

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ETHOS AND
ONE-SIDED VERSUS TWO-SIDED
PRESENTATION OF ARGUMENTS IN
PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
CHARLES D. ERTLE
1967

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A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ETHOS AND
ONE-SIDED VERSUS TWO-SIDED PRESENTATION OF
ARGUMENTS IN PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION

By

Charles D. Ertle

A THESIS

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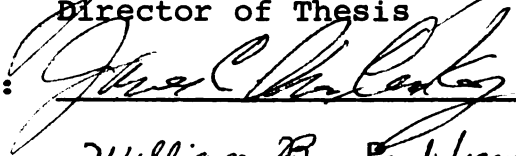
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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of Speech and Theatre, College of Communication Arts, Michigan State University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree.



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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF THE EFFECTS OF ETHOS AND ONE-SIDED VERSUS TWO-SIDED PRESENTATION OF ARGUMENTS IN PERSUASIVE COMMUNICATION

by Charles D. Ertle

Body of Abstract

Rhetorical theory suggests that both the ethos of the source and the source's message are potent persuasive forces. Prior research has demonstrated that message variables vary in their effect with the level of the source's perceived ethos. Several message variables have been studied, but previously reported experimental research has not investigated the possible interaction of ethos and message sidedness in producing attitude change.

In the present study a one-sided message is operationally defined as a persuasive message that presents only the arguments that are in agreement with the position advocated. A two-sided message is operationally defined as a persuasive message advocating only one position that

presents the arguments in agreement with the advocated position first, then mentions and refutes counter-arguments.

On the basis of prior research the writer hypothesized that the importance of sidedness varies with the level of the source's perceived ethos; a high-ethos source should find less value in using a two-sided message than would a source with middle-to-low ethos.

A one-sided version and a two-sided version of a speech opposing Capital Punishment were constructed. Introductions designed to establish initially high ethos and low ethos were constructed and combined with the two message stimuli to produce four experimental conditions.

Semantic differential measures, found reliable in prior research, were used for the measurement of attitude and the authoritativeness, character, and dynamism dimensions of ethos. A pre-test, immediate post-test, delayed post-test, and ethos tests were administered to all experimental subjects, students enrolled in speech courses at Michigan State University. A control group completed only the attitude measures. Primary data analysis consisted of analysis of variance and covariance.

The results of this study indicated the following:

(1) The "high-ethos" source was perceived as significantly higher in authoritativeness and character than

the "low-ethos source but the "low-ethos" was perceived as moderately high in both authoritativeness and character.

(2) The "high-ethos" source with a one-sided message produced more attitude change in the direction advocated than did the "high-ethos" source with a two-sided message. Although this result was not significant ($.07 > p < .05$) on the immediate post-test, it was significant ($p < .025$) over time.

(3) No significant differences were observed on attitude change between the one-sided and two-sided messages in the "low-ethos" condition.

(4) No significant differences attributable to message sidedness were observed on any of the three dimensions of ethos.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACCEPTANCE	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
THESIS ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF FIGURES	xi
LIST OF APPENDICES	xii

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION

General Statement of the Problem	1
Review of Ethos Studies	7
Review of Sidedness Studies	14
Generation of the Experimental Hypotheses	23
Hypotheses to Be Investigated	26

II. PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY AND CONSTRUCTION
OF THE EXPERIMENTAL INSTRUMENTS

Research Design	30
Operational Definitions	32
Construction of the Introduction Stimuli	33
Construction of the Speech Stimuli	34
Measurements and Statistical Analysis Used	35
Procedures	37

	Page
III. REPORTING OF RESULTS	
Effects of Ethos and Sidedness on Attitude Change	42
Effects of Sidedness on Perceived Ethos	46
Secondary Measures	50
 IV. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH	
Summary	53
Conclusions	57
Implications for Future Research	63
 LIST OF REFERENCES	65

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Immediate Post-Communication Attitude Results	45
2. Delayed Post-Communication Attitude Results	45
3. Authoritativeness Semantic Differential Results	48
4. Character Semantic Differential Results .	48
5. Dynamism Semantic Differential Results . .	48
6. Factor Analysis Results of Ethos Scales .	49
7. Results on Secondary Measurements of Ethos	51
8. Results on Secondary Measurements for Sidedness	51

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Type of Treatment Administered to Experimental and Control Cells.	31

LIST OF APPENDICES

	Page
APPENDIX A: Measuring Instruments	67
APPENDIX B: Introduction Speeches	70
APPENDIX C: Experimental Speeches	75

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

General Statement of the Problem

Source credibility, or ethos, is acknowledged by most modern communication researchers as an element of primary importance in a persuasive communication. Although researchers are not in complete agreement as to the actual dimensions of ethos,¹ they do seem to agree with the general opinion held by Aristotle several centuries ago:

It is not true that the probity of the speaker contributes nothing to his persuasiveness; on the contrary, we might almost affirm that his character [ethos] is the most potent of all the means of persuasion (Cooper 1960, 8-9).

Arthur Cohen (1964), a more recent contributor to rhetorical theory, equated the importance of ethos with that of the message itself: "Who says something is as important as what is said in understanding the effect of a communication on an attitude." (p. 23)

¹A discussion of the dimensions of ethos appears in Chapter II under the heading Ethos and Attitude Measures.

Since the early part of the 1900's there have been many empirical studies undertaken using ethos as an independent variable. In order to discuss ethos, a clarification of what is meant by the term is needed. Anderson and Clevenger (1963) refer to ethos as the following: ". . . the image held of a communicator at a given time by a receiver--either one person or a group." (p. 60) One of the important elements of this definition is "at a given time" which suggests to us that ethos is not the "same" at all times. McCroskey (1966a) provides us with an understanding of the different types of ethos:

Initial ethos is the ethos of a source prior to the beginning of a given communicative act. It is the speaker's ethos just before he begins to speak. Derived ethos is the ethos of a source produced by the act of communicating. It includes the impact of the message, the effects of the circumstances in which the communication takes place, and, if oral, the delivery of the message. Terminal ethos is the ethos of a source at the completion of a communicative act. It is the product of the interaction of the Initial and Derived ethos. (p. 11)

Taking the other half of Cohen's statement, we find that what is said is also important in a persuasive communication. Hewgill and Miller (1965) studied the relationship of fear-arousing communications and source credibility. The authors hypothesized the following: (1) If a source has high credibility with a listener, appeals that

elicit strong fear for persons highly valued by the listener will effect greater attitude change than appeals that elicit mild fear, (2) A low-ethos source with a mild fear appeal will effect greater attitude change than strong fear appeals. The results obtained supported the first hypothesis but not the second.

Bettinghaus (1961) looked at five variables he believed responsible for attitude change, one of which was the speaker's delivery. The researcher stated that:

The experiment tends to confirm what rhetorical theorists have said for centuries: that effectiveness in delivery contributes not only to credibility of the speaker but also to the persuasiveness of the speaker in achieving acceptance of his message. (p. 141)

McCroskey (1966a) in his study on ethos and evidence concluded the following:

. . .that good use of evidence can be an important asset to a speaker who wishes to produce favorable immediate post-communication audience attitudes toward his propositions. This will likely be the case for speeches on some topics when the speaker is a moderate-to-low-ethos communicator. (p. 124)

Sharp and McClung (1966) studied the effects of organization on the speaker's ethos. The results of the study showed that students exposed to a "disorganized" speech thought less of the speaker after hearing the speech than before the speech. The students who heard an

"organized" speech shifted their perception of the source's ethos very little. The second finding is contrary to what might be expected. The researchers concluded that good organization did not have an effect on attitude because of a classroom situation in that the students expect sound organization.

The above studies show that there are many aspects of what is said. The main point is that they all vary in their effect with the level of the source's perceived ethos. What is said then does interact with initial ethos and in part is responsible for any possible change between a source's initial ethos and his terminal ethos.

Another important aspect of what is said deals with the presentation of the arguments within the communication. Should a communicator present a one-sided speech, i.e., present arguments only on the side he is advocating, or should he present a two-sided speech, i.e., present his arguments and also the opposing arguments to his point? The findings to date do not provide a conclusive answer to this question.

Several experimental studies have manipulated ethos as the independent variable in the persuasive communication. Also there have been several experimental studies

that have manipulated sidedness as the independent variable within a persuasive communication. As a result of the research done in each of these areas, writers have generalized what effect ethos will have in a persuasive communication and what effect sidedness will have in a persuasive communication. The writer suggests, however, that we may not be able to generalize that these elements will have the same effect when combined as they have when each is a discrete element in an experimental study. For example, will ethos overcome the effects of sidedness when they are combined in a single persuasive effort? As yet, research has not given us the answer to this question.

Both the construct ethos and the construct sidedness lend themselves to a dichotomous description. This is not to negate that both the concepts are continuous variables. The point here is that in discussing ethos, we will consider it to be either high-ethos or low-ethos and in discussing sidedness, we consider it to be either a one-sided presentation or a two-sided presentation. Of course, this is strictly a semantic dichotomy created for the ease of discussing each of the constructs.

