

THE ROLE OF INFORMATION IN THE
STRUCTURE OF BELIEF SYSTEMS

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While no attempt was made to directly relate this study to current manpower needs and programs, various implications for the manpower area are inherent in the results. For example, the level of constraint for political ideologies is believed to be related to, or possibly determine such behaviors as the degree of political participation, probability of voting, and so on. In general low constraint has been found to be related to low participation rates. If the meaning of the belief system were restricted to an individual's evaluation of the job market, it might be the case that individuals characterized as "discouraged workers" are those with low constraint among beliefs about the probability of obtaining a job. Related implications have to do with the probable effects of disseminating information relative to areas of economic concern. Although highly tentative, such implications serve as heuristic forces for further research in the manpower area.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to imagine, let alone describe or explain, any semblance of orderliness and regularity in human interaction without the mediation of attitudes in perceptual and motor processes. The complexity and diversity of social stimuli which impinge on an individual requires elaborate and complicated attitude processes to sort, compartmentalize, select, and stereotype the myriad sources and content of such stimulation. In spite of the experiential validity of the foregoing statements the role of attitudes in daily and ongoing behavior patterns has not been adequately specified. That is not to say that the basic assumptions have not been articulated, or accepted, even by nonpsychologists. Rather, the magnitude and complexity of attitude phenomena seem to loom larger than the boundaries of scientific formulation. One development of attitude research which perhaps offers unique promise is the emergence of interest in the concept belief system constraint. The present paper will focus on constraint and its relationship to levels of knowledge or information and will investigate the implications of constraint for conventional attitude theory. In order to explore this question the following sequential arrangement

of topics will be discussed: the concept of attitudes, belief systems, research related to constraint, and research on the information variable.

Much research on attitudes and beliefs has been generated.¹ One of the more popular approaches to attitude formation and change studies has been the use of the various balance concepts. These theories include formulations of balance, symmetry, congruity, cognitive dissonance, consistency and so on (Heider, 1946, Newcomb, 1953, Osgood and Tannenbaum, 1955, Festinger, 1957, McGuire, 1960). The unifying characteristic among these theorists is the idea that the various factors involved in attitude phenomena (e.g. overt behavior, feelings, expressed opinion, cognitions, etc.) move toward some state of balance because imbalance, inconsistency, etc. are uncomfortable psychological conditions. While these concepts have considerable intuitive appeal and substantial amounts of empirical verification, in one sense at least they fail to account for a common research result. That is, given the general orientation of these theories, one would expect to find indications of rather high interrelationships existing among most peoples' individual attitudes or belief systems. As will be discus-

¹Several authors, e.g. Fishbein and Raven (1967), have attempted to distinguish operationally between beliefs and attitudes. The present author believes such distinctions are at best beyond the scope of the present discussion and at their worse, examples of the many linguistic artifacts and semantic nuances which plague psychology. In any event, the terms will be used interchangeably.

sed below, this is clearly not the case. In addition, it will be shown that attitude constraint, as it is presently construed, varies disproportionately with other variables such as information, and that high levels of constraint are more the exception than the rule.

Attitudes

As with other hypothetical constructs, the concept of attitude is difficult to operationalize, and as a result a variety of definitions have been proposed (see: Allport, 1935).

One widely quoted source (Katz and Stotland, 1959) defines an attitude as a "tendency or disposition to evaluate an object or the symbol of that object in a certain way" (p. 428). Attitudes are also characterized as "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individuals' world" (Kretch and Crutchfield, 1948, p. 152).

Another view holds that attitudes are "primarily a way of being set toward or against certain things" (Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, 1947, p. 889), or as "a state of readiness for motive arousal" (Newcomb, Turner, and Converse, 1965, p.40).

While in no way complete, this sample of theoretical formulations suggests at least one converging element. Almost all definitions of the attitude concept emphasize the idea that attitudes represent predispositions to respond favorably or unfavorably to specified referents. Of impor-

tance here is the idea that attitudes are internalized evaluative sets. Disregarding the persistent problem of the relationship between attitudes and overt behavior, the process of evaluation becomes the central focus of attitude research. Indeed, one author (Insko, 1967) has concluded that the evaluative dimension is, at least for contemporary theorists, tantamount to the phenomenon itself. It is in this context that the attitude concept will be used in the present paper.

Characteristics and Definitions of Belief Systems

Belief systems are basically patterned aggregates of separate attitudes.² In terms of the origins, formal definitions and usage of the two concepts, it is the contention of the present author that they represent the same phenomenon at different levels of abstraction.

Growing out of a concern for more general personality and behavioral phenomena, the work of Rokeach and his associates (1960) has concentrated on the structural characteristics of belief systems. These researchers use the concept to denote "an organization of verbal and nonverbal, implicit and explicit beliefs, sets, or expectancies" (p. 32). While emphasizing that a belief system is composed of various subsystems and singular units, i.e. single beliefs, Rokeach

²Again subtle distinctions in terminology will be ignored with the exception that the concept ideology is treated as a special type of belief system, i.e. one dealing with political objects.

maintains that such a system is not a simple conglomeration of individual parts, rather pattern emerges in the structural organization of the smaller segments.

In this connection three organizational principles are discerned. First, belief systems consist of two interdependent parts, i.e. a belief and disbelief system, in which both evaluations of truth and falsity relative to environmental events are accounted for. Additional properties of the belief-disbelief dimension include isolation: the extent to which competing individual elements such as logically contradictory beliefs are present in the system; and differentiation, which refers to the amount of knowledge possessed and the breadth of a given system. The second organizational principle is the central-peripheral dimension which is conceived as a continuum ranging from primitive beliefs (beliefs about the natures of the physical world, the self and the generalized other, through an intermediate region (beliefs about the nature of authority), to beliefs derived from authority (e.g. political beliefs). The primitive beliefs are depicted as occupying the central pole while those derived from authority are on the periphery. The third principle of organization is referred to as the time-perspective dimension which encompasses beliefs and disbeliefs about the past, present and future, and the relationship among each.

Using syllogisms to represent the origin of beliefs Bem (1970) also employs a three part framework for belief

system characteristics. First, a vertical structure of beliefs is identified as the extent to which a belief is differentiated, i.e. the extent to which it is based on syllogistic reasoning. For example, the sequence zero-order, first-order, and higher-order beliefs represents the classification of increasing differentiation. At the bottom of the structure, zero-order beliefs are primitive, nonconscious inferences such as faith in ones' sensory processes. First-order beliefs are those acquired through direct sensory experience, including generalizations and stereotypes. Higher-order beliefs are those built on previous syllogistic reasoning, or inductive reasoning from experiential sources.

By contrast, the horizontal structure of beliefs refers to the number of syllogistic premises upon which a particular belief rests. If beliefs were simply built on vertical combinations of increasingly differentiated inferences the higher-order beliefs would be vulnerable to the disconfirmation of a single antecedent inference. Instead, according to Bem, for protection higher-order beliefs are spread horizontally across several sources of reasoning. Finally, the notion of centrality is employed to depict the importance of the belief for a given individual in that the greater the importance of the belief the more closely it is related to other elements within the system.

Concentrating in the more limited area of political belief systems, Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) define ideology as:

a particularly elaborate, close-woven and far-ranging structure of attitudes. By origin and usage its connotations are primarily political, although the scope of the structure is such that we expect an ideology to encompass content outside the political order as narrowly defined--social and economic relationships, and even matters of religion, education, and the like (p. 92).

For these researchers the primary principle of a belief system or ideology is the concept of attitude structure which refers to the functional relationships between two or more beliefs within a system. They further conceive several ways in which specific attitudes might be functionally related. For example, they identify a means-ends relationship in which attitudes are related because the referents to which they refer are perceived as achieving complementary or similar goals. A second source of relationship is the specificity of the attitude. As such a hierarchy of beliefs may be present in which the more specific attitudes relating to individual objects derive from more general evaluations of abstract referents. Both types of relationships are seen as indices of attitude congruence or consistency.

Similarly, Converse (1964) defines a belief system as "a configuration of ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint or functional interdependence" (p. 207). He further argues that individual attitude elements or the belief system itself may be characterized by at least three dimensions. First, centrality denotes the role of some substructure within a larger system. The more central an element (e.g. a specific

attitude) the greater the probability that a change in that element will predispose subsequent changes elsewhere in the system. A second dimension identified by Converse is that of range. Range refers to the number of objects or referents that relate directly to the individual elements within the system. As is implied by the definition, the remaining characteristic of a belief system is the extent to which each element in the system is interrelated, termed constraint. Converse argues that the sources of constraint are largely psychological and social, although the term also implies logical consistency or coherence. In a practical sense constraint refers to indices of relatedness such as correlation coefficients, or the extent to which the evaluation of one attitude referent may be predicted from the evaluation of some other referent and so on across an entire belief system.

As was noted earlier the belief system concept is considered for the purposes of the present paper as essentially synonymous with the term attitude. On the other hand, two distinctions between attitudes and belief systems require discussion. First, implicit in the belief system concept is the idea that a wider range of stimuli and related psychological states are involved. An attitude is usually conceived of as relating to a single referent (i.e. the object of the attitude) while belief systems include entire categories of stimuli. Secord and Backman (1964) contend that "attitudes are thought of as pertaining to a single object, even though

that object may be an abstract one" (p. 99). In one sense at least the equation of an attitude and a single referent has been a limiting one. That is, often the thrust in attitude research has been largely an interest in the existence of a specific attitude (e.g. prejudice) at the expense of theoretical or process concerns. McGuire (1969), for example, maintains that the demise of attitude research after a period of preeminence in social psychology during the 1930's was due in part to the fact that:

the direct relevance of attitude work to social policy questions gave rise to much action research in the area. The intrinsic interest of such attitudes as pacificism, religiosity, ethnic prejudice, etc., attracted workers with little interest in the general theoretical issues so vital to basic research, and as a result something of a hiatus opened up between the empirical workers on attitudes and the mainstream of developing psychological theory (p. 137).

