who usually favors conservative political candidates, feels comparatively more hesitant toward change, and usually supports established patterns and authority.

The term "liberal" roughly applies to a member of the new culture described earlier by Philip Slater, while the term "conservative" is used to refer to a member of the old culture. Although these distinctions are not always valid, the terms are used in this specific conotation in the present study.

Two difficulties have arisen in selecting the groups. Personal opinions based on observation provide the major criteria for determining the relative conservative or liberal nature of groups to be chosen. To label a group as "conservative" or "liberal" with no statistical backing creates the risk that the variety of subjects desired is not actually reached with the testing instrument. The groups may not be of the conservative or liberal nature that observations indicate. The variety desired for the sample is also threatened because a person's presence in a group does not necessarily guarantee that he

adheres to the group norms of political philosophy and life style. Since the test was given on a voluntary basis there was some possibility that an accurate sampling of the group was not obtained, even if the conservative or liberal nature of the group was correctly determined. The scope of the present study coupled with lack of time, money and research facilities prohibited any attempt to obtain an extensive statistical analysis of the groups.

Thirty five people were tested in each of five selected groups. A sample of one hundred and seventy-five people in ages ranging approximately from middle teens to early sixties was obtained.

The first group tested consisted of members of a congregation in a large Unitarian church. Their ages ranged from middle twenties to early sixties but the majority of those who volunteered appeared to be between forty and fifty. The Unitarian church was chosen because the nature of the religion seems to attract a large number of liberal adults.

A Unitarian minister, Dana McLean Greeley, described Unitarianism as a liberal religion. In a pamphlet printed by the Unitarian Universalist Association, Greeley described Unitarianism as a creedless religious movement, placing more importance upon the creativity of difference of opinion than upon uniformity of thought. He further suggested that most Unitarians share common beliefs in the dignity of the individual, the brotherhood of man, the leadership of all great prophets



and the worth of all religions.<sup>63</sup> Although this description can possibly be applied to other religions and does not serve as positive proof that the subjects taking the test were liberal, it does support the assumption that the nature of the religion is liberal. Observation of the church for a period of several years and personal friendships with several of its members served as evidence prompting the conclusion that the church attracts liberal adults.

The second group chosen consisted of young people ranging in age from middle teens to middle twenties. They were selected because their appearance and behavior at the time of the testing indicated that they could be identified with the so-called "hippie-liberal" philosophy. The majority of the sample was taken from Lee Park in Dallas on a Sunday afternoon during the summer of 1970. Care was taken in the observation of potential subjects to insure that they were authentically unique in appearance. An attempt was made to choose only subjects who were barefoot, dressed in characteristically "hippie" clothing, and possessing a natural growth of hair that reached the shoulders for both males and females. A majority of males were chosen since long hair on males may be a stronger indication of life-style. Five of the males who volunteered to take the test were black. The remainder

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Dana McLean Greeley, "Liberal Religion," Pamphlet Commission, Unitarian Universalist Association (Boston, 1967), p. 5.

of the sample was taken from a similar group at North Texas State University. Since this segment was a very small percentage, the group is referred to as the Lee Park group.

The third group was chosen primarily as a control group. The subjects were taken from an all-male technical school in Dallas. Their ages ranged from eighteen to twenty one, but their presence in an electrical engineering technology school and their conservative appearance indicated that they might react with less intensity than the young people in the Lee Park group. Their scores represented a middle-of-the-road reaction. They seem to be caught in the middle of the cultural conflict. They are young, and yet most of them are highly goal-oriented and accept the cultural values of their parents to some extent.

A fourth group of relatively young adults with ages ranging from the middle twenties to thirties was taken from the United States Air National Guard. The research package was administered to Air National Guard reservists and technicians on a week-end shortly after the shooting at Kent State. The Air National Guard was chosen in hopes that the sample would supply the reactions of young adults who are more conservative than liberal in nature.

The last group tested consisted of members of the John Birch Society in a large metropolitan area, together with some other individuals who visited a conservative book store established by the John Birch Society. This group was chosen

in order to obtain reactions from the extremely conservative view point.

In summary, five groups were chosen to take the test. The Unitarians, young people in Lee Park of Dallas and at North Texas State University, technical students, members of the Air National Guard, and the John Birch Society were chosen to provide a wide sampling of reactions to the four concepts to be tested.

Volunteers were solicited by verbal request. They were asked to participate in the project by giving their personal spontaneous reactions to certain symbols and slogans. No effort was made to bias responses. Very little communication existed between the administrator of the test and the subjects before or during the test. In a few isolated instances, it was necessary for the administrator to give additional verbal directions so that the subject could respond. In all five groups subjects seemed willing and sometimes anxious to participate.

The actual testing situations varied considerably. The Unitarians took the test directly after Sunday church services. The program which had just been completed consisted of small group discussions on topics of social concern. Since many of the members intended to remain at the church for a luncheon, they did not seem to feel any pressure to finish the test quickly. Many of them spent extra time in writing additional comments at the bottom of the last page. After completion of

the test many of the volunteers were anxious to discuss the test and the project. Some of these oral and written comments are included as the results of the study are discussed.

Administration of the test in Lee Park was slightly more haphazard. Small groups of individuals who did not appear to be involved in any activity which demanded their attention were approached. They were given copies of the test and pencils. Approximately five minutes later the completed tests were gathered. The mood in the park did not seem as energetic as it had in past observations. It was an unusually warm Sunday afternoon and there was no music or organized activity that is often seen in the park. Whether this mood affected the test responses is not known; however, it was observed that only a few people made comments after completion of the test. Very little of the enthusiasm seen at the Unitarian Church was demonstrated at the park. The remainder of this group was solicited at North Texas State University and were contacted while they were waiting for a "rock concert" to begin. They all manifested the same physical appearance and behavior traits that are usually identified with the "hippie" movement.

The technical school volunteers took the test during a fifteen-minute break between classes. Very little comment was made by any of the volunteers before, during, or after the test. Less interest was verbally expressed by these individuals than by any of the subjects in other groups tested.

A member of the Air National Guard administered the test to the fourth group at a National Guard week-end meeting. Some of the tests were administered at the rifle range and others at Air Force offices. An attempt was made to obtain a sampling of full-time technicians employed by the Air Force and Air Force reservists who were on week-end duty. Several written comments were obtained but no oral reactions are available.

Tests were left with a member of the John Birch Society to obtain reactions from the fifth group selected. Some were administered at meetings and others were administered at a conservative book store. Some very interesting oral comments were obtained from the individual who agreed to administer the test, and several subjects offered additional written comments.

In each testing situation, the group environment was a variable which may possibly have influenced individual responses. Since subjects have been tested only once within the group situation, it is impossible to judge how much influence the environment had on responses.

The procedures of this study consisted of formulating an appropriate test, choosing a variety of groups to serve as subjects, and administering the test. The semantic differential technique was chosen because it is designed to reveal broad insights into the perceived meaning of concepts in finer gradations than simple affirmative-negative choice techniques.

The groups were chosen in hopes of obtaining a wide variety of reactions.

By comparing the group mean scores for each of the concepts some insights into the social distance between the groups may be revealed. How much these responses to symbols and slogans reflect the position and intensity of group feelings in regard to the cultural conflict is the most interesting question to consider. The nature of the groups and the information solicited on the test do not provide enough material to warrant statistically sound conclusions concerning the group position and intensity regarding cultural conflict, but the reactions do provide interesting insights into the perception of symbols and slogans. The remainder of this chapter reveals the results of the study and offers conclusions and suggestions for further study.

#### Results of the Study

The results of this study are revealed primarily with the use of two groups of figures designed in the traditional fashion suggested for use with the semantic differential technique. Since some of the written comments offered by subjects proved to be almost as interesting as the statistical results of the scales, some of the more meaningful comments were included where possible. Charts revealing mean scores and standard deviations are included as Appendix B.

The first group of figures are designed to reveal a comparison between four of the five groups mean scores in each

scale of each concept. The technical students' group was omitted in these charts for two reasons. First, their reactions were closely grouped around the middle-of-the-road position on every scale. Second, to include their reactions would have cluttered the chart, making it more difficult to distinguish the distances between the other group reactions. For these reasons, pertinent information regarding the technical students' reactions was presented only in Appendix tables.

The results pictured on figures one through eight were group mean score analysis. Each scale of each concept was scored on a seven-point continuum in the interval where the subject placed a mark. Seven was arbitrarily selected to represent the most positive point on the scale, and so forth along the continuum to one, the most negative response possible. Each individual's score on each scale for each concept was recorded on Fortran coding forms.

Some of the demographic information on the last page was omitted from the charts because it fails to reveal any significant information. The perceived political position of the subjects is the only information used. This information has been scored on a scale from one through nine in order to achieve slightly finer gradations. Nine is scored as the most liberal response and one is the most conservative. Since individual perception may cause two subjects who are essentially in the same position to place marks in different places, the one through nine interpretations lack considerable validity. They

are included, however, as an additional means of drawing broad comparisons between group political positions and reactions to the scales.

Figure I charts the mean scores of four groups to the slogan "Make love not war." The vertical columns represent each of the seven major scale positions. The bipolarized adjective sets are segregated into positive and negative columns arranged on the sides of the chart. The zig-zag lines represent the reactions of each of the four groups to each adjective set. Group A consists of the Lee Park and North Texas State University "hippies", Group B represents the Unitarians, Group C is the National Guard, and Group D consists of members of the John Birch Society.

The distinct separation between each of the four groups on Figure I indicates a notable difference in how each group generally perceived the slogan "Make love not war." As might be expected, the Lee Park young people, (Group A) were the most affirmative in their reactions. The Unitarians, (Group B), followed a very similar pattern which was almost parallel to Group A. Group B's mean scores were slightly less affirmative than Group A's. A larger gap existed between the National Guard, (Group C) and the Unitarians, (Group B), but the greatest separation was demonstrated by the John Birch Society, (Group D). A generally negative reaction which does not follow the pattern seen in Groups A and B was demonstrated by Group D.



FIGURE I

"Make Love Not War"

Lee Park - A

National Guard - C

Unitarians - B

John Birch Society - D

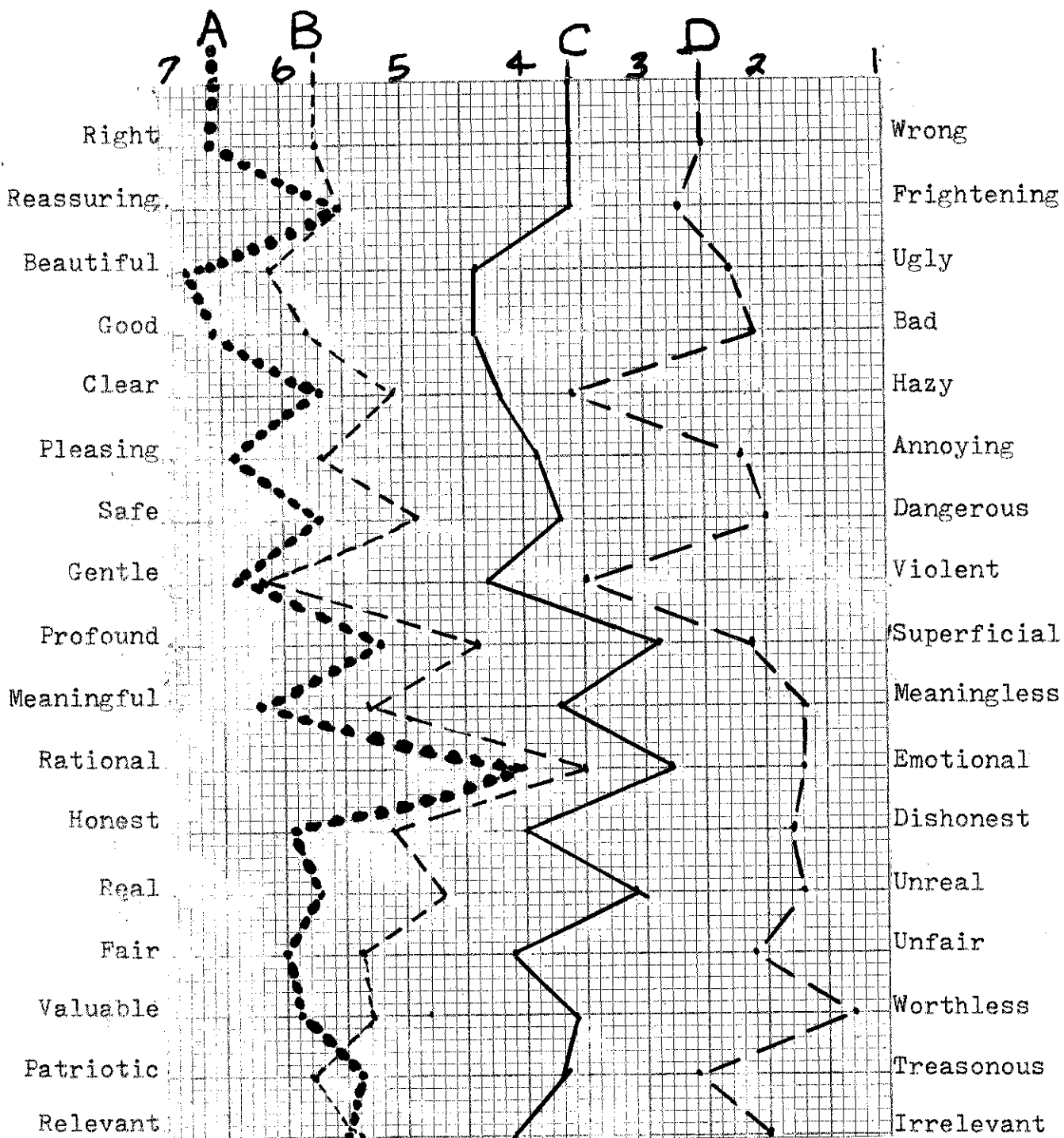
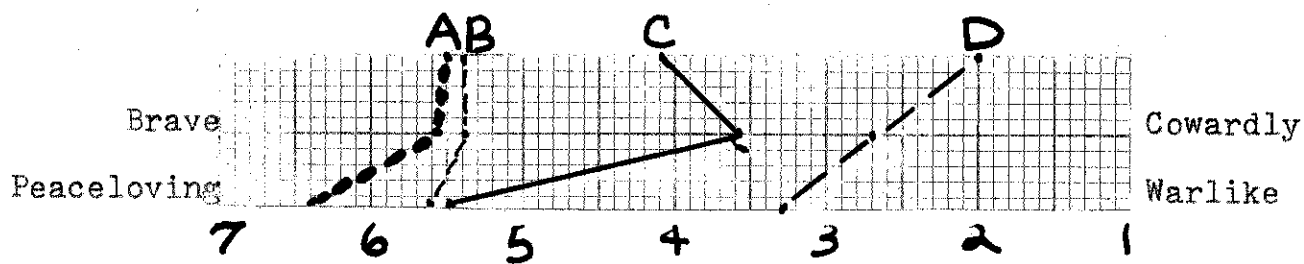