The combining of both of these variables within persuasive communications and submitting them to empirical

study raises two main questions that prior research has yet not answered. Will the audience show immediate attitude change or acceptance of a proposition advocated by an initially high-ethos source who presents just a one-sided speech, or will the lack of a two-sided presentation cause a communicator's derived ethos to go down and weaken the effect of high initial ethos, causing the audience's attitude to change less? Will the two-sided presentation of arguments cause the derived ethos of an initially low-ethos source to increase and cause a significant increase in attitude change in the direction advocated by the communicator?

We need to determine whether the interaction between these variables is sufficiently strong to over-ride a weakness of one with the strength of the other in an effort to bring about a significant change of attitude in a persuasive communication.

In order to determine the extent of the research relevant to the above question, the writer conducted a review of the literature. Numerous studies were found dealing with either ethos or sidedness of presentation as a separate variable. The more significant of these are reported and discussed below.

Review of Ethos Studies

Studies concerning ethos, also referred to as "source credibility," have confirmed Aristotle's opinion of the importance of ethos in a persuasive communication. Haiman (1951) presented a tape-recorded speech to three groups of students. The communications were identical with the exception that they were attributed to three different sources. One speech was attributed to Thomas Parran, Surgeon General of the United States; the second speech, to Eugene Dennis, Secretary of the Communist Party in America; and the third speech, to a Northwestern University Sophomore. The subjects voted the speech attributed to Parran significantly more competent than the other two speeches. As measured by the Woodward Shift of Opinion Ballot, the "Parran" speech was significantly more effective in changing attitudes than either of the other two speeches. There was no significant difference found between the "Dennis" and "Sophomore" speeches.

Hovland and Weiss (1961) gave identical written communications to subjects who were college students. The communications consisted of messages on several topics and were purported to be excerpts from newspaper and

magazine articles. Half of the communications were attributed to sources who were considered trustworthy, and the other half of the articles were attributed to sources who were considered untrustworthy, such as Pravda. The subjects were given a pre-test, a post-test, and a delayed post-test one month later. Although the subjects acquired the same amount of information under all conditions, they judged a communication as less fair and the conclusions as less justified when the communication was attributed to a low-ethos source. The change of attitude in the direction advocated by the communication was greater when it was attributed to a high-ethos source than when it was attributed to a low-ethos source at the time of the immediate post-test. When the delayed post-test was given four weeks later they found that the effects of both high- and low-ethos source had disappeared. There was no significant difference between the amount of opinion change for a high-ethos source and the amount of opinion change for a low-ethos source. Hovland called this phenomenon the " Sleeper Effect." The decrease of the attitude change of the high-ethos condition was attributed to forgetting, but the increase of the attitude change in the low-ethos condition was explained as a disassociation

of the source from the message permitting the "communication" to have a delayed positive effect. The effect of the source is greatest at the time of the communication and decreases with time faster than the effects of the content.

Kelman and Hovland (1953) had different groups of high school students listen to an identical communication in which a speaker advocated leniency in the treatment of juvenile delinquency. Three versions of the credibility of the speaker were established. In the "positive" version the speaker was described as a judge in a juvenile court, a person who was well-trained and honest. In the "neutral" version the speaker was described as a member of the studio audience who had been picked at random, whose background was unknown. In the "negative" version the speaker was described as being picked at random from the audience; however, it was established during the introduction that the person had been a delinquent during his youth and was at present out on bail on a charge of drug peddling. An attitude questionnaire was given immediately after the communication and again three weeks later. The results showed that with identical content in all three conditions the audience perceived the "positive"

communicator as being more fair and trustworthy than the "negative" communicator and the "neutral" communicator as being in the middle. The group hearing the communication from the "positive" source showed more attitude change by favoring a more lenient treatment than those hearing the communication from the "negative" source. Like the study of Hovland and Weiss the delayed post-test given three weeks later showed that the differences between the experimental groups were no longer present. The subjects who had the "positive" source showed a decrease in acceptance, and those who had the "negative source showed an increase in acceptance.

A study by Hovland and Mandell (1952) dealt with the "trustworthiness" of a communicator. A speech on the "Capital Devaluation of Currency" was presented to college students. Two different introductions were used; the first introduction described the speaker as being the head of a large importing firm and as "having something to gain" if the advocated message were accepted. The second speaker was described as being an economist from a leading American university with "nothing to gain." The subjects were asked to give their opinions on the issue before and after the communication. On the post-

test they were also asked to give their reactions to the program and the speaker. The results showed that the speaker who "had something to gain" was perceived by the audience as having done a poorer job and as being less fair and honest than the speaker who was presented as being "impartial." However, there was no significant difference in the change of opinion between the two conditions. Thus, the experimental variation produced a difference in perceived ethos but failed to do so with regard to attitude change.

The results of the last four studies raises the question of what is ethos or what are the dimensions of ethos. What are the dimensions by which a receiver measures the level of ethos of a source? This is not to be confused with the dichotomy low-ethos/high-ethos but instead should be thought of as dimensions by which a person arrives at the notion that a given source has either high or low ethos. The first mention of the dimensions of ethos came from Aristotle when he said:

As for the speakers themselves, the sources of our trust in them are three, for apart from the arguments (in a speech) there are three things that gain our belief, namely, intelligence, character, and good will. (Cooper 1960, 91-92)

These in essence are three dimensions by which we would

measure a source's perceived high or low ethos. The study by Haiman seemed to manipulate the dimensions of intelligence and character. In the study of Hovland and Weiss, on the other hand, they brought up a dimension called trustworthiness. Kelman and Hovland were using the word "honest," and Hovland and Mandell seemed to manipulate "trustworthiness." In general all of the studies were dealing with ethos; however, the different studies approached it from a different dimension of ethos. Hovland, Janis, and Kelly (1965, pp. 19-25) conceived of two dimensions of ethos. They were called "expertness" and "trustworthiness." Hovland, Janis, and Kelly in their discussion of perceived expertness and trustworthiness made a distinction between credibility and other types of source-related dimensions, such as affection, fear, and power. They do suggest, however, the relevance to credibility of variables such as intelligence and sincerity. In limiting credibility to the dimensions of "trustworthiness" and "expertness" they state that there is a positive correlation with persuasion. They state:

From the results, it is not possible to disentangle the effects of the two main components of credibility--trustworthiness and expertise--but it appears that both are important variables. (p. 35)

Modern researchers in an effort to construct measuring instruments for ethos have submitted Aristotle's theoretical dimensions of ethos to empirical research. Berlo, Lemert, and Mertz (1961) identified three factors of ethos in a factor analytic study using semantic differential scales. The three dimensions of ethos were originally called "competence," "trustworthiness," and "dynamism." As a product of later analysis the labels were changed to "safety," "qualification," and "dynamism."

McCroskey (1966a) using both a Likert-type scale and semantic differential scales found that factor analysis produced only two significant factors. The first factor, which was labeled "authoritativeness," accounted for 47% of the variance. The second factor, which was labeled "character," accounted for 29% of the variance. It is interesting to note that neither Aristotle's theoretical factor "good will" nor Berlo et. al.'s factor "dynamism" appeared. Theoretically, it seems logical to consider "good will" and "dynamism" as dimensions of a source's ethos, but apparently when empirically tested these two dimensions are subordinate to the dimensions of "authoritativeness" and "character." Later research by McCroskey, as yet unpublished, obtained a clear "dynamism" dimension,

but only when special care was taken to manipulate the "dynamism" dimension.

McCroskey (1966b) used both his Likert-type scale and semantic differential scales in seven experiments and stated the following:

On the basis of the above experiments it can be concluded that these scales are capable of reliably measuring either initial or terminal ethos on the two dimensions of authoritativeness and character. (p. 32)

On the basis of the above findings the writer chose to use the semantic differential scales developed by McCroskey and the dynamism scales developed by Berlo, et al.

From these studies and numerous others (Anderson and Clevenger 1963) we can reasonably assume that ethos as measured by its dimensions is an important factor in influencing audience attitude. In general an audience will tend to accept a communication from a source perceived to be of high ethos more readily than when they perceive the source to be of low ethos.

Review of Sidedness Studies

Some of the studies that have dealt with the organization of arguments within a speech have tried to determine the relative effects of presenting a one-sided message as

opposed to presenting a two-sided message. The writer finds that a definition of both "one-sided" and "two-sided" messages is needed at this time to clarify possible ambiguity of terms. For the purpose of this study a one-sided message means a message that advocates a definite stand at the outset and then proceeds to support and prove that stand. A two-sided message means a message that advocates at the start and throughout only one side of the issue but that mentions and refutes arguments favoring the other side, using a climactic order of presentation. Clearly, both speeches favor one side of the issue and both present their stand at the outset of the speech. The essential difference between them, therefore, lies in the fact that the two-sided message after presenting the advocated position states the arguments on the opposite side and then refutes these arguments. This is the so-called "strawman" technique which is described in many textbooks on public speaking. The writer has found from personal experience that this technique is often used in business and almost exclusively used in the sales field. Because the "strawman" technique is so much a part of our real world the writer prefers to limit his two-sided presentation to this style.