By contrast, belief systems embrace a wider range of evaluations partially avoiding the stimulus-bound difficulties of attitudes and thereby increasing the precision and generalizability of research results. The distinction here is a relative one since some formulations for attitudes encompass the notion of more than one referent. For example, Sherif, Sherif, and Nebergall (1965) define attitudes as "the set of evaluative categorizations formed toward an object or class of objects as the individual learns in interaction with others, about his environment, including evaluations of other persons" (p. 20).

Secondly, there is a difference in the methodological

strategies of attitude vs belief system studies. Since the innovation and development of the pioneer scaling techniques (e.g. Thurstone, 1929, Likert, 1932, and Guttman, 1950) much of the emphasis in attitude research has been the content, direction, and strength of specific attitude positions held by various subject populations. In other words, research outcomes took the form of scores assigned to individuals or groups of subjects representing a relative position along some specified attitude continuum, usually ranging from very positive or favorable to very negative or unfavorable, relative to the object in question. Belief systems, by contrast, are measured in terms of the structural characteristics of the system, such as dimensionality, range, consistency, and so on.

In summary, several common elements may be gleaned from these conceptualizations of belief systems. Borrowing heavily from the cited sources, the following five factors are considered as definitive by the present author:

1. A belief system consists of a combination of individual attitudes relative to a class or category of stimuli.
2. Belief systems are patterned in the sense that they form functional categories for the reception of stimuli for a given individual.
3. Belief systems vary in terms of the range or number of objects subsumed under a given system.
4. Belief systems vary in terms of centrality or importance of the system within the more general framework of the individuals' personality.
5. Belief systems vary in terms of the degree of interrelatedness of individual elements or subsystems.

Belief System Constraint

Belief system constraint refers to the extent to which individual elements within a system vary together or the extent to which subsystems are correlated. Although no distinctive body of literature has been generated dealing with this variable, several related studies employing various methodologies and terminology have been reported. Although no claim is made to the comparability of these investigations, they serve as a suggestive background to the present study.

On the broad level of mass publics several authors have concluded that ideological consensus (i.e. agreement on democratic norms) is almost exclusively a phenomenon evidenced by political elites, and an active political minority (McClosky, 1964, Key, 1961). Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes (1960) indicate that voters who yield attitude inconsistencies (e.g. being positively disposed toward the Republican party, and at the same time, not favoring the Republican candidate) decide how to vote later (i.e. closer to election day) than voters who are consistent in their attitudes. These authors also contend that inconsistent attitudes are associated with higher rates of ticket splitting, and election apathy.

In developing a test of personality integration, Winthrop (1946, 1949) found that measures of attitude consistency in a college population were surprisingly low. He

further concluded that inconsistencies were due to semantic difficulties of the subjects and in the latter paper compared inconsistencies to schizophrenic disturbances in thinking.

In a study more closely related to the present one, Robin and Story (1964) used correlations between attitudes toward the Bill of Rights and minority groups as measures of ideological consistency. They reported coefficients ranging from .05 to .70 for various groups and a moderate .43 for the total sample. They further reported that consistency varied as a function of sex, education level, and college major. While researching correlates of liberalism-conservatism, Kerr (1952) found that the average correlation between several attitude domains (e.g. religious, political, economic, etc.) was about .15. Using the term attitude crystallization, Olsen (1962) found that only slightly more than a quarter of the subjects tested showed high levels of consistency, with 45% classified at middle levels and 28% with low consistency. Olsen also reported a negative relationship between crystallization and social cross-pressures (i.e. status incongruence, marginality, etc.). In a study performed by Centers and cited in Hyman (1969) it was found that coherent attitude orientations were present in Ss as young as 15 and that the degree of coherence generally increases with age.

One of the more detailed analyses of constraint has been offered by Converse (1964). Converse argued that

constraint varies in a linear fashion along a vertical distribution of information levels within a mass public, i.e. the greater the information relative to an attitude domain, the greater the degree of constraint. Converse suggests that political information is poorly disseminated. At the top of an information distribution is an extremely small minority of people who are politically active or perhaps even elected or appointed officials. This group of elites, or as Converse identifies them, ideologues, yield both high constraint and high levels of information because such individuals are closer to the original sources of information and because people at this level are able to assimilate abstract and complex knowledge due to greater interest, opportunity and education. Converse further argues that as one moves down this continuum the degree of constraint and information both drop off sharply.

Using data collected prior to the 1956 presidential election by Michigan's Survey Research Center, Converse partitioned the sample into five levels of conceptualization or levels of information. The data were obtained as responses to open-ended questions (e.g. What do you like and dislike about the two parties, about the candidates, etc.) with the respondents' answers classified according to the amount of information or issue content employed in defending the response, and whether the concept liberalism-conservatism was used correctly. The resultant distribution was as follows:

I - Ideologue group (subjects who used correctly abstract

conceptualizations such as liberalism-conservatism in their answers) 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the sample; II - Near-ideologue group (subjects who used abstract concepts only peripherally, and evidenced some confusion as to appropriate meanings) 9% of the sample; III - Group interest group (subjects who responded mostly in terms of some specified interest group, e.g. labor, big business, etc.) 42% of the sample; IV - Nature of the times group (subjects who defended responses with vague references to broad social events, e.g. depression, war, etc.) 24% of the sample; and V - No issue content group (subjects who claimed no interest in nor knowledge of current political parties, candidates or processes) 22 $\frac{1}{2}$ % of the sample. The descending scale of information comprehension was confirmed by independent measures of political information, education, and political involvement according to Converse.

Having thus identified a positively skewed distribution of political knowledge, Converse goes on to hypothesize that:

constraint among political idea-elements begins to lose its range very rapidly once we move from the most sophisticated few toward the 'grass roots,' we are contending that the organization of more specific attitudes into wideranging belief systems is absent as well (pp. 228-229).

Thus constraint is viewed as a linear function of political knowledge.

To substantiate this concept Converse cites data collected in 1958 from an elite group (congressional candi-

dates) and a "masses" group (cross-sectional sample of the national electorate). Again the responses were in terms of answers to comparable open-ended questions dealing with eight separate foreign policy and domestic issue attitude domains including employment, aid to education, federal housing, fair employment practices, economic and military aid to foreign countries, isolationism and party preference. The responses were scored and tau-gamma coefficients between the eight issues were calculated. For the cross-section sample coefficients ranged between $-.04$ to $.45$, while the elite group yielded coefficients of $.05$ to $.68$. When averaged a clearer picture emerged in that the candidates group showed a mean of $.53$ within domestic issues, $.37$ within foreign issues, $.25$ between domestic and foreign issues and $.39$ between party preference and all issues, while the mass group indicated coefficients of $.23$, $.23$, $.11$, and $.11$ respectively.

In summary Converse argues that:

Parallel to ignorance and confusion over these ideological dimensions among the less informed is a general decline in constraint among specific belief elements that such dimensions help to organize (p. 231).

The implications of Converse' work and the previously cited references relevant to constraint are quite clear. First, the popular conception of logical, well ordered, congruent belief systems, at least among the general public may not be an appropriate one. That is not to say that individuals are prone to admit to such inconsistencies, but

rather the statistical evidence strongly suggests the weakest of correlations between specific attitude elements or domains. This is especially significant in light of the fact that conventional scaling procedures tend toward the retention of items that show internal consistency with other items. Secondly, it is also evident that differing levels of constraint may be detected in different populations as a function of other variables such as information and education. This finding appears more tentative, however, due to the lack of comparable methodologies and definitions of the referenced studies.

Moreover, the more comprehensive exposition of the relationship between constraint and information by Converse is vulnerable to several criticisms. While his treatment offers the considerable advantage of stratified sampling and "real world" subject populations, Converse implies greater scientific rigor than is available in his data. First, both the levels of information and the constraint variables were measured via open-ended questionnaire techniques and thus at least somewhat subjectively. Further, his reliance upon the use of abstract generalizations such as liberal-conservative distinctions implies more of an evaluative judgment or the ability to deal with relatively abstract concepts than the possession of information per se. That is, it may be argued that the use of such terms are in themselves indices of attitude phenomena, independent of a subjects' understanding or knowledge of the political arena. Further, the conclu-

sion of the linearity of constraint as a function of information is a synthesis of data obtained from two separate subject populations, with the only connection being the assumption that the higher constraint elites of the 1958 sample would be analogous to the ideologue and near-ideologue categories of the 1956 sample and that the masses would represent the remaining descending categories.

In general, research in the area of belief system constraint has indicated that the concept is a viable and useful one. At the same time such a diversity of terminology and methodology is evidence that there is clearly the need for additional work. To summarize, the following factors appear to be most crucial in identifying the concept:

1. Belief system constraint refers to the extent to which elements within an attitude system vary together, or are interrelated, consistent, etc.
2. When considering a breadth of attitude phenomena, such as a belief system, the general result is that for most individuals constraint among elements is surprisingly low.
3. It would appear that the relative degree of constraint has individual behavioral implications (e.g. straight ticket vs split ticket voting) but whether they are a consequence of or cause of constraint, or both, has not been adequately determined.

Political Information

The consensus of research devoted to an examination of the general public's knowledge of national and international political events also cuts against the grain of a widely

based and cherished assumption. It seems to be a common contention that massed and technologically advanced media of information distribution (e.g. newspapers, magazines, radio, television) inexorably result in a highly articulate and well informed electorate.

