

## Operant Subjectivity

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### Investigating Political Types, Part II: A Study of “Cole,” the Political Administrator<sup>1</sup>

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**Abstract:** In Part II, a case study of “Cole,” a political *administrator*, is undertaken. A prolonged life history interview is conducted, and a two-phased Q study carried-out. In the first phase, Cole performs 17 Q-sorts with a set of statements drawn from the interviews (and augmented with statements from other sources), which were tied to the life history. Two factors result, described as *Private* and *Public* selves revealed by Cole. In the second stage, Cole performs 20 Q-sorts with a set of statements about political and social issues drawn from the interviews (and augmented with statements from other sources). Again, two factors are produced: one that describes a moderate/Libertarian view and another that is a conservative Republican view.

**Keywords:** Administrator Type, Intensive Analysis, Lasswell, Political Role, Political Type, Single-case

### Introduction

In Part I, the case of “Phil” was examined. Attention now turns to a second case, that of “Cole” (a pseudonym), who had a significant factor loading in the extensive phase and was associated with Lasswell’s *administrator* type. Although Cole was not the highest loader on the *Administrator* factor, he did load significantly and was available for an interview and subsequent Q-sorting. As a specimen of the *administrator* type, Cole was selected for in-depth interviews and asked to perform a number of Q-sorts under experimental conditions. Recall, that the *administrator* type prefers routine and order and is seldom attracted to abstraction. Further, Lasswell contends that the *administrator* type is tied to particular people (especially, the family) and is neither contentious in the way the *agitator* is nor detached in the way that the *theorist* behaves. As Ascher wrote: “the ‘administrator’ does not have the emotional need to transform the organization or the reality that the organization addresses, nor is there a strong motivation to personalize the professional interactions. Home life and friendship circles meet these needs. According to this model, the administrator is strong and task oriented” (2005, p. 107). In the extensive phase of Part I, these are the statements most agreed with by the *Administrator* factor:

22. On the whole I look up to superiors who support, direct, set goals, and are sympathetic: I try to cooperate and maintain good relations with them. (+4)

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26. I like for people to think what I do is useful and important. My main reward is a feeling that my efforts are appreciated. (+4)
40. I am capable of decisiveness, of settling an issue: resolving problems and giving orders come easily to me. (+4)
45. I derive a good deal of satisfaction from knowing how to get others to do things that I have decided are worth doing. (+3)
23. I like to pin the issues down more accurately, and to cultivate an awareness of the alternatives involved. (+3)
4. I have a talent for bargaining and making decisions. I prefer working through a system of interlocking agreements and arrangements. (+3)
37. My life is very much dominated by my relationships to definite people. Abstractions don't interest me much. (+2)

The strategy employed in the case study of Phil was continued with Cole – a prolonged life history interview, as well as the use of Q methodology to explore the subjective perceptions of one political administrator, with particular attention to his perceptions of how he is viewed by important others in his life.

### **Cole: Life History and Political Views**

At the time of our interviews (spring 2012), Cole was in his mid-40s, married and a business executive. He is well-educated (with an MBA) and very interested in politics. Cole was born into a large family, the fourth of six children, and the interviews made very clear the importance of these familial attachments. Below are brief descriptions of each family member:

#### F – Father

College graduate. Korean War veteran. Worked in the insurance industry and later in a hardware store.

#### M – Mother

High school graduate. Worked in a manufacturing factory, working her way up into management. Became primary breadwinner in the family. Later served in local government when Cole was a teenager.

#### B1 – Eldest brother, 7 years older than Cole (deceased).

Ivy League graduate. AIDS activist. Died when Cole was in his mid-20s.

#### B2 – 2<sup>nd</sup> Eldest Brother, 5 ½ years older than Cole.

College and MBA graduate. Military veteran. Business executive. Married.

#### B3 – 3<sup>rd</sup> Eldest Brother – 4 years older than Cole.

College and MBA graduate. Military veteran. Held statewide political office. Business Executive. Married with children.

#### COLE

#### S1 – Eldest Sister – 4 ½ years younger than Cole

College graduate. Married.

#### S2 – Youngest sister – 7 ½ years younger than Cole

High school graduate.