FIGURE I - Continued



The strongest negative responses of Group D were in relation to the adjective sets "bad-good," "annoying-pleasing," "meaningless-meaningful," "dangerous-safe," and "superficial-profound." The single most negative reaction, (1,3), was expressed by Group D in relation to the adjective set, "valuable-worthless."

The most favorable reactions were expressed in all but one of the scales by the Lee Park group (A). The Unitarians reacted slightly more favorably to the adjective set, "patriotic-treasonous." The most favorable reaction was expressed by Group A in relation to the scale, "beautiful-ugly." The phrase "beautiful people" is often used by and identified with members of the so-called new culture. Perhaps individuals who identify with the "beautiful people" have a tendency to use the adjective "beautiful" in making strong affirmations.

The two largest gaps between Group A and Group D were in relation to the scales "beautiful-ugly" and "valuable-worthless." In each case, Group A was strongly affirmative and Group D was strongly negative.

The smallest separation appeared with the scale "emotional-rational." Groups A and B both veered abruptly toward the negative pole. Although Group A did not cross the middle position, Group B scored three point six. Perhaps the "emotional-rational" scale is not as comparable to positive and negative poles as the other adjective sets, because the over-all pattern shifted toward "emotional."

In summary, Figure I describes the reactions of four groups to the concept "Make love not war." A clear distinction in divergent perception is demonstrated by the gaps between the groups.

Figure II describes group reactions to the concept "America, love it or leave it." It was designed in the same fashion as Figure I, using a chart with bipolarized adjective sets divided by a seven-point scale.

One of the most obvious distinctions of Figure II is the abrupt shift from positive to negative for Groups A and B, and from negative to positive for Groups C and D. The statement, "America, love it or leave it" seems to appeal to groups who reject "Make love not war" and vice versa.

Although a pattern of almost opposite reactions is evident, the mean scores are not as extreme on either positive or negative poles as they were on Figure I. The most positive reaction was expressed by the John Birch Society in relation to the scale "patriotic-treasonous." The most negative reaction was expressed by the Unitarians in relation to the "annoying-pleasing" scale. The most negative reaction on Figure II was 1.7, but a score of 1.2 appears on Figure I. A positive reaction of 6.8 on Figure I and 6.2 on Figure II further demonstrates the comparison.

An interesting shift appeared between the Unitarians and the Lee Park group on Figure II. Although the two groups were very close together, the more extreme positions were chosen by the Unitarians, while the converse was true on Figure I.

FIGURE II

"America: Love It Or Leave It"

Lee Park - A

National Guard - C

Unitarians - B

John Birch Society - D

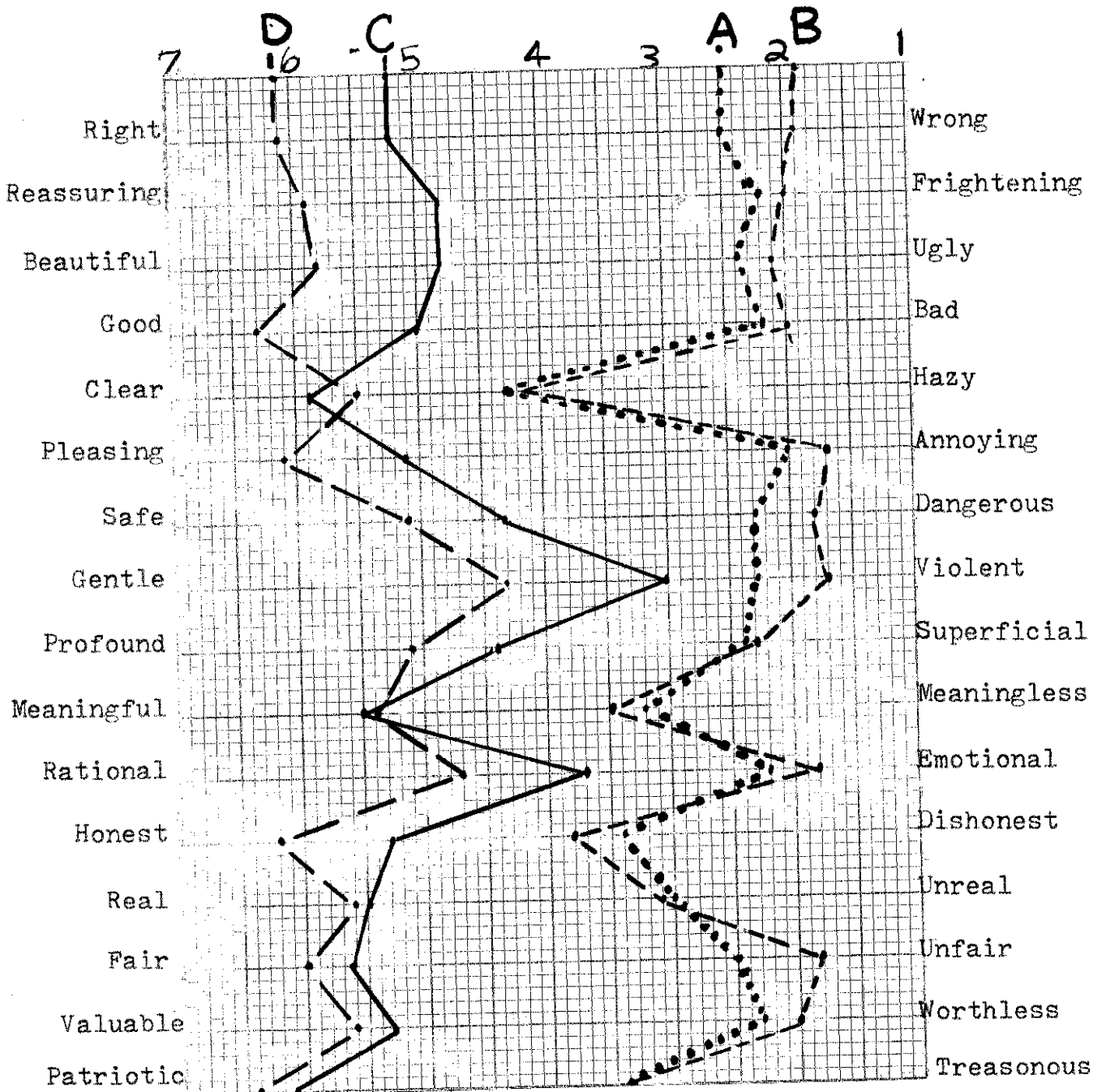
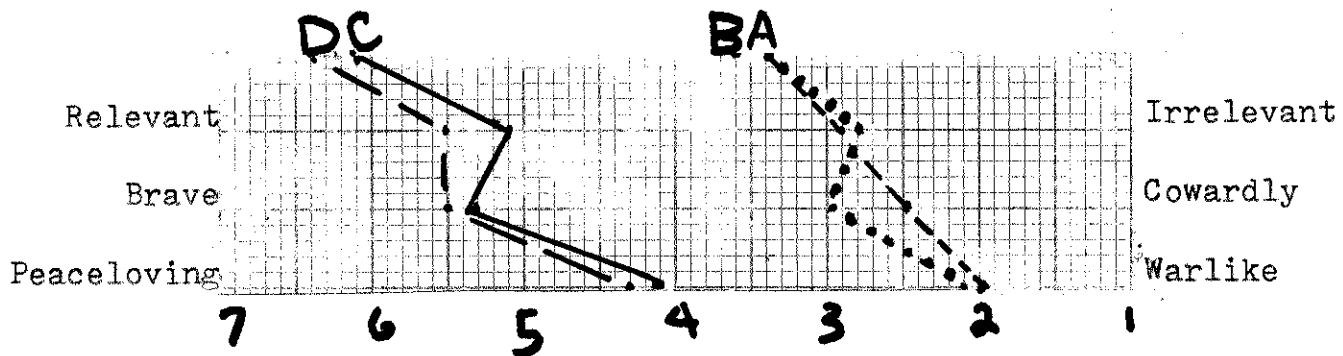


FIGURE II - Continued



The largest gap between affirmative and negative reactions appeared on the scale "pleasing-annoying." This gap lacked only three tenths of a point in being as large as the "valuable-worthless" gap on Figure I.

Figure III describes group reactions to the "peace symbol." It was designed in the same fashion as Figures I and II. The most obvious difference between Figure III and the first two figures is the non-verbal nature of the concept. A "peace symbol" was reproduced on the page with no verbal explanation of its meaning. It was the obligation of each subject to interpret the symbol's meaning.

Groups A and B shifted toward the positive pole while Groups C and D reacted more negatively in relation to the peace symbol. The Lee Park group was the most affirmative. Their reactions on Figure III were very similar to their reactions on Table I, although Table III reactions were not as extremely affirmative. The most affirmative reaction, 6.6, is in relation to the adjective set "gentle-violent." The Unitarians followed a relatively parallel pattern which was slightly less affirmative. They crossed the middle line of the chart only once with a 3.8 mean score on the "rational-emotional" scale.