Considerable evidence disconfirming this hypothesis is available. For example, Robinson (1967) cites several studies of which the following results are indicative: in the autumn of 1961 23% of a national sample were unaware of trouble in Berlin or the Congo. During the spring of 1964 25% of a sample confessed ignorance relative to any military action in Viet Nam. In the same poll 28% of the respondents were not informed as to the presence of a Communist government in China, while 29% were ignorant of the existence of a separate non-Communist government on Formosa. Geopolitical information was also scarce in that Robinson reported that 90% of a sample was unable to locate Bulgaria on a map of Europe while 66% and 49% respectively placed Afghanistan and Mongolia on the continent of Africa. Personal identifications proved difficult as well since in a March, 1959 sample 73% of the subjects could not name the Secretary of Defense. In August of the same year 22% expressed no knowledge of Fidel Castro and in 1964 a slim majority (54%) could correctly identify Mao Tse Tung.

Similarly, Greenstein (1963) reported that relative to additional informational aspects, adult American respondents were only able to answer correctly in the following propor-

tions: the number of U.S. Senators from each state (55%), the length of a U.S. Representatives' term of office (47%), the number of U.S. Supreme Court Justices (40%), and one of the provisions of the Bill of Rights (23%).

One study (Deutsch and Proshansky, 1961) did indicate higher levels of awareness of international affairs (i.e. knowledge of the 1958 Quemoy and Matsu controversy), however the sample was limited to 100 well educated urban residents. Additionally, Redford, Truman, Westin, and Wood (1968) argue that such studies must be qualified by taking into account situations in which the respondent is directly affected by a particular political event, for which greater informational levels would be expected. Otherwise, the available research is overwhelming in the direction of a poorly informed electorate.

CHAPTER II

PROBLEM AND HYPOTHESES

The purpose of the present investigation was to explore the relationship between information and belief system constraint. The procedural difficulties of Converse' analysis and the question of comparability of other studies suggested a further empirical assessment of the relations between levels of constraint and levels of cognitive sophistication. There was also clearly the need to generate and systematize research methodologies to measure constraint in a reasonably objective and reliable fashion. Beyond these justifications there were the more important theoretical concerns of the nature of attitudes, the way in which individual attitude elements relate to one another, and how such elements are organized into broad and dynamic evaluative systems.

In order to satisfy these criteria a laboratory approach was chosen as the basic procedural requirement. The decision allowed for the use of objective techniques in measuring constraint and information. Secondly, data collection was compressed into a relatively short period of time, minimizing the possible effects of extraneous happenstances such as natural attitude shifts and changes in information levels. For example, since the instrument used to

test information level included some questions related to current political events, it was necessary to test subjects before the natural decay of memory concerning these events. Relative to the Converse study, greater precision was also achieved in that constraint and information data were collected for the same sample of subjects.

The source of subjects for the study was a major concern. It may be argued that the typical use of university undergraduates severely limits the generalization boundaries of a given study. This especially seemed likely when the ultimate theoretical questions relate to adult, general public behaviors such as voting. This concern, however, may be at least partially balanced by a consideration of other factors. First, there is no reason to assume on a priori grounds that individuals who have yet to reach voting age are any less interested in political affairs. For example, such events as recent campus demonstrations would seem to suggest that there is an increased interest in political affairs for this group. Secondly, at an early stage in the preparation for this study the voting age was lowered to 18 years of age, and thus a large portion of the sample automatically became part of the electorate. However, it is also true that college students comprise only a special segment of the total electorate. Differences in voting patterns, attitudes, etc. are not unexpected when dealing with subjects of different ages, and educational and experience levels. Since this problem will be discussed more fully

below, it is perhaps sufficient to say that while the special characteristics of the subjects involved make generalization from the data somewhat more tenuous, they do not necessarily invalidate the attempt to do so.

The liberalism-conservatism belief system has been the subject of considerable research and speculation. Likewise, the investigations cited indicate an emphasis on political sources of information. As a result, the liberal-conservative domain and political information were selected as the respective targets of the experimental measures.

In a more specific sense the study focused on the precise nature of constraint as a function of information. In a pre-test to the present study results were obtained which failed to confirm Converse' concept of a linear relationship between the two variables. As a result of this finding the following two hypotheses were proposed:

- I. Constraint between liberal-conservative attitude elements will vary significantly as a function of political information.
- II. Subjects who possess both high and low levels of information will indicate higher levels of constraint than subjects with moderate amounts of information.

The study was construed as essentially exploratory, thus several analyses of data will be reported for which no specific hypotheses were suggested. Included will be the relationship between total liberal-conservative score and information, and functions created by a comparison of various characteristics of the subjects and the experimental variables.

CHAPTER III

METHOD

Subjects

Due to the exploratory nature of the study the number of subjects (Ss) deemed appropriate was necessarily large. In addition, certain procedural difficulties resulted in a substantial number of Ss who participated in only part of the study. The S sample consisted of students enrolled in 19 sections of the Introductory Psychology course at Oklahoma State University. Of a total enrollment of approximately 1,710 for these sections 1,247 Ss were present on the appropriate days and agreed to participate in the first phase of the study. Nine hundred ten Ss participated in the second phase of the experiment. After collating the test forms from both phases it was discovered that 792 Ss had participated in the entire study. Of this number 39 Ss were rejected due to a failure to complete or properly fill out one of the testing forms, resulting in a total of 753 Ss whose results were usable for the analysis.

Personal Data Form and Sample Description

It was expected that introductory psychology students would comprise a relatively homogenous sample of individuals

thus minimizing the possibility of an interaction between the information variable and various personal and experiential characteristics of the Ss relevant to political attitudes. As a check of this assumption a personal data questionnaire was distributed along with the information scale. Additionally, the personal data collected allowed for a more definitive description of the Ss participating in the study and an examination of possible systematic variation of the principle variables, information and constraint, as a function of these characteristics. Thus, for these purposes, such information was collected including the following: name, age, sex, college classification, major, grade point average, voter registration and voting experience, campaign and political party participation, party identification, number of college hours in relevant courses (e.g. history, political science, etc.), a personal estimate of recent attitude change in four areas of concern, and geographical location of residence. Appendix B represents a summary of the data obtained and Appendix A duplicates the personal data form itself.

Results from the personal data form indicated that the Ss were uniform in some respects, while dissimilar in others. Homogeneity was found, for example, in the substantial portion (88%) of the participants who were in their first two years of college. Consistent with the college classification index was the fact that the majority (86%) of the Ss were 17 to 19 years old and 89% had not taken more than

two courses in areas related to the questions on the information scale. As might be expected from such a sample, relatively few Ss had actively engaged in conventional political activities. For example, although more than a third of the Ss had registered to vote, less than 10% had actually voted and only 17% claimed to have participated in political rallies, campaigning, fund raising, etc. The Ss were also similar demographically in that 63% were raised in the southwest part of the United States, 87% of whom had lived in Oklahoma and no other state.

Political party preferences resulted in the Democratic Party receiving 43% of the Ss choices and the Republican Party receiving 43%. Differences were evidenced in major study areas as follows: business (19%), undeclared majors (17%), education (11%), and biological sciences (10%). Each of the other majors accounted for less than 10% of the sample. Finally, 56% of the Ss were female and 44% male.

Procedure

The experiment was divided into two phases with a different experimenter participating in each. In the first phase the first experimenter (E-1) distributed the information scale and personal data forms to introductory psychology students during regular class periods. Instructions were given indicating that each S was to complete the scale as rapidly as possible, guess when unsure of the correct answer, and to work individually. Ss were also asked to

complete the personal data forms if they so desired, while it was stressed that they were under no requirement to fill in an item to which they were reluctant to respond. Since this part of the data was collected during class time no credit was given for participation.

No rationale or "cover story" for the study was offered, and when asked the purpose E-1 simply replied that he was interested in the number of questions each S could correctly answer. Data collection for phase I occurred over a six-week period during a single semester.

For phase II a second experimenter (E-2) collected the data. From two to three weeks after the administration of the information scale E-2 visited each of the 19 classes and announced that he was conducting an out-of-class experiment for which the Ss could receive "extra credit" from their instructor. Ss were told the location to which they were to report and the times available for participation and then asked to sign a subject list. Available periods included selected blocks of time during each of the four days following E-2's visit to each classroom.

When Ss reported to the experimental room they were instructed to complete both forms of the attitude scale according to the directions on the test booklets. In addition the Ss were requested to sign their answer sheets purportedly to maintain records for class credit purposes. This was, of course, also the mechanism by which Ss were identified in phase II. Again no "cover story" was offered to

the Ss.

Phase II was conducted during approximately a seven-week period of one semester. An attempt was made to disassociate the two phases of the experiment in the perception of the Ss and thus was the rationale for employing a two phase design, different E's, test situations, etc. While a deceptive element was present in the study it was not felt that accidental discovery by Ss of the connection between the two phases would seriously bias the results. Thus when some Ss expressed their belief to E-2 that there was a connection their data was not rejected for analysis.

While no specific guarantee of anonymity was given, if a S raised the question he was assured that the results would only be made available to individuals not connected with the experiment in summary form.

Attitude Scale

The dependent measure for the study was Ss responses to two sets of attitude items. The scale employed was the Social Attitude Scale (Rambo, 1972). The Social Attitude Scale, which is presented in Appendix C, consists of two alternate forms with 44-items each. Each item is followed by a 5-point scale requiring one of the following endorsements: "strongly agree," "agree," "undecided," "disagree," and "strongly disagree." The scale was devised as a measure of the liberalism-conservatism domain. Items were written which dealt with basic attitudinal assumptions about human

life such as the nature of man, the nature of social order, and with questions concerning social permanence and change. The more specific ideological elements of the liberal-conservative domain are believed to derive from these more general propositions.