Cole and his siblings were raised in a small town, and he remembers his childhood fondly, describing that time as a “lot of fun.” His father worked as an insurance agent, and after that business closed, he began working in a hardware store. His mother was the chief breadwinner in the family, which was quite atypical in the 1970s/1980s, and held a management job in the manufacturing industry. His father was a college

graduate, while his mother finished high school. Cole related that his mother still harbors “resentment” about her decision not to pursue a college degree to this day. Because both parents worked, female caregivers (paternal grandmother or a neighbor lady) cared for Cole in his pre-school days. Cole said his earliest memory was being asked by his mother which babysitter he preferred. He chose the neighbor lady for reasons he cannot recall. Despite the presence of these babysitters, he and his siblings saw his parents each morning, and dinner with the family each evening was a regular routine. Cole was raised a Protestant, in a fairly liberal denomination, and though he professes a belief in God, he is not a churchgoer.

Cole said that his mother was generally the disciplinarian in the family, although his father would step in if it were something “major,” and that punishments were rarely physical in nature. Cole does remember being spanked a few times but thinks his older brothers got spanked more often, a fact he attributed to a change in the parenting style over time. Cole describes his parents’ parenting style as “laissez faire.” His brothers were tremendous influences on him while he was growing up; in fact, Cole said that “most of the time I was with my brothers. Very little with the parents.” As a result, Cole said, “a lot of the stuff that I believe, and a lot of the stuff I was raised with was them. That may not have been a good thing because they were growing up too. You don’t want to say you idolize them, but there is a great respect for all of them.” Time and again, Cole made clear through the interviews that his relationships with his older brothers were defining for him.

Throughout the interview, Cole stressed the significance of the family in his life and extolled the virtues of a large family: “I think there’s a lot of advantages, just because you have that extra set of people rooting for you.” His eldest brother (B1) was an outstanding student who received his degree from an Ivy League institution. B1’s liberal politics were quite different than the rest of the family. While still in high school, B1 refused induction in the National Honor Society and wrote an editorial to the hometown newspaper explaining his decision, citing displeasure with how students were selected. Needless to say, this caused a controversy in the small town. After college, B1 secured employment in a large city, out-of-state. B1 was gay and contracted AIDS during the height of that scourge, eventually succumbing to the disease. B1 was at the forefront of AIDS activism, according to Cole. Recounting his death during the interview proved to be an emotional moment for Cole, as he broke down, saying that watching her first-born pass away especially impacted his mother. Cole said that B1 was his mother’s “favorite.” When asked why he felt his mother favored B1, Cole replied, “Because he was her first born.” Cole said that the death of B1 was the most dramatic event in his life.

B2 was a very good student and an outstanding athlete at the local school. He went on to earn a college degree and entered the Marine Corps as an officer. After his stint in the Marines, B2 entered business, married, finished an MBA, and is now an executive in the transportation industry. B3 also entered the military and was assigned to a prestigious outfit. After the military, B3 graduated from college (later finishing an MBA) and pursued a career in politics, ultimately leading to statewide office. B3 is married with children and is now a business executive. Cole seems to have been most impacted by his relationships with B2 and B3. He expressed that he felt closest to B3 while growing up because, “We shared a room for a while. He was the one that I hung out with the most. B2 was a little bit older. I more looked up to B2 – I don’t want to say I respected him more – B2 was more of an older brother, B3 was more of a friend...You don’t want to say that I idolized B2, but he is somebody I look up to.”

Cole was raised in a Republican household. All members of the family were Republicans, save B1, who was a liberal Democrat. Cole's earliest political memory was the presidential election of 1976, between Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford, when Cole was seven years old. He remembers watching the convention with his family and wearing a Ford/Dole button when he accompanied his father to the polls. His interest in politics led him to pursue class office in school. He was president of his junior high school class and president of his high school classes his freshman, sophomore and junior years. He chose not to run for senior class president. When asked why, Cole said the "official reason" was that it was no longer important for his resume, as he planned to apply for an ROTC scholarship and the form didn't include activities for the senior year. But he confessed the "real reason" was he was afraid he might lose the election. Cole said that he was a bit contrarian his senior year in high school, citing his refusal to have a senior portrait taken as an example. In school, Cole said that he was part of the "popular" clique, that his peers saw him as a leader, and that his teachers all seemed to like him, as they knew all of his older brothers. Asked whether he ever felt burdened by expectations, following in his brother's footsteps at school, Cole said, "Number one, I didn't want to embarrass my older brothers or family, and I had a natural respect for authority...I reveled in it [the expectations]. I enjoyed the recognition."