The groups all scored generally close to the center on the scale "clear-hazy." Although the individual scores could have been widely different within each group, there was also the possibility that the cause for the slightly more central

FIGURE III

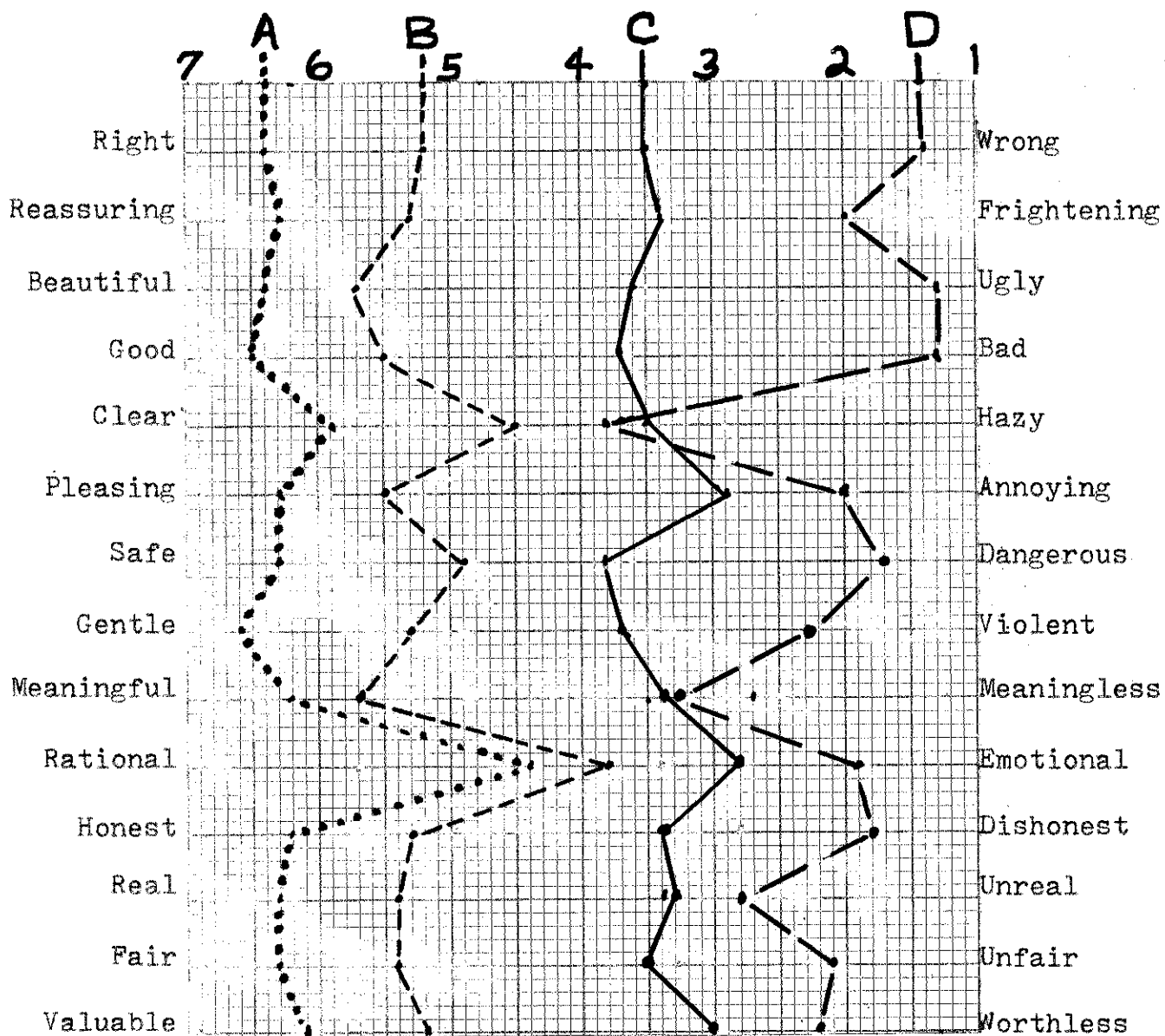
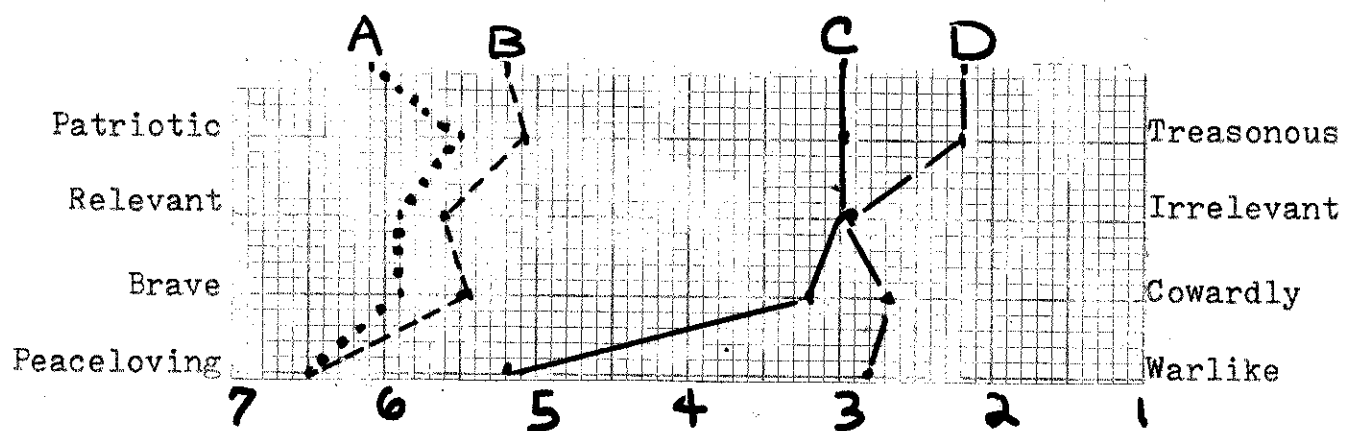




FIGURE III - Continued

tendency of the mean scores on this scale can be attributed to the non-verbal nature of the concept.

The most negative scores were represented by the John Birch Society in relation to the "beautiful-ugly" and the "good-bad" scales. Although the National Guard mean scores were slightly more negative than positive, the group was usually much less negative than the John Birch Society. On one scale, "peaceloving-warlike," the National Guard scored 5.2, while the John Birch Society scored 2.9.

The largest gaps between scores were represented by Group A and Group D in relation to the "beautiful-ugly" and the "good-bad" scales. The Lee Park group scored 6.4 for "beautiful-ugly" and 6.5 for "good-bad." The John Birch group scored 1.3 for both scales.

Figure IV plots mean scores of the same four groups in relation to the concept of the American flag. It was designed in the same fashion as Figures I, II, and III.

There was a definite shift in Figure IV on the part of all four groups toward the affirmative side of the scale. The John Birch Society and the National Guard were both extremely affirmative and scored at almost the same position on every scale. The most affirmative score is seven for the National Guard on the "patriotic-treasonous" set. The John Birch score on this set was 4.9. The National Guard scored 6.9 while the John Birch Society scored 6.8 on the "meaningful-meaningless" scale.

FIGURE IV

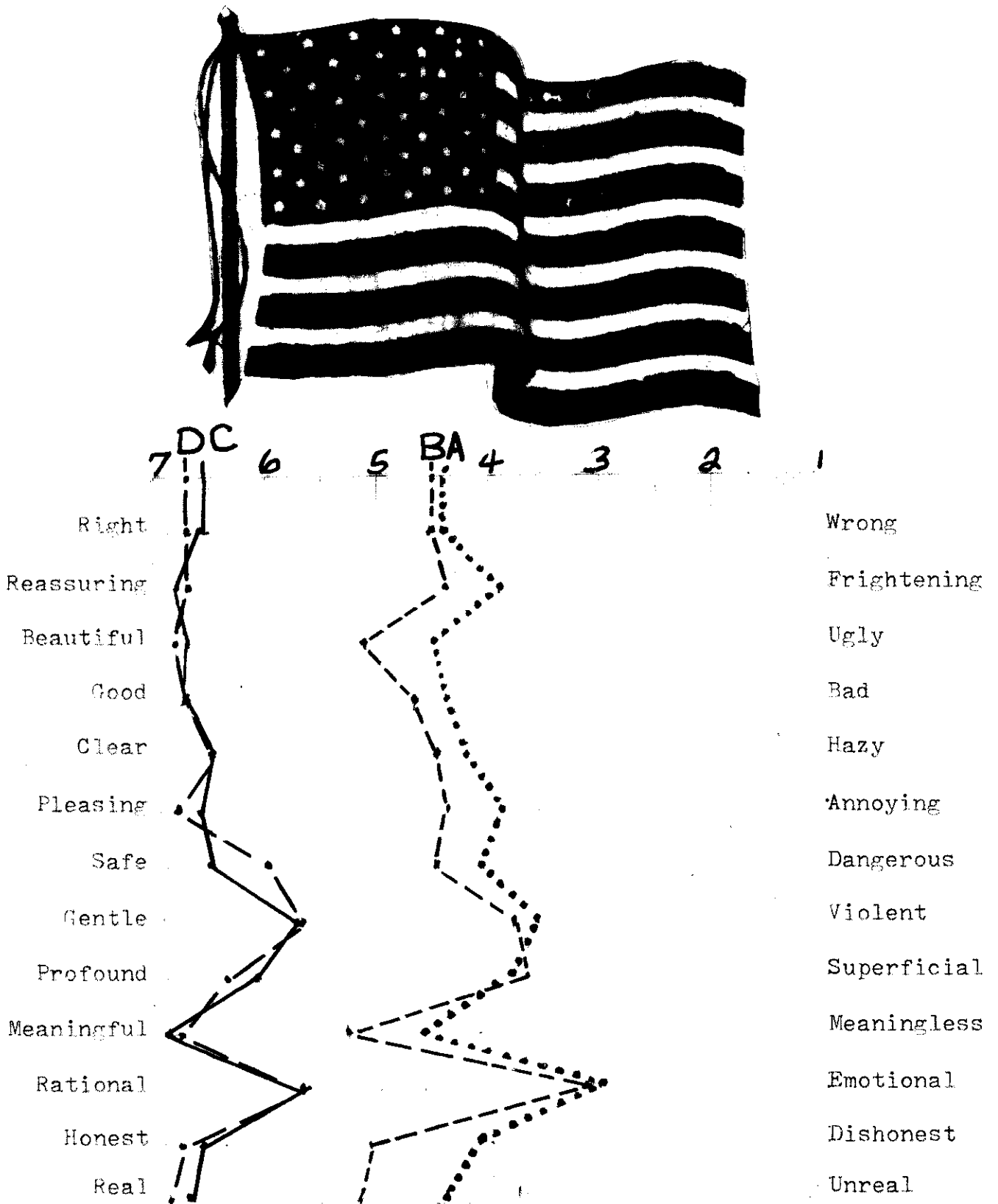
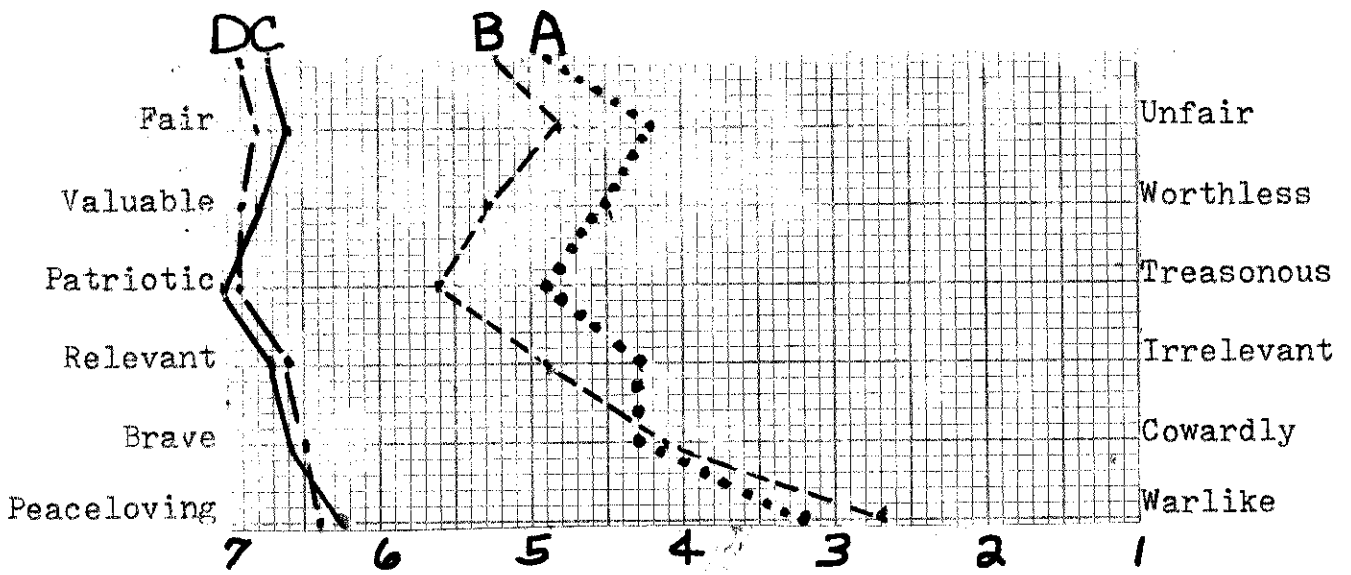


FIGURE IV - Continued



The Unitarians and the Lee Park group scored very close together, also. The Unitarians were slightly more positive. The largest separation between Groups A and B was on the "meaningful-meaningless" scale with a 5.7 score for the Unitarians and a 4.6 score for the Lee Park group. The 5.7 score was the most affirmative expressed by Group B.

As seen in the first three figures, a large shift appears in the mean scores for the "rational-emotional" scale. A slightly negative reaction of 3.0 for the Unitarians and 3.2 for Lee Park appeared on this scale. The two groups also expressed a slightly negative reaction in relation to the scale "peaceloving-warlike." Group B scored 3.2 and Group A scored 3.7.

Mean scores for the technical students clustered around the score of 6.0 except on one adjective set. An unusual shift toward "frightening" represented by a score of three on the "reassuring-frightening" scale was indicated. Perhaps the age of subjects and their draft eligibility was a contributing cause for this unexpected reaction.

The four groups pictured in Figures I through IV have mean scores on the self rating "liberal-conservative" question which followed the pattern expected because of the nature of the groups. On a 9.0 scale, 9.0 represents extreme liberal and 1.0 represents extreme conservative. The scores were 7.4 for Lee Park, 6.9 for the Unitarians, 4.5 for the National Guard, and 2.6 for the John Birch Society.