One of the earliest experiments on sidedness was conducted by Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield (1949). The experiment presented a communication concerning the end of the war with Japan after the surrender of Germany in 1945 to an experimental group of 214 soldiers and to a control group of 197 soldiers. One experimental group was given a communication that presented only the arguments supporting the position that the war with Japan would be long. The other experimental group was given a communication with the same information plus additional information stressing the United States' advantage and Japan's weakness. Pre-test and post-test measurements of attitude were given to the experimental group as well as the control group who did not hear the communication. The results showed that neither presentation had any advantage over the other for the audience as a whole. However, the presentation in which they gave both sides was more effective for those men initially opposed to the advocated position, while the one-sided presentation was more effective for those who initially favored the advocated position. The education level was also a determining factor. The two-sided presentation was more effective with the "better educated" [above twelfth grade] men, and the one-sided presentation

was more effective with the "less educated" [twelfth grade and lower] men. When the initial attitude and level of education were considered together, the two-sided communication was more effective with "better educated" men, regardless of their initial attitude; and the one-sided presentation was more effective with the "less educated" men.

Lumsdaine and Janis (1953) extended this study of Lumsdaine and Sheffield. Lumsdaine and Janis were interested in the question of the effectiveness of a one-sided or a two-sided presentation in resisting counter-influences. In this experiment half of the subjects received a communication one week after the initial speech stimuli containing counter-arguments to the position advocated. The subjects had initially received either a one-sided or a two-sided communication on Russia's inability to produce atomic bombs for many years to come. After the counter-arguments were given to half of the subjects in each experimental condition, all of the subjects were asked to state their opinions again. The results showed that there were no differences in attitude change for those who did not receive the counter-propaganda. For the subjects who had been exposed to the counter-propaganda and had initially received the two-sided communication, the results showed

a greater resistance to the counter-propaganda than those who had initially received a one-sided communication.

Thus it seems that the two-sided presentation prepares the listener to meet and resist later counter-arguments.

It seems reasonable to assume that a two-sided presentation would generally build up a resistance to pressures that could change attitude at a later time.

Thistlethwaite and Kamenetsky (1955) conducted an experiment involving the effectiveness of two variables within a persuasive communication. The first variable was refutation versus no refutation. The other variable was a two-sided presentation versus a one-sided presentation of arguments in a persuasive communication. Two independent samples were obtained; one consisted of recruits in basic training at a military base and the second consisted of high school students. Tape recordings and slides were used to present communications designed to change the attitudes of the subjects. A control group listened to an irrelevant communication which had no information concerning the Korean War. In this experiment ethos was held constant and sidedness and refutation were manipulated. Among the high school subjects refutation evoked significantly more discounting of the counter-arguments than no

refutation. There was no statistically significant difference in the discounting reactions of the recruits to the refutation and no refutation treatments. Refutation tended to produce greater comprehension of the intended conclusion than no refutation for both samples, although only the difference for the high school subjects was statistically significant. A very significant finding, although contrary to prior research, was that a one-sided presentation tended to be more effective in changing attitudes than a two-sided presentation. Thistlethwaite and Kamenetsky report that attitude change tends to be greater for subjects whose understanding of the communicator's conclusion is greater. Introducing unfamiliar facts in support of the other side leads to less change of attitude; but not including well-known facts on the other side will also weaken the appeal. The degree of attitude change is in direct relationship with the degree that the conclusions are understood and the facts familiar.

Paulson (1954) conducted a study in which ethos and sidedness were manipulated. A sample of 579 men and 399 women were drawn. The result showed that the high-ethos was significantly better than low-ethos but only with the men. There was no significant difference for either men

or women with respect to one-sided versus two-sided presentation of arguments. It is interesting to note here that Paulson's two-sided presentation of arguments did not contain any refutation.

The review of the literature disclosed only one other study that made an attempt to manipulate both ethos and sidedness within a single communication. Wolfinger (1954) measured attitude change toward both the communication [or concept] and the perceived source of the message. College students rated the concept "Fifth Amendment" and an imaginary "George Hastings" against a semantic differential. One group of subjects was then given a two-sided version by "George Hastings" advocating favorably the "Fifth Amendment." A second group received a one-sided version of the identical speech in which all opposing arguments had been deleted from the tape. A control group heard a speech unrelated to the experimental topic. The results showed that both the one-sided and the two-sided version produced significantly more attitude change in favor of the position advocated than the change in the control group. Contrary to the findings previously cited in the studies above, subjects who initially favored the concept were affected more by the two-sided presentation,

and subjects who initially opposed the concept were more affected by the one-sided presentation; however, these results did not reach satisfactory statistical significance. With respect to the source, the results showed that the subjects originally favoring the position advocated by the hypothetical source were affected more by the one-sided message. This result also did not reach satisfactory statistical significance. Considering change in attitude toward both source and concept taken together, the one-sided presentation produced significantly more favorable changes than did the two-sided version. Although Wolfinger tried to measure the effect of the interaction of ethos with the presentation, the writer fails to see where this was actually accomplished. There was no introduction of the imaginary "George Hastings" so the pre-test showed the source, "George Hastings," as neutral. In essence there was no initial ethos condition. The post-test measured ethos but did not reach the necessary level of significance. If Wolfinger measured ethos at all, then he measured only derived ethos. It would stand to reason that a subject favoring a given communication would favor the source since there was no information concerning the source presented.

A study conducted by Jaksa (1964) is of importance because the arrangement of the arguments within the two-sided presentation was manipulated and compared with the effects of a one-sided presentation. Jaksa developed four speeches: (1) a one-sided speech, (2) a two-sided speech with a climactic order, (3) a two-sided speech with an anti-climactic order, (4) a two-sided speech with an interwoven order. The results showed that both the two-sided climactic and the two-sided interwoven order of counter-arguments were significantly superior in changing attitude than were a one-sided speech or a two-sided speech with an anti-climactic order of counter-arguments. Based on the above experiment the writer used a climactic order of counter-arguments within the two-sided experimental speech in the present study.

The above studies show that a one-sided presentation of arguments is effective in changing attitude in the direction advocated by the source when: (1) the audience is not "better educated," (2) the audience initially agrees with the position advocated, (3) the audience is not given any later counter-arguments. A two-sided presentation of arguments is effective in changing attitudes in the direction advocated by the source when: (1) the audience is

"better educated," (2) the audience initially opposes the position advocated, (3) the audience received later counter-arguments. If a two-sided presentation is used, the counter-arguments should be placed in a "climactic" or "interwoven" order of presentation.

Generation of the Experimental Hypotheses

We can reasonably conclude from the studies discussed above that the ethos of a source and the type of arguments are both important factors in persuasive communication. The effects of each of the above variables have been singularly examined in several studies. However, the interaction between these variables has not been adequately investigated. Since both variables are present in all persuasive communication, they must be studied together if we are to produce useful generalizations. Given a particular condition of ethos coupled with a given condition of the sidedness, the problem is to ascertain the role each variable plays as it interacts with the other. When we are able to understand the interaction between the variables, if any, then we will be in a position to know within a given probability of error which coupling of variables will yield the greatest amount of attitude

change in a given situation.

The above research has shown that when sidedness is held constant, a high-ethos source produces greater attitude change toward his position than does a low-ethos source. However, when ethos is held constant, we cannot conclusively say that either a one-sided or a two-sided presentation will produce greater attitude change toward the direction advocated. The experimental studies on sidedness do not agree. The writer suggests that the disagreement may be due to ethos. Ethos seems to be a confounding element in the sidedness studies because it was not adequately controlled. Paulson (1954) in his study assumed that the high-ethos and low-ethos introductions would be perceived by the receivers as being significantly different from each other, but he failed to obtain an ethos measurement to find out if his assumption was correct. The results of Paulson's study tend to suggest that for the group as a whole there was not a statistically significant difference between the high-ethos condition and the low-ethos condition, which indicates that Paulson's assumption was not correct. The writer suggests that Paulson had a high-ethos source that might be accounted for by the "sponsorship

effect."²

Wolfinger (1954) also did not measure the dimensions of ethos to ascertain whether the hypothetical "George Hastings" was perceived as a high-, middle-, or low-ethos source. Because there was no prior information establishing the ethos level of "George Hastings" the audience, according to the pre-test, did not have an attitude toward the source. The writer suggests that during the experiment the "sponsorship effect" may have caused the ethos of "George Hastings" to be perceived as high. Thus it seems probable that Wolfinger actually had a high-ethos source, and when he combined the source with the concept

²The "sponsorship effect" was noted in a study by James C. McCroskey and Robert E. Dunham, "Ethos: A Confounding Element in Communication Research," Speech Monographs, (1966), 456-463. In this study the researchers had to reject the null hypothesis that the unseen, unknown, tape-recorded speaker was a neutral source. The authors concluded that there are theoretical grounds for supposing an unseen, unknown, tape-recorded speaker in an experimental setting can be perceived as a higher-than-neutral source because of the "sponsorship effect" of the experimenter who is perceived as a high-ethos source in the experiment. A follow-up study was conducted by Paul H. Holtzman, "Confirmation of Ethos as a Confounding Element in Communication Research," Speech Monographs, 33, (1966), 464-466. Confounding by "sponsorship effects" was confirmed in this study. The author concluded that ". . . all experimental designs should account for ethos effects including effects of perceived sponsorship."

he found that a high-ethos source produced greater attitude change with a one-sided presentation of arguments. The above finding suggests to the writer that ethos is the dominant factor when combined with sidedness. Contrary to the findings that suggest a two-sided presentation is better than a one-sided presentation, when the dimensions of ethos are taken into account a high-ethos source has nothing to gain from using a two-sided presentation; in fact, the high-ethos source might conceivably be harmed by a two-sided presentation.