Though Cole described his academic career in high school as "underachieving," a very high score on the SAT enabled him to receive an ROTC scholarship, and he went away to college. He described his military training as even more important than his scholastic training in his current business success. Like his older brothers, Cole would eventually earn an MBA degree. In his mid-30s, Cole married a woman who, like himself, is a successful professional. Her political views, in contrast to Cole's, are quite liberal. In fact, according to Cole, B2 jokingly refers to Cole's wife as "Gloria Steinem," the liberal, feminist icon.

When asked to name his political heroes, Cole cited Lincoln, John F. Kennedy and Reagan. He admires Lincoln for "saving the Union," Kennedy for his "vision" and Reagan for "ending the Cold War." Fear of nuclear war was Cole's biggest political concern growing up. He also cited George H. W. Bush ("a smarter Reagan") and Bill Clinton as presidents he admired. Outside the world of politics, Cole mentioned basketball great Michael Jordan and golfing legend Jack Nicklaus as people he admires. Cole even mentioned that he was inspired by Triple-Crown winning horse Secretariat – "pure excellence" is how Cole referred to Secretariat. Cole places value on skill and being a fierce competitor.

In talking about the political ideas of his family, Cole related that his father is more conservative than his mother and that B2 is a fiscal conservative, while B3 is both a fiscal and social conservative. An uncle, "Frank," who was often in the family household, was a Vietnam veteran and a staunch conservative.

Cole is a health and fitness fanatic, who is tied to a regimented and arduous routine. Every day, Cole exercises, lifts weights and runs the treadmill for seven to eight miles. When asked why he is motivated to pursue such a vigorous exercise program, Cole replied, "I just don't feel comfortable unless I work out. I don't know. I guess I feel that when I exercise, I've earned an indulgence." The strenuous exercise routine seems to be a reflection of his *administrator* personality.

### **Cole: Experimental Conditions, Phase 1**

Cole's answers during the in-depth interviews were not expansive, and he seemed guarded at times – consistent with the *administrator* type. This was particularly true

when he was engaged with a word association exercise that was characterized by reflective pauses. Baas and Brown point out the utility of Q in just these situations: “The methodological implication is that certain information which A does not volunteer in the interviews, because she is unaware, may nonetheless reveal itself in the factor structure” (1973, p.182).

In developing the Q-sample for Cole, in addition to statements that he made during the interviews, statements were also drawn from Tomkins and Demos (1995), as well as from the interviews with “Phil.” Most of the statements for the Q-sample in this phase were drawn from Cole’s life history responses, while Phase 2 will deal with statements that were more overtly sociopolitical in nature. In all, Cole was asked to operate with this 25-item Q-sample under 17 different conditions of instruction and produced the following factor structure (Table 1):

**Table 1: Factor Matrix for “Cole”, the Political Administrator<sup>2</sup>**

<b>Q sorts</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>
Self	(.91)	-.04
Mother would like me to have	(.62)	.19
Wife thinks my view	(.86)	-.09
Brother 2 thinks my view	(.71)	.20
Lincoln thinks my view	(.86)	-.03
JFK thinks my view	(.66)	-.00
In 20 years	(.71)	-.09
Ideal view	(.90)	.03
Boss thinks my view	.20	(.72)
Subordinates think my view	.24	(.76)
Favorite teacher thinks my view	.37	(.69)
Army buddies think my view	.16	(.66)
Michael Jordan thinks my view	.20	(.59)
Father would like me to have	.46	.30
Brother 3 thinks my view	.49	.24
Uncle Frank thinks my view	.63	.57
20 years ago	.36	.06

### **Factor A: *Private***

Factor A is defined by eight sorts: “Self view”; “The view my mother would like me to have”; “What my wife thinks my view is”; “What B2 thinks my view is”; “What Abraham Lincoln would think my view is”; “What John F. Kennedy would think my view is”; “What my view in 20 years will be”; and “What is an ideal view?” In contrast to Factor B, there is an emphasis here on Cole’s primary familial relations (as well as his named political heroes). When examining the statements most agreed with in Factor A, we see the significance of Cole’s grueling exercise regimen and how he ties that to earning a reward. Also, tolerance for homosexuality and a view that religion should be inclusive and loving receive high scores. The advantages of a supportive family and a sentiment that Cole did not fully apply himself academically are also endorsed in Factor A.