In spite of the fact that this rating scale fails to reveal a great deal of relevant personal information, it does serve as some support for determining the general political nature of the groups. As expected, the John Birch Society appeared to be the most conservative, and the National Guard was slightly closer to the middle of the road. The Unitarians and the Lee Park group proved to be generally liberal in political philosophy. It may be concluded that the four groups chosen did provide the variety of reactions needed for the study.

The four Figures already included in previous pages have revealed mean score reactions of subjects grouped according to the testing location. The group ratings on the "liberal-conservative" question did reveal distinguishable differences. The group scoring most conservative also responded most negatively to "Make love, not war," and the peace symbol. The liberal groups responded affirmatively to these two concepts. The conservative group reacted affirmatively to "America, love it or leave it" and the American flag. The liberals rejected "America, love it or leave it" and were not as positively oriented toward the American flag.

A different type of grouping technique was used to obtain the information revealed in Figures V through VIII. Three groups were isolated for comparison. Group X consisted of individuals who rated themselves as "one" on the "liberal-conservative" scale. Group Y contained persons rating themselves as "five" or "middle of the road."

FIGURE V

## "Make Love Not War"

Very Liberal - Z      Very Conservative - X  
 Middle of the Road - Y

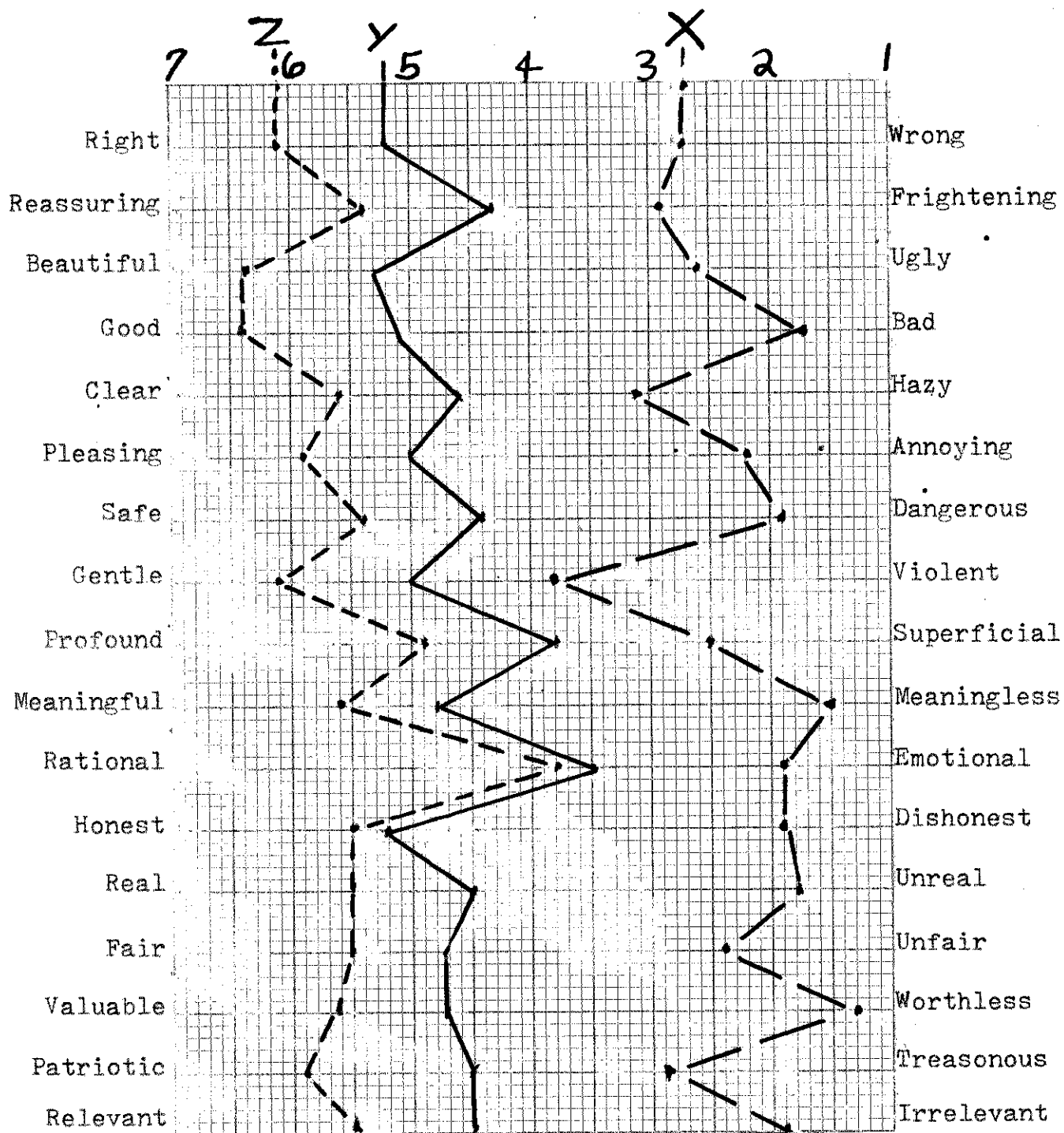
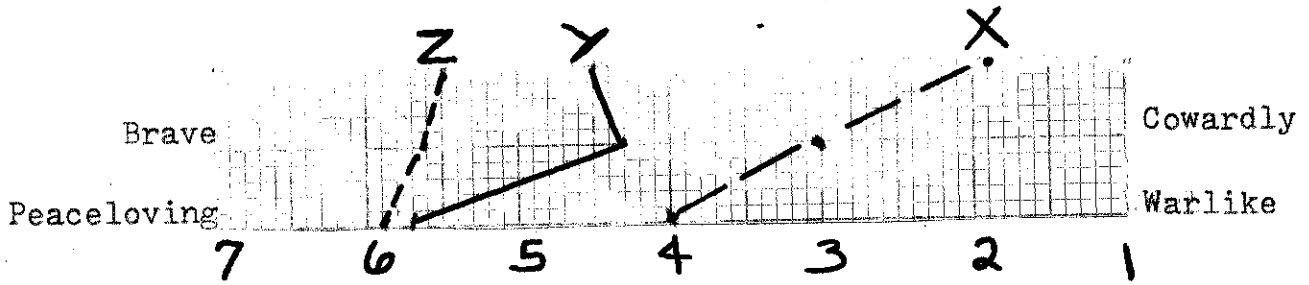


FIGURE V - Continued





Group Z represented subjects with a liberal rating of 9.0. Fifteen subjects rated themselves as 1.0, twenty eight rated themselves as 5.0, and twenty two rated themselves as 9.0. Mean scores of each group on each adjective set for each concept were obtained through mean score analysis. These scores are represented on Figures V through VIII using the same design seen on Figures I through IV.

Figure V shows the group mean scores in relation to the concept "Make love, not war."

Figure V revealed a pattern which is relatively similar to Figure I. The mean scores on Figure V are not as bipolarized as those of the Lee Park group and the John Birch group on Figure I.

The most affirmative reaction is expressed by Group Z with a score of 6.4 on the scales "beautiful-ugly" and "good-bad." The "beautiful-ugly" scale also received the most affirmative reaction on Figure I by the Lee Park group, but the Figure I position is four tenths of a point closer to the positive pole.

The shift toward "emotional" evidenced on Figure I also occurs on Figure V in relation to the "rational-emotional" scale.

Both Figures revealed a 1.3 score on the "valuable-worthless" scale as the most negative reaction. This mean score was revealed by Group X on Figure V and Group D, (the John Birch Society), on Figure I.

It is interesting to note that although the John Birch Society had a mean score of 2.6 on the "liberal-conservative" question, several of its responses are somewhat closer to the negative pole than are the responses of Group X with a "liberal-conservative" rating of 1.0.

Figure VI reveals mean scores of Groups X, Y, and Z in relation to the concept "America, love it or leave it."

Figure VI reveals a pattern which is very similar to reactions seen on Figure II. There was a distinct separation of mean score reactions between Group X and Group Z, just as the Unitarians and the John Birch Society were widely separated on Table II. Group X (very conservative) scored on the positive side of the Figure, while Group Z (very liberal) scored on the negative side.

Many of the shifts seen on Figure II, are also revealed on Figure VI. There is a definite shift seen on both tables toward the "clear" adjective on the "clear-hazy" scale for all of the groups except the John Birch Society. All of the groups shifted toward "violent" on the "gentle-violent" scale. Other comparative shifts were toward "emotional" on the "rational-emotional" scale, and toward "patriotic" on the "patriotic-treasonous" scale.

The widest gaps appeared on Figure VI in reactions to "good-bad" and "fair-unfair." The liberals scored 2.4 and the conservatives scored 5.8 on the "good-bad" scale. On the "fair-unfair" scale, the conservatives scored 5.9 while the

FIGURE VI

"America: Love It Or Leave It"

Very Liberal - Z      Very Conservative - X  
 Middle of the Road - Y

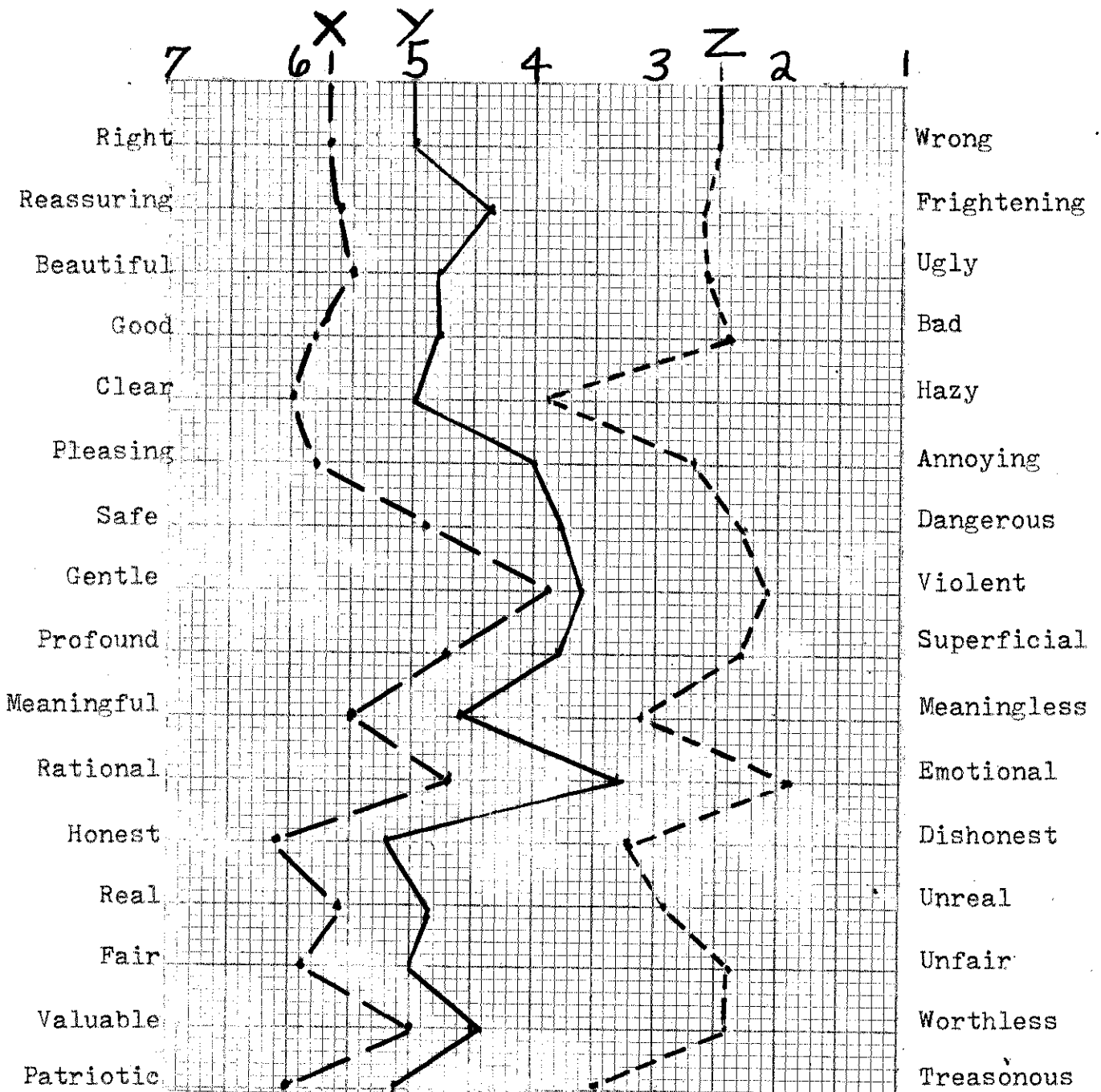
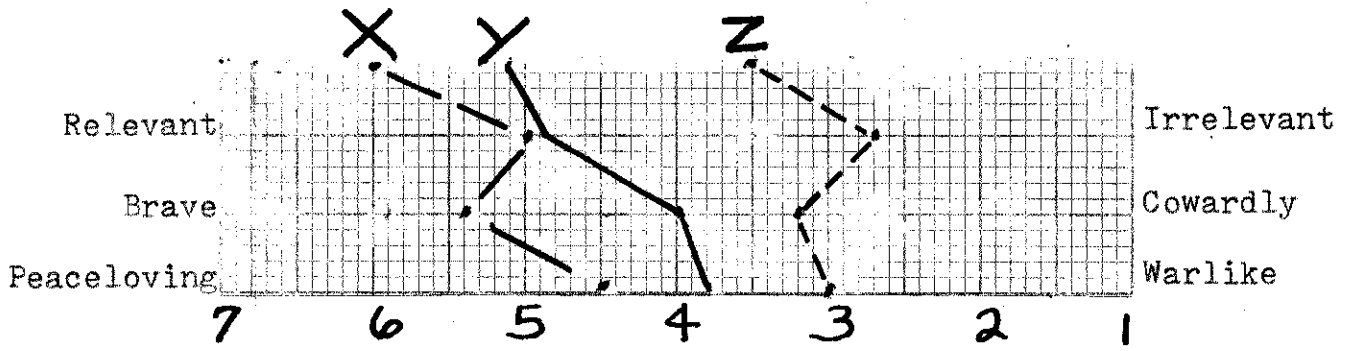


FIGURE VI - Continued



liberals scored 2.4. A wide gap in scores on the "fair-unfair" scale was also revealed on Figure II.