The writer ventures the following hypothesis: The importance of sidedness varies with the level of ethos of the communicator. A high-ethos communicator should find less value in using a two-sided presentation of arguments than would a communicator with middle- to low-ethos. If this is true, it would tend to clarify the previous results of sidedness research.

The present study then is concerned with controlling both the variable of ethos and the variable of sidedness in experimental design and analysis.

Hypotheses to be Investigated

Based on the above discussion, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1. A message attributed to an initially high-ethos source will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially low-ethos source.
2. A message attributed to an initially high-ethos source will produce a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially low-ethos source.
3. A two-sided message will produce a significantly greater shift of attitude change in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will a one-sided message.
4. A two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will a one-sided message.
5. An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-

sided message.

6. An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message.
7. An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message.
8. An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message.
9. An initially high-ethos source will have significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially low-ethos source.
10. An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided

message will produce significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message.

11. An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message.

A study was designed and conducted to test these hypotheses. Chapter II sets forth the procedures and the experimental instruments the researcher employed in the study. Chapter III presents the results obtained. Chapter IV includes the conclusions derived from those results and suggestions for possible future research in the area.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES OF THE STUDY AND CONSTRUCTION OF THE EXPERIMENTAL INSTRUMENTS

Research Design

The writer conducted an experimental study to test the hypotheses generated in Chapter I. At this point a statement of the research design is appropriate.

The design of this study included six cells; four cells received a form of experimental manipulation, and two cells were used as control groups. The experimental subjects for each cell were students enrolled either in Speech 108 or in Speech 116 at Michigan State University.³ Six sections of Speech 116 were used, and twelve sections of Speech 108 were used. Each section was randomly assigned to an experimental treatment or a control group. Each cell of the study contained three sections for a

³Speech 116 is a basic course in group discussion and Speech 108 is a basic course in voice and articulation. Each of these courses contains multiple sections, and each course is offered during every quarter within the Department of Speech and Theatre at Michigan State University.

combined total of at least 55 subjects for any one experimental or control cell. The total N used was 273 subjects for the experimental cells and 113 subjects for the control cells. Six of the experimental sections held class in the afternoon, which enabled the researcher to partially control for a mediating variable "time of day of experiment," which might otherwise have been a confounding element within the experiment.

Each cell received a different treatment as shown in the following figure:

FIGURE 1

TYPE OF TREATMENT ADMINISTERED TO EXPERIMENTAL
AND CONTROL CELLS

Type of Experimental or Control Cell	Type and Time of Section	Measurements Administered			
		Pre- Test	Post- Test	Delayed Post-test	Ethos
(1) High-Ethos One-Sided	116 Morning	X	X	X	X
	116 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
	108 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
(2) High-Ethos Two-Sided	116 Morning	X	X	X	X
	108 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
	108 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
(3) Low-Ethos One-Sided	116 Morning	X	X	X	X
	116 Morning	X	X	X	X
	108 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
(4) Low-Ethos Two-Sided	108 Morning	X	X	X	X
	108 Morning	X	X	X	X
	116 Afternoon	X	X	X	X
(5) Control I	108 Morning	X	X		
	108 Morning	X	X		
	108 Afternoon	X	X		
(6) Control II	108 Morning	X		X	
	108 Morning	X		X	
	108 Afternoon	X		X	

Operational Definitions

The experimental stimuli consisted of a high-ethos introduction, a low-ethos introduction, a one-sided speech, and a two-sided speech. The primary dependent variables were immediate post-communication attitude, delayed post-communication attitude, and terminal ethos of the communicator. The secondary dependent variables were the audience members' evaluations of the speech stimuli.

Ethos is operationally defined as a score on a semantic differential for each of the three dimensions of ethos: (1) Authoritativeness, (2) Character, (3) Dynamism.

Attitude is operationally defined as a score on a semantic differential.

A one-sided speech is operationally defined as a persuasive communication advocating a position against "Capital Punishment" that presents only the arguments in agreement with the position advocated.

A two-sided speech is operationally defined as a persuasive communication advocating a position against "Capital Punishment" that presents the arguments in agreement with the position advocated first and then presents arguments against the position advocated with refutation of the counter-arguments.

A high-ethos introduction is operationally defined as a speech of introduction depicting "William T. Anderson" as a man high in Authoritativeness and Character as measured by the ethos semantic differentials.

A low-ethos introduction is operationally defined as a speech of introduction depicting "Anthony L. Capelli" as a man low in Authoritativeness and Character as measured by the ethos semantic differentials.

Construction of the Introduction Stimuli

One of the primary variables manipulated in this study was the initial ethos of the speaker. The manipulation of ethos was accomplished through the induction of a high-ethos introductory speech describing "William T. Anderson" and a low-ethos introductory speech describing "Anthony L. Capelli." The introductions used are reported in Appendix B.

In 1965-1966 McCroskey (1966a) used the topic "Capital Punishment." For this study McCroskey developed two introductory speeches for use in establishing an initially high-ethos source and an initially low-ethos source. Both speeches were pre-tested by McCroskey and found to be successful in producing a statistically significant

difference between the perceived high-ethos source and low-ethos source as measured by a semantic differential for the ethos dimensions of character. The high-ethos introduction was perceived as being significantly high on authoritativeness, but the low-ethos source failed to produce perceived authoritativeness significantly lower than neutral. The writer decided to use the high-ethos introduction of McCroskey's intact with the exception of changing dates to bring the period of time up to the present. The writer developed a new low-ethos introduction using much of the same information from McCroskey's low-ethos introduction in an attempt to reduce the perceived authoritativeness level. A discussion of the outcome of this change is included in Chapter IV.

Construction of the Speech Stimuli

The topic "Capital Punishment" has already been used in a study by Cathcart (1955) and in a study by McCroskey (1966a). Both researchers found that the audiences tended to be evenly disposed on their attitude toward the topic. Both studies also found the topic was of interest to the audiences. Because the topic has already been successfully employed this writer decided to use "Capital Punishment"

in the present study. The speeches were prepared by the writer. These speeches are included in Appendix C. Both the one-sided speech and the two-sided speech were presented to members of the Senior Staff in the Department of Speech and Theatre at Michigan State University. Both speeches were judged by them and found to meet the operational definitions set forth in the beginning of this chapter.

Measurements and Statistical Analysis Used

As mentioned in Chapter I a considerable amount of work has been done in the development of instruments to measure the dimensions of ethos. Knowing from prior research that both the Likert-type scales and the semantic differential scales are very reliable instruments for measuring the dimensions of ethos, this writer chose to use the semantic differential scales. The decision was made from a pragmatic viewpoint. The semantic differential is a much easier measurement scale to administer because of its design and clarity than is a Likert-type scale.

Based on the work done by both Berlo et. al. (1961) and McCroskey (1966b), all three dimensions of ethos as

measures were included in this study. As a secondary part of this study all three of the dimensions (authoritativeness, character, and dynamism) were submitted to factor analysis, and the results are reported in Chapter III.

Again from a pragmatic point of view this writer chose to use the semantic differential for "Capital Punishment" developed by McCroskey because it was already in existence, had been used, and had been found to be reliable.

(McCroskey 1966a, pp. 33-45)

The secondary measurements used to measure the audience's perception of the speech were chosen by the writer on the basis that each set of adjectives is representative of those generally used in the field of speech for this purpose.

Copies of the measuring instruments are included in Appendix A.

Statistical procedures for the treatment of the collected data include the following: (1) analysis of covariance to test hypotheses relating to main effects, (2) t-tests for hypotheses concerning the effect of one variable at a given level on the other variable, (3) factor analysis to test the stability of the ethos dimensions.

The data collected were punched on cards, and the

information was submitted to the computer at Michigan State University for computation of the necessary statistics using programs that have been developed by the Computer Laboratory for this purpose.⁴

Procedures

The study was conducted during the Spring Term of the school year, 1966-1967, at Michigan State University. Prior to the start of classes, all necessary measuring instruments, instructions, taped speeches, and introductions were prepared. The speeches were recorded on tape by a member of the Speech Department faculty. The introductions of the high-ethos and low-ethos sources were read from a manuscript by the experimenter in all cases. The procedures for administering the experiment were handled by the experimenter, and each section was handled

⁴The program used for the control group's data was "Bastat Routine," Statt Series Description No. 5, developed by the Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University. The program used for the experimental group's data was "Analysis of Covariance and Analysis of Variance with Unequal Frequencies Permitted in the Cells: L. S. Routine," developed by the Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, Statt Series Description No. 18. The factor analysis program used for the ethos scales was "Factor Analysis: Factor A; Principal Components and Orthogonal Rotations," developed through the Computer Institute for Social Science Research, Michigan State University.

the same with the exception of presenting the different types of experimental treatment. The pre-test and the delayed post-test were administered by the individual class instructors.