Several validation procedures were performed resulting in the final forms. Initially 123 items were prepared, of which 33 expressed liberal sentiments while the remainder were conservative in nature. These items were administered to 202 undergraduate sociology students. A Likert technique was performed with the criterion for retention set at $\alpha = .10$. As a measure of external validity three phases of analysis were performed on the surviving items. In each analysis liberal and conservative affiliation groups were identified and tested. The first phase consisted of two groups of white male college students. In this instance the scores from Ss who were members of a "protest" organization which purported to seek basic changes in the university system were contrasted with those of Ss from a conservative political club. The sample sizes were 51 and 55 Ss respectively. The second phase compared 51 black undergraduates at a conservative, fundamentalist church-related college with 80 "activist" black students enrolled at two colleges. The third comparison was between 143 members of an adult organization with a liberal orientation, contrasted with 91 agricultural extension agents believed to be conservative. Group means were calculated and compared. The pattern of

statistically significant differences ($\alpha = .05$) observed in the three phases was a factor which qualified an item for retention in the form of the scale used in the present study. In addition, a factor analysis of the data generated by each phase yielded sets of factor loadings that entered into the selection of items for the final form of the instrument. The results of factor analytic procedures also indicated that the factor structure of the scale was reasonably stable across the three phases.

These procedures resulted in the elimination of 35 items and thus 88 of the items successfully met the performance criteria. At that point alternate forms of the scale were devised. An attempt was made to balance such elements as factor loadings, mean scale values, variances, and item discrimination statistics and the number of liberal and conservative items in each form. Both forms were presented to a sample of 118 Introductory Sociology students with the order of presentation randomized. Comparability of the alternate forms was demonstrated in that the summated scores of each form yielded a correlation coefficient of .88 and a t-test of mean differences was not significant ($p > .10$).

Since, as Rambo points out, only a minority of available attitude scales are subjected to stringent validity and reliability considerations, it was decided that the Social Attitude Scale would more than satisfy attitude measurement requirements.

Information Scale

The level of information was measured by a 50-item multiple choice test, containing questions each with five alternative answers. For each question there was only one correct response. Popular consumption publications such as news magazines and newspapers served as the source of item ideas in the formative stages of the scale construction. Two basic considerations were given to the applicability of potential items. First, an attempt was made to employ essentially current and relevant political events, persons, groups, etc. At the same time, however, several items dealt with what might be called historical material. These items were considered so long as some fairly obvious consequence or repercussion of the event in question remained a viable factor in current political events. A question requiring knowledge of the 1954 school desegregation Supreme Court decision was an example. Secondly, items were generated to conform to rather easily demonstrable objectivity. This is not to say that political information is not highly subjective and personalized but rather that a loose notion of consensual validation via news reports was employed as the standard of truth or falsity. Most of the items were such that the probability of differential perception was minimal. The information scale is presented in Appendix D.

Originally 100 items were generated which required the subjects to make correct identifications in the following six categories:

- I political figures
- II organizations, groups, parties
- III slogans, symbols, speeches
- IV legislation, judicial decisions
- V political processes, traditions
- VI political philosophies

In reality, there was considerable overlap between categories in that a single item might require, for example, the identification of an individual plus his party affiliation or philosophical position. The categories were, therefore, more of a framework through which items could be generated rather than an ultimate division of logical domains.

In a pre-test the 100 items were administered to 124 students enrolled in Introductory Psychology at the Oklahoma State University. Each test was scored and the Ss were arbitrarily divided into three groups based on total score. Ss scoring between 0 - 34 correct responses were placed in the low group (L), those scoring between 35 - 54 correct were assigned to the middle group (M), while Ss correctly answering 55 or more of the items composed the high group (H). This delineation of the 100 possible scores was made prior to the administration of the test.

Items were selected for the final form of the information scale according to several criteria. Table I presents the item selection process by category. The percentage of correct responses was determined for each of the three groups for each item. For the purpose of an initial dis-

criminability test it was assumed that the per item percentage of passing should reflect the same sequence as the three groups. Thus, the first criterion for retention in the final scale was the sequence $H > M > L$, that is, an item was retained if the percentage of correct responses was highest for the H group, next highest for the M group, and lowest for the L group. This procedure resulted in the elimination of 23 items. Next a function based on the percentage of passing for the H and L groups was plotted graphically for each item. In addition, the point representing the percentage of passing for the M group was located on each graph. To determine relative discriminability of the items between the groups, the slope of the H-L function and the distance between the point representing the M group and H-L function were calculated from the graphs and recorded. These two indices were, in turn, ranked according to discriminability (i.e. the greater the slope the greater the discriminability between H and L and the closer the M point to the H-L function the greater the discriminability between M and H and M and L), with the resulting two ranks added together.

The combined discriminability rank scores were placed in a matrix depicting overall percentage of passing for all pre-test Ss by the original six categories. Table II represents this matrix. The fifty items selected for the final scale were taken from this matrix with an attempt to satisfy the following criteria: (1) high discriminability scores;

(2) representation of the general distribution of total difficulty; and (3) representation as equally as possible of the original categories.

TABLE I
ITEM RETENTION BY CATEGORY

Category	Original Items	After Elimination of Non-Sequential Items	Final Scale
I	21	15	10
II	21	16	11
III	17	13	7
IV	16	11	8
V	14	12	7
VI	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>
Total	100	77	50

In addition to the fifty test items the information scale contained three questions which called for such an elementary level of knowledge of politics that it was assumed that the overall percentage of passing would be 100%. An item requiring the identification of the President of the United States exemplifies the difficulty of each of these items. The three low difficulty items were included as a

crude test of the Ss attention and motivation to perform the task. It was decided prior to the experiment that any Ss who missed two or more of these items would in all probability be simply responding without reading the questions or genuinely attempting to answer correctly, and thus justification would be available for rejection from the experiment. The three low difficulty items were located in initial, medial, and final portions of the information test, i.e. they were positioned as questions #3, #25, and #51. It was found, however, that this precaution was unnecessary since none of the Ss failed to correctly respond to two or more of these items except those Ss who were rejected for other reasons.

Due to the fact that there were time limitations on the administration of the information scale, it was decided that any Ss would be rejected from further consideration if they failed to complete 5 or more of the information items. Time was not a factor in the administration of the attitude scale and therefore no specific criterion for rejection was necessary.

TABLE II
ITEM SELECTION MATRIX*

Total Percentage of Passing	Category					
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
100	98(74)		6(76)			
90			24(101) 38(99) 43(100) 64(101) 74(83) 80(86)**		73(85)**	33(91)** 53(65)**
80	85(66)**	19(41)** 63(31)**	14(26)**	21(111)**	35(97)	
70	27(81)** 77(103)	23(32)** 78(50)** 86(46)**	20(98) 39(94)** 90(20)**	75(76)**	32(79)**	
60	99(65)**	12(58) 30(61)** 45(118) 58(47)** 96(72)**	16(54)**		42(43)** 60(106)	17(92)** 22(110) 31(101)**
50	1(60)** 40(49)**	97(78)** 100(84)		44(46)** 44(75)**	76(83)**	11(92)
40	25(74)** 37(32)** 83(62)** 95(51)**	26(35)** 34(40)**		46(97) 88(115)	3(37)** 72(101) 89(97)	5(113) 61(26)** 66(46)**
30	41(75) 52(90)**	47(75) 79(89) 41(75)	48(66)**	9(81)** 57(58)** 84(84)**		94(66)**
20	67(94)			13(110) 81(91)**	56(64)** 71(72)** 82(110)	
10	87(110)					

*The number within the parenthesis represents the combined discrimination ranks.

**Items selected for final scale.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The information test was scored for the number of correct responses and each score was converted to a percentage. The information scores ranged from 12% to 90% correct and resulted in a distribution skewed toward the lower region of the scale. Figure 1 presents this distribution. As will be noted, the modal score was 50%. Additionally, 516 or approximately 69% of the Ss were able to answer only half or fewer of the items correctly. The median of the distribution was 44%. The relatively meager scores obtained by the majority of the Ss are consistent with the literature in the area of political knowledge.

The attitude scale responses were scored for each item according to conventional Likert procedures, i.e. the response "strongly agree" was assigned the score of 5, "agree" the score of 4, and so on. The scoring procedure was reversed for the liberal items. As a result, the higher the score for both individual items and for the scale as a whole, the greater the degree of conservatism.

Relative to a measure of interrelatedness or constraint several alternatives were available. One approach would have been to dichotomize the response continuum and compute

