

A STUDY OF SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC-POLITICAL
ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

APPROVED:

Harold Brenholtz
Major Professor

Joseph Lynn Kinsey
Minor Professor

G. A. Deam
Director of the Department of Education

L. A. Sharp
Chairman of the Graduate Council

A STUDY OF SOME FACTORS INFLUENCING THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC-POLITICAL
ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

THESIS

Presented to the Graduate Council of the North Texas State
Teachers College in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements

For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

By

Leo Seguin Hammett, B. A.

Denton, Texas

June, 1942

98749

98749

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION.....	1
II. VARIOUS STUDIES OF THE ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS.....	3
III. SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RADICALS.....	51
IV. CONCLUSION.....	45
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	53

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem of this thesis is to show the relationship between liberalism, radicalism, conservatism and certain associated factors. The importance of such an investigation is that, as many social scientists claim, it is necessary to understand the formative influences which determine the social attitudes of the individual if we intend to improve the society in which we live. It is their belief that open-minded and progressive attitudes are conducive to the promotion of the general welfare and to the elimination of the present serious maladjustments in society. This thesis should reveal what our colleges are accomplishing, in this respect.

Murphy and Likert's investigation, Public Opinion and the Individual, represents the nearest approach to a comprehensive survey of student attitudes that this writer has any knowledge of. It is especially related to this study in that it utilizes both quantitative and qualitative data. Yet, unlike this study, it makes no extensive inquiry into the psychological motivation of liberals and radicals.

This thesis is based upon the results of qualitative and quantitative tests of numerous investigators. It is intended to compare the results of these two types of tests. To this end, various important reports on the measurement of the attitudes of college students are summarized.

Attempting to find out how the results of testing with C. Robert Pace's Situations-Response Survey would compare with those obtained by other investigations using ordinary quantitative tests, this writer administered the revised form to 92 undergraduates at the North Texas State Teachers College.

So far as the psychological mainsprings of liberalism, radicalism, and conservatism are concerned, he has endeavored to determine how they are related to environmental forces acting upon the individual to condition his responses. He also seeks to differentiate between liberalism, radicalism, and conservatism as social philosophies.

CHAPTER II

VARIOUS STUDIES OF THE ATTITUDES OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

The aim of this Chapter is to summarize the results of certain investigations of the attitude of college students to determine

1. The specificity of attitudes
2. Effect of propoganda on attitudes
3. Differences in certain attitudes of male and female
4. Effect of four years of college work on students' attitudes
5. Effect on attitudes of taking certain courses
6. The relationship between liberalism and intelligence
7. The religiosity of liberals as compared with that of conservatives
8. The relationship between the size of the community in which students are reared and their liberalism.

In this instance we wish to find whether there is much agreement between the results which different psychologists have obtained by testing.

Vernon Jones, Clark University, made a follow-up study of the conservatism-liberalism in attitudes of college students in certain fields.¹ The attitudes which he selected for investigation were

¹V. A. Jones, "Attitudes of College Students and Changes in Such Attitudes During Four Years in College," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXIX (January, 1938), 14-25, (February, 1938), 114-134.

attitude toward war, attitude toward race, attitude toward religion, and attitude toward the church. The main questions which Jones tried to answer are (1) What changes take place in conservatism-liberalism in attitudes of students between freshman and senior years in college? (2) What is the relation of such factors as intelligence, major subject, political preference, and religious affiliation to attitudes and changes in attitudes? (3) What degree of consistency do students show in their conservatism or liberalism in attitude in different fields, and how is this related to the problem of specificity or generality in the psychological organization of attitudes?

The first results to be presented are those on the follow-up study of two classes over four years of college. The whole freshman class of 1930 and of 1931 were tested at the time of enrollment on the five attitude scales. At the end of the senior year all students of each of these classes who were still in college were retested. The total number of freshmen in the two classes combined was one hundred four. The measuring instruments used were five of the attitude scales edited by Thurstone.

This investigation showed a change in positive direction in every attitude except that toward the Negro. Since students of this college do not come in direct contact with the race problem in which Negroes and Whites are involved, the fact that practically no change is indicated is not surprising.

In the case of all other attitudes, however, the differences were in the direction of liberalism and were in every case statistically reliable. This consistent trend toward the liberal end of the scales in attitudes toward war, religion, and the church indicates that

four years of life in college has some consistent influence on certain attitudes which are not directly taught. That attitudes can be altered by direct propaganda has been proved many times, but changes toward liberalism in certain attitudes have not been shown heretofore as resulting from four years of college life by following the same students over this period.

The distribution of scores in each attitude was continuous in nature and the range was wide. Nothing, perhaps, could indicate more clearly the incorrectness of the statement that the typical attitude of college students is this or that. At least with regard to attitudes toward war, the Negro, religion, and the church, it may be said there is no one typical attitude in the same sense that a large percentage have the same attitude. Attitudes on these questions range on a continuum from the ultra conservative to the ultra liberal end, with the number of students who subscribe to statements at different points increasing as the extremes are left and the middle ranges neared.

Also, the distributions show very vividly the amount of overlapping between freshmen and seniors in each attitude. Each of the senior distributions, except that of attitude toward the Negro, is shifted somewhat toward the liberal end of the scale as compared with the freshmen, but there are few opinions held by any members of the senior class which are not held by some freshman. More striking than the differences between the freshman and senior distributions is the width of the spread within each class. It is evident that the seniors as a group do not differ nearly so much from the freshmen as a group

as the most conservative members of either class differ from the most radical members of that class.

The changes in attitude toward war, religion, and the church were statistically reliable but were very small. The changes in attitude, far from being as drastic as the transition from militarism to pacifism or from fundamentalism to atheism, were only changes from moderate liberalism to a little more liberalism.

A tendency was found for high intelligence and liberal attitudes to go together on the average but the r 's were low in the case of all attitudes studied.

The median of the eight r 's computed between intelligence and war was .03 and the median of seventeen r 's between intelligence and religion and the church was .15. Correlations were computed separately for Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish groups and these were noticeably lower on the average than the r 's based on the composite group. All these r 's demonstrate the futility of trying to predict the conservatism or liberalism of students from their intelligence scores, at least in relation to the attitudes here studied. They also point to the fallacy in attempting to judge the intelligence of an individual on the basis of the degree of conservatism, liberalism, or radicalism which he manifests.

On the study of conservatism and liberalism of attitude among students of different major subjects no very large differences were found. However, at the end of the senior year the natural science majors were the most liberal on the average and the history-geography

majors the most conservative. The attitudes of the English-language and the economics-sociology majors were in the middle ranges between these two. In addition, with respect to the change in liberalism between freshmen and senior years the natural science majors were highest and the history-geography group was the lowest.

Of the four political parties studied the Socialist-Communist was the most liberal or radical on every attitude studied. There was no consistent tendency for any of the others (Democratic, Independent, and Republican) to be more conservative or liberal than the rest. A great deal of overlapping was found between members of all these political parties in attitude toward each issue studied. Furthermore, there was a great deal of unevenness in the average student's position on the conservative-radical scale from attitude to attitude. This led to the generalization that a person belonging to a political party or other organization which is radical or conservative in attitude toward one group of problems (for instance, economic), will not necessarily be likewise radical or conservative toward other problems.

In comparing the students of different church affiliations (Protestant, Catholic, Jewish) it was found that the Jews were the most liberal in every attitude studied. The Catholic group was the most conservative in seven out of ten comparisons. If only war, religion, and the church are considered, this group was the most conservative in seven out of eight comparisons. The largest differences among the three groups were found in attitude toward religion and the church.

