

CAMPAIGN CONSULTING WITH Q-METHODOLOGY

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Political scientists interested in campaign consulting may wish to consider how Q-methodology (Brown, 1980; Stephenson, 1953) can be used for campaign research. Q-methodology, because it provides all the necessary tools for small-sample campaign research, can provide part-time, lone-wolf consultants access to campaigns. Having argued the merits of Q-methodology for professional campaigners (Wattier, 1982), I now wish to argue that political scientists should employ Q-methodology in their campaign consulting.

Political scientists should engage in campaign consulting for many reasons. Two obvious reasons are the material reward of a somewhat lucrative consulting fee and the expressive reward of an extraordinary act of civic duty. Although these are important reasons, political scientists should also consider a third motivation: Campaign consulting provides a "golden" opportunity to enrich our knowledge of the effects of political campaigns (Blumer, 1959; O'Keefe, 1975; O'Keefe & Atwood, 1981; Kraus & Davis, 1976).

Studies of campaigns implicitly assume that campaign messages designed by candidates and campaigners and communicated through various media have significant electoral consequences. Similarly, studies of elections implicitly assume that voting behavior is a response to the political stimuli of a campaign. Efforts to confirm these assumptions typically consider campaign strategies and tactics "working" hypotheses to be tested with empirical data (Kessel, 1968, 1984; Goldenberg & Traugott, 1984). A problem with this approach is that campaign strategies and tactics are planned

in an extremely private arena to which political scientists may have only indirect access.

Political scientists have gained indirect access to campaign planning arenas through primary (strategy memoranda) and secondary (campaign biographies) sources (Gant, 1983; Kessel, 1984) and through personal interviews (Hershey, 1984; West, 1984). The strategies evident in these post-election sources often appear to be "reconstructed logics" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 8): Consultants emerge as architects of master strategies that could have produced victory. The possibility certainly exists that politically sensitive or poorly conceived strategies are not revealed in these sources.

Political scientists have gained direct access to campaign planning arenas by running for office (Maisel, 1982) and by working in campaigns (Kessel, 1968; Miller & Robyn, 1975; Nimmo & Savage, 1976). Because consultants are in a position to speak authoritatively about campaign strategy, political scientists should try to gain access to the private planning arenas of campaigns at all levels of government to initiate studies of campaign effects.

Political scientists should use Q-methodology in their campaign consulting for many reasons. This methodology is ideal for those who are not affiliated with a consulting organization (a "pack") because Q-studies can be conducted by an individual (a "lone-wolf"). Since small-sample, intensive studies are not nearly so expensive as large-sample, extensive studies--there is a large and expanding market for Q-studies: Candidates who want

research but who cannot afford a public opinion poll. Finally, Q-studies can be designed to construct empirically based campaign strategies. In short, the purpose of this paper is to demonstrate how Q-studies can provide campaigners the information they need to plan campaign strategy (cf., Cragan & Shields, 1977; Halliday, 1970; O'Shea, 1971).

Principles of Campaign Strategy

To develop campaign strategy campaigners must take into account the beliefs, values, and actions of potential voters. Campaigners need to know what voters believe about each major candidate in a race, what qualities voters value in their public officials, and how citizens act on their beliefs and values to make voting decisions. The literature suggests that voters reach a decision by comparing what they know about candidates (beliefs) with what they desire in public officials (values). The candidate who emerges from this comparison with a net "image" advantage normally receives the vote (Brody & Page, 1973; Conway & Wyckoff, 1980; Kelley, 1983; Kelley & Mirer, 1974; Wattier, 1983).

Of these strategic considerations--beliefs, values, and actions--campaigners are most likely to be successful if they focus their efforts on what voters believe about candidates. Few candidates can influence what voters desire in their public officials because this value is acquired through the long-term process of political socialization, not through the short-term process of political campaigning (Greenstein, 1960, 1975).¹ Even fewer

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What voters desire in public officials, as expressed in Q-

candidates can influence how voters make decisions: Human choices are governed more by human nature than by any candidate's power of persuasion. Voters expect candidates to emphasize their qualifications and to criticize each other's qualifications; voters are somewhat suspicious of efforts to influence their values and actions.

Campaign strategists must also appreciate the constraints imposed by voter beliefs; candidates are not free to project any image they desire. For instance, well-known candidates must work with what voters already believe about them. Only the political novice would seem to have the freedom to project almost any image to potential voters. Strategists must therefore consider the image transactions that occur in campaigns if they are to perform the duties of "image brokers":

Candidates formulate and project not only images of themselves and each other but also imagine what voters think of them as office-seekers. Voters construct and project self-images of the candidates--the qualities they perceive in each candidate and how they think the candidates, in turn, respond to them as voters. The unique dimension that the professional image maker adds is to discover the qualities to match with those expectations. The professional image maker is thereby an image broker, bent on achieving an exchange of shared perceptions between candidate and voters with respect to what each thinks the other is and wants. (Nimmo, 1976, p. 36)

Image brokers must determine what qualities a candidate should emphasize in his campaign. Although numerous strategic principles could be applied to this problem (e.g., Doob, 1954),

sorts of their "ideal," is relatively stable during campaigns (Nimmo, Mansfield, & Curry, 1978, p. 145).

image brokers should always apply the principle of reinforcement: Candidates must emphasize those qualities that are consistent with the beliefs and values of potential voters (cf., Combs, 1979, chap. 6).²

This principle relies on the principles of popularity and credibility. The principle of **popularity** requires candidates to emphasize those qualities that are consistent with what potential voters desire in their public officials. Any strategy that ignores this principle is doomed to failure. Any strategy based solely on this principle will usually cause serious questions to be raised about a candidate's leadership ability. Therefore, image brokers must also apply the principle of **credibility**: A candidate under most circumstances should emphasize those qualities that are consistent with what potential voters already believe about him.