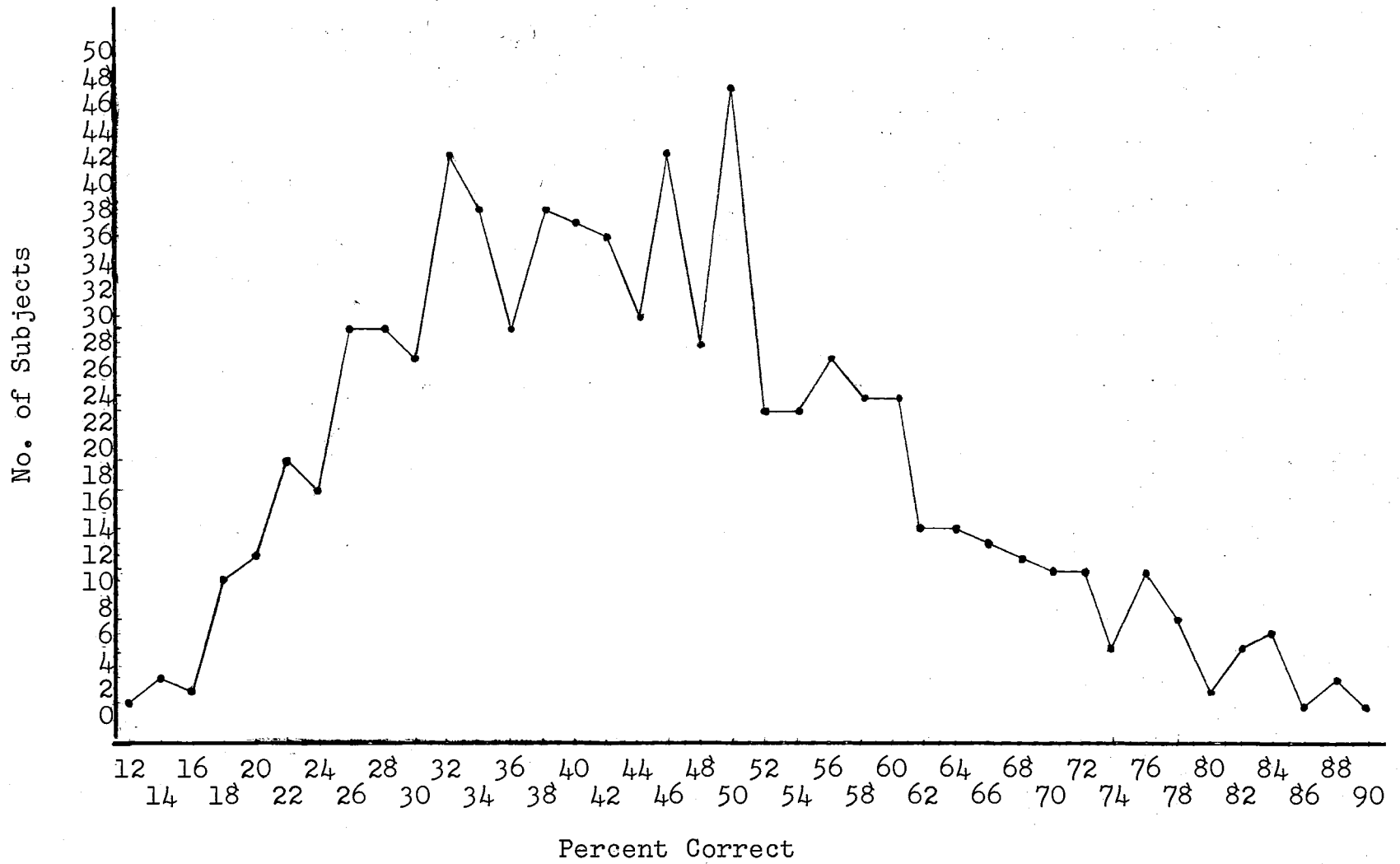


Figure 1. The Distribution of Information Scores

a phi-coefficient; however, the difficulties involved in dealing with the undecided category could not be satisfactorily resolved. The easiest solution would have been to eliminate the data in that category. By thus limiting the applicable response categories, however, substantial portions of the data would have been lost.

A second alternative involved the use of the Pearson r . This statistic was originally chosen as the measure of constraint for the present study, and the intercorrelation matrices were, in fact, generated for the experimental groups. Two sources of difficulty were readily apparent from this analysis. First, it was discovered that the resultant coefficients were disturbingly close to zero. Coefficients of .10 were common with only an occasional association of .40 or above. Since these results differed substantially from the usual case for interitem correlations, and since it differed from previous interitem correlations for the same items with similar samples, it was decided that the problem was due to some characteristic of the statistic rather than a true representation of the behavioral phenomena in question. Secondly, upon reflection it was decided that the assumptions underlying the Pearson r were not immediately open to verification in the present study and therefore its use was questionable.¹ Hays (1963)

¹It must be noted that summary indices of the Pearson r were used to analyze the results of the pretest, from which the hypotheses were generated.

argues that for simple descriptive purposes assumptions are not necessary in computing correlation coefficients. Beyond this level, however, consideration must be given to such questions as the form of the population distribution, the variability of Y as a function of X and the true level of measurement.

As a result of these considerations the contingency coefficient was chosen as the measure of constraint. More specifically, 5 X 5 contingency tables were constructed for each possible pair of attitude items within each information group. The average of the coefficients obtained from each matrix of contingency tables was used to represent the degree of constraint for a given group. This approach offered the advantage of requiring only two limitations. First, the frequency of each of the 25 cells in the matrix must be greater than zero. Additionally, the maximum value of the statistic is limited to the square root of 1 minus 1 over n, in this case .86.

In order to examine the constraint variable as a function of information, the information scores were divided into five groups of descending knowledgeability. The groups were selected so that five approximately equal ranges of information scores would be constructed, with the exception that Ss who received identical information scores be placed in the same group. The resultant groups were: I 90%-60%, (n=140), II 58%-50%, (n=144), III 48%-40%, (n=173), IV 38%-32%, (n=147), and V 30%-12%, (n=149). Since the atti-

tude responses were obtained for equivalent forms of the Social Attitude Scale, two measures of constraint were available for each of the five groups.

Table III presents the average of the coefficients obtained by each group for both forms of the scale. Figure 2 contains a graphic comparison of the group averages. It will be noted that hypothesis II was supported by the data in that both high and low information groups yield greater levels of constraint than does the middle group. This finding is apparently stable since the descending sequence of levels of constraint by information group, I > II > V > IV > III was duplicated for both forms of the scale. This result is clearly at variance with the data reported by Converse.

TABLE III
AVERAGE CONSTRAINT AS A FUNCTION OF INFORMATION

Information Group	Average Constraint	
	Form	
	A	L
I	.384*	.402
II	.376	.401*
III	.337	.342
IV	.347	.356**
V	.362	.378*

*Average proportionally adjusted due to failure to meet minimal cell requirements for one item.

**Average proportionally adjusted due to failure to meet minimal cell requirements for two items.

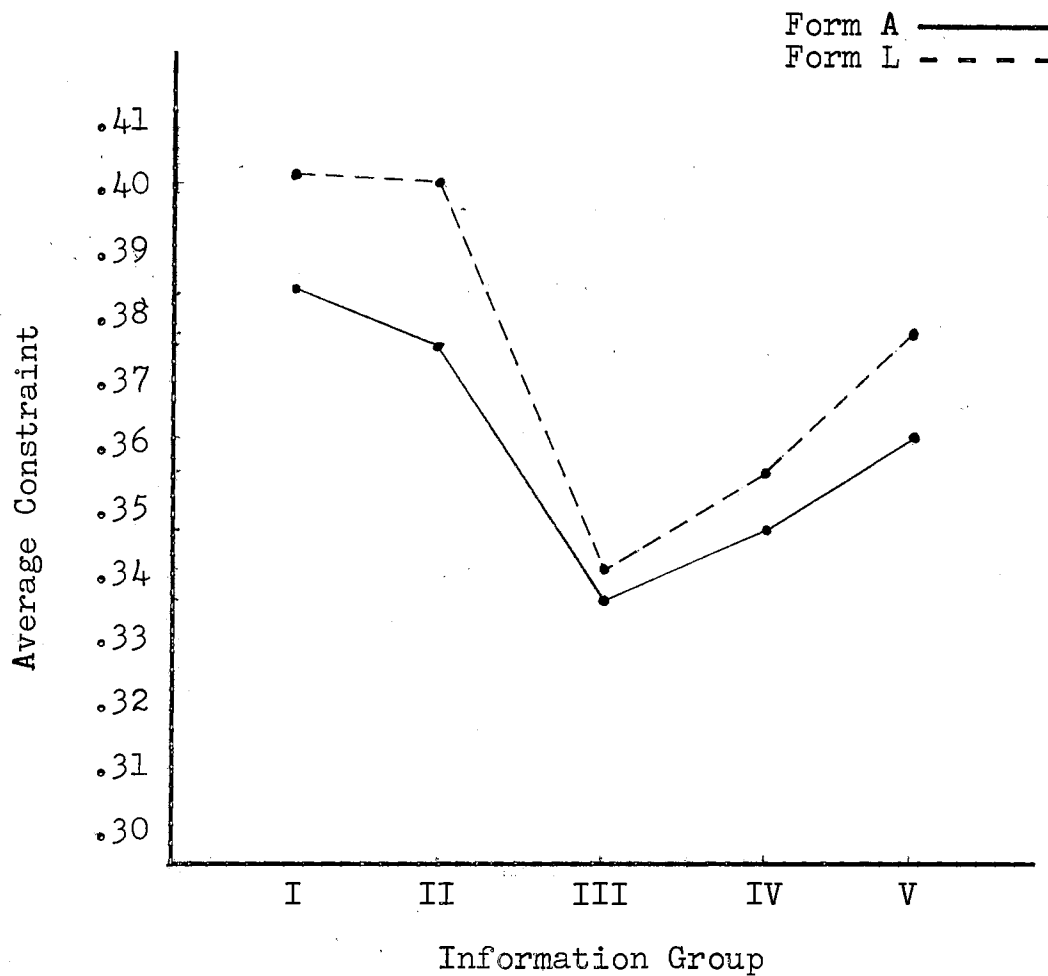


Figure 2. Average Constraint as a Function of Information

The data was analyzed using a median test which requires that a composite distribution of values be formed from all experimental groups and a median value is computed for the composite. Subsequently, for each experimental group, the number of observations falling above and below this median value is determined, and the test is based on a χ^2 computed from the resulting 2 X r table.

Tables IV and V represent the number of coefficients above and below the composite median of all coefficients for each form of the scale. The resultant χ^2 values were 242.71 for Form A and 387.67 for Form L. Both are statistically significant at $\alpha = .01$, for 4 d.f., indicating that the overall differences in constraint are significant, thus supporting hypothesis I. In addition, the χ^2 median test was used to compare adjacent information groups, i.e. a similar comparison was made between groups I and II, II and III, III and IV, and IV and V for both forms of the attitude scale. Table VI presents the χ^2 totals for these analyses. Of the eight comparisons all but one is significant and four are highly significant, further supporting hypothesis I.