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<sup>2</sup> Factor loadings in parentheses are significant at the .01 level. Only “pure” loadings – those that load on only one factor – are so identified.

**+4 Statements**

18. I just don't feel comfortable unless I work out. I guess I feel that when I exercise, I've earned an indulgence (+4)
24. Homosexuals – that's just the way they were born – I don't think you can hold that against them. (+3)
6. My view of religion is where it's kind, gentle, tolerant and loving. Religion is not a thing where you should say, "I'm right and you're wrong." (+3)

**+3 Statements**

4. I think there are a lot of advantages to growing up in a large family because you have the extra set of people who are with you, who are rooting for you. (+2)
20. That far-right, ultra-Christian viewpoint just scares the hell out of me. (+2)
11. I look back and wish I had applied myself a bit more academically.

Looking at the statements most disagreed with in Factor A, it is clear that, within the family construct, Cole does not believe he needs more recognition, yet he doesn't mind being at the center of attention. He doesn't see the need to be more assertive or to have authority over people. Cole sees this as the view he will have into the future (20 years), and it is an ideal view. The family-centered nature of Factor A is in keeping with Lasswell's description of the *administrator* type: "As a class the administrators differ from the agitators by the displacement of their affects upon less remote and abstract objects. In the case of one important group this failure to achieve abstract objects is due to excessive preoccupation with specific individuals in the family circle and to the correlative difficulty of defining the role of the self" (Lasswell, 1960, p. 151).

**Most Disagreed Statements**

25. It would be nice to get recognized a little more. (-4)
22. I like to have authority over people. (-3)
14. It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention. (-3)
8. Imagination frees people from the dull routines of life. (-2)
15. I wish I was more assertive. (-2)
16. Parents should set the bar high for their children. (-2)

**Factor B: Public**

In Factor B we see a "public" self being revealed by Cole. There are five sorts that define Factor B: "What my boss thinks my view is"; "What subordinates think my view is"; "What my favorite teacher would think my view is"; "What my former army buddies would think my view is" and "What basketball star Michael Jordan would think my view is." The private/public divide among Factors A and B evoke James's distinction between what is *me* and what is *mine* as described by Stephenson (2014):

One of the most interesting laws is taken from William James's distinction what is *me* and what is *mine* – my clothes are *mine*, though in the case of a hippy or a fop, they may be much more, an integral part of the person's self as such. Many different conditions of instruction can bear upon this distinction. The law is to the effect that operant factor structure may indicate the segmentation into the *me* and the *mine* of the Q-sorter for the given situation." (Stephenson, 2014, p. 43)

Factor A, where “self” loads, is *me* for Cole, while Factor B is *mine*. Within his public self, Cole is uncomfortable to be the center of attention (more guarded among those he doesn’t know intimately). He sees himself as a good leader, who likes to take responsibility for making decisions and who has a natural ability to influence others – all prized qualities in both business and military life. Davies (1980) makes the case for why Lasswell’s administrator is well suited for business and management roles:

If administrative capacity, under psychological analysis in Lasswellian lines, comes to seem at bottom a matter of largely unconscious qualities, such as ease with authority, liking for structured inter-personal relations and collective effort, and drives for certainty and power, there persists an older, commonsense tradition in administrative and management studies, which lays stress on ego-skills like their ability to manipulate and lead, reality sense, talents for bargaining or making decisions. (p. 64)

#### Most Agreed

14. It makes me uncomfortable to be the center of attention. (+4)
19. I like to take responsibility for making decisions. (+3)
13. I don’t think government is the cure-all. If it’s raining, the government shouldn’t give everybody an umbrella. Some people are going to get rained on. (+3)
7. I see myself as a good leader. (+2)
10. When people are in trouble, they should help themselves and not depend on others. (+2)
1. I have a natural talent for influencing people. (+2)

Turning to those statements that are most disagreed with in Factor B, we see that Cole’s public self has no need for more recognition, nor does he like to have authority over people. Though both a business executive and a former military officer, Cole views his leadership in a benign way. He prefers to influence others, not exert overt authority. When discussing his attitudes toward labor unions during the life history interviews, he quoted B2 who once told him, “If you treat your workers right, there is no need for a union.”