It is axiomatic that candidates must take "popular" stands on public issues, but they must not take positions without considering the effect such actions have on their credibility. When a candidate takes stands that voters do not normally associate with him, his credibility is jeopardized. When he takes stands that are unpopular although credible, his support is jeopardized. In short, the principle of reinforcement requires campaign strategies that are consistent with the principles of popularity and credibi-

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This principle does not preclude selective reinforcement of different elements of a candidate's coalition. Whether an appeal is directed toward all potential voters or toward only a candidate's most likely supporters does not alter the need to emphasize qualities consistent with voters' beliefs and values.

lity. The principle of reinforcement requires an image broker to discover what desirable qualities potential voters believe a candidate has and then incorporate those qualities into his campaign strategy.

An opportunity to apply this principle occurred in the last election cycle when the author was hired to be an image broker for a Missouri state senator. The senator, an incumbent Democrat, was finishing his first term. During that term he had worked to secure passage of a revenue measure that would have increased corporate and personal income taxes. Although the measure did not pass, he was concerned that his efforts could have jeopardized his bid for re-election. The challenger, a Republican, had held no prior elective office and was waging his first campaign in the district. The district could be characterized as a relatively safe Democratic district although "presidential republicanism" had been especially evident in recent elections. In short, the contest was between a well-known, relatively popular incumbent and an unknown, relatively invisible challenger in a district which gave the incumbent a definite partisan advantage. Given these political circumstances, reinforcement seemed to be the incumbent's most viable and most obvious campaign strategy.

Two responsibilities were given the author: (1) discover which beliefs and values to reinforce and (2) determine how to identify those strategic qualities with limited financial resources and under somewhat serious time constraints. The next sections of the paper discuss how these problems were resolved with Q-methodology.

Principles and Procedures of Q-Methodology

Campaigners, who develop strategies by taking into account the views of potential voters, must initially consider the types of beliefs and values that exist in the electorate. Do constituents favor candidates with leadership experience over candidates with polished communication skills? Do they favor personal characteristics over partisan activities? Or do they favor leadership experience and personal characteristics over communication skills and partisan activities? Image brokers must seek answers to these questions so that campaign messages may be directed toward the most important dimensions. Image brokers should be concerned not only with which dimensions are most important but also with whether and to what extent these dimensions influence voters' choices.

An experienced campaigner may resolve these issues through role-playing; he may anticipate what voters desire in public officials by pretending to be--in his own imagination--an "average" voter. Role-playing, especially for campaigners who have the necessary gifts, may provide a reasonably accurate foundation on which to base campaign strategy (cf., Kingdon, 1966). Under most circumstances, however, campaigners will want to verify the strategic intelligence generated through role-playing with information gathered by other means, which are less subject to distortion, because the effectiveness of strategy depends, to a great extent, on the accuracy of the information on which the strategy is based.

Well-financed campaigns will usually test their strategic hypotheses with objective data gathered in large-sample, ex post facto surveys (Agranoff, 1976; Kelley, 1956; Nimmo, 1970;

Sabato, 1981). The data generated by these surveys typically include a relatively narrow range of voters' beliefs and values. In preparing a survey questionnaire the image broker must operationally define all the variables he considers to be relevant to the campaign. The survey questionnaire then is given to a relatively large subject sample randomly selected to ensure that sample results will be representative of a population of potential voters. Finally, the image broker must statistically analyze the results to determine which strategic hypotheses have been supported by the data. In short, by asking a relatively large sample of persons, selected randomly, relatively few questions--defined objectively, deductively, and operationally--the image broker can determine which messages to emphasize in the campaign.

Not-so-well-financed campaigns can determine which messages to emphasize with Q-methodology (Brown, 1980; Stephenson, 1953).³

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Perhaps the definition of Q-methodology provided by Nimmo and Savage (1976) is the most concise:

Q-methodology is an approach to behavioral science research that emphasizes theoretical explanation through experimental design, intensive data gathering built on small-sample theory, and an inductive typal analysis based on self-referent observations from respondents themselves. (p. 214)

The definition provided by Brown (1980) is, perhaps, the most complete:

Q technique is a set of procedures whereby a sample of objects is placed in a significant order with respect to a single person. In its most typical form, the sample involves statements of opinion (Q sample) that an individual rank-orders in terms of some condition of instruction--e.g., from "most agree" (+5) to "most disagree" (-5). The items so arrayed comprise what is called a Q sort. Q sorts obtained from several persons are normally correlated and factor-analyzed by any of