Following the initial analysis other sources of systematic variation became apparent. One area of interest concerned the relationship between total attitude score (i.e. liberalism-conservatism) and levels of information. With the five groups earlier outlined a comparison was made using the data collected to measure the constraint variable. Total attitude scores were obtained by summing across each of

the item scores for a given S and averages within each of the five information groups were calculated. Keeping in mind that higher scores refer to greater degrees of conservatism, it will be noted in Figure 3 that the present data indicates a relatively strong relationship between attitude and information, with higher levels of information associated with more liberal positions while less information implies a more conservative orientation.

TABLE IV
CHI-SQUARE DISTRIBUTION ABOVE AND
BELOW GRAND MEDIAN FORM A

No. of Coefficients	Group					Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Above Median	605	579	348	392	490	2,414
Below Median	298	367	598	554	456	2,273
Total	903	946	946	946	946	4,687

TABLE V
CHI-SQUARE DISTRIBUTION ABOVE AND
BELOW GRAND MEDIAN FORM L

No. of Coefficients	Group					Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	
Above Median	597	581	276	292	432	2,178
Below Median	349	320	670	569	478	2,386
Total	946	901	946	861	910	4,564

TABLE VI
CHI-SQUARE TOTALS FOR ADJACENT INFORMATION
GROUPS FOR EACH FORM

Comparison	Form A	Form L
I vs II	5.84*	.33
II vs III	198.80**	231.49**
III vs IV	4.30*	4.54*
IV vs V	20.38**	33.67**

*significant $\alpha = .05$, 1df.
**significant $\alpha = .01$, 1df.

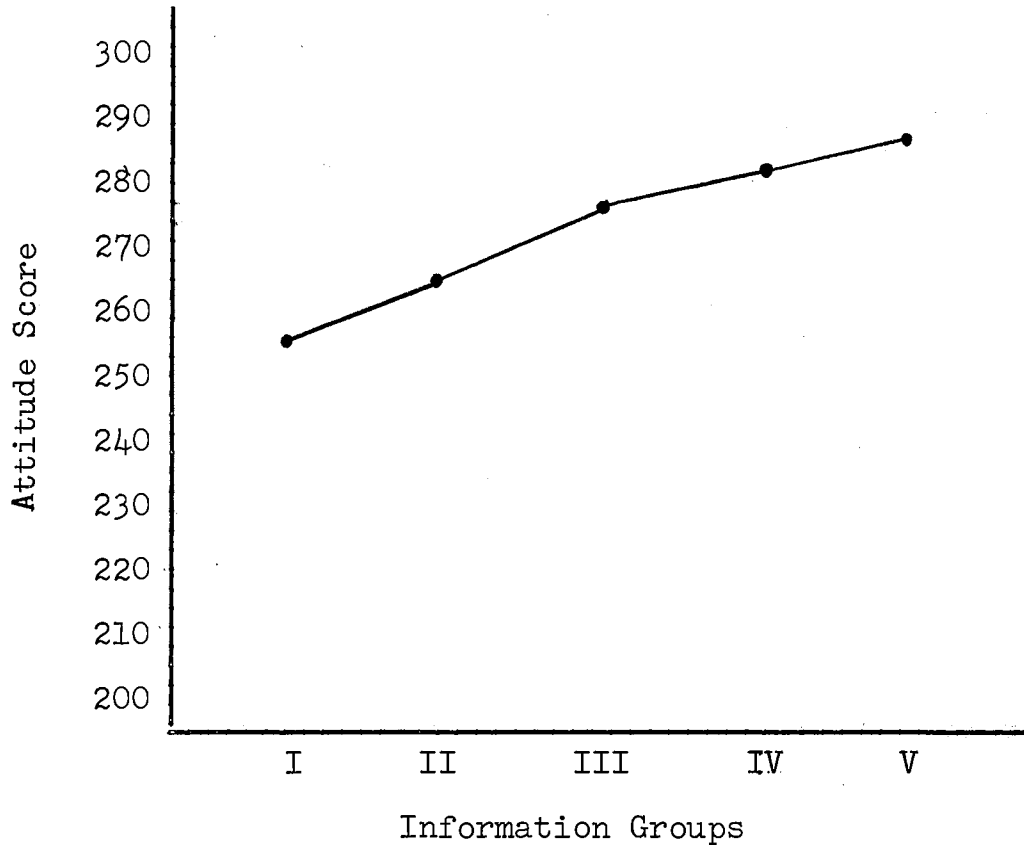


Figure 3. Average Attitude Scores by Information Group

A second relationship of concern is the distribution of sex of S across the various information levels. Again the experimental results strongly suggested a functional relationship between the two variables. Males tended to score better on the information scale than did females and in spite of the fact that females outnumbered males in the sample, most females scored in the lower information groups as indicated by Figure 4.

Previous research has indicated that less informed voters also tend to be less involved, interested, or con-

cerned with politics (Converse, 1964). In this connection a comparison was made employing the available data between information and two indices of involvement. Figure 5 indicates a relationship between information of voter registration for the sample. The function is at variance with the reported study in that Ss with low information registered in greater numbers than did the middle information groups. The fact that high information was related to higher rates of registration is consistent with previous reports. Figure 6 indicates the relationship between information and political participation. Participation refers to involvement in such activities as campaigning, fund raising, and membership in campus political organizations (e.g. Young Democrats, Young Republicans). In this case results consistent with Converse were obtained, in that information and participation appear to be related in a linear fashion.

Both the participation and registration indices were obtained as part of the personal data inventory. It is interesting to note the similarity between the function generated by the information and registration variables and the one resulting from the comparison between information and constraint. It is possible that voter registration and voting behavior are related to or perhaps even dependent upon constraint.