A chronological explanation of the procedures is appropriate. During the first week of class each instructor was given a pre-test measurement form for each student enrolled in his sections. The pre-test form contained the necessary directions for its completion, which enabled each instructor to say as little as possible when administering the test in class. The pre-test contained four other distractor concepts as well as the experimental concept in an effort to control for later test awareness and possible bias. After the completion of the test forms the instructor collected them and returned them to the experimenter. The experimenter then prepared an IBM data card for each student, recording the pre-test attitude score on the experimental concept.

During the third and fourth weeks of the Spring Term the experimenter arranged a time with each instructor for the administration of the experiment in each section used in the study. The total time of the experiment was approximately twenty-five minutes. Upon entering the

classroom the experimenter distributed the necessary experimental measuring instruments as well as a placebo speech rating form. At this time the subjects were not told the purpose of the study but were told that they were participating in the development of a new speech rating form.⁵ The subjects were then told that they were to fill out the rating forms after hearing the tape-recorded speech; first, however, the experimenter was going to read some information concerning the speaker they were about to hear. The experimenter then read one of the ethos introductions, turned on the tape recorder, and sat down. After the speech was over the subjects were asked to fill out the forms; when they were finished the experimenter collected the forms and left the classroom. The collected data was then punched on the subjects' data card.

During the ninth week of class the experimenter again had each instructor distribute and collect the

⁵Under the auspices of a Federal grant William B. Lashbrook, a Senior Staff member of the Department of Speech and Theatre at Michigan State University, is in charge of a research project to develop a new rating form for public speaking. The project was initiated at Michigan State University in the Fall Term of 1966 and is still in progress at Michigan State University and several other colleges. With permission from Dr. Lashbrook the experimenter successfully used the existing project as a placebo for the present study.

delayed post-test. After the delayed post-test was completed each instructor was given a prepared statement to read to the subjects reporting the true nature of the present study. The data collected from the delayed post-test was also entered on the subjects' data card.

The sections that were used as control subjects were divided into two groups. The first group, Control I, received a pre-test during the first week of classes and an immediate post-test during the fourth week of class.

The second group, Control II, received a pre-test during the first week of class and a delayed post-test during the ninth week of class.

In both control groups the tests were administered by the instructor in the same manner as the pre-test and delayed post-test were given to the experimental groups. The subjects were not informed as to the true nature of the experiment until the experiment was over for all groups, both experimental and control. The subjects were informed through a prepared statement read to them by their instructor. The data for the control groups were then punched on data cards. All of the data were then submitted to the computer for analysis.

Both forms of the speech stimuli were recorded by

the same speaker in an effort to control for individual differences of style and delivery between speakers, which might otherwise have been confounding elements in the present study. The use of the tape recorder as the channel of communication was chosen to reduce possible non-verbal confounding elements that could not be controlled in a live, taped television, or motion picture presentation. Only the speaker's voice and the message content could change the ethos level from the initial ethos established through the introductory speech.

The results obtained from the above procedures are reported in Chapter III.

CHAPTER III

REPORTING OF RESULTS

Chapter I proposed eleven hypotheses that were tested in the present study. The present chapter reports the results of the hypotheses under two headings: (1) Effects of ethos and sidedness on attitude change, (2) Effects of sidedness on perceived ethos. The audiences' perception of the speech is reported under a third heading: Secondary measures.

Effects of Ethos and Sidedness on Attitude Change

Hypothesis 1: A message attributed to an initially high-ethos source will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially low-ethos source. The hypothesis was not confirmed. The high-ethos treatment was not perceived as being more effective than the low-ethos treatment ($F-.23$, $p. < .32$).

Hypothesis 2: A message attributed to an initially high-ethos source will produce a significantly greater

attitude change in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially low-ethos source. The hypothesis was not confirmed ($F=2.10$, $p < .08$). However, there does seem to be a trend in the hypothesized direction over time.

Hypothesis 3: A two-sided message will produce a significantly greater shift of attitude change in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will a one-sided message. The hypothesis was not confirmed ($F=1.27$, $p < .13$).

Hypothesis 4: A two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will a one-sided message. The hypothesis was not confirmed ($F=1.69$, $p < .10$). It is interesting to note that, unlike the main effect of ethos on attitude change, sidedness did not show a trend over time.

Hypothesis 5: An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message. The hypothesis was not confirmed. The observed difference was in

the predicted direction. The difference was significant at the .07 level but did not reach our apriori criterion level of .05 for significance (see Table 1).

Hypothesis 6: An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message. The hypothesis was confirmed ($p < .025$, see Table 2). The results of Hypotheses 5 and 6 show a difference in the direction hypothesized that is statistically significant over time.

Hypothesis 7: An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on an immediate post-test than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message. The hypothesis was not confirmed ($t = .15$, see Table 1). With a low-ethos source sidedness does not seem to have an immediate effect.

Hypothesis 8: An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce a significantly greater change of attitude in the direction advocated when measured on a delayed post-test than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message. The hypothesis

TABLE 1

Immediate Post-Communication Attitude Results
Adjusted Mean Semantic Differential Scores

	High-Ethos	Low-Ethos	\bar{D}	t
One-Sided	15.3	16.8	1.5	1.12
Two-Sided	17.4	17.0	.4	.30
D	2.1	.2		
t	1.57*	.15		

*Significant at approximately the .07 level

TABLE 2

Delayed Post-Communication Attitude Results
Adjusted Mean Semantic Differential Scores

	High-Ethos	Low-Ethos	\bar{D}	t
One-Sided	15.9	19.3	2.4	2.12*
Two-Sided	19.2	19.2	0	0
D	2.3	.1		
t	2.04*	.09		

*Significant at the .025 level or below

was not confirmed ($t=.09$, see Table 2). With a low-ethos source sidedness does not seem to have an effect even over time.

The control groups using the same attitude measurements as the experimental groups showed a test retest reliability of .83 in the immediate post-test condition and a test retest reliability of .79 in the delayed post-test condition covering a period of nine weeks. In neither case was a significant attitude change observed.

Effects of Sidedness on Perceived Ethos

Hypothesis 9: An initially high-ethos source will have a significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially low-ethos source. The hypothesis was confirmed ($p. < .0005$) for the dimensions of authoritativeness and character. The dynamism dimension did not result in a significant difference.

Hypothesis 10: An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message. The hypothesis was not confirmed. On the authoritativeness dimension results were in the direction opposite to this hypothesis (see Tables

3-5). Both character and dynamism resulted in non-significant differences (see Tables 4 and 5).

Hypothesis 11: An initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially low-ethos source with a one-sided message. This hypothesis was not confirmed. All three dimensions resulted in non-significant differences (see Tables 3-5).

Low ethos was perceived above the neutral point (24.00) on all three dimensions even though the high-ethos source was perceived as being significantly higher. Thus there was not an adequate test of the low-ethos hypothesis. Factor analysis clearly showed a three factor grouping accounting for 63% of the variance. Authoritativeness accounted for 20%, character, 20%, and dynamism, 23% of the total variance (see Table 6). Apparently the subjects were responding to three dimensions of ethos; they did not, however, perceive that the low-ethos introduction was lower than the neutral point on any one of the dimensions.

TABLE 3

Authoritativeness Semantic Differential Results
Adjusted Mean Scores

	High-Ethos	Low-Ethos	\bar{D}	t
One-Sided	33.8	30.2	3.6	3.91*
Two-Sided	35.8	30.3	5.5	5.98*
D	2.0	.1		
t	**	.11		

*Significant at the .001 level or below

**Difference in opposite direction than that predicted, therefore not statistically significant

TABLE 4

Character Semantic Differential Results
Adjusted Mean Scores

	High-Ethos	Low-Ethos	\bar{D}	t
One-Sided	28.7	25.8	2.9	3.49*
Two-Sided	29.0	25.9	3.1	3.73*
D	.3	.1		
t	.36	.12		

*Significant at the .001 level or below

TABLE 5

Dynamism Semantic Differential Results
Adjusted Mean Scores

	High-Ethos	Low-Ethos	\bar{D}	t
One-Sided	32.0	32.1	.1	.10
Two-Sided	31.4	31.0	.4	.40
D	.6	.9		
t	.60	.90		

TABLE 6

Factor Analysis Results of the Ethos Scales

Scales	Loadings on Factor 1 (Charac- ter)	Loadings on Factor 2 (Dyna- mism)	Loadings on Factor 3 (Authorita- tiveness)	Commu- nali- ties
Informed-Uninformed	.05	.16	.66	.47
Unqualified- Qualified	.11	.03	.79	.64
Reliable-Unreliable	.32	.05	.74	.65
Worthless-Valuable	.39	.13	.68	.63
Intelligent- Unintelligent	.27	.24	.61	.51
Inexpert-Expert	.28	.14	.78	.71
Aggressive-Meek	.00	.82	.05	.68
Hesitant-Emphatic	.05	.80	.13	.66
Forceful-Forceless	.05	.85	.14	.74
Timid-Bold	.09	.85	.02	.74
Active-Passive	.20	.71	.22	.60
Tired-Energetic	.24	.76	.10	.64
Unselfish-Selfish	.64	.08	.21	.46
Awful-Nice	.82	.14	.16	.72
Friendly-Unfriendly	.83	.13	.11	.71
Dishonest-Honest	.58	.03	.42	.52
Pleasant-Unpleasant	.70	.27	.23	.62
Sinful-Virtuous	.66	.04	.24	.49

Secondary Measures

Objective-Subjective: The high-ethos source was perceived as being more subjective than the low-ethos source ($p. < .05$). The one-sided message was perceived as being more subjective than the two-sided message ($p. < .003$), see Tables 7 and 8).