In the case of both the religious and the political groups a negative relation was found between status and change scores. That is to say, those groups which were most liberal at a given time, say as freshmen, changed in the direction of liberalism least during four years in college. Possibly a reason for this is that the total group of which a student is a part retards any changes toward liberalism or radicalism if he is far above the mean of the group and may accelerate such changes if he is far below the mean. Furthermore, the liberal or radical student may receive through his reading and class instruction less stimulation to change than does the conservative student because he may be up to or beyond the point of view represented in most of his instruction.

In the study of the intercorrelations among the different attitudes it was found that the r 's among attitudes in different fields like war, race, and religion, were positive but small, averaging .15 for freshmen and .31 for seniors, whereas the r 's among the three different attitude scales based on the field of religion and the church were considerably higher, averaging .75 for the freshmen and .82 for the seniors. These intercorrelations, especially those among different fields contravenes the argument that radicalism or conservatism acts as a strong general factor causing the individual to be an all-around radical or an all-around conservative. On the contrary, it appears that individuals are radical and conservative in "spots." Of course, on the average, one individual stands higher on the conservative-liberal continuum than another, but the process of averaging conceals the marked variation on the conservative-liberal continuum as he is measured from attitude to attitude.

The results of this study have definite bearing upon the specificity-generality problem concerning the mental organization involved in attitudes. In the light of these findings it appears that both specificity and generality must be thought of as matters of degree. Among "fields" as different as religion, race, and war there is a high degree of specificity in conservatism or liberalism; on the other hand, among different measures of attitude in the field of religion and the church there is a relatively high degree of generality and consequently a low degree of specificity. Therefore, we may say that attitudes are organized somewhat like clusters or constellations with hazy boundaries and that within a given cluster the intercorrelations among measures of conservatism-liberalism are high, showing much consistency, but that among different clusters there may be much or practically no consistency.

The degree to which attitudes are specific is one of the unexpected findings of this study. The liberalism or conservatism of a student in one field does not spread much or transfer to another. In order to increase the degree of generality of attitudes and conduct of students, teachers must direct the education toward generalization.

In this study² opinions of 12 groups of under-graduate students in Washington Square College of New York University were measured by means of four attitude scales, relating to attitude toward war, attitude toward the distribution of wealth, attitude toward birth control, and attitude toward the existence of God. Data on each of the four topics

²W. H. Wilke, "Student opinion in relation to Age, Sex, and General Radicalism," Journal of Social Psychology, VII (May, 1936), 244-248.

were obtained from about half of the total number of subjects.

The average age of the subjects was 20.3 years, with a standard deviation of 3.2 years.

Correlations between age and radicalism as measured by these tests are statistically insignificant. It is obvious that radicalism as measured by these scales has no significant relation to age so far as attitude toward birth control, or toward the distribution of wealth, or toward belief in God is concerned.

An attempt was made to determine whether there is any correlation between stability of opinion and age by studying the effect of propaganda, administered by three different techniques, upon the attitudes of the subjects in relation to their age.

In general no uniform trend of relationship exists in connection with any particular scale. It may be significant that the highest average correlation occurred in the case of the presentation technique (speaker), found to be most effective in changing attitudes, although the large sampling errors for groups of this size should not be overlooked. The fact that this relationship is negative indicates a decreased influence of the propaganda with increasing age. This finding corresponds with Marple's results.³

Another possible relation between age and effect of propaganda may be studied by observing changes in attitude scale scores with regard only to the size of the change, and not the direction (whether in accord with or contrary to the propaganda). This measure of

³ C. H. Marple, "Comparative Susceptibility of Three Age Levels to Suggestion of Groups Versus Expert Opinion", Journal of Social Psychology, IV (May, 1933), 176-186.

instability produced by the propaganda, but not of susceptibility to propaganda, showed no significant correlation with age.

Since several investigators have found women to be more inclined to conservatism on the average than men, it is worthwhile to note that in this group of subjects a greater average radicalism among women in the case of all four attitude scales was found. No obvious selective factor which might have been responsible for this reversal appears, because the subjects were following the general curriculum and represented a random selection of students.

With respect to the instability of opinion of men and women, no trend indicative of sex differences was found.

Considering a high score to represent this extreme of the attitude continuum for each scale, positive correlations were found to exist between radicalism on one topic and radicalism on another. Similar positive relationships between radicalism or conservatism on several topics has been found by Likert and Carlson.⁴ A comparison of their data is revealing since four of the five attitude scales used were closely similar in content to the four used in the present investigation. Such a comparison indicates a close agreement in size and range of the six correlation coefficients demonstrating the relationship between these four scales.

The specific purpose of Fay and Middleton's study⁵ is to find out

⁴R. Likert and O. Carlson, "A Technique for Measurement of Attitudes," Archives of Psychology, No. 140 (1932).

⁵P. J. Fay and W. C. Middleton, "Certain Factors Related to Liberal and Conservative Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (May, 1939), 378-390.

to what extent certain factors with which colleges are especially concerned are related to the liberal and conservative attitudes of college students. The study is part of a larger investigation which the authors were making in an effort to discover some factors that may be involved in the genesis and conditioning of attitudes.

Five of the Thurstone, et. al., scales for the measurement of social attitudes were used. Form A of each of the scales measuring attitudes toward Communism, Patriotism, the United States Constitution, Law, and Censorship. The five scales were clipped together with a personal history questionnaire. The subjects were five hundred seventy-five students of De Paul University.

The conclusions to be drawn from the present study, which may be applied only to the subjects included in the study, may be summarized thus:

(1) There is a tendency for college men to be more liberal than college women in their attitude toward communism, the United States Constitution, law, and censorship; the greatest sex difference in liberalism is encountered in attitude toward communism.

(2) A small but consistent increase from freshman to senior year in liberalism in all five attitudes was found to take place; the differences between the attitudes of freshmen and seniors are statistically reliable.

(3) Unorganized students evidence much more toleration toward communism than do fraternity members or pledges; in the other four attitudes only slight differences between members and non-members of fraternities were found.

(4) In the five attitudes studied, students who major in

philosophy, Bible, and the sciences, appeared to be the most liberal of any groups of majors.

(5) In all the five attitudes studied students who major in home economics, art, and music seem to be the most conservative.

(6) In general, groups of students are fairly consistent in their liberalism or conservatism within their major field in all five attitudes investigated.

(7) The students appear to vary most in their attitude toward censorship and least in their attitude toward law.

Beldt and Stroud using Harper's test of Social Beliefs and Attitudes tested seven hundred thirty-eight college students of the Kansas State Teachers College at Emporia.⁶ The subjects were selected at random, and the number of subjects was large enough to secure an adequate sampling. The average test score was computed for each of the five classes--freshmen to graduate.

Results show a definite relationship between the number of hours work taken in the social sciences and the scores on the test; at the same time the factor of the number of years of college training holds constant. Thus it appears from this investigation that the attitudes of the college students tested became more liberal, partly on account of their training, toward the issues involved in the test. Not age or maturity but the influence of college life seems to have caused the change manifested. This interpretation is justified by the fact that the amount of change in these attitudes from one class level to another

⁶W. J. Beldt and J. B. Stroud, "Changes in the Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXV (November, 1934), 611-619.

is a function of the particular academic courses taken; for there is a direct relationship between the extent of change in attitudes and the number of hours work completed in these subjects.

Carlson⁷ made a report of a study of (1) attitudes of senior students in the University of Chicago toward prohibition, God, Pacifism, communism, and birth control, (2) the relation between intelligence of undergraduates and their attitudes with respect to these questions, and (3) the interrelation of these attitudes. A fourth phase of the study was to find out whether the undergraduates in different branches of the study varied markedly in their attitude toward these social questions. The attitude scales used were developed by professor L. Y. Thurstone and associates.