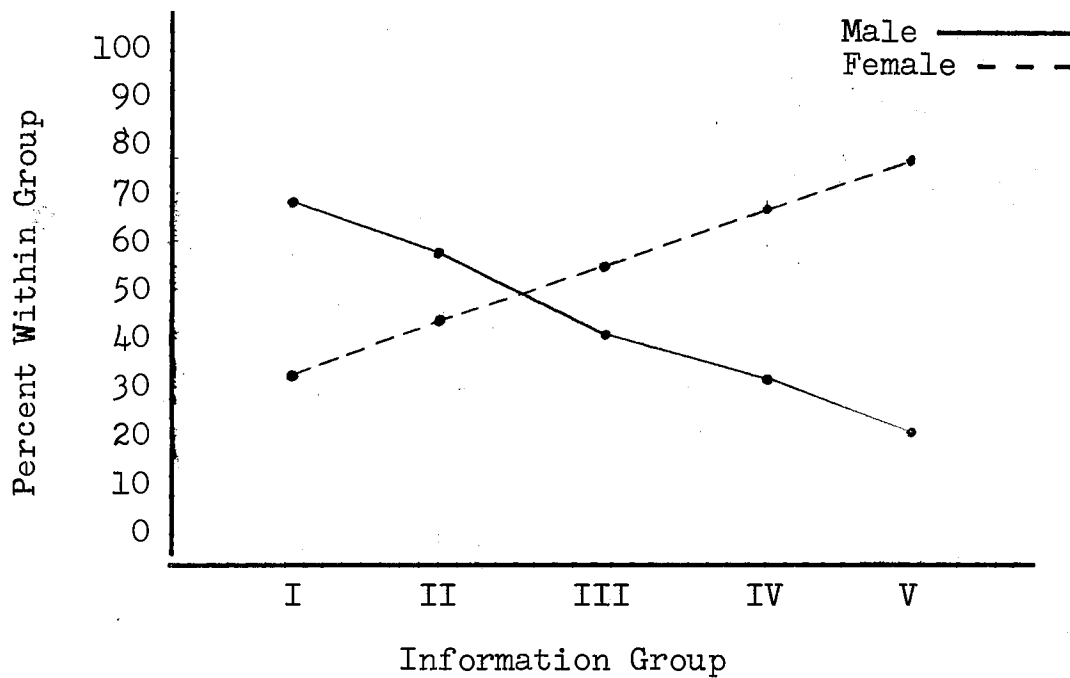


Figure 4. Sex of Subject by Information Group

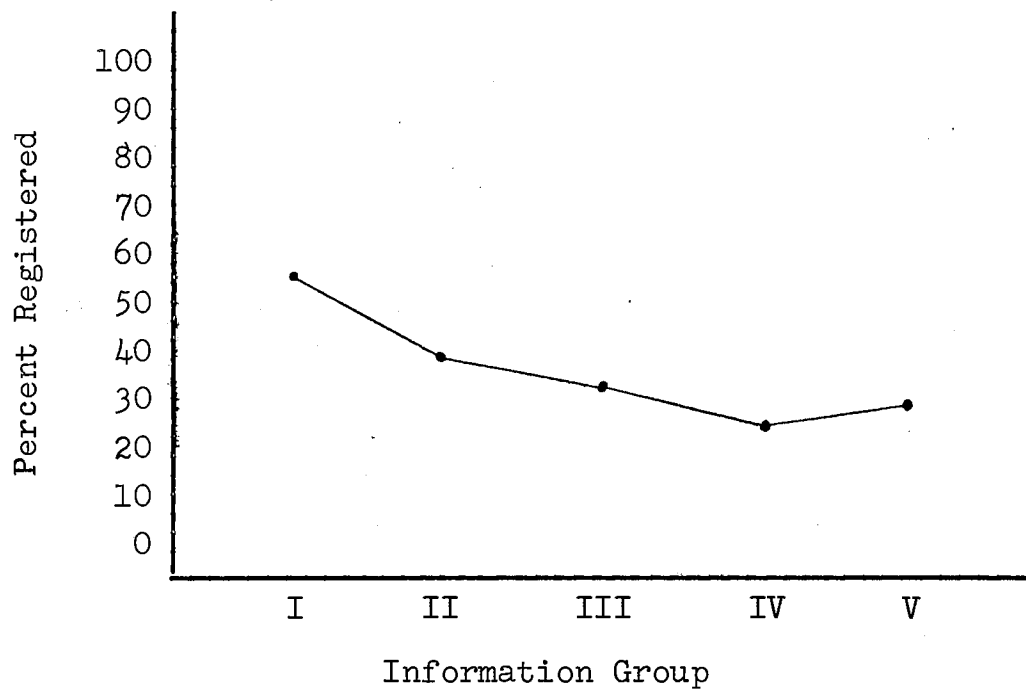


Figure 5. Voter Registration by Information Groups

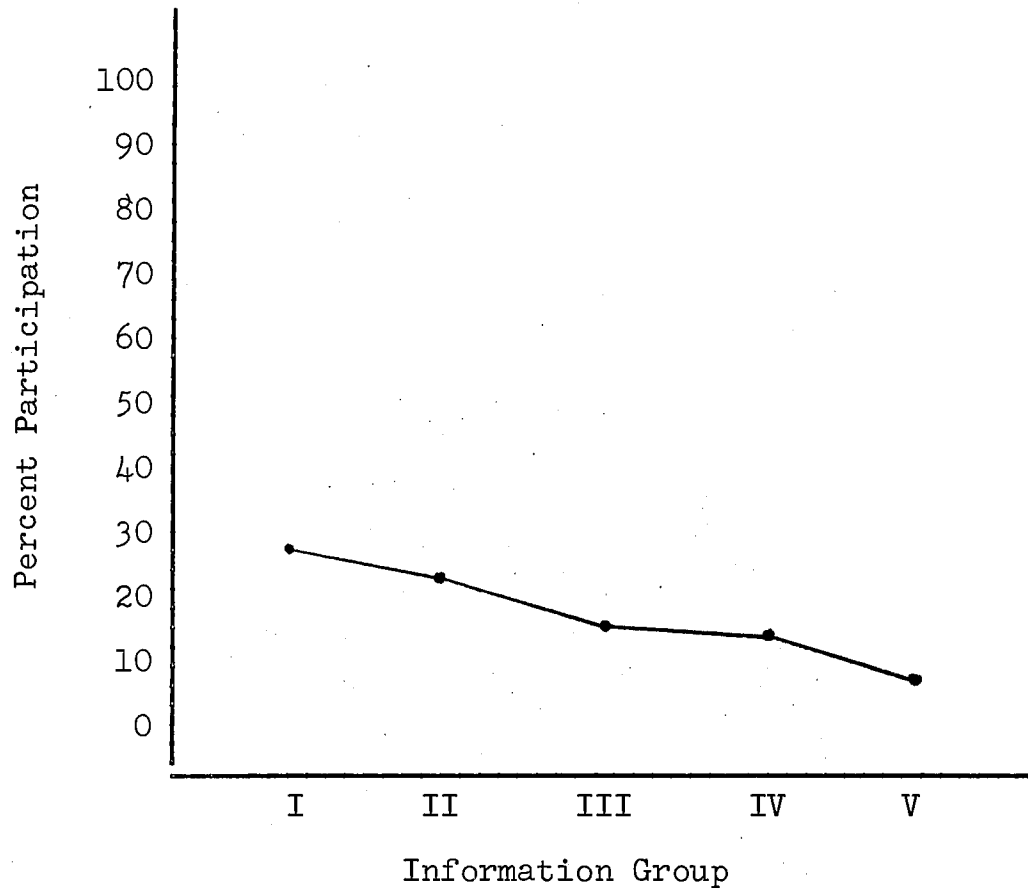


Figure 6. Political Participation by Information Group

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

As was indicated in the previous chapter, the data generated by the present study reaffirms the idea that Ss are generally uninformed about politics. In addition, the evidence confirms the concept of a functional relationship between information and the degree of belief system constraint. However, the specific function obtained conflicts with the previous work reported by Converse. The contradictory result concerns the extreme groups on either pole of the information continuum, while the absence of highly constrained attitude systems across the broad spectrum of Ss was supported in the present study. More specifically, the difference concerns the degree of constraint in that element of Ss which is most poorly informed.

The concept proposed by Converse of a linear relationship between information and constraint is intuitively appealing due to the inherent "good form" and simplicity of such a function. As with the study of other behavioral events however, simple, easily defined formulations often fit nicely into theory while failing to explain adequately available data. That is not to say that the present study automatically reduces the significance of the previous work

in this area. For example, there are at least three important differences in methodology and sampling relative to Converse' work, a consideration of which must temper any attempt at generalization.

First, the sample consisted of college students who were primarily between the ages of 17 to 19. While previous arguments were presented to the effect that the Ss tested were mostly of voting age and also that substantial involvement by students in political activities is a demonstrable current phenomena, it must also be conceded that the sample in question does not adequately reflect the electorate as a whole. For example, assuming that the present body of newly enfranchised voters (i.e. 18-21 year old voters), evidenced as much interest in and knowledge of national and international political affairs, one might still expect differences between this sample and older voters due to the experience of voting and the development of party sentiment and loyalty over a series of elections. Furthermore, while increased political activity has occurred on numerous campuses, the author's personal knowledge of the Ss and the campus in the present study would suggest substantially less activity of this nature as indicated by crude measures such as demonstrations, rallies, etc. This limitation of the sample would be crucial if the common view of a highly involved, knowledgeable electorate were indeed the case. However, since research indicates that large segments of the electorate are poorly informed and only peripherally involved

in political events, the political quiescence of the sample suggests that it is perhaps less selective, and thus more representative of the population than other campuses might be. Additionally, the present concern with the phenomena of belief system constraint is not logically bound by voting behavior per se. Presumably it is a phenomenon which could be found in samples of any age or characteristics. For this reason it does not appear that the results of the present investigation can be dismissed summarily on the basis of an irrelevant or inappropriate subject pool.

A similar difference between the two studies concerns the educational levels of the Ss tested. It may be argued for example, that the Ss who comprise the lower information groups were so placed because of the relative sophistication of the sample and the average item difficulty level when compared to the Ss and information tests employed in Converse' study. All Ss who participated in the experiment were college students, and it may be the case that Ss who scored at the lower end of the information distribution might have been placed well above other Ss if the test had been less difficult and more subjective, and the sample greater in breadth, as was true with the study by Converse. It is even possible that most of the Ss in the present study would belong to the top two information groups proposed by Converse (i.e. the ideologue and near-ideologue groups). If this were true then the apparent conflict in results might be at least partially resolved, since by comparison the

present sample would represent high information Ss. Presumably, the majority of the Ss tested by Converse would yield lower information scores and accordingly lower constraint measures, and thus the linear function would be retained. However, it must be remembered that for the present data, located between the two poles of the information continuum are the middle information groups with significantly lower constraint scores, thus eliminating the straight line function. It does appear that the techniques used in the present study afforded a greater degree of resolution in measuring the information continuum.

In any event, the possibility that the present sample is generally better educated than the Ss tested by Converse is balanced by the greater precision of measurement and specification of experimental operations. Thus the third difference has to do with the method of assessing information levels. In his review of foreign affairs information studies, Robinson (1967) acknowledges that "objective" techniques of measurement suffer from the fact that political information is essentially transmitted and retained in terms of evaluative content. Thus, for example, many Ss may be unable to locate a particular country on a world map, or to identify the specific provisions of a proposed legislative act, while at the same time possessing functional knowledge as to whether the country or bill is "good" or "bad" relative to some attitude position. This is essentially the diametric opposite of the criticism presented

earlier to Converse' subjective method of assessing information levels. There appears to be no completely satisfactory resolution to the paradox created by the fact that measurement techniques which provide for greater stability, reliability, and statistical soundness at the same time are unable to tap the "richness" of cognitive material and the "closer to reality" aspects of subjective testing. As a result, the choice of technique becomes largely one of preference and convenience. Also, in this instance, the more subjective approach had already been performed, providing the need to explore similar phenomena with more objective techniques.

In spite of these differences and the contradictory results, it is nonetheless apparent that the data generated by the present study are statistically significant and stable (i.e. the results of the pre-study and the experiment were consistent) and thus in need of explanation. It must also be reiterated that the study was exploratory and that, in addition, no organized theoretical foundation is available for examining the results. However, tentative hypotheses and explanation seem appropriate despite the lack of a definitive theory.

The essential question would seem to be what is the role of information in the formation, structure, and changing of belief systems. From the data it is clear that belief systems associated with higher levels of constraint may be held with or without much information concerning the

attitude objects in question. In this connection, the role of information seems to be contradictory since both high and low levels of information are associated with higher levels of constraint in belief systems while middle levels are associated with less constraint. The same is true when comparing information level and the extremity of attitude positions.

A tentative solution is that there are essentially two types of belief systems. It may be assumed that belief systems serve to impose order and regularity on complex and seemingly inexplicable phenomena such as political affairs. As such belief system characterized by logical inconsistencies and incoherence may be assumed to be psychologically stressful, as indeed the many balance theories suggest.

One style of belief system for avoiding this state might involve reliance upon basic social attitudes derived through socialization processes. Such systems are absorptive in the sense that the specific attitudes originate from authority sources such as parents and teachers, and, at least initially, are not necessarily based on direct sensory experience with the referents in question. As was noted in the survey of previous research even teenaged Ss indicate relatively coherent belief systems. It may be assumed that whatever degree of constraint that is evident at this age may be due to such a process in that authority and other forms of extrinsic control might reasonably be expected to present simplistic conceptualizations of atti-

tude referents, especially those of an abstract nature. This type of belief system might properly be called an intuitive system because detailed information concerning the referent in question would not be necessary to maintain the internal structure of the system so long as the authority sources were effective.