Biased-Unbiased: There was not a significant difference between either ethos levels nor between message sidedness, although all four cells were perceived as somewhat biased. A trend (significant at the .14 level) on sidedness indicated the two-sided message may have been perceived slightly less biased than the one-sided message (see Tables 7 and 8).

Good Content-Poor Content: Regardless of sidedness or ethos level, the subjects did not perceive the various message source combinations to be significantly different in the quality of content. Content was perceived to be good in all conditions (see Tables 7 and 8).

One-Sided-Two-Sided: There was a significant difference between a one-sided message and a two-sided message ($p. < .001$), the one-sided message being perceived significantly more one-sided. The two-sided message was

TABLE 7

Results on Secondary Measurements for Ethos

Scale	High-	Low-	\bar{D}	F	Sig.
	Ethos X	Ethos X			
(7) Objective-Subjective(1)	3.8	4.3	.5	3.89	.05
(7) Unbiased-Biased(1)	2.9	2.8	.1	.43	.51
(7) Good Content-Poor Content(1)	5.8	5.9	.1	.06	.81
(7) Two-Sided-One-Sided(1)	3.3	3.3	.0	.04	.84
(7) Good Delivery-Poor Delivery(1)	5.9	5.8	.1	.28	.60
(7) Organized-Disorganized(1)	6.3	6.3	.0	.01	.92

TABLE 8

Results on Secondary Measurements for Sidedness

Scale	One-	Two-	\bar{D}	F	Sig.
	Sided X	Sided X			
(7) Objective-Subjective(1)	3.7	4.4	.7	8.84	.003
(7) Unbiased-Biased(1)	2.6	3.0	.4	2.16	.14
(7) Good Content-Poor Content(1)	5.8	5.9	.1	.08	.78
(7) Two-Sided-One-Sided(1)	2.4	3.9	1.5	42.05	.001
(7) Good Delivery-Poor Delivery(1)	5.9	5.8	.1	.46	.50
(7) Organized-Disorganized(1)	6.2	6.3	.1	.13	.71

perceived approximately midway between one-sided and two-sided. Ethos did not produce an effect on perceived sidedness (see Tables 7 and 8).

Good Delivery-Poor Delivery: All four experimental cells perceived approximately the same quality of delivery, very good in each case. Neither ethos nor sidedness had an effect on perceived delivery (see Tables 7 and 8).

Disorganized-Organized: All four cells perceived the speeches as being highly organized. No significant differences attributable to ethos or message sidedness were observed (see Tables 7 and 8).

The hypotheses tested in the study were not confirmed with the exception of Hypotheses 6 and 9. There were, however, several trends in the direction hypothesized. The writer suggests that the results of the secondary measurements offer partial understanding for the results of the study as a whole. Chapter IV is devoted to a summary and the conclusions the writer has formulated from the above results. Chapter IV will also include implications for future research.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR
FUTURE RESEARCHSummary

Rhetorical theory from the time of Aristotle suggests that ethos, or source credibility, is an extremely potent persuasive force. Experimental research has consistently confirmed this theory.

Rhetorical theory also suggests that the message of the source acts as a potent persuasive force. Researchers have studied several message variables such as fear, appeals, evidence, organization, and delivery. Although more research needs to be done in these areas, the results so far seem to point out that message variables vary in their effect with the level of the source's perceived ethos.

Another important aspect of what is said deals with the presentation of the arguments within the persuasive message. Should the source present a one-sided message or should he present a two-sided message? Previously

reported experimental findings do not provide a conclusive answer to this question.

On the basis of the previous research on ethos and message variables it seems reasonable to believe that the elements of ethos and sidedness may interact in a persuasive communication. Both ethos and sidedness have been studied as separate elements, but as yet we are not able to generalize that these elements will have the same effect when combined as they have when each is a discrete element in an experimental study.

In short, prior to the research reported in this paper, there was no data concerning the interaction of ethos and sidedness from which we could formulate a generalization. The research reported in the previous chapters was conducted in an attempt to provide such data.

The writer suggests that the importance of sidedness varies with the level of the source's perceived ethos. A high-ethos source should find less value in using a two-sided presentation of arguments than would a communicator with middle-to-low ethos. Several hypotheses were generated and tested. These hypotheses were: (1) A message from a high-ethos source would produce a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated than

would a message from a low-ethos source, (2) A two-sided message will produce a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated than will a one-sided message, (3) A high-ethos source with a one-sided message will produce a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated than will a high-ethos source with a two-sided message, (4) A low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated than will a low-ethos source with a one-sided message, (5) An initially high-ethos source will have significantly higher terminal ethos than will an initially low-ethos source, (6) An initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message and an initially low-ethos source with a two-sided message will produce significantly higher terminal ethos than will a high-ethos source with a two-sided message and a low-ethos source with a one-sided message.

Two versions of a speech on Capital Punishment were developed--a one-sided message and a two-sided message. Purportedly high-ethos and low-ethos introductions were developed and presented prior to the speech stimuli.

Semantic differential measures, found reliable in other experimental studies, were used for the measurement

of attitude and the authoritativeness, character, and dynamism dimensions of ethos. A pre-test, immediate post-test, delayed post-test, and ethos test were administered to all experimental subjects. The data were analyzed by factor analysis and analysis of co-variance. The study produced the following results:

(1) Neither was a high-ethos source significantly more effective than a low-ethos source, nor a two-sided message significantly more effective than a one-sided message in changing attitude in the direction advocated.

(2) A high-ethos source with a one-sided message was significantly more effective in changing attitude in the direction advocated than was a high-ethos source with a two-sided message, but only over time. A trend on the attitude measure taken immediately after the communication was in the same direction but not significant at the .05 level.

(3) A low-ethos source with a two-sided message was not able to significantly change attitude more than a low-ethos source with a one-sided message.

(4) An initially high-ethos source did have a significantly greater amount of terminal ethos than did an initially low-ethos source on the dimensions of

authoritativeness and character.

(5) Neither was an initially high-ethos source with a one-sided message significantly more effective than an initially high-ethos source with a two-sided message, nor was a low-ethos source with a two-sided message significantly more effective than a low-ethos source with a one-sided message in producing high terminal ethos.

(6) The secondary measures showed that all experimental cells perceived the speeches as being highly organized, having good content, and being well delivered. The one-sided speech was perceived as being very one-sided, whereas the two-sided speech was perceived midway between one-sided and two-sided. The two-sided speech was perceived as more objective and slightly less biased than the one-sided speech. The low-ethos condition like the two-sided speech was perceived as being midway between high-ethos and low-ethos. There was, however, a statistically significant difference between the two ethos conditions and the two message conditions.

Conclusions

At this point it is appropriate to draw some general conclusions based on the present study in relation to the types of measurement that were made. Essentially we have

three types of measurement resulting from the present study: (1) the measurement of the effect of ethos and sidedness on perceived ethos, (2) the measurement of the effect of ethos and sidedness on attitude change, (3) the measurement of the audience's perception of the speech stimuli, which is directly related to the first and second measurements.

Factor analysis showed that the ethos scales measured three factors which accounted for 63% of the total variance of the subject's responses. As explained in previous chapters, the factors have been labeled authoritativeness, character, and dynamism. In this study dynamism was not manipulated in an effort to keep the delivery of the two speeches equal. If one of the speeches had been perceived more dynamic than the other, a confounding element would have developed within the experiment. The data do show that dynamism was not affected. Therefore, our discussion is centered on the authoritativeness and character dimensions of ethos.

The high-ethos source was perceived as producing significantly greater authoritativeness and character than was the low-ethos source, even though the low-ethos source was perceived in the middle. This result is consistent

with previous experimental research. One question remains to be answered: Why was the low-ethos source perceived above the neutral point? The writer suggests two tentative reasons for this. First, it is possible that the low-ethos introduction was not "low" enough. Second, the good delivery, organization, and content of the speeches may have overcome the low-ethos introduction. In order to confirm either one of these answers, a pre-test of the low-ethos introduction would be needed and a "bad" delivery condition would need to be included within the experiment. For this study the question must remain unanswered since neither of these conditions were examined.

Sidedness by itself did not have an effect on the ethos dimensions. The data show that the one-sided message was perceived as being significantly more one-sided than the two-sided message but that the two-sided message was near the midpoint of the scale. What was the cause of the two-sided message being perceived near the midpoint? The writer suggests that any one or a combination of the following reasons might have produced this result: (1) the climactic order used may not be the best order of arrangement, (2) the message might have contained too much refutation of the counter-arguments, (3) there might

not have been enough counter-arguments mentioned to give the effect of being two-sided, (4) the refutation of counter-arguments was too strong. Which reason or combination of reasons, if any, produced the present results is unknown.