In Q strategic hypotheses are generated with subjective data gathered in small-sample, experimental "surveys" (cf., Wattier, 1982). The data generated by Q-studies typically include a relatively wide range of voters' beliefs and values (Brown, 1974). In preparing a Q-study the image broker must construct a relatively large statement sample (i.e., Q-sample) that is theoretically representative of a population of potential campaign messages. The Q-sample then is given to a relatively small subject sample (i.e., P-set) theoretically selected to represent "variables" the image broker considers to be relevant to the campaign. By ranking the statements according to a condition of instruction (i.e., Q-sort) prescribed by the image broker subjects operantly define their beliefs and values. Finally, the image broker must statistically analyze the results to determine what strategic hypotheses have emerged from the data. In short, by asking a relatively small sample of persons, selected theoretically, relatively many "questions"--defined subjectively, inductively, and operantly--the image broker lets his subjects determine which messages to emphasize.

the available statistical methods. Factors indicate clusters of persons who have ranked the statements in essentially the same fashion. Explanation of factors is advanced in terms of commonly shared attitudes or perspectives. Q methodology is the body of theory and principles that guides the application of technique, method, and explanation. (pp. 5-6)

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Well-financed campaigns could conceivably conduct both kinds of studies. Questions for large-sample surveys could be generated in several small-sample Q-studies (cf., Stephenson, 1953, chap. 9; Wattier, 1982, p. 40).

Developing a Q-Sample

Developing a Q-sample is normally the first task of any Q-study. Brown (1980) defines a Q-sample as a set of "statements or other stimuli drawn from [a] parent population" (p. 28). In most studies the Q-sample should be drawn so as to represent its parent population.⁵ In this respect samples of statements are no different than samples of persons; the "representativeness" of each sample is an important consideration (Brown & Ungs, 1970).

Sampling of persons is considerably easier than sampling of statements. Samples of persons "can be drawn from populations of known boundaries"; however, "it is virtually impossible . . . to establish boundaries for a population of statements" (Brown, 1980, p. 28). Without well-defined, concrete boundaries the investigator or image broker must create those boundaries so that a Q-sample can be constructed. The image broker who employs Q-methodology must therefore identify the most important dimensions of voters' beliefs and values. In short, the image broker must anticipate what potential voters will probably take into account as they decide for whom to vote (Kelley & Mirer, 1974; Wattier, 1983).

The issue of dimensionality should be addressed in the design of the Q-sample. Candidate images and political issues are the

Statements may be generated in interviews with individuals or groups, by reviews of relevant literature, or through brainstorming by the image broker and his associates. Statements may be words, phrases, or sentences that consist of or refer to other stimuli such as drawings, pictures, or tape-recorded messages. Statements usually are placed on 3-by-5 cards, one statement for each card, to facilitate the process of Q-sorting.

two most obvious dimensions that image brokers should include in their Q-samples.⁶ Image brokers can then determine whether images or issues are more salient; they also can determine which aspects of these dimensions are most popular and most credible.

Q-samples may be structured or unstructured. In a structured design statements are selected to represent a theory or an hypothesis.⁷ In an unstructured design statements are selected "without any specific regard to any basic dimensions or variables that may underlie them" (Nimmo & Savage, 1976, p. 216).

Structuring a Q-sample involves conceptualizing its dimensions clearly enough to reduce the ambiguity often associated with the process of assigning statements to those dimensions. As is generally true with any system of classification, these dimensions should be--in most cases--mutually exclusive and collectively exhaustive. For example, does the statement "he takes a definite position on matters of public policy" represent an image or issue dimension? An answer depends, of course, on the investigator's concepts of "image" and "issue." Once such matters are resolved satisfactorily, work may proceed on the selection and construction of statements.

Structured samples offer definite advantages. A structured sample obviously provides a guide to selecting statements. But

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Appendix A presents the Q-sample developed in the Missouri Q-study. Statements 1 through 28 were selected to represent the image dimension; statements 29 through 56, the issue dimension.

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For ideas on how to structure candidate-image samples, see Nimmo and Savage (1976). For ideas on how to structure political-issue samples, see Cragan and Shields (1977) and Stephenson (1964).

more importantly, a structured sample provides the investigator an opportunity to be explicit about his theoretical position. If the objective of the study is to test a theory, then the Q-sample should be structured accordingly. Image brokers who wish to test specific campaign strategies can do so with structured samples. If, however, the objective of the study is to discover a theory or campaign strategy, unstructured samples may be as useful because what really matters--in the end--is what beliefs and values subjects construct with the statements, not what a priori dimensions directed the construction of statements.

Structured samples have disadvantages. Complex designs--especially designs with three or more fully crossed and balanced dimensions (i.e., effects)--frequently lead to the construction of extremely artificial and unrealistic statements. This condition creates problems for subjects who may be asked to model their beliefs and values with too many "ambiguous" statements. This condition also creates problems for image brokers, who must eventually interpret the results.