Figure VII reveals Group X,Y, and Z reactions to the peace symbol. It is arranged in the same fashion as Figures I through VI.

The distinct separation seen between the very liberal (Group Z) and the very conservative (Group X), is quite similar to the separation seen between the Lee Park and the John Birch groups on Figure III. The Lee Park mean scores were generally more affirmative than the scores of Group Z (very liberal).

Similar gaps were revealed on both tables. The "good-bad," "safe-dangerous," "gentle-violent," and "honest-dishonest" scales all revealed wide separations in mean scores.

The characteristic shift toward the "emotional" scale which has been revealed on previous Figures is also seen on Figure VII.

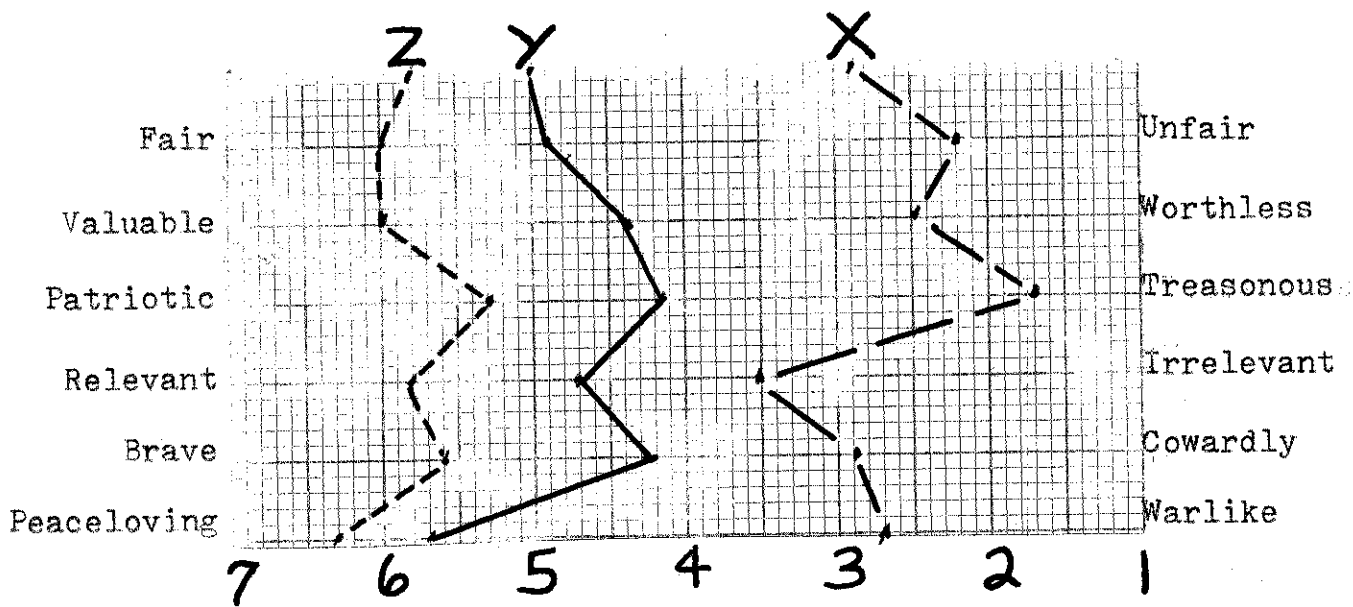
The most negative score made by Group X was 1.3 on the "good-bad" scale. The same score was revealed by the John Birch Society on Figure III.

The last Figure represents Group X,Y, and Z reactions to the symbol of the American flag. These reactions provide an interesting comparison with the four group reactions to the same concept on Figure IV. Figure VIII is arranged in the same fashion as the first seven Figures.

The generally smaller separation of group mean scores revealed on Figure IV is also seen on Figure VIII. Group Z



FIGURE VII - Continued



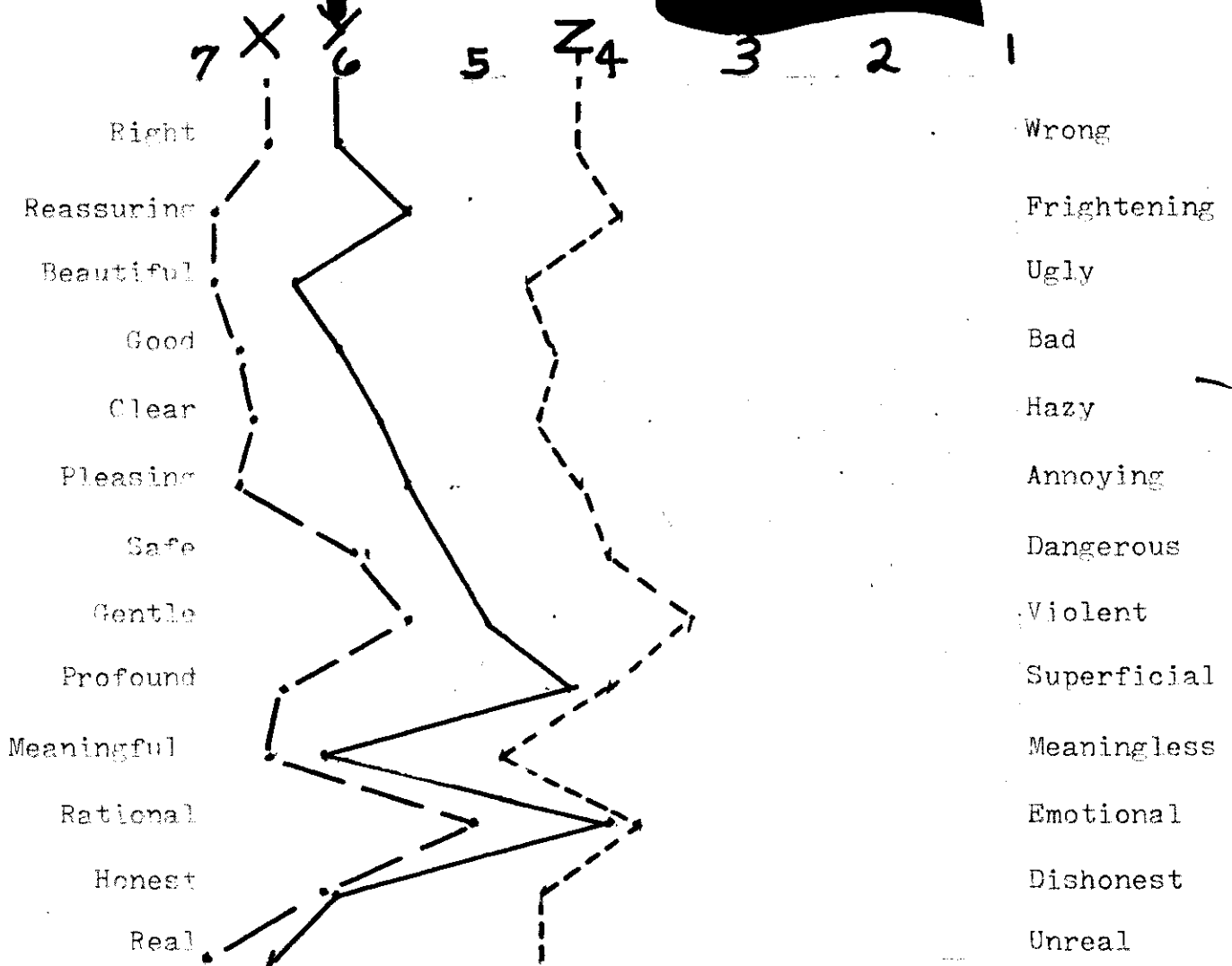
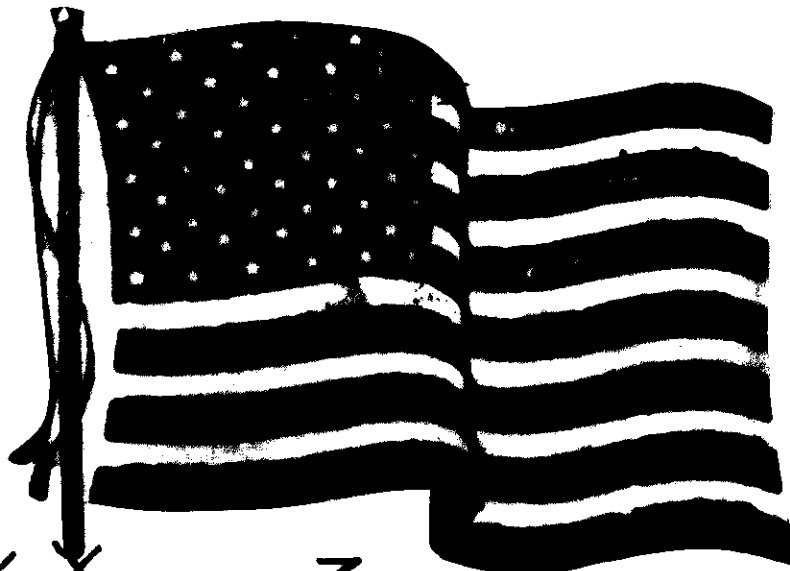
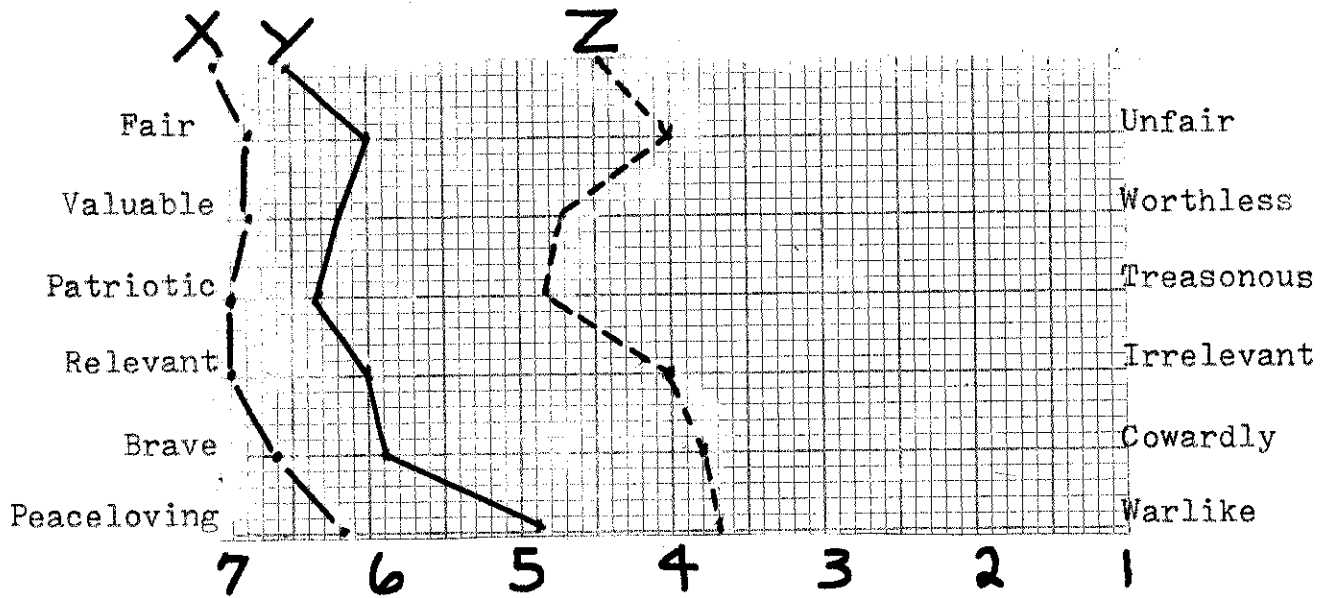




FIGURE VIII - Continued



(very liberal) moved toward the center area just as the Unitarians and the Lee Park groups on Figure IV. The John Birch Society, the National Guard, and Group X, (very conservative), all scored generally much closer to the positive pole on Figures VIII and IV.