The author drew the following conclusions from this investigation (1) Seniors in the University of Chicago, on the average, are opposed to prohibition, favorable toward pacifism and birth control, and neutral toward communism and God.

(2) Undergraduate women, as a whole, are more sympathetic toward prohibition and have a stronger belief in the existence of God than do undergraduate men. Still, the two sexes do not differ markedly in their attitude toward pacifism, communism, and birth control.

(3) Undergraduates in social sciences seem to be slightly more sympathetic toward communism and pacifism than are undergraduates in physical sciences. The results afford some evidence that students in social sciences are more liberal in their attitudes toward social questions than are students in physical sciences.

(4) Of the undergraduates in the three major religious groups,

⁷H. B. Carlson, "Attitudes of Undergraduate Students," Journal of Social Psychology, V (May, 1934), 203-213.

Jewish, Protestant, and Catholic, Jewish students are most liberal with respect to the attitudes here in question. Catholic students were found to be least liberal, except toward prohibition, in which case Protestant undergraduates are least liberal.

(5) Intelligence is not correlated with attitude toward prohibition, but a positive correlation exists between intelligence and favorable attitudes towards communism, birth control, pacifism, and atheism.

(6) The intercorrelations of attitudes justify the assumption that an individual who is liberal in one of these issues is more likely to be liberal than to be conservative on another of these issues.

(7) It appears that three factors produced the intercorrelations of attitudes.

(8) An analysis of these factors from the psychological standpoint points to an intelligence factor, a general radical-conservative factor, and a religious factor.

Harris, Remmers, and Ellison administered Harper's "Social Study" and gave a questionnaire to three hundred and seven student members of the elementary psychology course at Purdue University, mainly sophomores.⁸

These investigators state that they found suggestive relationships and lack of relationships between factors of liberalism.

(1) The mean score for three hundred and seven students was high enough to indicate that Purdue sophomores were, relatively speaking, fairly liberal. However, their general viewpoint must be considered anti-socialistic.

⁸BA. J. Harris, et al., "The Relation Between Liberal and Conservative Attitudes in College Students and Other Factors," Journal of Social Psychology, II (May, 1931), 168-178.

(2) All of these results indicate a slight relationship between intelligence and liberalism, and arouse the suspicion that factors other than intelligence are of primary importance in causing a liberal attitude.

(3) Apparently a slight relation exist between self-estimates of liberalism and liberalism scores. However, a student's opinion of his own liberalism would not be a reliable index of liberalism. There is no appreciable difference in the ability of the two sexes in this connection.

(4) Liberals tend to be less religious, this tendency being more marked in men than in women. Those who fail to attend church are more liberal than those who attend at all, and considerably more liberal than those who attend regularly. Differences between the various religious denominations represented in this study were so slight as to be insignificant. Those having no church preference were much more liberal than those having a preference for some church. Men who believed in evolution were a good deal more liberal than those who did not, and women showed the same tendency, though not to so high a degree as the men. Those men who had lost some degree of confidence in religion since entering high school seemed to be more liberal than those who had gained confidence in religion. This tendency was stronger in the case of the women. Men who had had no religious affiliation since entering high school were more liberal than those who had been affiliated with the same denomination and had experienced a change in faith since enrolling in high school. Change from one denomination to another apparently had practically no relation to liberalism.

(5) There were no systematic differences between the two major parties in regard to liberalism. Those who had no political preference were more liberal than those who had one. Those who disagreed with their father's political beliefs tended to be more liberal. The women showed a greater difference in this connection than did the men. Allport reported the same tendency in his study. Practically no correlation exists between the size of home town and liberalism. The correlation between percentage of expenses earned and liberalism was almost nothing. Noticeable but unreliable differences in liberalism were found when students were grouped according to the occupation of their fathers. A class in sociology was ascertained to be more liberal than the elementary psychology class. This points to the fundamental importance of school training in moulding public opinion and confirms the findings arrived at by Harper as to the importance of certain kinds of education.

With regard to sex differences it was found that men are a bit more liberal, that only two women out of the hundred and thirty never attended church. A lower r was found for women than for men. In the case of women there is a lower r between belief in evolution and liberalism. In the case of women there is a lower r between intelligence and liberalism. There is a greater difference between those women who disagree with their father's politics and those who do not than there is in the case of men in the same category. All this indicates that women are ruled by parental and public opinion much more than are men. This is hardly perceptible in their ideas, which this study has showed to be only slightly less liberal than those of

men, but rather in their lack of outward manifestation of liberalism, in other words, in outward conformance to convention.

Garrison⁹ administered a modification of the attitude scale developed by Vetter to psychology and sociology classes at North Carolina State College. The items contained in the test are as follows:

1. "Government ownership"
2. "The confiscation of wealth"
3. "Protective tariff"
4. "Hereditary wealth"
5. "Political parties"
6. "Social limitations in mating"
7. "The question of birth control"
8. "The legality of abortions"
9. "The question of divorce"
10. "Attitude toward incest"
11. "Attitude toward attempts at social progress"
12. "Academic freedom"
13. "Freedom of Speech"
14. "Conscription for military service"
15. "The socialization of medical care"
16. "Equality of income"
17. "Compulsory Education"

⁹ K. C. Garrison, "Study of Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Social Psychology, VIII (November, 1937), 490-494.

18. "Powers of the Supreme Court"
19. "Religion and Science"
20. "The American Constitution"
21. "Respect for Tradition"
22. "The Church"
23. "The Powers of labor organizations"
24. "The recognition of Russia"
25. "The Naval Armament"
26. "War"
27. "Miscegnation"
28. "Immigration"
29. "International Alliances"
30. "White Supremacy"

Altogether, the test was given to fifty-two freshmen, eighteen sophomores, thirty-six juniors, and sixty-four seniors. The results for the tests were so arranged that a check of one pointed to a very conservative attitude while a check of five indicated a very liberal attitude.

This should furnish a reliable estimate of the attitudes of North Carolina college students because 80 per cent of the student body is from North Carolina.

Tabulation of the results showed that there was an extreme amount of conservatism with respect to the Supreme Court, the American Constitution, and the church. These results also indicate that seniors are more liberal than freshmen.

Face summarizes the progress made in the construction of attitude

tests and advocates a new method in a recent magazine article.¹⁰

The following paragraphs are devoted to his main ideas.

From the beginning Thurstone has been the dominant figure in the field of attitude testing. His technique of equal appearing intervals is widely used. However, this is a difficult and complex way of constructing a test.

Likert's simplified five step opinion scales and his studies showing the comparability of arbitrary scale scores and sigma scores avoid the complexity of Thurstone's methods successfully.

Remmers generalized scales make possible the employment of a single scale to measure attitude toward any member of a group of related topics.

The method of paired comparisons is more complex than the method of equal appearing intervals.

The "Yes-or no" or "Agree or disagree" tests are crude, for they can measure only a limited range of attitude. The subjects must arrive at arbitrary decisions.

But the fundamental criticism of attitude tests is not due to an objection to technique. The main objection is that they are not valid. Almost without exception opinions or beliefs have been singled out as a valid index of measurement. Pace does not believe that opinions are the most valid index of attitudes. Not what a person says he believes, but what he says he would do in variety of specific situations is the better indicator of attitude.

¹⁰
C. Robert Pace, "Situations Test to Measure Social-Political-Economic Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, X (August, 1939), 331-344.

One justifiable objection to many opinion scales is the vagueness and generality of the statements. Abstractions with which the individual is unfamiliar make it hard for him to answer intelligently and truthfully.

In fact many people who claim to hold liberal opinions fail for one reason or another to engage in liberal activities to hasten social change. From the standpoint of producing social changes it is necessary to know what people will do rather than what they believe.

A situations-response survey has the advantage of making it more difficult for the subject to view the test as a whole and, consequently, more difficult to be intentionally consistent from one situation to another. Therefore, his response becomes less intellectualized.