Construction of structured statements is somewhat more time consuming in that decisions must be made as to whether one statement or another reflects a particular dimension. This is less of a problem when the investigator has conceptualized his dimensions clearly. However, with rapidly approaching deadlines and with ambiguously defined political dimensions--two extenuating circumstances present in most campaigns--time becomes a scarce resource.

To avoid problems associated with constructing a structured sample and to retain its advantages, Nimmo and Savage's (1976)

conceptualization of candidate images was adopted for the Missouri Q-study. Nimmo and Savage (1976) have identified four basic dimensions of candidate images: Candidates may be perceived as leaders, which includes their political experience and abilities; they may be viewed as partisans, as supporters of certain groups and interests in a constituency; candidates may be judged as persons, including their warmth, integrity, family background, and other aspects of their personality; and, finally, they may be evaluated as communicators, including their style of speech and ability to use media effectively (p. 46).

Twenty-eight statements were randomly selected from the Q-sample Nimmo and Savage had constructed to study these image dimensions in the 1972 presidential election (pp. 241-242).⁸ Since these four dimensions are probably universal, the entire Nimmo-Savage Q-sample could have been adopted for the Missouri study. However, the client wanted specific political issues, which were relevant to the campaign, included in the Q-sample. The Q-sample was therefore divided into two major dimensions, candidate images and political issues, with each represented by twenty-eight statements.

To be relevant to the campaign, the issue statements had to be developed in the field by those who were more familiar with the campaign setting. Working in the field under serious time constraints, it seemed advantageous to generate issue statements with

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In Appendix A statements 1 through 7 represent the leadership dimension, statements 8 through 14 the partisan dimension, statements 15 through 21 the personal dimension, and statements 22 through 28 the communicator dimension.

an unstructured design. Selecting statements with an unstructured design in an unfamiliar environment can be described as organized chaos. There are few, if any, "rules" that govern the selection of statements. If a candidate says, "I believe voters base their decisions on images, not issues," the investigator is not too terribly concerned with what dimension, if any, the statement represents. Rather, its political importance determines whether it should be included in the Q-sample. To make these judgments the investigator must rely on his own political instincts.

Unstructured samples are relatively easy to construct. After specifying the size of the Q-sample, statements are generated through a serendipitous process until enough statements have been generated. Unstructured samples relieve the image broker of the responsibility for identifying the basic dimensions of voters' beliefs and values. Without this responsibility the image broker is less likely to impose his own conceptual categories on the sample.

Unstructured samples have their disadvantages. Without a conceptual structure there are few, if any, criteria for judging the completeness or representativeness of the Q-sample. Most structured designs, in effect, build a degree of diversity into the sample. With an unstructured design the investigator may unwittingly create a homogeneous set of statements. The potential problem created by this condition could be very serious: Relatively homogeneous Q-samples do not provide subjects the opportunity to express, through Q-sorting, divergent beliefs and values.

The technique selected to generate issue statements in the Missouri study was the "mock" press conference. The candidate, a few of his associates, and the author participated in a two-hour, tape-recorded conference in which the candidate responded to our questions. His answers formed the "population" from which the issue statements presented in Appendix A were selected. Issue statements could have been generated through other techniques; however, the press-conference format generated a reasonable set of statements quickly.

Administering Q-Sorts

After constructing a statement sample designed to represent what considerations potential voters may take into account, image brokers must answer four questions: (1) what Q-sorts will be performed? (2) how will the statements be ranked? (3) to whom will the sorts be given (i.e., P-set)? and (4) how will the sorts be administered?

A Q-sort is a result of the thought process that guides subjects as they rank-order the elements of a statement sample along a continuum according to a condition of instruction. For example, subjects in the Missouri study were asked to rank-order statements from "least characteristic" (-4) to "most characteristic" (+4) of their perceptions of the incumbent. The result of this ranking process "reflects the impact of mind in operation, of a person thinking, evaluating, and interpreting in relation to the array of stimuli brought to his focus of attention in the form of a Q sample" (Brown, 1980, p. 44).

To effect the principle of reinforcement, an image broker must employ two conditions of instruction. He must first ask subjects to model, in one sort, what they desire in public officials and then, in a second sort, he must ask them to model what they know about his client. A comparison of these two sorts, whether for one subject or for many subjects, will reveal which items of the statement sample are most popular and most credible (i.e., statements ranked positively in both sorts) and which are least popular and least credible (i.e., statements ranked negatively in both sorts).

Image brokers should also consider the strategic uses of a third sort: what potential voters' believe about their client's opponent. Although not essential to effect the principle of reinforcement, this sort can provide other kinds of strategic information. Image brokers can anticipate the opponent's most likely strategy by comparing the ideal and opponent sorts. By comparing the likely strategies of both candidates, image brokers can determine what messages both candidates could emphasize. With this information measures could be devised to avoid the "tweedle-dum-and-tweedledee" effect created when both candidates wage identical campaigns.