Cole also rejects the freeing nature of imagination when it comes to performing the dull routines of daily life and the desire to act on impulse. He also is less accepting of homosexuality in this public self, as well as less hostile toward right-wing Christianity.

#### Most Disagreed Statements

22. I like to have authority over people. (-4)
25. It would be nice to get recognized a bit more. (-3)
8. Imagination frees people from the dull routines of life. (-3)
3. To act on impulse occasionally makes life more interesting. (-2)
24. Homosexuals – that’s just the way they were born – I don’t think you can hold that against them. (-2)
20. That far-right, ultra-Christian viewpoint just scares the hell out of me. (-2)

Four sorts have mixed loadings: “View my father would like me to have”; “What B3 thinks my view is”; “What Uncle Frank thinks my view is” and “What was my view 20 years ago?” The factor structure produced by Cole in phase 1 reinforces Lasswell’s contention that the *administrator* type is tied to significant people (particularly family

members). Interestingly, both Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy, both revered politicians, were incorporated into that construct.

### **Cole: Experimental Conditions, Phase 2**

Phase 2 of the Cole study probed more specifically Cole's view of the sociopolitical issues of the day. A 42-item Q-sample was derived, largely from what Cole had said during the life history interviews, and he was invited to perform 20 Q-sorts, under various conditions of instruction. The conditions of instruction were once again tied to salient people in Cole's life as well as various political parties and the political figures he had mentioned in the interviews. The factors were judgmentally rotated to maximize the loadings for Self so as to reveal the structure in contrast to Cole's Self view. Two factors were produced, and Table 2 provides the factor loadings ("pure" loadings identified by parentheses):

**Table 2: Factor Matrix II for "Cole," the Political Administrator**

<b>Q sorts</b>	<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>
Self	(.74)	.03
Ideal view	(.87)	-.16
Mother would like My view	(.61)	-.38
Wife thinks my view is	(.91)	-.03
Brother 2 thinks my view is	(.59)	.16
Brother 3 thinks my view is	(.79)	-.04
Libertarian view	(.65)	.32
Father would like My view	.16	(.56)
Brother 3's view	-.24	(.82)
Brother 2 would like my view	.29	(.64)
Brother 3 would like my view	-.16	(.74)
Marco Rubio thinks my view	-.08	(.41)
Rick Santorum thinks my view	-.49	(.80)
Paul Ryan thinks my view	-.25	(.67)
GOP view	-.35	(.64)
Tea Party view	-.11	(.52)
Democratic Party view	.20	(-.77)
Brother 2's view	.44	.49
Brother 1 thinks my view is	.59	-.56
Brother 1 would like my view	.52	-.48

#### **Factor A: Political Moderate/Libertarian View**

Factor A is defined by seven sorts: "Self view"; "Ideal view"; "The view my mother would like me to have"; "What my wife thinks my view is"; "What B2 thinks my view is"; "What B3 thinks my view is" and "What is a typical Libertarian Party view?" Factor A is pro-choice on the issue of abortion, supportive of same-sex marriage, in favor of separation of church and state and opposed to right-wing Christianity as it plays out in the political sphere. Factor A is also mildly critical of President Reagan and opposed to the GOP's stance on social issues. Support is given to comedian Chris Rock's position that on some issues he takes a liberal position and on others a conservative stance – essentially a call for political moderation. Throughout the interview, Cole lamented the degree to which our political system is polarized. Additionally, Factor A views the continuing US mission in Afghanistan as hopeless.