The above criticisms show the need for simpler, more indirect, more concrete, and less obvious methods of measuring attitudes.

Stagner's scale to measure fascist attitudes is a great improvement in these respects. Its value was established by Cook and Raskin.¹¹ They found that although many subjects held fascist opinions, they rejected the name "fascist."

The situations-response survey was constructed to measure general social-political-economic liberalism or conservatism by questioning students as to what they would do in a variety of specific situations. As employed here, the term liberalism means agreement

11

S. Cook, and E. Raskin, "Proceedings of the American Psychological Association," Minneapolis, 1937.

with the broad socio-economic objectives of the New Deal, Farm Labor, and Progressive parties, and with editorials and articles in the Nation and New Republic. Conservative means agreement with the policies of the traditional republican party and with those known as "liberty leaguers" or "economic royalists."

The writings and partisans of both sides and the observation of nationally known liberals and conservatives furnished many issues on which liberals and conservatives differed. A test of forty-three such situations with from four to seven ways of reacting was given an experimental analysis.

Ten judges, familiar with test techniques and the social sciences, placed a value on the responses to each situation. Five situations had to be eliminated owing to complete lack of agreement among the judges. After several minor revisions as a result of the judge's rankings, thirty-eight useful situations remained.

If such a test is valid it should, as a whole, and in its individual items show noteworthy differences in the responses of people known to be radicals and those known to be conservatives. Accordingly, the test was administered to a group of twenty-five known radicals and twenty-five known conservatives. These two groups were essentially and significantly different in their view points and activities toward social-political-economic issues.

In order to compare the responses of the two groups statistically, simple scoring weights were assigned. Following the judges ranking, Pace assigned a weight of one to the most conservative response, a score of two to the next most conservative response and so on, the

most radical response being given the highest value. The total score on the test is obtained by averaging the numerical values on each of the situations. The highest possible score was 5.342; the lowest was 1.000; and the middle score was 3.171.

Scores for the group of radicals ranged from 5.097 to 3.816 with an average of 4.502. For the conservatives the scores ranged from 3.139 to 2.211 with the average at 2.794. The critical ratio between these two averages is 18.98. That means that two contrasting groups, selected on the basis of known facts about their behavior, made significantly different scores on this test.

Both the total score and the score on each situation in the test were found to discriminate significantly between the responses of radicals and conservatives. The critical ratio of 3.00 was taken to indicate a significant difference, and on this basis only situations 1, 15, and 35 fell below the criterion. The final test comprised 30 situations all of which discriminated significantly between the responses of known radicals and known conservatives. Using the Chi-square test, Pace tested the two distributions to see whether they were independent or due to random sampling, and found only situations 2 and 35 to be non-discriminating.

The final test was made up of situations which involved free speech, cooperatives, strikes, labor unions, war, taxes, utilities, profits, political parties, philanthropy. The situations were mixed up to prevent the subjects from getting any mental set.

Pace states that the "Situation Response Survey" will also differentiate adequately within a single and relatively homogeneous

group. The ability of each item to discriminate between the responses of high (liberal) and low (conservative) quartiles of 100 cases drawn at random from a homogeneous group was ascertained. Twenty-two items had critical ratios greater than 2.00. Therefore, if the criterion of significance is set at 2.00, chances are ninety-five in a hundred that the differences obtained are true.

The validity of the test was further proved by comparing it with the Economic-Conservatism section of the Rundquist-Sletto Scales for the Survey of Opinions. The correlation between the tests was .56. This interrelationship demonstrates that the tests are measuring similar attitudes.

A second form of the Situations-Response Survey was also devised. It comprised 30 situations analogous to those in the first form. Each situation listed five possible ways of reacting. The test was prepared in final form without any experimental analysis.

Seventy-six students in the General College social problems class took both Form 1 and Form 2. Students in the high and low quartiles on Form 1 (the validity of which had already been proved) were chosen. Next an analysis of the differentiating ability of Form 2 was made by using these cases. Ten of the items here found to have critical ratios of 3.00 or more between scores of high and low quartiles. Eleven items had ratios above 1.00. Only those items proved to have no discriminating ability. As a consequence, the value of Form 2 is established. This fact is significant because the test was not constructed by experimental trial.

The reliability of the test which was first constructed was

about .80. A second equivalent form had a reliability around .70. The raw correlation between the two forms was .70. This test is valid and reliable enough for ordinary classroom use.

The writer administered the Revised Form of C. Robert Pace's Situations-Response Survey to 92 undergraduate students at the North Texas State Teachers College. All the subjects were taken from courses in education, because it seemed to the writer that, since all students in this institution are required to take education courses, the members of such classes would constitute a representative sampling of the entire undergraduate student body.

The freshman and senior classes were each represented by 46 subjects, of which 23 were males and 23 females.

The following information blank was appended to the test to secure certain personal data:

Please fill in the following blanks:

1. Classification _____
2. Political preference _____
3. Church or denomination preferred _____
4. Occupation of father _____
5. Sex _____

In which of the following have you spent the most years before coming to College.

(Please check):

- _____ 1. City with 25,000 to 200,000 people.
- _____ 2. City or town with 5,000 to 25,000 people.
- _____ 3. Town with less than 5,000 people.
- _____ 4. On a farm.

Average scores made in the investigation are given below:

1. Classification	Average Score
Freshmen	2.43
Seniors	2.90

In reply to the question of political affiliation, all the subjects claimed to be Democrats; therefore a comparison could not be made in this connection.

2. Church or denomination preferred	Average Score
Presbyterian	2.72
Baptist	2.65
Methodist	2.63
Church of Christ	2.61

A correlation of $-.33$ was obtained between liberalism of the student and the occupational status of the father.

3. Size of Town	Average Score
25,000 to 200,000	2.67
5,000 to 25,000	2.66
Less than 5,000	2.64
Farm	2.68

4. Sex	Average Score
Male	2.72
Female	2.58

The relation between classification and liberalism here appears significant, and is in accord with the results of numerous other investigations to determine whether four years of college life ordinarily has any effect on the liberalism of the

student. The higher average score of the seniors would lead one to believe there is a small increase in liberalism on the part of the students of this college during four years here.

From the average score made one may be justified in saying the Presbyterians are apparently a bit more liberal in this case than students with any other denominational preference.

It was not surprising to obtain a correlation of $-.33$ between the liberalism of the student and the occupational status of his father. The correlation of $-.33$, to be sure, is not statistically reliable, but it indicates something which many investigators of students' attitudes think is present---an inverse relationship between the student's liberalism and the occupational status of his father. In other words, the better the economic position of the father (and consequently the better that of the student), the more conservative the student is likely to be.

No appreciable difference exists between the average score of students coming from communities of varying sizes. The greatest difference in average score in this case is between students coming from towns of less than 5,000 and those coming from farms, and that is only $.04$. This indicates that size of community has no influence on the attitudes here measured.

The average score of the females taking this test was $.14$ less than the average score of males. Hence we should suppose the men are a bit more liberal. This finding agrees with the reports of many other investigators, some of which I have previously summarized in this chapter.

The measurement of verbal opinions are of little practical value

unless the behavior of the subject corresponds to the opinions expressed by him. Many sociologists and psychologists are in agreement on this point. For they say that a social attitude of a particular sort predisposes a person to behave in a particular way.

In accordance with this general agreement as to what an attitude is, we must say that one criterion of the validity of a social attitude questionnaire is the relationship between questionnaire scores and actual behavior. The value of social attitude questionnaires lies chiefly in possible predictions of overt behavior.