Market segmentation, a technique that makes it possible to design messages for specific groups, is facilitated when subjects perform three sorts. Image brokers may wish to divide the "market" into likely supporters, likely defectors, and likely switchers to determine which messages should be emphasized for each group. Since Q-sorts can be correlated and since subjects can be

asked to report their vote intention, image brokers can use the following definitions to segment their markets: (1) likely supporters of a candidate are subjects who express a favorable vote intention and whose ideal-candidate correlation is relatively higher than the ideal-opponent correlation, (2) likely defectors from a candidate are subjects who express a favorable vote intention but whose ideal-candidate correlation is relatively lower than the ideal-opponent correlation, and (3) likely switchers to a candidate are subjects who express no vote intention but whose ideal-candidate correlation is relatively higher than the ideal-opponent correlation. Once these groups have been identified, separate analyses may be performed to determine which items of the statement sample are most popular and most credible for each group.

In the Missouri Q-study the opponent was so invisible that only a few subjects could model their beliefs through Q-sorting. Although this problem did not limit--in any way--application of the reinforcement principle, it did prohibit development of campaign messages for specific groups. Given the obvious need to target campaign messages, image brokers who confront the "invisible-challenger" problem may want to consider providing subjects a brief biographical sketch of the candidate. Obvious sources of biographical information are: (1) press releases published when a candidate announces his candidacy, (2) "resume" advertisements and commercials, and (3) campaign literature distributed by volunteers and through the mail. Any of these sources, to name just a few, could be used to compose a biographical sketch for subjects to

read before they performed the "invisible" sort.

Subjects usually rank-order statements along a forced-choice, quasi-normal continuum from "least characteristic" to "most characteristic" of their perceptions of the object of sorting. In the Missouri Q-study subjects sorted the 56 statements of the Q-sample (see Appendix A) along the following forced-choice continuum:

	Least characteristic					Most characteristic			
Score	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4
Frequency	4	5	7	8	8	8	7	5	4

Subjects were given a deck of 56 statements typed on 3-by-5 cards that were numbered from 1 to 56. Each subject was instructed to select only four statements that were most characteristic (+4), only five that were characteristic but somewhat less characteristic (+3), and so on, until all 56 statements were sorted into a particular pile. Subjects were instructed to place statements that were neither characteristic nor uncharacteristic, or that were confusing or meaningless, in the 0 category. After the statements had been sorted the number of each statement was written on a score sheet. The data from each score sheet were then coded and analyzed (see Brown, 1980, pp. 194-204).

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The debate on how statements should be ranked centers in whether to employ a forced-choice or a free-choice distribution. In a free-choice distribution subjects may define the number of categories (i.e., -4 to +4, -3 to +3, etc.) as well as the number of statements to be placed in each category. After finding that "essentially similar factor types emerge regardless of sorting technique," Nimmo and Savage (1975) concluded "that the advantages in ease of administration, scoring, and computation may well be telling arguments in favor of forced distributions" (p. 313).

Q-sorts are given to subjects who have been selected to represent variables deemed important to a campaign. For example, image brokers may wish to take into account the image and issue concerns of partisans who support their candidate and his opponent. This suggests a P-set structured along the following lines:

- a. Democrats who support the candidate.
- b. Democrats who support his opponent.
- c. Republicans who support the candidate.
- d. Republicans who support his opponent.

By structuring a P-set in this way, image brokers can determine, through analysis-of-variance techniques, whether partisanship and candidate support affect image or issue concerns.

Ideally, from 25 to 30 subjects should be selected to represent each category of the P-set. However, as Brown (1980) has argued, "All that is required are enough subjects to establish the existence of a factor for purposes of comparing one factor with another" (p. 192). Given a P-set of 100 subjects, all the major types of image and issue concerns will emerge in the Q-sorts. To ensure that this happens the P-set should be structured so that those variables (e.g., partisanship and vote intention) that could conceivably affect image and issue concerns are represented.

Structured P-sets are not always necessary. Image brokers, although they should be concerned with designing campaign messages with general appeal, are not especially interested in what variables affect image and issue concerns. Rather, image brokers are more interested in what kinds of image and issue concerns are evident in a constituency. Finding a sufficient number of subjects to represent each category of a complex P-set can be extremely time-consuming, if not practically impossible. In short,

unstructured P-sets may be as useful to image brokers.

In the Missouri Q-study the "invisible-challenger" problem made a P-set structured by partisanship and vote intention impossible. The volunteer interviewers found neither enough Republican identifiers nor a sufficient number of potential supporters of the challenger for a detailed analysis of the effects of partisanship and vote intention. The analysis was therefore limited to 32 likely supporters of the incumbent. Each supporter performed two sorts--an ideal and an incumbent sort--that provided the information necessary to effect the principle of reinforcement.

Although Q-sorts may be administered through the mail (cf., Van Tubergen & Olins, 1979), in most studies Q-sorts are administered in person. In the Missouri study campaign volunteers were trained to administer the Q-sorts. The volunteers were given a set of written instructions that covered the process of Q-sorting. After reviewing these instructions they practiced guiding one another through the process. Training volunteers how to administer a sort is a relatively simple task: Anyone who has done a sort can usually guide someone else through the process. Since completing a sort with as many as 56 statements may take from 45 to 60 minutes,¹⁰ in training sessions image brokers may wish to demonstrate Q-sorting with relatively small Q-samples.¹¹

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In Q-sorting, where N is equal to the size of the Q-sample, subjects implicitly make $1/2N(N-1)$ judgments in ranking N statements. That is, for a Q-sample with 56 statements, subjects make 1,540 judgments.