Interesting shifts appeared on both Figures. Shifts on the part of all groups slightly toward "violent" on the "gentle-violent" scale, and toward "emotional" on the "rational-emotional" scale are apparent. Slightly more positive shifts for all groups are seen on the "meaningful-meaningless" scale, and the "patriotic-treasonous" scale.

The Unitarians, the Lee Park group and the very liberal group seem unable to express as many positive feelings toward the flag as they have toward the peace symbol. This is evidenced not only by mean scores, but by the majority of individual scores of the liberal subjects. The John Birch Society, the National Guard, and the very conservative group were much more extreme in their rejection of the peace symbol and their affirmation of the American flag.

Perhaps the inability of the liberal groups to respond favorably toward the flag is partially due to the organization of the test. The first three concepts were represented in a pattern which solicits alternating positive and negative reactions. Groups A, B, and Z all reacted positively, negatively, then positively. Since the flag appears as the last of the four concepts, subjects may have had a tendency to react

negatively in order to complete the pattern of contrast which had already been established. It is hoped that this tendency to alternate has not been a major influence. Another valid explanation may be an association in the minds of the liberal groups between the test presentation of the flag and conservative point of view. Association of the flag with the present Nixon administration and the "silent majority" or "hard hats" may be another contributing cause.

In summary, the results of this study have been presented with the use of eight Figures designed in the traditional fashion. These Figures reveal group mean scores to the four concepts "Make love not war," "America, love it or leave it," the peace symbol, and the American flag. The first four Figures represent the mean scores of subjects grouped according to testing situations. These subjects are taken from a large Unitarian church, young people at Lee Park in Dallas, and North Texas State University, the Air National Guard, and the John Birch Society. The last four charts represent reactions to the same four concepts but with different grouping of subjects. Three groups were developed on the basis of individual self rating scales on the "liberal-conservative" question. The very conservative, middle of the road, and very liberal subjects formed three new groups for the purpose of comparison. All of the mean scores and standard deviations may also be found in Tables I through IV in the Appendix.

Generally, the scores revealed distinct separation between the groups. The very conservative and the John Birch Society strongly rejected the slogan, "Make love, not war," and the peace symbol. These same groups strongly affirmed the slogan "America, love it or leave it," and the American flag. An almost opposite set of reactions were revealed by the liberals, the North Texas State University students, the Lee Park group, and the Unitarians. These groups affirmed the slogan "Make love, not war," rejected the slogan "America, love it or leave it," and affirmed the peace symbol. The alternating "positive-negative" pattern was broken on the American flag concept for the liberal groups. The mean scores were neither strongly positive or negative. Although this central tendency could have been caused by widely differing individual scores, a check through individual subjects revealed that the majority of liberal subjects scored in the central area.

One of the most interesting results of the test was the shift toward "emotional" on the "emotional-rational" scale on the part of all the groups in relation to each concept.

The remainder of this chapter presents some tentative conclusions of this study.

### Conclusions

Three conclusions of this study are presented in the following pages along with recommendations for further study.

The first conclusion, which is evident, is that the perceived meaning of symbols and slogans was rather accurately recorded by the semantic differential technique. One member of the Unitarian church who was in the study commented that the experience with the semantic differential gave him some new insights into the nature of his own attitudes. Several other individuals mentioned that the test called attention to self-contradicting attitudes that exist in our society. Many individuals expressed the desire to continue a discussion of the meaning of symbols and slogans after completion of the test. The variety of reactions to the different adjective sets in relation to the different concepts together with the enthusiasm expressed by subjects after completion of the test, suggest that meaning does exist in symbols and slogans.

The second conclusion warranted by the study is that perceived meaning of symbols and slogans changes according to subject grouping and type of concept. The group with the self-rating of "very conservative," and the John Birch Society followed a similar pattern of positive and negative reactions in relation to different adjective sets and different concepts. Both groups were generally positive to the slogan, "America, love it or leave it," and the symbol of the American flag. They were generally negative to the concepts of "Make love, not war," and the peace symbol. In some cases, mean scores were highly bipolarized. In spite of the fact that the John Birch Society subjects' mean score on the liberal-conservative

self-rating was only 2.6, they demonstrated more extreme negative and positive reactions than the group which included all of the subjects with a liberal-conservative rating of 1.0. This may possibly suggest that group affiliation is a stronger determinant of perception than the labels of "liberal" and "conservative."

Characteristically, similar positive and negative reactions were also seen in the mean scores of the Unitarians, the young people at Lee Park and North Texas State University, and the group with the self-rating of 9.0, or "very liberal." All three groups were generally positive in relation to the concepts "Make Love not war" and the peace symbol. They were generally negative in reaction to "America, love it or leave it." Although they did not react negatively to the symbol of the American flag, they also failed to reveal a strong positive reaction. This may suggest that the symbol has mixed meanings because of its recent associations with the cultural conflict existing today. The Unitarians and the Lee Park group were slightly more extreme in their reactions than is the "very liberal" group. This further supports the idea that the labels of "liberal" and "conservative" are not as meaningful in perception as group affiliation.

Perceptual extremism in reactions vary only slightly in relation to the verbal versus non-verbal nature of the concept when comparing the slogans to the peace symbol. None of the groups has shown as much bipolarization of mean scores on the

peace symbol as on the verbal slogans; however, the non-verbal nature of the peace symbol is not necessarily the determining factor. Since the "conservative" groups were able to affirm the symbol of the American flag with as much vehemence as they affirmed the slogan, "America, love it or leave it," the verbal versus non-verbal variable cannot be isolated as an influential factor in all situations. It may be concluded from this that meaning exists in both symbols and slogans and is influenced most by group affiliations.

The third conclusion is based on the emotional, rather than the rational nature of both symbols and slogans. Although all of the groups maintained a distinct separation of mean scores, a definite shift toward "emotional" on the "rational-emotional" adjective set occurs for each group in relation to each concept.

The three conclusions of this study are (1) that meaning does exist for symbols and slogans, (2) that it is influenced by group affiliation, and (3) that it tends to be "emotional" rather than "rational." The remainder of this chapter will present recommendations for further study.

The nature of the research package that was used can be improved in three ways. First, more demographic material revealing age and sex could be obtained. Comparisons might also have more validity if opinions on controversial public issues were used in conjunction with the self-rating of liberal or conservative in determining individual positions in the cultural conflict.

Second, a different series of adjective sets which are selected on an "emotional" versus "rational" basis rather than "positive" versus "negative" basis may provide better support for the conclusion that symbols and slogans tend to be more "emotional" rather than "rational" in nature.

Third, other slogans and symbols could be tested. For example, an interesting grouping of concepts might include different representations of the American flag and related symbols such as the dove of peace which displays the flag as the body of the bird, a peace symbol superimposed on the center of a flag, and the outline of a hand forming the peace sign colored with the flag motif. Comparisons of these concepts might better reveal how the manner of presentation of the flag has become almost as much of a symbol for different groups as the flag itself.

Two additional testing procedures may also provide additional insights. First, testing more groups representing different ages and positions in society could reveal a wider interpretation of the relative meaning of symbols and slogans. Second, subjects might be tested first within the group environment, and again outside the group situation. The results of testing the subjects twice could possibly reveal the influence of group environment on the perceived meaning in symbols and slogans.

The use of entirely different testing procedures designed to reveal in depth individual perception of symbols and slogans



could also contribute much insight to the understanding of symbols and slogans as methods of communication.

This chapter presents a discussion of the contemporary "meaning" of selected controversial slogans and symbols in the perceptions of certain political and social groups. The study deals specifically with two symbols and two slogans selected because they seem to represent conflicting positions on the cultural conflict existing in the United States today. The results of the study revealed that meaning exists for symbols and slogans, is partially determined by group affiliation, and may possibly be slightly more emotional than rational in nature.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions of this thesis present some tentative correlations between the theoretical description of functions performed by symbols and slogans, and the results of the semantic differential test used to determine the "meaning" of selected symbols and slogans. Although the experimental data has not been obtained for the purpose of proving the theories discussed in Chapter II, some interesting comparisons exist. The concepts tested in Chapter III serve as potentially valid examples for the characteristics of symbols and slogans described in Chapter II. An interesting comparison can also be made between the emotional nature of symbols and slogans described in Chapter II with the emotional nature revealed in the semantic differential technique seen in Chapter III.

Symbols have been described in Chapter II as basically non-verbal efforts to catch attention, arouse emotion, and motivate beliefs. They serve as memory triggers that utilize conscious and unconscious forces to reflect an image. The reactions of various groups to the peace symbol and the American flag indicates that individuals definitely associate meanings with symbols. The results of testing these concepts also

indicate that perceived meaning is highly emotional and is influenced by group identification.

The seven specific characteristics of slogans presented in Chapter II may also be seen in the slogans tested in Chapter III.

The first characteristic presented in Chapter II is that the use of catchwords in slogans releases the user from any obligation to apply logical thought. In some cases, vagueness in terminology also helps users of slogans disguise socially unacceptable motives. Both of the slogans tested seem to possess terminology which inhibits logical thought and disguises socially unacceptable motives. The word "love" which appears in both slogans is undeniably vague. Some individuals who use the slogan, "Make love not war," may really be using the slogan to affirm less socially acceptable beliefs such as the value of personal freedom from injury and death over physical defense of country. Some users of the slogan "America, love it or leave it," may really be expressing the idea that people who appear threatening because they hold an opposing opinion should be expelled from the United States. Both slogans are simple phrases, which when analyzed, fail to seem completely "logical." Perhaps some of the reasons for slogans' appeal is the fact that emotional expression related to socially unacceptable desires can be released in a disguised fashion with the use of symbolic language.

The second characteristic of slogans is also demonstrated by the two concepts tested. Both "America, love it or leave it" and "Make love not war" use language in an either/or configuration which reduces the individual's obligation to question. Individuals should either make love or war, not both. Either one should love America, or leave it. The results of the test were relatively bipolarized in mean scores of the most extreme groups. Perhaps this further demonstrates the tendency of slogans to facilitate either/or thinking.

Brevity, simplicity, euphonic appeal, and ease of repetition are also manifested to some extent in the two slogans tested. Although it is difficult to determine if these characteristics had any influence on the semantic differential results, these characteristics have probably contributed to the popularity of the concepts which have been tested.

The fourth characteristic of slogans is the ease with which they allow the release of hostility. The bipolarization of mean scores on such adjective sets as "patriotic-treasonous," "brave-cowardly," and "pleasing-annoying" on the semantic differential indicates some expression of hostility on the part of groups who oppose each of the concepts. Unusually hostile written comments obtained from the test such as, "Put the Long-Hairs in the Marines and send them to Viet Nam," further indicate that hostility exists.

Slogans and symbols have also been described as "verbal flags" which serve to rally people together behind a cause or

belief. The strong affirmation of the peace symbol and the slogan, "Make love, not war" by young people in Lee Park and North Texas State University supports the idea that group identification is demonstrated and cemented with the use of appropriate symbols and slogans. The John Birch Society's strong affirmation of the American flag and the slogan "America, love it or leave it" may possibly provide another example. The fact that strong negative responses in mean scores were revealed in relation to concepts which seemed to represent opposing philosophies indicates that a symbol or slogan which is perceived as the "verbal flag" of the opposition may well represent a threat to group security. Human beings often seem to express the strongest hostility toward things which are perceived as threatening to themselves and/or the group.

The sixth characteristic mentioned in Chapter II contributes the idea that slogans are ego builders which appeal strongly to the insecure. Since no attempt was made to determine the security of individuals or groups tested, no correlation can be made between results of the semantic differential and this theory. One connotation of "America, love it or leave it" suggests that this slogan may be appealing to individuals who fear criticism. Individuals most fearful of criticism are sometimes the most insecure. Persons who cannot cope with threat prefer to negate the possibility of its existence. This relationship is valid only if the definition of "love"

used in the slogan is similar to "obey without question." There is a possibility that some users of this slogan use the word "love" in this symbolic fashion.

The last characteristic of slogans is perhaps one of the most dangerous. Slogans seem to articulate only the extreme positions in controversy and, therefore, may possibly serve as catalysts for bipolarization. Unfortunately, only the technical students, the middle of the road group, and to some extent the National Guard, revealed mean scores which were not extreme in nature. All of the groups which were interested and involved in the controversy of cultural conflict reacted with bipolarized mean scores. This may possibly indicate that people who are involved in a cause find it difficult to avoid either/or thinking in relation to the "verbal flags" which represent the appropriate group affiliation. Since slogans are easily repeated and remembered, they can become the most popular expressions in a controversy. Logical in depth discussion is easily overshadowed by symbols and slogans. Since symbols and slogans stimulate emotional reactions, logical interaction is further inhibited. In some situations, the use of symbols and slogans may lead toward emotional confrontations rather than toward compromise through discussion.