But investigators who have developed the social attitude scales have been mainly concerned with reliability rather than validity. Consequently, very reliable instruments called attitude scales are often employed in psychological and sociological investigations on the mere assumption that a positive relationship exists between verbal and overt behavior. . . .but that relationship must be determined if the study is to be worthwhile.

The subjects of Corey's investigation¹² were sixty-seven university students taking a course in educational psychology. The attitude questionnaire used was designed somewhat after the Thurstone technique with modifications advocated by Seasore and Hevner.

Each Friday for five weeks, an objective true-false test was given covering the week's work. The papers were given back to the students for grading at the next class meeting. Meanwhile they had been scored accurately but no marks were left on them. The difference between the true score and the score the student reported for himself constituted

¹² S. M. Corey, "Professed Attitudes and Actual Behavior," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXVIII (April, 1937), 271-280.

the basic index of cheating.

The results of this study show that overt behavior, as measured by the amounts students will change their test papers if allowed to do their own grading, is not related to attitudinal scores obtained from a very reliable questionnaire measuring verbal opinions toward cheating on an examination.

The main reason why Pace constructed the situations-response survey, must have been his belief that there is not a valid relationship between opinions expressed when an ordinary attitudes test is taken and what a student would do in a specific situation.

The writer believes that Pace's instrument of measurement may be superior for its purpose to any other thus far designed. But he is also of the opinion that it is impossible for a student to know exactly what he will do in a specific situation. This is true because the factors which determine behavior in any given situation are numerous and variable. This writer has little hope that an attitude scale can ever be devised which can measure overt behavior by securing the expression of verbal opinions.

The conclusions reached by the majority of the investigations which have been summarized in this chapter are consistent and not contradictory, though a variety of measuring instruments were used. For that reason the writer feels justified in saying that a reliable basis exists for the following statements:

1. Attitudes are specific in nature, but these may be some transfer in fields which are closely related.
2. The effect of propoganda on attitudes decreases with increasing age.

3. Men are more liberal than women in regard to most of the social attitudes investigated.

4. There seems to be a small but consistent increase in liberalism of student attitude during four years of college life.

5. College courses on a particular subject tend to change student attitudes toward that subject in the direction of greater liberalism.

6. There is a slight positive correlation, if any, between liberalism and intelligence.

7. On the whole, liberals tend to be less religious than conservatives.

8. The liberalism of college students is in inverse relation to the economic status of their fathers.

9. No significant relationship exists between the size of community in which the student was reared and liberalism in attitude.

The Revised Form of G. Robert Pace's Situations-Response Survey appears to be no more valid than some other quantitative measuring devices. For the most part, the results obtained by this writer, employing that test, corresponded with those of other investigators of the same problems who had used other quantitative tests.

CHAPTER III

SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RADICALS

The purpose of this chapter is to inquire into the causes of radicalism and to enumerate some of the specific characteristics of radicals. In pursuance of this object it will be necessary to summarize some of the few important investigations that have utilized qualitative tests to determine specific influences in the individual's life.

The chief value of this type of test, in the estimation of this writer, is that it should get at specific influences in the development of personality. Specific experiences of a significant nature can often be remembered by the subject.

The qualitative test has undergone a period of development, roughly speaking, of a decade and a half. Its main objective has been to show the effect of the emotional set upon behavior patterns.

In his article on the study of social and political opinions Votter cites several experimental studies of personality characteristics or factors in political or social opinions.¹

According to him, Moore, making an extensive study of the life and writings of Shelley, believed he found evidences that the poet's emotional turbulence was due to a resentment and rebellion against

¹George Votter, "The Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes and the Related Personality Factors," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXV (1930), 148-159.

his father. Of course, we now know that single causation theories such as this are erroneous.

Goldman, from a long and intimate acquaintance with the noted anarchist, Johann Most was able to formulate a quite convincing analysis of the developmental factors in his life. Here the inferiority complex appears. Disfigured by a facial infection, harshly treated by his stepmother, abused in a cruel apprenticeship, a victim of the worst abuses of the industrial revolution, Most still reacted in a more refined way than might reasonably be expected.

A statement about Trumborg's study of the ecological and economic bases of political attitudes was also given. After examining the tax rolls of registration statistics in several voting districts in the middle west, he drew the following conclusions: (1) The radical is free from the traditional social ties produced by education, culture, or personality, (2) The radical is generally the person who is socially and economically insecure, (3) Radicals are more numerous in new and undeveloped communities because the conditions of life are more difficult. He concludes that ecological factors outweigh innate personality factors.

That insecurity of one sort or another is a potent cause of radicalism is a reasonable supposition.

Moore (1926) originated an experimental study² in which he found no difference in emotional stability, intelligence or learning ability of radicals or conservatives, but found reliable differences

²H. T. Moore, "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XX (1925), 234-244.

in speed of reaction, ease of breaking habits, readiness in making quick decisions, and independence in the face of majority influence.

Lasswell (1930) made the first clinico-methodological study³ of radicals and conservatives, in which he proved that the understanding of radical behavior and leadership requires insight into motives that are hidden beneath the conventional verbal level and require a protracted method of analysis.

The definition of radicalism, the question of what testing procedure should secure the most reliable results, and the differential classification of radicals and non-radicals seems to have been the most difficult problem for investigators for a decade and a half. Krout's study⁴ differs from previous studies of radicals in several respects. The necessity for differential diagnosis was eliminated by the selection of experimental subjects who belonged to organized radical groups. He was not here concerned with the problem of ability, but with the problem of behavior patterns. Standardized test forms were replaced by a descriptive schedule calling for objective responses. The radicals were divided into sex groups and compared with control groups of non-radical tendencies. The main problem of this study, however, was to find answers to the two questions, Are there specific factors which have a determining

³H. D. Lasswell, Psychopathology and Politics, XVIII, 364.

⁴M. H. Krout and R. Stagner, "Personality Development in Radicals", Sociometry, II (January, 1939), 31-46.

influence on the development of radical personalities? If so, is it possible to isolate them and to distinguish them quantitatively from the analogous trends in non-radical types of personality?

A resume of the conclusions arrived at by Krout is set forth in the following paragraphs:

The kind of punishment employed in the family milieu is one of the most influential factors in the development of personality. Both in male and female radicals a greater probability of punishment through nagging, ridicule, or reproach instead of corporal punishment exists. Corporal punishment was encountered in the case of non-radicals to the same extent that the lack of it was encountered in the case of radicals.

The effect of such verbal and social restraints in conditioning inferiorities, fears, and powerful repressions, is commonly accepted as a fact; it is quite obvious in the case of these subjects. The anxieties created by parent relationships, aggressions arising from discrimination and rejection, and attitudes of insecurity caused by the repeated frustration of effort-----all these may engender tensions which are resolved by radical activity.

Male radicals are more prone to lose objects than are the controls. Female radicals show a dominant tendency to forget dates and time, and male radicals show a fairly marked tendency to forget names.

Another important discovery of this investigation is that male radicals (but not the females) have fewer intimate friends than their controls. Possibly the reason for this is the inclination to attach

themselves to persons who are either older or younger than themselves. The lack of associates of similar age indicates a faulty family structure where children of like age are not present.

Of equal importance are the compulsive trends of the subjects. The compulsion to set fire to something characterizes both male and female radicals. Female radicals also evidence a tendency to appropriate articles not belonging to them. Male radicals demonstrate a comparatively greater tendency to talk in their sleep. All these findings bear witness to the presence of trends in substitute expression of inhibited impulses.

The data which has been presented in this summary show that aggression was repressed. This brings us to the question of whether radicals assume an aggressive or a passive attitude toward the physical world. When the play habits and achievement of the subjects were analyzed, rather striking differences were found. Male radicals are comparatively uninterested in social games, and this may mean that they are less sociable. Nor are male radicals as interested in athletics as are the controls. They seem to be most envious of those who are intellectually or scientifically outstanding rather than those who are athletically, politically, or socially successful.