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I wish to thank Professor Greg Casey of the University of Missouri for this idea.

Training volunteers, who usually have not had interviewing experience, how to select subjects and how to get subjects to participate in the study are more difficult assignments. Interviewers must first identify subjects according to the requirements of the P-set. As its design becomes more complex, the more difficulty interviewers will have finding subjects. Of course, this is not a problem when the P-set is unstructured. Having identified a likely subject, an interviewer must then secure his participation, which normally requires a special set of interpersonal skills. Finally, for two sorts, which could take as long as two hours to complete, the interviewer must maintain the subject's interest. Given the barriers associated with Q-sort administration, image brokers should consider either employing professionally trained and experienced interviewers or paying volunteers and subjects for their participation.

Analyzing Q-Sorts

After they have been administered the Q-sorts must be coded and analyzed. In analyzing Q-sorts image brokers are primarily concerned with discovering what types of beliefs and values emerge from the data. To effect the principle of reinforcement image brokers must identify the types of ideal images (i.e., values) and the types of candidate images (i.e., beliefs) and then compare the ideal and the candidate types to develop positive and negative campaign themes.

When individuals rank-order statements in roughly the same way, they share an image or perception of an object. Conversely, when they rank-order statements in different ways, they have

different images. Whether the subjects have sorted the statements in similar ways is determined through an examination of the correlations among the sorts. These correlations are factor analyzed to identify the various image types, or sorting patterns, evident in the data. These computational tasks, of correlation and factor analysis, are usually performed by computer programs specifically designed for Q-studies.¹²

Since "images of an ideal public official tend toward . . . a consensual . . . image" (Nimmo & Savage, 1976, p. 215), fewer ideal image types will emerge from the Q-sorts. Nevertheless, the more ideal types that do emerge, the more difficulty the image broker will have deciding on which types to base the selection of campaign messages.

In the Missouri study this problem was resolved by developing a "synthetic" ideal through a two-stage analysis. In the first stage a (varimax) factor analysis extracted five ideal types (i.e., factors) from the ideal sorts of the 32 likely supporters. In the second stage another factor analysis extracted the synthetic ideal from the five ideal types, which were coded as if they were simply five Q-sorts. Since a Q-factor type is essentially a weighted average of all the sorts that load on it, the synthetic ideal may be viewed as a weighted average of the separate weighted averages that load on it.¹³ This ideal image (see Appendix A) became the

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QUANAL, the program which many researchers use, is available from G. Norman Van Tubergen, Odyssey House, Cincinnati Pike, Route 2, Sadieville, KY, 40370.

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QUANAL users may wish to set CONS1, the criterion for defi-

definition of what voters desired in their public officials. With this information image brokers can determine which appeals will be most popular. For instance, a popular appeal could be based on statement 30, "[The incumbent] wants to promote economic growth in order to create more and better jobs for our citizens" (+4).

A (varimax) factor analysis extracted three candidate-image types from the candidate sorts of the 32 likely supporters. These types (see Appendix A) became the definition of what voters believed about the incumbent. With these data image brokers can determine which appeals will be most credible. For instance, for subjects with a Type A candidate image a credible appeal could be based on statement 15, "[The incumbent] has the highest degree of honesty, integrity, and intelligence" (+4).

By comparing the items of the synthetic ideal with the items of the candidate images, image brokers can select positive and negative themes that are popular as well as credible. A positive campaign theme asserts that the candidate has a particular quality or issue position; a negative theme asserts that he does not have a particular quality or position. To develop positive themes, which are popular and credible, image brokers should select qualities or positions that a candidate's supporters perceive in their ideal public official and which they perceive in him. For instance, an image broker should select statement 15-- "Has the highest degree of honesty, etc."--because this statement was ranked positively in the synthetic ideal (+4) and positively

ning consensus items, to 0.000 to extract a synthetic ideal image.

in candidate-image types A (+4), B (+2), and C (+3). To develop negative themes, which are popular and credible, image brokers should select qualities or positions that his supporters do not perceive in their ideal and which they do not perceive in him. For instance, an image broker should select statement 12--"Should be elected as a result of his party allegiance, etc."--because it was ranked negatively in the synthetic ideal (-4) and negatively in candidate-image types A (-4), B (-4), and C (-1).¹⁴

An item-by-item comparison of the synthetic ideal and the candidate-image types generated the following positive and negative themes for the Missouri state senator.

The Incumbent Is One Who:

. . . takes a firm stand on pertinent issues but does not disregard the views of others.

. . . has the highest degree of honesty, integrity, and intelligence.

. . . expresses himself intelligently and clearly so that the educated and uneducated alike understand what is said.

. . . is a leader who explains to the people as much as possible the reasons behind his actions and proposals.

. . . makes only those promises he has the ability to keep.

. . . has high moral character.

. . . is natural and sincere and does not appear to be trying to impress people.