When sidedness is considered with ethos, a two-sided message attributed to a high-ethos source was perceived as being substantially higher in authoritativeness than was a one-sided message attributed to a high-ethos source. This was a reversal of the result predicted. It may be that when a two-sided message is presented the knowledge of the other side tends to suggest to an audience that the source is more of an authority and has greater competence with the subject. The reason that the two-sided message did not affect character may be that knowledge of the other side does not necessarily connote more honesty or integrity.

When we consider attitude change we find that a high-ethos source with a one-sided message produced a significantly greater attitude change in the direction advocated than did a high-ethos source with a two-sided message. Although this result was not significant ($.07 > p < .05$) on the immediate post-test, it was significant ($p < .025$)

over time when measured on the delayed post-test. This finding is consistent with Wolfinger (1954) and Thistlethwaite and Kamenetsky (1955). Thistlethwaite and Kamenetsky pointed out that introducing unfamiliar facts and not including familiar facts when mentioning the other side tends to lead to less attitude change. This finding might account for the weakness of the two-sided argument used in the present study. The writer suggests that a high-ethos source needs only to persuade, not to inform. It seems that a high-ethos condition is perceived as being enough of an authority that a two-sided message is not needed. If a high-ethos source wants to acquire more ethos, he should use a two-sided message, but if his intention is to change attitude in the direction advocated, a one-sided message is best. Sidedness did not affect the low-ethos condition.

The main effect of ethos resulted in a non-significant difference because there was a middle-ethos condition instead of a low-ethos condition. Intuitively it seems reasonable to assume that if a high-ethos condition produces a change in one direction and a low-ethos condition produces a change in an opposite direction, then the middle-ethos condition might not have any effect

at all. This may be what happened in this study. The same assumption may be made concerning the main effect of sidedness. Apparently it is possible to reach a point of diminishing returns for both sides of an element. The writer suggests that this point is reached in the middle of the scale. In short, when a measurement reveals an ethos condition or a sidedness condition as being perceived in the center of the scale, this level of the condition will result in a non-significant difference. If the above assumption is correct, it may well account for the results of this study.

There are four reasons or combinations of reasons that could account for the results of the present study:

(1) The ethos introductions, although being perceived as different, were not strong enough to adequately test the hypotheses.

(2) The two-sided message, although perceived as being different from the one-sided message, was not "two-sided" enough.

(3) Both speeches, although they could be equal, were perceived as being of too high a quality in delivery, content, and organization.

(4) The hypotheses themselves are incorrect.

Unfortunately, within the limitations of the design and execution of this study we cannot be certain what produced the results.

Implications for Future Research

Obviously, the first consideration of future research should be the main effects of ethos and sidedness. The introduction and speech stimuli must be pre-tested to ascertain their position on the scale in order to adequately test proposed hypotheses. In short, now that we have tested the high-ethos and middle-ethos conditions, we need to test the low-ethos condition. Also, now that we have tested a one-sided and a middle-of-the-road message, we need to have an adequate test of the two-sided condition.

This study found that with a high-ethos condition a one-sided message was more effective than a two-sided message in changing attitude over time. The question then arises--will a one-sided argument attributed to a high-ethos source inoculate against counter-arguments at a later time?

This study found that with a high-ethos condition a two-sided message produced higher terminal ethos than did a one-sided message. Will these conditions inoculate

against later counter-arguments?

Counter-arguments used in prior research normally have been one-sided messages attributed to a high-ethos source. What happens to the elements of ethos and sidedness when used in later counter-arguments? To date there are no data available that show the best combination of ethos and sidedness in counter-arguments. As yet we are unable to generalize about which combination of ethos and sidedness is best to inoculate against counter-arguments nor which combination of ethos and sidedness is best to use in the counter-argument to break down the original message.

The writer suggests that since oral messages and counter-messages account for the greatest proportion of all communication the above questions need to be answered. Only then will we be able to establish valid generalizations concerning the interaction of ethos and message variables in oral communication.

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APPENDIX A

Secondary Measurements of the Audience's
Perception of the Speech

Objective :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Subjective
 Biased :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Unbiased
 Good Content :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Poor Content
 One-Sided :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Two-Sided
 Good Delivery :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Poor
 Disorganized :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Organized

Capital Punishment Semantic Differential

Harmful :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Beneficial
 Good :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Bad
 Wrong :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Right
 Fair :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Unfair
 Negative :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Positive
 Wise :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ :__ : Foolish

Authoriativeness Semantic Differential

Informed : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Uninformed
 Unqualified : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Qualified
 Reliable : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Unreliable
 Worthless : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Valuable
 Intelligent : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Unintelligent
 Inexpert : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Expert

Dynamism Semantic Differential

Agressive : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Meek
 Hesitant : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Emphatic
 Forceful : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Forceless
 Timid : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Bold
 Active : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Passive
 Tired : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Energetic

Character Semantic Differential

Unselfish : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Selfish
 Awful : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Nice
 Friendly : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Unfriendly
 Dishonest : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Honest
 Pleasant : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Unpleasant
 Sinful : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : __ : Virtuous

APPENDIX B

LOW-ETHOS INTRODUCTION

We are trying to develop a new rating scale for the rating of speeches. The rating sheets I have passed out were designed to rate both a taped TV speech and a taped radio speech so some of the items, such as eye contact, will have to be ignored. The speaker we will hear is Anthony L. Capelli, who discusses the question of whether society should continue capital punishment.

Mr. Capelli is presently an inmate at San Quentin Prison. Two years after dropping out of the University of Chicago Mr. Capelli was arrested on a charge of extortion in connection with the numbers racket. He received a sentence of 3 to 5 years and was paroled after serving 3 1/2 years of his sentence. Five years later Mr. Capelli was picked up on a narcotics charge in connection with the smuggling and illegal distribution of dope. However, he was not convicted of the charge. In 1963 Mr. Capelli was arrested in San Francisco on a charge of first degree murder in connection with a gangland slaying. He was convicted and sentenced to die in the gas chamber, but on

June 15, 1964, Governor Brown, then Governor of California, commuted his sentence to life imprisonment without parole. The speech we will hear was originally recorded at San Quentin for broadcast on the NBC radio program, "The Public Speaks."

I should like to stress that the views expressed by Mr. Capelli are his own and are not necessarily those of NBC. The series of programs on which this speech appeared was devoted to talks on highly controversial topics and the speakers themselves were highly controversial in some cases.

HIGH-ETHOS INTRODUCTION

We are trying to develop a new rating scale for the rating of speeches. The rating sheets I have passed out were designed to rate both a taped TV speech and a taped radio speech, so some of the items, such as eye contact, will have to be ignored. The speaker we will hear is Warden William T. Anderson, who discusses the question of whether society should continue capital punishment. Mr. Anderson has spent his life in the field of criminology and is recognized as one of the outstanding criminologists in the United States. Mr. Anderson received his law degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He then joined the F.B.I. and spent eight years in their service. At the end of World War II Mr. Anderson was assigned to the Allied Intelligence Agency to aid in the trials of Nazi war criminals as part of his F.B.I. assignment. In 1949 Mr. Anderson accepted a position as Assistant Warden of the South Dakota State Penitentiary. In 1951 he moved to Warden, the position he has held for the past 15 years. During his life Warden Anderson has witnessed over 30

executions. The speech we will hear was originally recorded for broadcast on the NBC radio program, "The Public Speaks."

I should like to stress that the views expressed by Mr. Anderson are his own and are not necessarily those of NBC. The series of programs on which this speech appeared was devoted to talks on highly controversial topics and the speakers themselves were highly controversial in some cases.

APPENDIX C

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
ONE-SIDED PRESENTATION

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. During 1966 society killed only one man. Now don't confuse this death with the thousands of deaths that occur on the highway each year or the loss of men in the Viet Nam War. Society as a whole did not kill these people. The only person who was killed by society was James D. French, age 30, whose execution occurred August 10 in the Oklahoma State Penitentiary under the existing laws of capital punishment. A jury made up of people just like yourselves found James French guilty. Having no other option under the law of capital punishment, society executed Mr. French. A controversy over capital punishment has raged in this country for the past century. Every week there is an article in the paper concerning this form of punishment. Being in the news so much, it is not surprising that nearly everyone has an opinion on the question. What is surprising is that the American public is nearly evenly divided in their opinions. It is difficult to understand how a people who

pride themselves on judging the desirability of a policy in light of cold hard facts can be so divided. Either the American people are irrational or the important facts on this question have not been made available. In my opinion the latter is the case. Thus, my purpose in this talk is to discuss the facts concerning capital punishment.

Let's look at the five main arguments against capital punishment and the facts which support those arguments. The first main argument against capital punishment is that the administration of capital punishment is full of discrimination, discrimination on the basis of both race and sex. Let's look at the facts. First, racial discrimination. Certain laws, in particular the law making rape a capital crime, are enforced only against Negroes in some states. Whites who commit the same crime receive a lesser penalty. Over the nation as a whole more Negroes are put to death than whites even though the Negro is only a small minority of the people compared to the white population. As clearly as the facts support the contention that Negroes are discriminated against in the administration of the death penalty, the facts based on sex are even more lopsided. Women are almost never executed, no matter what their crime has been. Of the hundreds of people that

have been executed since the end of World War II, only a small handful have been women. Actually, a man has about a hundred times greater chance of being executed than a woman for the same crime. Another major argument against capital punishment is that with all of the executions that have taken place some completely innocent men have been put to death. The exact number, of course, is impossible to estimate. In nearly every capital punishment state there have been cases where a real murderer has confessed to the crime on his deathbed, after a totally innocent man has been executed. Once a man has already been executed for a crime, it is impossible, of course, to correct this grave mistake. The only way we as a society can be absolutely certain that an innocent man is not executed is not to execute anyone at all. It is interesting to note that after a recent publication of a case of this type two states have abolished capital punishment, and crime commissions in three others have recommended to their State Legislatures that these states should abolish capital punishment also.