The total impression received from the study of the inferiorities of radical females is closely analogous to that obtained from the study of the males, with the exception that the females show a greater dislike for sport objects.

It was found with respect to self-regarding attitudes that male radicals have a greater tendency than their controls to indicate

certain felt limitations. These males showed a greater tendency to place the blame on physique, inferiority to their competitors in games, and economic position. The first two of these may have had their inception in father-son conflicts. On the other hand, women appear to believe that their inferiorities are a result of intellectual deficiency rather than any other. They think that mentality, training, and economic position, in respective order, are responsible for their failures.

In view of these attitudes it is not strange to find radicals reject "opportunity for happiness and enjoyment" as a definition of the concept life. Male radicals also show a relatively greater tendency to disagree with the definition of life as an "opportunity to reveal one's true worth and ability." In conformance with this general trend, it was found that there was a greater possibility that both male and female radicals take an openly pessimistic attitude toward the business of living. The most startling discovery, however, in view of its high reliability, is the fact that a large majority of male and female radicals had at one time or another entertained suicidal thoughts (MD 36%, CR 4%, FD 39%, CR 2.79%). These suicidal tendencies are presumed to be inverted death-wishes for others, probably parents or siblings.

The conclusions to be reached from this test must not overlook the possibility of retrospective falsification. However, there is a certain consistency in the results which suggests a fundamental cause.

All of the results are in agreement with the major finding that radical individuals tend to claim rejection by their parents. This

attitude of rejection, even without the factor of severity of punishment, is perhaps sufficient. But in any event the type of punishment reported by the radical groups is undoubtedly involved in the causation of attitudes of inferiority and guilt.

The social inadequacies of the radicals can easily be related to this attitude of rejection. The inability to work co-operatively with persons of like age shows an attitude of inadequacy and insecurity, which must be derived from the parent-child relationship. The confused love lives of the radicals furnish a further reason for this supposition. Statistically speaking, these are more likely to result from pre-existing social maladjustment than they are to be a cause of subsequent maladjustment.

This seems definitely to support the psychoanalytic theory that the individual's reactions to social restraint reflect his reactions to his parents.

The felt rejection and consequent antagonism on the part of the individual must be thought of as leading toward an attitude of "suspicion toward the rulers of society" and affiliation with radical organizations. There is no need to question whether the subjects were "suspicious of society" before their affiliation with the radical group. What matters is that they were sensitized to influences of that type.

The general scepticism and questioning of the basic values of life must be attributed to an unfortunate parent-child relationship. The "weltanschauung" of the child is only his view colored by his emotional experiences. If these have been overwhelmingly unpleasant,

we must expect his view to be unpleasant. Also, inferiorities and compensatory egotism show a definite relationship to the type of punishment employed by the parents. The child's need for self-importance, which was furnished in control families by identification with the parents.

It is worthwhile to compare the data of this study with those reported by Stagner.⁵ Predominantly unpleasant experiences reported from childhood more definitely correlated with maladjusted emotional responses on the adolescent level. His subjects, however, gave no evidence of radical tendencies. The assumption is that such unpleasant experiences may result in either personal disorganization or radical thinking.

It is worthwhile to note in this connection that culture changes and that personality changes in relation to culture. Since secondary group contacts have become a dominant influence in modern times, adjustment of primary group tensions may be effected in this manner. With the passing of time it is likely that such tensions will find less and less expression in primary group relationships. It may be expected that in the future economic tensions will result in more maladjustment than before and that the substitutive value of socio-economic integration will likewise increase.

Two points need to be emphasized with regard to the results of this study. First, they do not indicate that radicals are neurotic; second, they are not an evaluation of radical ideologies as such. The data shows as many symptoms of maladjustment among controls as among radicals. Only the specific form of these symptoms concern this study. Radicalism

⁵R. Stagner, Psychology of Personality, 147-365.

is an aspect of social change applicable to the functioning of social institutions. The data which have been presented give no reason for considering radicalism less closely related to mental health than is conservatism.

This study does not include an evaluation of socio-economic philosophies. Their validity must be proved by facts outside the field of individual psychology. The acceptance of radical ideology is the only thing of which this investigation treats. Radicalism is not here decried. The facts indicate that avowed radicals exhibit certain forms of inferior adjustment and some forms generally considered superior.

Not even a deliberated program of training children would prevent radical groups from continuing. Certain combinations of developmental factors, socio-economic and personal, "sensitize" the individual to the influence of radical groups, or to radical ideology in such a way as to cause the continuance of radical patterns of individual behavior. Probably this radicalism will exist until a form of society is evolved which provides a more adequate adjustment of the needs of individuals to their socio-economic environment.

For the sake of comparison it appears desirable to give a resume of Gundlach's paper⁶ in which he reports some of the effects of the depression on the attitudes of a wide assortment of people.

With the advent of the depression, people who had been brought up in this country prior to 1929 no longer were ideally adjusted

⁶ R. H. Gundlach, "Emotional Stability and Political Opinions as Related to Age and Income," Journal of Social Psychology, X (November, 1939), 577-590.

with the conditions of living since that time. The problems of this study is to determine in what ways their views were effected. A prolonged depression might radically alter the ideas of some, and it might put others into a condition of emotional stress.

If an individual is faced with a problem that he for one reason or another is unable to solve, he may develop a neurosis. This is true in the case of social-sexual problems; it is true in conditions of trench warfare. In the light of that information it seems quite probable that eight years of depression would have similar disastrous effects among those who failed to make an adjustment.

Those members of society who experienced the depression must have reacted to it in a variety of ways ranging all the way from adequate adjustment to complete personality breakdown.

The determination of the attitudes opinions, and emotional stability of various classes of our population in relation to their incomes, age, and cultural background is the problem of this study.

For this purpose a questionnaire was prepared to obtain three classes of information: (a) to measure emotional stability a number of questions from current neurotic inventory lists were used. (b) to ascertain how hard the depression had hit the individual, what circumstances had mitigated its effect, and how well certain financial adjustments had been made, subjects were asked to indicate their occupation, the duration of their last employment, present income, mental status, family size, political affiliations, age, and sex. (c) to find out what were their opinions, a set of alternate answers were provided to several significant questions.

"What is the primary cause of the depression?"

"What should be the attitude of the unemployed?"

"What is the usual cause of strikes?"

"What kind of government do we now have?"

"What would be the best form of government for the United States?"

"Who can lead us out of this depression?"

The answers furnished on the blank might be classed as typical of reactionary, liberal, progressive, or radical. 950 persons, consisting of 250 college students and about 700 adults filled out this blank.

The contrast between the majority of the wealthiest and the poorest groups with respect to their political views. The poor believe that the primary cause of the depression is the breakdown of the capitalist system, whereas said that the cause was a temporary loss of confidence on the part of business.

The poor consider that the cause of strikes is revolt against intolerable conditions imposed by the employer. Half the rich consider them to be due to the activity of foreign agitators and trouble makers; half think the cause is the need to labor for higher wages and better conditions.

The rich think the poor should be self-dependent. The attitude of the unemployed, the poor said, should be to demand a fair living wage from the government if it could not secure jobs from private industry.

The poor thought our government an instrument of the ruling

groups which they use to the detriment of the workers. The rich said it is a democracy frequently corrupted by the dishonest.

The poor wanted government ownership of natural resources and basic industries, whereas the rich favored a dictatorship. A minority, 30% asked for a type of socialism.

The poor believed that workers and scientists could lead us out of the depression; the rich felt that we were already on our way out if our freedom was not curbed, but that we might need a strong leader.

A comparison of the wealthy and the poor groups on the questions relating to emotional stability show certain significant differences.