Words are like the cement which binds social structures, but words can also destroy those social structures. They can either be used as vehicles with which human beings achieve understanding or as weapons which isolate individuals from

one another. Symbols and slogans have both dividing and uniting powers. They are, as with most persuasive techniques, amoral in nature. Using emotional motivation, they can either cement social structure in support of a cause, or divide society into conflict. When logical interaction is needed, symbols and slogans should be avoided. When emotional motivation is needed, symbols and slogans may provide the most effective means of persuasion available. Whether words become weapons or social cement, can only be determined by the situations in which they exist.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS

Please Read Carefully

We would like to know how you feel about the preceding well known slogans and symbols. Please judge the symbols or slogans in terms of what the descriptive adjective scales mean to you. Of course, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers and we urge you to be as accurate as possible in your ratings.

For purposes of illustration, suppose you were asked to evaluate the slogan "The only good Indian is a dead Indian" using the "fair-unfair" scale. If you judge the slogan to be very "unfair," you would put a check-mark as follows:

UNFAIR  : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FAIR

If you judge the slogan to be moderately "fair," you would put a check-mark as follows:

UNFAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ :  : \_\_\_ FAIR

If you judge the slogan to be slightly "unfair," you would put a check-mark as follows:

UNFAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ :  : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FAIR

If you are neutral or undecided toward the slogan in terms of the "fair-unfair" scale, you would put a check-mark as follows:

UNFAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ :  : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FAIR



In summary . . .

1. Be sure you check every scale on all the pages.

Never put more than one check-mark on a single scale.

2. Make each item a separate and independent judgement.

3. Work at a fairly high speed through this survey; we want your first impressions- - -the way you actually feel at the present time toward the slogans and symbols.

4. When you finish be sure to check back through to be certain that you have covered all of the symbols and slogans.

5. It is not necessary for you to sign your name to this survey.

## "AMERICA, LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT"

FAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UNFAIR  
 VALUABLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WORTHLESS  
 TREASONOUS \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PATRIOTIC  
 RELEVANT \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ IRRELEVANT  
 COWARDLY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ BRAVE  
 PEACELOVING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WARLIKE  
 WRONG \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ RIGHT  
 REASSURING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FRIGHTENING  
 BEAUTIFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UGLY  
 BAD \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ GOOD  
 HAZY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ CLEAR  
 ANNOYING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PLEASING  
 SAFE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DANGEROUS  
 GENTLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ VIOLENT  
 SUPERFICIAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PROFOUND  
 MEANINGFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ MEANINGLESS  
 RATIONAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ EMOTIONAL  
 HONEST \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DISHONEST  
 REAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UNREAL

## "MAKE LOVE, NOT WAR"

WRONG \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ RIGHT  
 REASSURING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FRIGHTENING  
 BEAUTIFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UGLY  
 BAD \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ GOOD  
 HAZY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ CLEAR  
 ANNOYING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PLEASING  
 SANE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DANGEROUS  
 GENTLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ VIOLENT  
 SUPERFICIAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PROFOUND  
 MEANINGFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ MEANINGLESS  
 RATIONAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ EMOTIONAL  
 HONEST \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DISHONEST  
 FAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UNFAIR  
 VALUABLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WORTHLESS  
 TREASONOUS \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PATRIOTIC  
 RELEVANT \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ IRRELEVANT  
 COWARDLY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ BRAVE  
 PEACELOVING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WARLIKE



SUPERFICIAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PROFOUND  
 MEANINGFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ MEANINGLESS  
 RATIONAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ EMOTIONAL  
 HONEST \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DISHONEST  
 REAL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UNREAL  
 FAIR \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UNFAIR  
 VALUABLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WORTHLESS  
 TREASONOUS \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PATRIOTIC  
 RELEVANT \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ IRRELEVANT  
 COWARDLY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ BRAVE  
 PEACELOVING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ WARLIKE  
 WRONG \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ RIGHT  
 REASSURING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ FRIGHTENING  
 BEAUTIFUL \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ UGLY  
 BAD \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ GOOD  
 HAZY \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ CLEAR  
 ANNOYING \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ PLEASING  
 SAFE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ DANGEROUS  
 GENTLE \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ : \_\_\_ VIOLENT



MEANINGFUL \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ MEANINGLESS  
 RATIONAL \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ EMOTIONAL  
 HONEST \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ DISHONEST  
 REAL \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ UNREAL  
 FAIR \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ UNFAIR  
 VALUABLE \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ WORTHLESS  
 TREASONOUS \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ PATRIOTIC  
 RELEVANT \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ IRRELEVANT  
 COWARDLY \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ BRAVE  
 PEACELOVING \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ WARLIKE  
 WRONG \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ RIGHT  
 REASSURING \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ FRIGHTENING  
 BEAUTIFUL \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ UGLY  
 BAD \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ GOOD  
 HAZY \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ CLEAR  
 ANNOYING \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ PLEASING  
 SAFE \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ DANGEROUS  
 GENTLE \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ VIOLENT  
 SUPERFICIAL \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ : \_\_\_\_\_ PROFOUND

## PERCEPTION OF POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

1. Indicate by crossing the line below the way you view your own political philosophy on the basis of the contemporary liberal versus contemporary conservative distinction.

(example                     )

Very	_____		Very
Liberal	Middle		Conservative
	of the		
	road		

2. Indicate by crossing the line below the way you view the political philosophy of Richard M. Nixon on the basis of the contemporary liberal versus the contemporary conservative distinction.

Very	_____		Very
Liberal	Middle		Conservative
	of the		
	road		

3. Indicate by crossing the line below the amount of agreement or disagreement you feel toward the statement:  
Federal welfare programs are essential for the stability of our nation.

Strongly	_____		Strongly
Agree	Middle		Disagree
	of the		
	road		

4. Indicate by crossing the line below the amount of agreement or disagreement you feel toward the statements: It is essential for the stability and progress of our nation that law and order be upheld.

<u>Strongly</u>		<u>Strongly</u>
Agree	Middle of the road	Disagree

Additional Comments:

APPENDIX B

TABLE I

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR

"MAKE LOVE NOT WAR"

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
RIGHT (M)	6.60	5.74	5.74	3.63	2.56	2.67	5.18	6.14	WRONG
(SD)	0.74	1.41	1.50	1.94	1.68	1.91	2.00	1.70	
REASSURING (M)	5.57	5.52	4.68	3.63	2.72	2.87	4.29	5.41	FRIGHTENING
(SD)	1.54	1.46	1.28	1.94	1.26	1.41	1.56	1.84	
BEAUTIFUL (M)	6.80	6.10	5.71	4.40	2.33	2.60	5.29	6.36	UGLY
(SD)	0.47	1.04	1.19	1.87	1.55	1.72	1.82	1.22	
GOOD (M)	6.57	5.84	5.74	4.40	2.11	1.73	5.11	6.41	BAD
(SD)	1.07	1.53	1.50	1.94	1.58	1.03	1.97	1.18	
CLEAR (M)	5.74	5.10	4.81	4.23	3.58	3.13	4.64	5.64	HAZY
(SD)	1.90	2.15	1.58	2.51	2.20	2.33	1.89	2.11	
PLEASING (M)	6.49	5.65	5.26	3.97	2.22	2.27	5.07	5.91	ANNOYING
(SD)	0.78	1.45	1.41	2.11	1.59	1.44	1.61	1.74	
SAFE (M)	5.23	4.94	4.90	3.77	2.00	1.87	4.43	5.36	DANGEROUS
(SD)	1.88	1.81	1.68	1.91	1.17	1.25	1.87	2.19	
GENTLE (M)	6.40	6.16	5.42	4.33	3.53	3.80	5.50	6.09	VIOLENT
(SD)	1.29	1.00	1.65	1.83	1.25	1.26	1.58	1.48	
SUPERFICIAL (M)	5.23	4.42	3.87	2.93	2.14	2.47	3.79	4.86	PROFOUND
(SD)	1.59	2.06	1.82	2.15	1.61	1.92	1.93	2.17	
MEANINGFUL (M)	6.29	5.35	5.32	3.37	1.78	1.53	4.82	5.59	MEANINGLESS
(SD)	1.18	1.82	1.40	2.33	1.29	1.13	2.04	2.09	
RATIONAL (M)	4.03	3.58	3.26	2.83	1.78	1.87	3.50	3.77	EMOTIONAL
(SD)	2.13	2.19	1.91	2.05	1.07	0.99	2.03	2.37	
HONEST (M)	5.94	5.16	5.58	4.50	1.83	1.93	5.21	5.45	DISHONEST
(SD)	1.45	1.61	1.36	1.93	1.11	1.22	1.55	1.97	
UNREAL (M)	5.71	4.65	5.03	3.10	1.72	1.80	4.46	5.45	REAL
(SD)	1.51	2.04	1.80	1.94	1.41	1.78	2.12	1.99	
UNFAIR (M)	6.09	5.35	5.26	4.13	1.17	2.40	4.68	5.55	FAIR
(SD)	1.44	1.68	1.46	1.74	1.34	1.45	1.87	1.95	
WORTHLESS (M)	5.97	5.42	5.39	3.67	1.39	1.33	4.68	5.55	VALUABLE
(SD)	1.58	1.75	1.75	2.17	0.84	1.05	2.07	2.28	
TREASONOUS (M)	5.46	5.26	4.90	3.70	2.67	2.93	4.46	5.82	PATRIOTIC
(SD)	1.82	1.39	1.22	1.80	1.22	1.33	1.62	1.74	



TABLE I - Continued

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
IRRELEVANT(M)	5.57	5.71	5.03	4.17	2.06	1.87	4.50	5.50	RELEVANT
(SD)	1.79	1.66	1.45	1.78	1.15	1.30	1.84	1.95	
COWARDLY(M)	5.66	5.42	4.52	3.63	2.72	3.00	4.29	5.59	BRAVE
(SD)	1.64	1.48	1.61	1.71	1.28	1.41	1.92	1.74	
WARLIKE(M)	6.40	6.10	6.00	5.50	3.83	4.07	5.57	5.91	PEACELOVING
(SD)	1.44	1.33	1.24	1.53	1.25	1.53	1.27	1.93	

APPENDIX C

TABLE II

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR

"AMERICA, LOVE IT OR LEAVE IT"

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
RIGHT (M)	2.51	1.90	5.19	5.20	6.14	5.67	4.96	2.50	WRONG
(SD)	2.13	1.49	2.18	2.14	1.02	1.76	2.10	2.30	
REASSURING (M)	2.20	2.00	4.81	4.87	5.94	5.60	4.43	2.59	FRIGHTENING
(SD)	1.59	1.51	1.89	1.76	1.15	1.80	1.75	2.13	
BEAUTIFUL (M)	2.43	2.13	5.16	4.83	5.83	5.53	4.75	2.64	UGLY
(SD)	1.97	1.41	1.64	1.72	1.00	1.68	1.78	2.08	
GOOD (M)	2.23	2.03	5.00	5.03	6.36	5.80	4.79	2.41	BAD
(SD)	1.86	1.52	1.86	2.24	1.15	1.97	2.17	2.20	
CLEAR (M)	4.37	4.39	5.19	5.90	5.50	6.07	5.07	3.91	HAZY
(SD)	2.47	2.46	1.82	1.73	1.54	0.96	1.78	2.65	
PLEASING (M)	2.00	1.74	4.29	5.10	6.17	5.81	4.00	2.68	ANNOYING
(SD)	1.83	1.34	1.83	1.79	1.08	1.78	2.04	2.51	
SAFE (M)	2.34	1.81	4.29	5.37	5.17	4.87	3.82	2.32	DANGEROUS
(SD)	1.81	1.20	1.70	1.92	1.63	2.03	1.74	1.91	
GENTLE (M)	2.31	1.74	3.29	2.00	4.39	3.87	3.57	2.09	VIOLENT
(SD)	1.89	1.00	1.49	1.66	1.55	1.73	1.71	1.63	
SUPERFICIAL (M)	2.49	2.32	3.97	4.43	5.19	4.67	3.79	2.27	PROFOUND
(SD)	1.87	1.54	1.60	1.83	1.37	1.88	1.83	1.98	
MEANINGFUL (M)	3.20	3.55	5.48	5.53	5.47	5.47	4.61	3.18	MEANINGLESS
(SD)	2.26	2.11	1.59	1.63	1.95	2.13	1.93	2.40	
RATIONAL (M)	2.26	1.84	3.71	3.73	4.75	4.67	3.25	1.91	EMOTIONAL
(SD)	1.84	1.46	2.00	2.12	2.05	2.47	1.86	1.90	
HONEST (M)	3.46	3.84	5.29	5.37	6.25	6.13	5.18	3.18	DISHONEST
(SD)	2.13	2.35	1.81	1.71	1.18	1.25	1.59	2.24	
UNREAL (M)	3.00	3.13	4.77	5.53	5.69	5.60	4.93	2.91	REAL
(SD)	2.25	2.17	1.93	1.63	1.95	2.03	2.09	2.31	
UNFAIR (M)	2.57	1.81	5.48	5.60	6.06	5.87	5.04	2.41	FAIR
(SD)	2.28	1.58	2.25	2.11	1.35	1.64	2.36	2.28	
WORTHLESS (M)	2.31	2.10	5.45	5.37	5.64	5.07	4.54	2.36	VALUABLE
(SD)	2.07	1.54	1.82	1.81	1.20	1.79	2.08	2.08	
TREASONOUS (M)	3.43	3.48	5.84	6.10	6.47	6.07	5.11	3.50	PATRIOTIC
(SD)	2.25	1.77	1.44	5.54	0.97	1.49	1.87	2.52	