## +5 Statements:

42. A woman should have the choice as to whether or not to bring a child into the world. So, yeah, I'm pro-choice. (+5)
4. Same-sex couples should be allowed to get married. There's nothing wrong with that. (+5)

## +4 Statements

14. There definitely needs to be a separation of church and state. That far-right ultra-Christian viewpoint just scares the hell out of me. (+4)
13. I like George H. W. Bush. I thought he was a smarter version of Reagan. On the other hand, his son, George W. Bush was the worst president in history. (+4)

## +3 Statements

11. I agree with Chris Rock when he says, "Some of the things I'm liberal about, some of the things I'm conservative about." (+3)
37. Afghanistan is f'd upped and it's going to be f'd upped no matter what we do. You can't nation build there. (+3)
27. I think the GOP has to move away from getting into people's personal lives. They've got to get away from these ridiculous social issues. People hear this stuff and they get scared. (+3)

In examining the statements at the negative end of Factor A, there is consistency with the overall theme of the factor. Cole is rejecting that religion plays a central role in his life, that abortion is murder, that we can't leave Afghanistan without fulfilling our stated objectives, and that the Tea Party has been unfairly treated by the media (presumably because the Tea Party represents the type of political extremism being rejected in Factor A).

## -5 Statements

33. Religion is a very important part of my life. (-5)
41. I thought Jimmy Carter was a good president. He's gotten a bad rap. (-5)

## -4 Statements

9. Morally, I do have a problem with abortion. I think it's murder. (-4)
28. I think we need more government regulation of business in order to protect the public. (-4)

## -3 Statements

12. I think the Tea Party is being attacked unfairly by the media. (-3)
19. I'm pessimistic about the future of the country. It just seems like we will continue to lose freedoms from here on out. We are a far cry from what the Founders intended. (-3)
15. We can't leave Afghanistan until the Taliban and al Qaeda are completely destroyed. Otherwise, too many Americans died in vain. (-3)

Factor A represents a politically moderate, libertarian view that significantly is defined by the sorts associated with what Cole believes to be his view, an ideal view, and one that he believes his wife and his two surviving brothers think his view is, as

well as the view he believes his mother would like him to have. Within the family unit, Cole believes that he is well understood, owing no doubt to the primacy that he puts on familial relations. It is also worth noting that Cole, a self-described “conservative Republican,” has a positive loading for what he perceives to be a typical Democratic Party view on Factor A.

### **Factor B: Conservative Republican View**

Ten sorts define Factor B: “View my father would like me to have”; “B3’s view”; “View B2 would like me to have”; “View B3 would like me to have; “What Republican Senator Marco Rubio would think my view is”; “What Republican Senator Rick Santorum would think my view is”; “What Republican Representative Paul Ryan would think my view is”; “What is a typical GOP view?” and “What is a typical Tea Party view?” A typical Democratic Party view correlates negatively with Factor B.

Factor B is clearly a conservative Republican viewpoint. Rubio and Ryan were named by Cole in the interviews as emerging GOP leaders that he admired, ones he imagined could right the Republican ship. Santorum was included as he represents the evangelical, social conservative wing of the Party. This conservative Republican view is the one that Cole believes his father, B2 and B3 would like him to have. Cole sees himself as less conservative and less “Republican” than his father and surviving older brothers. In particular, B3 is seen as representative of the conservative Republican view. Recall that in the interviews, Cole distinguished between his surviving older brothers: “B2 is a fiscal conservative, while B3 is both a fiscal and social conservative.”

Factor B agrees that Democrats are driven by tax-and-spend policies, abortion is murder, Obama is a politician without substance who continues to blame his predecessor for his failures, Obamacare was a mistake, taxes should be raised only as a last resort, and religion is an important of my life. All and all, this is a pretty standard set of GOP issues in the election year of 2012. Note that Cole’s “Self” loading on Factor B is a mere .03, indicating little agreement with this point of view. And, while Cole’s perception of a typical Democratic Party view correlates at -.77 on Factor B, that view is moderately endorsed (.20) on Factor A, where Cole’s “elf view and his Ideal view are significantly loaded.