Wealthy adult males have a tendency to be more stable and conservative. Poor adult males are much more frequently neurotic, radical persons. College boys and girls do not fall very much into any categories.

The foregoing data gives much room for speculation. The most important relations to be established was the correlation of political opinions with poverty and the correlation of neurotic tendencies with poverty. Poverty appears to be the most important factor in the causation of emotional instability and is also the predominating factor in the determining of political radicalness. However, the people who are radical are not ordinarily the ones whom the test shows to be emotionally unstable.

The techniques used in this study do not indicate the degree of security and insecurity which many people feel. Nor does it reveal any major trend toward depression neuroses. The one

important fact in this connection is the high point of emotional instability among young men 25 to 30 years of age who have found no place in society.

It is obvious that a major factor in forming the opinion of an individual is social conditions in society, especially at the time when he becomes socially mature.

Murphy and Likert made a study⁷ of student opinion in which they attempted to combine qualitative life-history data with the quantitative data from large-scale questionnaire surveys.

The chief importance of their study lies not in revealing what the attitudes of students are but in finding out in detail what has influenced and is influencing these attitudes.

They looked into the personal backgrounds of several large student groups in order to find partial explanations for conservative or radical tendencies in connection with internationalism, imperialism, the Negro, and economic issues.

The size of the home community apparently is not related to these attitudes. Children of Jewish parents were definitely more radical especially on international issues. Within the groups studied here, father's occupation and family income were found not to be related to attitudes. A definite linkage with father's and mother's political attitudes was established. High school and college extra-curricular activities of a non-athletic nature seem slightly related to radicalism. The most striking personal factor found in the chapter was the high correlation between college

⁷G. Murphy and R. Likert, Public Opinion and the Individual, 200-310.

scholarship and radicalism on the scales. The reason for this correlation may be found (a) in the factor of general bookishness, (b) in a general serious-mindedness.

The possession of detailed information on the issues in question does not have any influence on radicalism or conservatism according to the results obtained. Radical and conservative groups do not differ appreciably in suggestibility as they indicate by their response to propaganda and knowledge of the opinion of the majority.

The Bryarches Test of Social Distance shows that a factor of general tolerance for nations and races is highly correlated with radicalism. From this data one would be led to believe that certain less tangible personal factors are of more importance for these groups than such broad sociological variables as nativity of parents and economic status.

A rough experiment in "predicting from autobiographies" indicated that in a general way it is possible to tell from the man's description of his social contacts what are his affiliations and antipathies.

In November, 1934, the authors decided to administer a retest to a large number of those who had taken their original "Survey of Opinions" in the winter of 1929-1930, almost five years previously. 76 individuals from the Columbia group and 53 individuals from the Michigan group took the retest. A general radical drift had taken place in both groups. Data on income suggest that personal economic adversity is not so influential as a general awareness of the world situation.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The brief details of the preceding summaries strongly favor the statement that in the average case at least the mainsprings of radical patterns of behavior lie in grave environmental maladjustments rather than in inborn emotional inadequacy.

Certain emotional differences between radicals and conservatives doubtless exist but (these studies lead to that conclusion) adverse experience has probably caused the emotions of radicals to be what they are.

Responses which the individual develops in childhood tend to carry over into adult life, at least in the case of social maladjustment.

Many influences have been suggested in the consideration of the formation of attitude. One of the chief ways attitudes are built up is through the accretion of experience, that is to say, through the integration of numerous specific responses of a particular type. Ordinarily it is not discrete and isolated experience which engenders an attitude, for in itself the single experience lacks organization in memory, meaning, and emotion. An attitude is essentially a fusion---"A residuum of many repeated processes of sensation, perception, feeling."

Another source of attitudes is dramatic experience or trauma. It is well-known that a permanent attitude will often result on account of a compulsive organization in the mental field, after an intense, emotional

experience. Many of the fears, prejudices, and predilections of adults can be traced to dramatic incident of their childhood. "Even in old age, radical changes of attitude through circumstances of dramatic moment are not unknown."¹

Another way in which attitudes are often formed is by the adoption on the part of the individual (most frequently the child) of ready-made patterns of behavior. Such behavior is usually acquired by the imitation of someone whom the individual admires or loves. Hence it would appear that the college student who identifies himself with one of his parents is likely to hold opinions similar to those of that parent.

The mass of data presented in this chapter strongly favors the contention that ecological factors play a much greater part than personality factors in the determination of social attitudes.

If experience is the chief factor in the formation of attitudes, then it behooves society to see that these are of the right kind, especially in childhood.

The most important factor, perhaps, in the regulation of human conduct is the stereotype. A stereotype is a generalized attitude. It is the primary cause for the accepted types, the current patterns, the standard versions, of human behavior in every society.

Reactions to stereotypes are reactions to symbols, and consequently do not involve the process of logical thinking or discrimination to any noticeable extent. The influence of these can be noted throughout the quantitative testings included in this thesis.

¹G. W. Allport, "Attitudes", Handbook of Social Psychology, 810.

A definite need for a large number of stereotypes exists; it would be impossible for people to see in detail everything that requires their attention. In matters of great importance, however, individualized understanding becomes necessary.

The response to stereotypes almost exclusively and the neglect of critical and discriminating thinking is a pitfall. The world is made up of things which are individual, various. And situations are specific, unique. The failure to inquire into their exact nature and the tendency to respond to stereotypes make an individual a tool in the hands of those who know how to manipulate him.

In order to develop dynamic, progressive attitudes in its members, society must control the entire social environment especially the familial relationships.

The small increase in liberalism during four years in college may be attributed to a great variety of reasons. Poverty, since the depression, wider reading, contact with more liberal persons, taking courses in social science--all these factors and more are present on the campus.

The slightly greater conservatism on the part of woman must be laid to the door of the type of rearing which they receive at the hands of their parents as well as to the especial way in which she is regarded in our society. She is bound by convention to have as few ideas of her own as possible, to cling to what is traditional and to wear herself out by the intensity of her mental inactivity.

Her experience is more limited than that of men. She does what is expected of her.

The Socialist-Communist group is more liberal than either the Republican or Democrats because both of these oppose any fundamental changes in our social institutions. The difference in this case is due to divergent social philosophies.

With regard to the liberalism of the Jews, the consensus of opinion is that they are more liberal than the Protestant. This conclusion can be explained by the fact that the Jews are an "outside" group. They are to some extent excluded from social affairs. They are the objects of prejudice; they often have inquiring minds which seek the causes of their maladjustment. Not sharing some of the benefits of our social system, they are more likely to be critical of it than others.

No findings have been here summarized which would lead one to believe that there is any consistent relation between liberalism and the size of the community in which the student was reared. Other more specific factors operate to determine attitudes.

The tendency of college courses in particular subjects to change the student's attitude toward that subject in the direction of greater liberalism indicates that specific information conduces to liberalism if it is in the proper context. But unrelated facts without any cohesive pattern can not be expected to promote even understanding.

The tendency of liberals to be less religious than conservatives is an aspect of their general disregard of convention. This may indicate general dissatisfaction with things as they are.

There is a disagreement in the findings of the various investigators as to whether there is any relationship between the liberalism of the student and the occupation of the father. The writer secured a correlation of $-.33$ in this connection. Though not statistically reliable, this result may express the dissatisfaction of the indigent student with his present economic status and his desire to improve it. At least if position on the occupational scale may be taken as a measure of wealth and poverty as a prime cause of radicalism, then the correlation might be significant.

In most cases in which the individual is frustrated, maladjusted, and insecure, it seems logical to suppose that he would desire to improve his status, would become liberal, perhaps radical.