A statement that is ranked positively in one candidate-image type and negatively in another should not be used as either a positive or a negative theme because a mixed pattern indicates variable credibility.

. . . wants to promote economic growth in order to create more and better jobs for our citizens.

. . . sees support today for quality in education as our promise to the generation of tomorrow.

The Incumbent is Not One Who:

. . . should be elected as a result of his party allegiance because talk is cheap and all candidates promise great things.

. . . is proof that Madison Avenue advertising techniques make television appearances more effective.

. . . sees public office as simply a ladder to be climbed for fame and fortune.

. . . is a big spender who's just too liberal with our tax dollars.

. . . believes if gambling on horse racing is approved, we have legalized sin in our state.

. . . favors an increase in taxes for individuals.

. . . has concluded that institutions of higher learning must abandon their efforts to serve all needs in favor of programs that serve regional needs.

. . . is convinced that soil erosion is our most important problem.

. . . would consider collective bargaining for public employees if strikes were banned.

. . . supports efforts to raise taxes to improve state parks.

One other campaign theme, which was recommended to the client, concerned the family farm. Statement 35, "dedicated to preserving the family owned and operated farm," was a positively ranked statement in the ideal images of likely supporters. Since the incumbent was not perceived as being supportive of the "fami-

Conclusion

This paper has demonstrated how image brokers can effect the principle of reinforcement with Q-methodology. By asking a relatively small sample of persons, selected theoretically, relatively many "questions"--defined subjectively, inductively, and operantly--image brokers can conduct studies in which subjects determine which messages are most popular and most credible. For candidates who need research, but who cannot afford large-sample surveys, this approach provides a systematic methodology with which to discover campaign strategies.

Whether and to what extent strategies developed in this way are effective is a question that requires further study. Ideally, an image broker could develop a strategy with Q-methodology and then test the effectiveness of that strategy in a large-sample, multi-wave panel study. In these tests image brokers would also need to study how well campaigners executed the strategy in their tactics. Applied research along these lines could add immeasurably to what is known about the effects of political campaigns.

Since image brokers do not always work in races with highly visible and popular incumbents where reinforcement is sufficient to secure victory, additional study is needed to determine how Q-

If a campaign were to emphasize these themes, an image broker could probably anticipate the most likely counter-campaign. A counter-campaign strikes at the credibility of its target. Since the challenger was a Republican, who probably believed strongly in the "free-market" system, and since he also had many years of experience in the field of education, the counter-campaign presented in Appendix B was developed for the client.

methodology can be used to effect other strategic principles. For instance, invisible challengers must reinforce their likely supporters, create a sympathetic response among the undecided, and convert members of the opposition to their cause (Nimmo, 1970). The next Q-studies should focus on how to develop strategies based on the principles of creation and conversion.

Q-methodology is certainly not the only methodology that image brokers could use to develop campaign strategy (cf., Rothschild, 1975). For instance, image brokers, with the appropriate skills, could easily apply multidimensional scaling techniques to this problem (cf., Rabinowitz, 1975). Political scientists can debate the merits of the different approaches after they have explored the effects of political campaigns from the perspective of image brokers, "bent on achieving an exchange of shared perceptions between candidate and voters" (Nimmo, 1976, p. 36).

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Appendix A

Typal Arrays for Ideal and Candidate Images

Q-Statement	Ideal Image	Candidate Images		
		A	B	C
1. A good administrator.	+2	+2	+1	+3
2. Not fearful of criticism.	+2	+2	+1	+3
3. Takes a firm stand on pertinent issues but does not disregard the views of others.	+4	+4	+4	+2
4. A leader who explains to the people as much as possible the reasons behind his actions and proposals.	+3	+4	+1	+4
5. Sticks to decisions once they are made.	-1	-1	+2	+1
6. Attempts to bring people together in common goals.	0	+3	-1	+1
7. Makes only those promises he has the ability to keep.	+3	0	+3	+3
8. Capable of maintaining party unity on major issues.	-1	-1	-1	+1
9. Represents the major policy stands of his party but is flexible as the situation and public mood change.	0	+1	0	0
10. Grateful for his party's support but not controlled by their demands.	0	+1	-2	0
11. Able to get things done and this means charming and motivating people.	-2	-2	+3	+1
12. Should be elected as a result of his party allegiance because talk is cheap and all candidates promise great things.	-4	-4	-4	-1

Q-Statement	Ideal Image	Candidate Images		
		A	B	C
13. Listens to other advisors' opinions first and then feels free to do what he thinks is best for everyone.	+2	+1	0	+1
14. Does not mirror the policies of any one party.	-1	-2	-3	0
15. Has the highest degree of honesty, integrity, and intelligence.	+4	+4	+2	+3
16. Calm, analytical, and cautious yet bold and decisive in carrying out his plans.	+3	+1	+2	+2
17. Has faith in God and is not afraid to express it.	+2	+3	0	+2
18. Has high moral character.	+3	+3	+1	+4
19. Natural and sincere and does not appear to be trying to impress people.	+2	+1	+4	+4
20. Ambitious.	+1	0	0	+4
21. The central quality which gives depth and substance to all the others is his quality of caring.	+2	+1	+2	0
22. Does not read speeches; he delivers them!	-1	-2	+4	+2
23. His personal magnetism and physical attractiveness are positive assets.	-1	-1	+2	+1
24. Expresses himself intelligently and clearly so that the educated and uneducated alike understand what is said.	+4	+3	+3	+3
25. Sure of what he is saying and is ready for anything.	+1	0	+2	+2
26. Able to hold his audience's interest.	0	0	+3	+2