#### +5 Statements

26. When I see Democrats, I see them driven by leftist ideology. All they are interested in is raising taxes, so they can spend more and more. (+5)
9. Morally, I do have a problem with abortion. I think it’s murder. (+5)

#### +4 Statements

22. If you ask me, Obama is an empty suit. (+4)
3. I wish Obama would quit blaming Bush – he’s had 4 years to turn the economy around, and he done it. (+4)

#### +3 Statements

38. Religion is a very important part of my life. (+3)
36. Despite our problems with the debt, taxes should be raised only as a last resort. We need to cut spending first. (+3)
7. When Obama’s Health Care Law passed, that was a dark day. (+3)

The theme continues in those statements most disagreed with by Factor B. These statements show an opposition to choice on the issue of abortion, disagreement with the idea that the GOP is simply being obstructionist in their approach to President Obama's policies, opposition to a separation of church and state, disagreement that President Obama was "dealt a bad hand" when he assumed office, opposition to taxes being raised as part of a debt-reducing strategy and disagreement that Presidents Carter and Clinton were good leaders.

-5 Statements

42. A woman should have the choice as to whether or not to bring a child into the world. So, yeah, I'm pro-choice. (-5)
24. I thought Jimmy Carter was a good president. He's gotten a bad rap. (-5)

-4 Statements

8. The GOP has lost its way. They are purely obstructionist. It seems like the Republicans are trying to block everything that Obama's trying to do. (-4)
14. There definitely needs to be separation of Church and State. That far-right ultra Christian viewpoint just scares the hell out of me. (-4)

-3 Statements

17. Obama got dealt a bad hand and it takes a while to dig yourselves out of that. (-3)
30. I have a lot of respect for Bill Clinton. I thought he was a hell of a president. (-3)
5. The fact that you are trying to erase the debt without contemplating raising taxes is ludicrous. It's absolutely just stupidity. You can't do it. Somebody's got to pay for this. (-3)

Three sorts have mixed loadings: "B2's view," "What B1 would think my view is" and "What B1 would like my view to be." Cole sees B2 as less conservative than B3, and it makes sense that Cole's understanding of B2's view loads on both factors. Cole's view of sorts associated with B1's view is also mixed. However, it is clear that Cole sees B1 would want him to have a Factor A view and would think Cole does have a Factor A view.

The factor structure produced by Cole shows, again, Cole believes his family has a clear understanding of his view and that it is more politically moderate than his surviving elder brothers or his father would like him to have.

## Conclusions

This examination of Cole, as a specimen of the *administrator* type demonstrated congruence with Lasswell's theory. The in-depth interviews as well as the two-phased Q study showed evidence of Cole's strong familial attachments, which Lasswell contends make it difficult in "defining the role of the self" (1960, p. 151). The interviews provided evidence of Cole's attachments to his older brothers and their significant role as he was growing up.

In the first phase Q study, Cole revealed two selves: a *private* and a *public* self. The private self being defined by his relationship to significant others in his life. In the second phase Q study, which dealt with Cole's political views, again two factors were produced. The first was a politically moderate view (with Libertarian strains), with which Cole's own view was correlated, and the second was a Conservative GOP view

that Cole believed his surviving brothers and father would like him to have. When presented with the factor structure, Cole was typically reticent, though he did display mild disappointment that his view positively correlated with a Democratic Party viewpoint, while negatively correlating with a Republican Party view.

Geoffrey Gorer's study of the American character bears as well in this study of Cole. Whereas a connection was made in Part I to Phil's Factor C as having a feminine character, Cole's *administrator* personality, his career choices (military and business), as well as his attachments to his brothers indicate a masculine character:

The one major domain where the voices of the mother or the teacher – actual, or internalized – are seldom, if ever, heard is business and in activities which are thought to be part of business, such as a great deal of politics; this is because business is conceived as dealing primarily with things, and only incidentally with persons. The world of things is thought of as a peculiarly masculine domain, outside the realm of feminine morality. (Gorer, 1948, p. 60)

The studies of Phil and Cole provide further evidence of the power of Q methodology to study the individual case. The use of Q permitted deeper probes into the personality of both individuals, and the factor structures that emerge are real. These types of studies are useful beyond the examination of these particular individuals: "For purposes of study, virtually any mind can be selected with the confident expectation that it will prove to be lawful, that there are many others quite like it, and that an understanding of it will contribute to a deeper comprehension of the political and social fields in which it is suspended" (Brown, 1993/94, p. 46).

A further extension of the Cole study is underway, as B2 has agreed to participate in both a life history interview and subsequent Q-sorting under experimental conditions. This research is aimed at not only understanding B2's political personality, but also what can be learned about the role of family dynamics in its particular development.

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