The third argument against capital punishment points out the fact that the threat of the death penalty has no effect on potential criminals. States that have the death

penalty have higher homicide rates, for example, than neighboring states which do not have capital punishment. We would expect that not having the death penalty as a threat to criminals should cause the crime rate to increase, but this is clearly not the case. The facts tell us that in reality capital punishment has the opposite effect if, indeed, it has any effect at all. Capital punishment does not deter crime.

The fourth major argument against capital punishment is that killing a man is not the best way to protect society against criminals who have already proven that they are a menace to society. Very few persons are actually executed each year anyway--only one last year. To suggest that executing this small number of criminals protects society is absurd. Obviously, keeping a man in prison is just as effective a method of keeping him from society as killing him. There is more than adequate space in our prisons to keep all capital offenders securely restrained so that they can't molest the rest of society. When you average out the few hundred persons who are convicted of capital crimes each year, there are only a handful of individuals for each state. Certainly this small group of criminals can be retained in prison without overburdening

our vast prison system. But the main problem is that society cannot protect itself under our present laws. At present, in many cases, a jury has two options: one is to put the defendant to death, and the other is to acquit him and turn him loose in society. What happens when a jury is 99% sure about a man's guilt, but they don't want to impose the death penalty? The jury under present law must turn the man free in society. Now a possible solution to this problem is a law that will give the jury the option of sending a man to prison without the possibility of parole. In the event later evidence is found in his favor, the man is still alive to have another trial.

The final argument against capital punishment is based on the moral issue. Capital punishment itself is based on the philosophy of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. A recent case in point is the Richard Speck trial for the mass murder of the nurses in Chicago. The courts are having a very hard time in finding a jury that does not want revenge. The philosophy of revenge is nothing but the law of the jungle and such a philosophy is beneath the dignity of civilized man. Every major religion in the world has denounced the philosophy of revenge as immoral. As far as I have been able to determine, only the

Russian and Chinese Communists and a few primitive tribes in Africa hold the philosophy of revenge as a basic rule of their lives. Well, I don't believe I need to carry the issue any further. We have examined the facts and we have seen that discrimination based on race and sex flourishes in the administration of the death penalty. We have noted that innocent men have been executed. We have seen that capital punishment does not deter crime. We have seen that society can be protected against criminals without killing them. And finally, we have seen that the alleged moral basis for capital punishment has been renounced by every major religion in the world.

I have decided what I think should be done about the laws that permit capital punishment. I would guess that you have also.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT
TWO-SIDED PRESENTATION

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. During 1966 society killed only one person. Now don't confuse this death with the thousands of deaths that occur on the highways each year or with the loss of men in the Viet Nam War. Society as a whole did not kill these people. The only person who was killed by society was James D. French, age 30, whose execution occurred on August 10 in the Oklahoma State Penitentiary under the existing laws of capital punishment. A jury made up of people just like yourselves found James French guilty. Having no other option under the law of capital punishment, society executed Mr. French. A controversy over capital punishment has raged over this country since the 17th century. Every week there is an article in the paper concerning this form of punishment. Being in the news so much, it is not surprising that nearly everyone has an opinion on the question. What is surprising is that the American public is nearly evenly divided in their opinions. It is difficult to understand how a people who

pride themselves on judging the desirability of a policy in light of cold, hard facts can be so divided. Either the American people are irrational or the important facts on this question have not been made available. In my opinion the latter is the case. Thus my purpose in this talk is to discuss the facts concerning capital punishment. Let's look at the arguments for both sides, and the facts which apply to those arguments.

The first major argument advanced by the opponents of capital punishment is that the administration of capital punishment is full of discrimination, discrimination on the basis of both race and sex. Let's look at the facts.

First, racial discrimination. Certain laws, in particular the law making rape a capital crime, are enforced only against Negroes in some states. Whites who commit the same crime receive a lesser penalty. Over the nation as a whole, more Negroes are put to death than are whites, even though the Negro is only a small minority of the people compared to the white population. As clearly as the facts support the contention that Negroes are discriminated against in the administration of the death penalty, the facts based on sex are even more lopsided. Women are almost never executed, no matter what their crime has been.

Of the hundreds of people that have been executed since the end of World War II, only a small handful has been women. Actually, a man has about a hundred times greater chance of being executed than a woman for the same crime.

Another major argument advanced by those who oppose capital punishment suggests that with all of the executions that have taken place certainly some completely innocent men have been put to death. The exact number, of course, is impossible to estimate. In nearly every capital punishment state there have been cases where the real murderer has confessed to the crime on his deathbed after a totally innocent man has been executed. Now once a man has been executed for a crime, it is impossible, of course, to correct the grave mistake. The only way that we as a society can be absolutely certain that an innocent man is not executed is not to execute anyone at all. It's interesting to note that after recent publication of a case of this type two states have abolished capital punishment, and crime commissions in three other states have recommended to their State Legislatures that capital punishment should be abolished in these states also.

On the basis of these two arguments of the opponents of capital punishment it certainly does seem clear that

this form of punishment should be abolished. However, before we make any decision on a controversy, we really should look at both sides of the story. So what are the arguments advanced by those who favor capital punishment?

The most frequent argument advanced by people supporting capital punishment is that the threat of the death penalty acts as a deterrent to crime. It deters potential criminals from committing crimes. This deterrent influence supposedly helps reduce the crime rate for those offenses against society to which capital punishment applies. That this is a strong argument for retaining the death penalty is attested to by the fact that the majority of the American public believes that it's true. Let's examine the theory of deterrence very closely. This theory says that by threatening potential criminals with the death penalty, we will reduce the crime rate. Now turning this around, we would expect that not having the death penalty as a threat to criminals, the crime rate would increase. Clearly, the best way to test this theory is to look at the crime rate where the death penalty is legal and where it is not legal to see if there is a difference. The figures for murder, the most common crime for which the death penalty applies, show that the homicide rates are lower for the states that

have done away with capital punishment than for states that still retain it on the law books. Well, what do these facts tell us? Well, they suggest that homicide rates are exactly opposite to what they should be if the theory of deterrence were correct. While there are, of course, other reasons for retaining capital punishment on the law books. Many argue that it is essential to eliminate those criminals who have already proven that they are a menace to society so that society will not be threatened by them again. Now this certainly makes sense. If we run over a nail and get a flat tire, we want to remove that nail so that it won't give us any more flat tires in the future. Only a fool would leave the nail where it was. Now opponents of capital punishment readily agree that society must be protected from criminals, but they suggest that capital punishment is not necessary to accomplish that end. They argue that very few persons are actually executed each year, and, of course, they are right; there was only one executed last year. Thus, to suggest that executing this small number of criminals actually protects society is absurd. Obviously, keeping a man in prison is just as effective a method of keeping him away from society as killing him is. There is more than adequate space

in our prisons to keep all capital offenders securely restrained from molesting the rest of society. When you average out the small number of persons who are convicted of capital crimes each year, there are only a handful of individuals for each state. Certainly this small group of criminals can be retained in prison without overburdening our vast prison system. But the main problem is that society cannot protect itself under our present laws.

At present in many cases a jury only has two options: one is to put the defendant to death, and the other is to acquit him of the charges and turn him loose in society again. Now what happens when the jury is 99% sure about the man's guilt, but they do not want to impose the death penalty? The jury under present law must turn that man free in society. A possible solution to this problem is a law that will give the jury the option of sending the man to prison without the possibility of parole. In the event later evidence then is found in his favor, the man is still alive to have another trial.

The final argument that is advanced by those in favor of capital punishment is the age-old concept that says society needs revenge. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. We've had a recent case in point on this subject

with the trial of Richard Speck who committed the mass murder in Chicago. The courts are having a difficult time in finding a jury who does not want revenge. Opponents of capital punishment say that such a philosophy is nothing but a law of the jungle and is beneath the dignity of a civilized man. Both sides quote the Bible to support their arguments. Every major religion in the world has denounced the philosophy of revenge as immoral. As far as I've been able to determine, only the Russian and Chinese Communists and a few primitive tribes in Africa hold the philosophy of revenge as a basic rule in their lives. Well, I don't believe I need to carry this issue any further. We've examined both sides of this controversy. We've looked at the facts. We've seen that discrimination based on race and sex flourishes in the administration of the death penalty. We have noted that innocent men have been executed. We have seen that capital punishment does not deter crime, that society can be protected from criminals without killing them, and that the alleged moral basis for capital punishment has been denounced by every major religion in the world.

I have decided what I think should be done about the laws that permit capital punishment. I would guess that you have also.

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