Q-Statement	Ideal Image	Candidate Images		
		A	B	C
27. Proof that Madison Avenue advertising techniques make television appearances more effective.	-3	-3	-4	-1
28. Appeals to reason rather than people's emotions and prejudices.	+1	+1	+3	+1
29. Convinced that soil erosion is our most important problem.	-2	0	-2	-4
30. Wants to promote economic growth in order to create more and better jobs for our citizens.	+4	+4	+1	0
31. Believes if gambling on horse racing is approved, we have legalized sin in our state.	-4	-3	-3	0
32. Thinks that increases in state taxes could be avoided if only waste, mismanagement, and fraud were removed from state government.	-1	+1	-2	0
33. Believes a reduction in income tax rates would strengthen the economy, improve our productivity, and generate new revenues for the state.	-1	-1	-2	-2
34. Favors an increase in taxes for individuals.	-3	-4	-2	-4
35. Dedicated to preserving the family owned and operated farm.	+1	+2	+1	-3
36. Wants a review of all sources of state revenue in case additional resources are needed to maintain popular programs.	0	0	+1	-1
37. Believes that citizens and their elected representatives must find the courage to solve our revenue problems.	+2	+2	+1	+2

Q-Statement	Ideal Image	Candidate Images		
		A	B	C
38. Would encourage companies to move here by providing their employees quality educational programs.	0	+2	-1	-1
39. Opposes any more sales taxes because this form of tax makes the poor pay more than the rich.	-2	-2	-1	-2
40. Thinks the state should help private colleges and universities in every way possible.	-2	-1	-2	-1
41. Has concluded that institutions of higher learning must abandon their efforts to serve all needs in favor of programs that serve regional needs.	-3	-3	-3	-1
42. Thinks a state lottery will solve our revenue problems.	-3	-3	-1	-2
43. Opposes government policies that harm private enterprise.	+1	+2	-1	-2
44. Expresses concern for the deterioration of government services brought on by cuts in federal aid to the state and by the recent economic recession.	+1	0	0	-2
45. Opposes pay raises for all public officials except public school teachers.	-3	-2	-1	-3
46. Believes each person should pay his fair share of taxes.	+1	+3	+2	-1
47. Feels that citizens should decide whether to pay more taxes in order to receive more services.	+1	-1	0	-2
48. Has the political skill to provide constituents more public services than they would otherwise receive.	0	-3	0	+1

Q-Statement	Ideal Image	Candidate Images		
		A	B	C
49. Sees public office as simply a ladder to be climbed for fame and fortune.	-4	-4	-4	-3
50. Supports efforts to raise taxes to improve state parks.	-2	-1	-3	-3
51. Would consider collective bargaining for public employees if strikes were banned.	-2	-1	-3	-4
52. Believes criminals must be punished to the fullest extent of the law.	0	0	-1	-4
53. Wants something done about our inadequate prison facilities.	-1	-2	0	-3
54. Believes residents and tourists who visit our parks should pay fees to be used to improve the parks.	-2	-2	-2	-1
55. A big spender who's just too liberal with our tax dollars.	-4	-4	-4	-2
56. Sees support today for quality in education as our promise to the generation of tomorrow.	+3	+2	+4	0

Appendix B

Counter-Campaign

It is true that my opponent is admired by many because of his personal qualities, but this election is not a personality contest. You should examine his record in office before you pass judgement on him in the voting booth.

He says that he supports education and that he has worked for economic development, yet he can point to no specific accomplishments in these areas.

The central issue of this campaign is not who has the most pleasing personality or the smoothest style but who can best work for better education and for economic development.

My experience as a teacher and as an administrator makes me more qualified to improve the educational opportunities of your children.

My experience in business and belief in the free market system make me more qualified to work for economic development. My opponent used to be in business, but now he is in the business of politics: regulating business is more important to him than is helping business.

How can he honestly say that he is interested in economic development? Someone once said, "The power to tax is the power to destroy." Well, my opponent may not have destroyed anything yet, but given another term in office he just might.

Did you know that he pushed for increases in business taxes in the last session of the legislature? This measure was defeated because conservatives opposed another tax increase proposed by the liberals. Check the record if you don't believe me.

Did you know that he also pushed for increases in personal income taxes? This measure was defeated by the conservatives. I see the disbelief in your eyes. My opponent says he's conservative, but his actions indicate otherwise. The record indicates that he has strong liberal tendencies. Check his record if you don't believe me. If you do, then he won't be able to hide his liberal nature any longer.

If you check his record you'll think twice before voting for him. Let's turn this liberal spender out of office before, one day, he and the other liberals pass their tax increases.