TABLE II - Continued

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
IRRELEVANT(M)	2.49	2.81	5.48	5.13	5.53	5.07	4.89	2.64	RELEVANT
(SD)	2.01	2.02	1.81	1.87	1.46	2.05	1.69	2.36	
COWARDLY(M)	3.06	2.55	5.23	5.33	5.58	5.40	4.50	3.18	BRAVE
(SD)	1.91	1.57	1.43	1.75	1.18	1.76	1.67	2.15	
WARLIKE(M)	2.17	2.03	5.52	4.13	4.31	4.00	3.86	1.95	PEACELOVING
(SD)	1.82	1.25	1.82	2.30	1.55	1.65	1.98	1.65	

APPENDIX D

TABLE III

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR  
THE PEACE SYMBOL

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
RIGHT (M)	6.37	5.23	4.45	3.50	1.36	1.40	4.96	5.82	WRONG
(SD)	1.11	1.48	1.73	1.70	0.76	0.91	1.84	2.06	
REASSURING (M)	6.26	5.32	4.68	3.40	2.08	2.00	4.75	5.91	FRIGHTENING
(SD)	1.24	1.62	1.58	1.77	1.05	1.07	1.73	1.95	
BEAUTIFUL (M)	6.49	5.71	4.65	3.63	1.33	1.47	5.14	5.68	UGLY
(SD)	1.12	1.35	1.72	1.67	0.71	0.92	1.67	2.15	
GOOD (M)	6.51	5.52	4.65	3.70	1.28	1.27	4.89	5.86	BAD
(SD)	0.95	1.48	1.60	1.66	0.66	1.03	1.66	2.01	
CLEAR (M)	5.91	4.58	4.55	3.00	3.69	3.93	4.82	4.59	HAZY
(SD)	1.70	2.13	2.29	2.00	2.03	2.12	1.98	2.59	
PLEASING (M)	6.31	5.55	4.03	2.93	1.94	2.13	4.75	5.82	ANNOYING
(SD)	1.37	1.61	1.72	1.64	1.17	1.64	1.73	2.04	
SAFE (M)	6.31	4.94	4.42	3.83	1.69	1.80	4.89	5.95	DANGEROUS
(SD)	1.08	1.69	1.57	1.82	0.95	1.37	1.55	1.81	
GENTLE (M)	6.63	5.84	4.77	3.77	2.36	2.53	4.89	6.05	VIOLENT
(SD)	0.84	1.27	1.96	1.78	1.15	1.51	1.81	1.81	
SUPERFICIAL (M)	4.91	5.23	3.39	2.73	3.11	3.40	3.18	5.05	PROFOUND
(SD)	2.13	1.73	1.75	1.86	2.04	2.16	1.87	2.46	
MEANINGFUL (M)	6.23	5.74	4.42	3.43	3.83	3.87	4.93	5.55	MEANINGLESS
(SD)	1.31	1.55	2.06	2.03	2.25	2.47	1.80	2.11	
RATIONAL (M)	4.40	3.87	4.00	2.83	1.94	1.93	3.57	4.27	EMOTIONAL
(SD)	2.34	2.20	1.81	1.93	1.12	1.22	1.87	2.43	
HONEST (M)	6.26	5.35	4.71	3.43	1.86	1.87	4.64	5.95	DISHONEST
(SD)	1.27	1.66	1.19	1.61	1.13	1.41	1.70	1.99	
UNREAL (M)	6.31	5.45	4.32	3.30	2.86	2.87	4.96	5.82	REAL
(SD)	1.11	1.63	1.85	1.97	2.32	2.45	1.82	2.17	

TABLE III - Continued

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
UNFAIR(M)	6.37	5.48	5.00	3.53	2.11	2.20	4.86	6.00	FAIR
(SD)	1.09	1.52	1.32	1.72	1.43	1.61	1.78	1.80	
WORTHLESS(M)	6.11	5.23	4.06	3.00	2.19	2.53	4.43	6.00	VALUABLE
(SD)	1.35	1.82	2.06	1.97	1.77	2.20	1.89	1.88	
TREASONOUS(M)	5.51	5.19	4.19	3.03	2.17	1.73	4.21	5.32	PATRIOTIC
(SD)	1.36	1.49	1.56	1.52	1.13	0.96	1.73	1.91	
IRRELEVANT(M)	5.97	5.68	4.97	3.03	3.06	3.47	4.71	5.82	RELEVANT
(SD)	1.65	1.74	1.35	1.88	1.97	2.23	1.70	2.08	
COWARDLY(M)	5.94	5.55	3.90	3.27	2.69	2.87	4.25	5.64	BRAVE
(SD)	1.43	1.48	1.73	1.64	1.43	1.77	1.58	2.01	
WARLIKE(M)	6.57	6.52	5.52	5.27	2.94	2.73	5.71	6.27	PEACELOVING
(SD)	0.85	0.77	1.81	1.78	1.41	1.39	1.56	1.58	

APPENDIX E

TABLE IV

MEAN SCORES AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR  
THE AMERICAN FLAG

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
RIGHT (M)	4.43	4.45	6.26	6.63	6.67	6.40	6.00	4.18	WRONG
(SD)	1.91	1.31	1.21	0.76	0.72	1.12	1.25	2.04	
REASSURING (M)	3.94	4.39	6.06	6.77	6.72	6.87	5.54	3.91	FRIGHTENING
(SD)	2.04	1.33	1.41	0.50	0.81	0.52	1.71	2.16	
BEAUTIFUL (M)	4.46	5.16	6.58	6.73	6.78	6.87	6.25	4.59	UGLY
(SD)	1.93	1.53	0.67	0.58	0.90	0.52	1.04	2.13	
GOOD (M)	4.37	4.71	6.32	6.73	6.69	6.73	5.96	4.41	BAD
(SD)	1.83	1.22	1.05	0.69	0.71	0.80	1.20	1.87	
CLEAR (M)	4.23	4.55	6.19	6.50	6.47	6.60	5.71	4.45	HAZY
(SD)	2.17	1.50	1.17	0.90	0.84	0.91	1.46	2.06	
PLEASING (M)	3.86	4.42	5.84	6.60	6.81	6.73	5.46	4.18	ANNOYING
(SD)	1.65	1.18	1.49	0.77	0.52	0.59	1.32	1.97	
SAFE (M)	4.11	4.48	5.84	6.47	6.00	5.93	5.75	4.05	DANGEROUS
(SD)	1.76	1.52	1.32	1.11	1.24	1.33	1.29	1.99	
GENTLE (M)	3.66	3.77	5.29	5.70	5.72	5.53	4.86	3.36	VIOLENT
(SD)	1.75	1.38	1.60	1.53	1.54	1.85	1.41	2.06	
SUPERFICIAL (M)	3.83	3.74	4.39	6.13	6.36	6.40	4.25	4.00	PROFOUND
(SD)	1.96	1.61	2.11	1.48	1.02	0.99	1.78	2.20	
MEANINGFUL (M)	4.69	5.81	6.65	6.90	6.78	6.53	6.14	4.77	MEANINGLESS
(SD)	2.27	1.22	1.14	0.40	0.96	1.36	1.41	2.25	
RATIONAL (M)	3.20	3.06	3.10	4.63	5.17	5.07	3.96	3.73	EMOTIONAL
(SD)	2.03	2.22	2.47	2.57	2.29	2.43	2.46	2.55	
HONEST (M)	4.69	5.10	6.48	6.57	6.81	6.27	6.11	4.50	DISHONEST
(SD)	2.04	1.89	0.85	0.86	0.86	1.94	1.23	2.15	

TABLE IV - Continued

	A	B	TS	C	D	X	Y	Z	
UNREAL(M)	4.94	5.23	6.61	6.70	6.94	7.00	6.50	4.45	REAL
(SD)	2.06	1.71	1.15	0.88	0.23	0.00	0.96	2.18	
UNFAIR(M)	4.23	4.94	6.32	6.60	6.78	6.80	6.07	2.05	FAIR
(SD)	2.04	1.63	1.08	1.04	0.64	0.77	1.25	2.17	
WORTHLESS(M)	4.54	5.32	6.35	6.80	6.89	6.80	6.18	4.73	VALUABLE
(SD)	2.24	1.60	1.33	0.48	0.32	0.77	1.39	2.16	
TREASONOUS(M)	4.91	5.58	6.42	6.97	6.86	6.93	6.32	4.82	PATRIOTIC
(SD)	2.13	1.61	1.59	0.18	0.35	0.26	1.33	2.24	
IRRELEVANT(M)	4.26	4.81	6.19	6.73	6.58	6.87	6.07	4.05	RELEVANT
(SD)	2.17	1.92	1.11	0.69	0.77	0.52	1.22	2.21	
COWARDLY(M)	4.29	4.13	6.11	6.63	6.47	6.60	5.89	3.82	BRAVE
(SD)	1.87	1.43	1.49	0.85	0.91	0.83	1.52	2.17	
WARLIKE(M)	3.71	3.26	5.10	5.80	5.94	6.20	4.93	3.68	PEACELOVING
(SD)	1.98	1.03	1.85	1.40	1.24	1.21	1.80	2.21	

## APPENDIX F

### GLOSSARY OF WRITTEN COMMENTS OBTAINED FROM THE TEST

#### UNITARIAN GROUP

1. "This test revealed some self-contradicting attitudes which I did not realize I have."
2. "Symbols and slogans, in themselves, are nothing; only the things for which they stand are relevant."
3. "You've told me something about myself."
4. "I felt very strong emotions in relation to the peace symbol but was surprisingly vague on the flag."
5. "[In relation to the adjective set "real-unreal"] sometimes hard to answer; what is "unreal" to me, I know is very "real" to someone else and it is difficult to ignore my awareness of other groups."
6. "Political philosophy is irrelevant if it is selfish and doesn't represent the same for all the people that it would want the people to be representative of it. We should be able to conserve what is good like a democratic system but must be liberal enough to make it work for all people included in that system. We must be middle of the road enough to be willing to compromise for the sake of unity. United truthfully, we will stand forever."



7. "[ "America, love it or leave it" ] is a sophomoric ridiculous phrase designed to appeal to the shallow Babbit."
8. "[ "Make love, not war" ] is in essence. . .a belligerent phrase designed to emphatically evoke response diametrically opposed to the military-industrial complex- - -so in the microcasm it is peaceful, in the macro sense totally militant."
9. "All my answers must be qualified by the statement that 'Individual freedom is the important thing.' There is no collective freedom without individual freedom. Symbols are by definition emotion laden and un-rational. The symbols themselves aren't important, just the use of them."

LEE PARK AND NORTH TEXAS STATE UNIVERSITY GROUP

1. "Straight people (98% of the U. S.) are pigs. P. S. I'm a Dallas school teacher."
2. "This kind of preconceived structure enforced on personal reactions is a gross misjudgement on your part as to the whole psychology of understanding fellow humans."
3. "How can anyone learn from such a shallow survey? These things must be discussed in depth."
4. "Many of the polarizations are false. The person who conceived this ought to make love and then be taken out and shot."
5. "Symbols have very little meaning for me."
6. "Many of the above answers tend to catagorize you in one group."

7. "your teste is verie harde to unerstan."

THE JOHN BIRCH SOCIETY

1. "When our nation returns to the status of Constitutional republic we will again be a virile nation."
2. "I am a Burkian Conservative in political philosophy but this places me somewhat to the left in this social climate. I am also an American historian and committed to reform rather than revolution- - -thus some of my ambiguous responcees."
3. "Politics, left wing and right wing, are blown way out of perspective, in my humble belief, to their true value."
4. "There is a great deal of directed confusion in most people's reaction to today's symbols."
5. "[In relation to "Make love, not war"] help fight poverty. Get them off their ass and put them to work. No work- - - no eat. Put the 'long hair' in the Marine Corp!"

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