No consistent relationship was found between liberalism and intelligence. Of course one has to assume that tests have been constructed which measure native capacity isolated from the factor of experience before he can assume that such relationship could be established. This writer does not make that assumption.

The tendency of Catholics to be more conservative than either Protestants or Jews may be attributed to the structure, organization, and doctrine of their church. The Catholic church is authoritarian. The officials of the church, from pope to parish priest, consistently oppose progressive change. The communicants are taught to believe unquestioningly what church officials say. Mysticism reigns; avoidance of facts is common. Things and people long dead are revered. Thus theological concepts hold sway in the average Catholic mind.

So far as the specificity-generality problem is concerned, the results of the various studies are at variance. However, the lack of agreement may be only apparent here, because when the attitudes tested are in closely related fields a consistent liberalism or conservatism is ordinarily present. On the other hand, if the attitudes measured are not in related fields, a definite compartmentalization of attitudes will commonly be shown. However, the radical exhibits a generalized belief in radical reform in practically all social institutions.

In studying the genesis of radical personality traits the need for life-historical biographical data is apparent. This, despite the fallibility of the subject's memory, often reveals specific causation in the formation of radical behavior patterns.

Feelings of insecurity, caused by such trying situations as trench warfare, the depression, etc., will often result in drastic change in attitudes.

On the whole, it can not be said that radicals have a more pathologic social attitude than conservatives.

Probably the antagonism which the radical developed as a child has been transferred to all individuals who represent constituted authority in society.

Unpleasant experiences in childhood may cause either radicalism or personality disorganization in later life. The important question which this brings to mind is, why do some people become radical as a result of adverse experience while others do not. The answer lies in particular combinations of experience and in individual differences.

The predominating cause of emotional instability seems to be poverty. Poverty is a cause of radicalism but these studies lead to the conclusion that radicals are not emotionally unstable.

The social inadequacies of the radical can be traced to the attitude of rejection on the part of his parents in many instances. The inability to work with others of the same age and a confused love life is also found to stem from the abnormal parent-child relationship.

Nagging, ridicule, and reproach were employed by the radical's parents to chastise him. These verbal and social restraints conditioned certain inferiorities, anxieties, fears, and powerful repressions which set up strong tensions. These tensions found relief in the radical activity of the individual.

There seems to be a general factor of bookishness associated with radicalism and liberalism. Whether radicalism leads college students to read a great deal, or whether the material they read leads them to become radical from the first is not clear.

Maladjustment often gives rise to radicalism, and radicalism and achievement are often found in association. Maladjustments of some kind, then, appear to furnish adequate motivation for unremitting effort. The emotional drive is concentrated on the accomplishment of definite objectives. An individual with such a mental set is intense, dynamic.

The social philosophy which underlies radicalism, liberalism, and conservatism is concerned with the social value of these kinds of personality.

The conservative is opposed to any sort of change in many instances. But changes in social institutions are necessary if maladjustments exist in society. This is true because the welfare and happiness of men ought to be the object of societal organization. If this be admitted, then it must be concluded that conservatism is a pathological condition.

The liberal favors the modification of social institutions, but had rather carry out reforms within their present framework than to overthrow and destroy them. His view of social progress is evolutionary. His technique has to recommend it the fact that it is often easier to gain control of an organization and change it from within than to suppress it from without.

The radical wishes to destroy one or more institutions and supplant them with others that are functional. This method of introducing social change is revolutionary. He believes that institutions can not be made functional by minor changes. The main drawbacks to his program of change is that (1) it rarely attracts many adherents, (2) an attack upon an organization serves to rally whatever strength it may have, (3) it is hard to rebuild something better than what has been destroyed. However, under circumstances in which institutions have lost the adherence of the great majority of the people, radicals have an excellent opportunity to put their ideas into effect.

In conclusion, it is reasonable to think that the liberal technique is more practical and effective in ordinary times for the elimination of social maladjustments.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Articles

- Boldt, W. J., "Changes in the Attitudes of College Students", Journal of Educational Psychology, XXV (November, 1934), 611-619.
- Buck, W., "Measurement of Changes in Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXI (April, 1936).
- Carlson, H. B., "Attitudes of Undergraduate Students," Journal of Social Psychology, V (May, 1934), 202-213.
- Corey, S. K., "Professed Attitudes and Actual Behavior," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXVIII, (April, 1937), 271-280.
- Dunlap, J. W., "Observations on the Methodology in Attitudes Scales," Journal of Social Psychology, X (November, 1939), 475-487.
- Fay, P. J., "Certain Factors Related to Liberal and Conservative Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (May, 1939), 378-390.
- Gardner, I. C., "Effect of a Group of Social Stimuli upon Attitudes," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXVI (September, 1935), 471-478.
- Garrison, K. C., "Analytic Study of Attitudes of College Students," Journal of Educational Psychology, XX (November, 1931), 168-178.
- Gundlach, R. H., "Confusion Among Undergraduates in Social and Economic Ideas," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXXII (October, 1937), 357-367.
- Gundlach, "Emotional Stability and Political Opinions as Related to Age and Income," Journal of Social Psychology, X (November, 1939), 577-590.
- Harper, M. H., "Social Attitudes of Educators," Social Frontier, XXX (February, 1937), 145-147.
- Harris, A. J., et al., "The Relation between Liberal and Conservative Attitudes in College Students and other Factors," Journal of Social Psychology, III (August, 1932), 320-335.

- Hook, Sidney, "Metaphysics and Social Attitudes," Social Frontier, IV (February, 1938), 153-158.
- Hudspeth, J., "Social Attitudes through Science Activities," Secondary Education, IX (January, 1940), 17-20.
- Jones, V. A., "Attitudes of College Students and Changes in Such Attitudes During Four Years in College," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXIX (January-February, 1938), 14-25.
- Krout, M. H., "Personality Development in Radicals," Sociometry, II (January, 1939), 31-46.
- Lorge, I., "The Thurstone Attitude Scales," Journal of Social Psychology, X (May, 1939), 187-208.
- Lurie, W. A., "A Study of Spranger's Value Types," Journal of Social Psychology, VIII (February, 1937), 17-37.
- Marples, C. H., "Comparative Susceptibility of Three Age Levels to Suggestion of Groups Versus Expert Opinion," Journal of Social Psychology, IV (May, 1933), 176-186.
- Melbo, I. R., "Student Interests and Attitudes of Contemporary Problems," Clearing House, XI (September, 1936), 25-28.
- Moore, H. T., "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XX (October, 1925), 234-244.
- Nelson, E., "N. Y. A. and Certain Student Attitudes," Journal of Educational Research, XXXIII (January, 1940), 360-362.
- Pace, C. Robert, "Situations Test to Measure Social-Political-Economic Attitudes," Journal of Social Psychology, X (August, 1939), 331-344.
- Rosander, A. C., "Age and Sex Patterns of Social Attitudes," Journal of Educational Psychology, XXX (October, 1939), 481-496.
- Tiamons, W. M., "Decisions and Attitudes as Outcomes of the Discussion of a Social Problem," Teachers College Record, XXXIX (January, 1940), 382-388.
- Vetter, G., "The Measurement of Social and Political Attitudes and the Related Personality Factors," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, XXV (July, 1930), 149-159.
- Wilke, W. H., "Student Opinion in Relation to Age, Sex, and General Radicalism," Journal of Social Psychology, VII (May, 1936), 244-248.

Willey, M. M., "Student Attitudes Toward Government", School and Society, L (October, 1939), 534-496.

Books

Cook, S and Raskin, C., Proceedings of American Psychology Association, Minneapolis, 1937.

Lasswell, H. D., Psychopathology and Politics, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1950.

Murphy, G. and Likert, R., Public Opinion and the Individual, Harper Brothers, 1938.

Stagner, R., Psychology of Personality, New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1937.