On the other hand it is conceivable that some systems are maintained in the opposite fashion. What might be called the cognizant system would be one in which a synthesis of available information is employed to develop or perhaps protect the coherence of the system. Information may be manipulated to derive "logical" premises and conclusions to support specific attitudes and to facilitate the interdependence between specific elements.

It is important to note that the same objective is available in both of the types of hypothesized belief systems, i.e. high constraint may derive from either consistent authority or superior knowledge. It is also possible that in both cases the type of system is simply one's style of supporting the internal structure of beliefs previously acquired. Indeed the content and direction of the beliefs might even be the same.

The major difference between the two concerns the consequences of acquiring information about attitude referents, especially dissonant information. For the intuitive system dissonant information would serve to challenge the belief system, and if accepted as truth, to undercut it. In the

absence of adequate information to balance, rationalize, or explain contrary fact, the consequences of accepting such information would be an erosion of constraint due to the resultant inconsistent beliefs. By comparison however, the cognizant system would reflect greater flexibility in receiving and accepting such input because additional knowledge is available to maintain perspective in the face of contradictory fact. For the cognizant system, superior tools for dealing with the complexity of information stimuli are available, i.e. previous knowledge.

Returning to the data the intuitive and cognizant systems are of course analogous to the low and high information groups, respectively. However, the middle information-low constraint groups still require explanation. It is possible that the type of beliefs systems outlined above represent opposite ends of a developmental sequence rather than distinct processes. Thus Ss in the middle information groups may be individuals whose original belief structure was eroded by the acceptance of new information, but for whom sufficient information has not been assimilated to avoid inconsistencies and ambivalence to attitude items. This seems especially probable in that the Ss were mostly lower division undergraduates who, by virtue of their course work in political science, history, etc., were receiving substantial amounts of political information, at least part of which may be assumed to be contrary to established attitudes. That is not to say that all individuals would

progress from an intuitive stage through the breakdown of structure to a cognizant stage. Perhaps the development of many individuals is arrested at some level or another or it may be the case that at ages beyond the college level a regression often occurs, in which the relative information level decreases and higher constraint is again evidenced. In any event, the absence of a longitudinal design in the present study prevents an examination of this aspect.

The idea of a developmental sequence for attitude structure is not necessarily inconsistent with conventional attitude theory. However, an interesting issue is raised by the present study that is not readily resolved by current theory. Attitude change is often conceptualized in terms of the movement of a point along a unidimensional continuum. This seems to be a reasonable approach as long as the number or perhaps the complexity of objects of the attitude are few and simple. On a broader level, however, it may be the case that attitude change is better conceived as a restructuring of the belief system in question. That is to say, in terms of political viewpoints attitude change may be a sequential evolution from high constraint, through a breakdown of these structural properties, to a restructuring of attitude elements. For example, a simultaneous consideration of Figures 2 and 3 indicates that Ss with low information scores (group I) have relatively high constraint and are conservative in their political outlook. As information level increases toward group III, constraint

decreases, while the attitude orientation becomes more liberal. Increases in information beyond group III yield corresponding increases in constraint and, at the same time, increased liberalism.

Again no definitive test of this argument is available in the data, suggesting the need for further empirical work. More specifically, a longitudinal study in which Ss could be tested for information level and constraint over a period of time is in order. For example, presently it is not feasible to explain the factors underlying the information assimilation process. Alternatives would be age and education levels of the Ss, emotional and motivational factors such as resistance, selectivity, apathy, and so on.

Another aspect in need of clarification is the apparent contradiction between these results and the common concept of the "balance" models of attitude change briefly discussed in Chapter I. Much research has been published to the effect that attitude elements operate in a homeostatic fashion to the point that they become internally consistent and functionally related. By contrast, the present data indicates rather weak association among specific elements for most Ss. One possible explanation is that the level of analysis and methodologies differ considerably. In the conventional test of a balance theory the S is confronted with dissonance between a relatively small number of attitude elements. In such a circumstance, it is not surprising that there is an attempt to resolve the dissonance, and thus

enhance the appearance of logic and integration.

At a broader level, however, a resolution is more difficult because of the greater number of attitude elements involved. Extrapolating from the present data balance for the belief system may be possible only under two conditions. First, if an individual has little or no information about the objects in question, then there are no contradictions in cognitive elements and thus no imbalance, ambivalence, nor any lack of constraint. On the other hand, if superior knowledge is available, then it may be used to support the belief system in a coherent and consistent fashion.

By contrast, partial information would seem to have the opposite effect of these two situations, in that Ss in group III possessed enough information to challenge and disrupt old belief structures, but not enough to totally restructure the systems.

To summarize, an experiment was performed to discern the relationship between political information and belief system constraint. Contrary to previous research it was found that the function was curvilinear in nature with both high and low information Ss yielding higher constraint than middle information Ss. As was hypothesized, the differences in constraint among groups, organized on the basis of information score, were statistically significant.

A tentative explanation for the results was purposed in which it was assumed that two types of belief processes characterize the end points of a developmental continuum

relative to information and belief system constraint. The fact that a relatively low measure of constraint was found for most Ss in the present study, as opposed to the common prediction of the "balance theories," was explained as a level of analysis difference. Finally, the major implication of the study resulted from indications that attitude change is associated with or perhaps tantamount to a restructuring of the belief system. However, the design of the present study did not allow for a longitudinal test of this hypothesis, and therefore, further empirical work concerning this question is in order.

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APPENDIX A

PERSONAL DATA FORM

Answer All Items

Name _____ Sex _____ Age _____

College Classification _____ Major _____ Minor _____

Approximate GPA _____

Are you registered to vote? Yes _____ No _____

Have you ever voted? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, in which type of election: local ___ state ___ U.S. ___

Have you ever participated in politics? If so, briefly explain. _____

Are you a member of a political party? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, specify which. Democratic _____ Republican _____

American _____ Other (specify) _____

If no, with which party do you most closely identify? _____

List the number of hours and the courses you have taken in political science, history, and economics. _____

Related to what you feel or believe to be right or best in the following areas of concern, indicate the extent to which

your opinions have changed recently, including the last year or so.

I Politics	—	1. Absolutely no change	5. Substantial change
II Religion	—	2. Very little change	6. Very great change
III Social Life	—	3. Some change	7. Complete change
IV Ethics or Morality	—	4. Moderate change	

Check one of the following:

I have lived in one state all my life (name state) _____

I have lived in one region all my life (name region, e.g. far west, south, etc.) _____

I have lived in a number of states and regions _____

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL DATA FORM RESULTS

	Information Group					Total
	I	II	III	IV	V	
N:	140	144	173	147	149	753
Average Age	19.4	18.1	18.4	18.3	18.5	18.6
College Classification:						
Freshman	61	82	116	120	114	493
Sophomore	48	41	39	16	23	167
Junior	17	11	8	3	3	42
Senior	7	1	3	1	1	13
Other*	7	9	7	7	8	38
Sex: Male	95	82	71	49	32	329
Female	45	62	102	98	117	424
Party Identification:						
Republican	65	59	67	71	61	323
Democrat	57	61	73	60	73	324
Independent	4	6	7	0	0	17
Other	14	18	26	16	15	89
Registered to Vote	77	56	57	36	42	268
Have Voted	27	8	11	8	14	68
Political Participation	38	30	27	21	13	129
Average Relevant Hours	4.95	3.14	2.55	1.20	1.75	2.61
College Major:						
Social Science	32	13	11	19	15	90
Biol. and Physical Sci.	32	16	20	7	8	83
Business	21	27	38	25	33	144
Education	6	15	19	16	30	86
Home Economics	7	5	17	21	20	70
Undeclared	19	26	31	31	25	132
Other*	23	42	37	28	18	148
Residence: Oklahoma	72	78	108	88	99	447

*Includes Ss who left the item blank.

APPENDIX C

FORM A OF SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE¹

1. There are many people in this country who live under social conditions that would prevent even the best of men from rising.
2. The old fashion notion of stick-to-it-tive-ness and hard work seems to be sadly lacking in our modern world.
3. I guess I'm a little old fashioned in my beliefs, but I still believe that the American way of life is hard to beat.
4. Those who insist on social experimentation and change expose us all to disruptive influences that could very well prove to be the downfall of the country.
5. You can't change man's basic nature through education; he's the way he is and we should recognize and accept that fact.
6. People who go around knocking our country and wanting to change everything are, in my opinion, just a bunch of trouble makers.
7. Science and man's intellect will eventually solve all mysteries of life.
8. It strikes me as unfair that certain people exercise great powers in the nation simply because they possess great wealth.
9. All property and natural resources should be owned by the Federal Government or rigidly controlled by it.
10. Throughout history, this country has been responsible for many immoral and shameful deeds.

¹William W. Rambo. The Measurement of Broad Spectrum Social Attitudes: Liberalism-Conservatism. Journal of Perceptual and Motor Skills, in press.

11. The only true science of man's behavior is religion because it is here that we can find most of our answers about man.
12. I believe that people in my parent's generation were more patriotic and cared more for this country than do people in today's generation.
13. The Constitution of the United States is a document that is the product of divine inspiration.
14. The skills and personal qualities that are usually associated with business success are the same characteristics that are essential to a position of government leadership.
15. Each man has his place in the scheme of things, and he is happiest when he recognizes and accepts his station in life.
16. Children should learn respect for authority and develop a willingness to function under discipline.
17. If man relies exclusively on his intellect, he will be led to ignore certain basic, yet simple, truths that are fundamental to an understanding of this world.
18. The leadership structure of each community traditionally, and rightfully, is dominated by men; however women should and do exert their leadership influence through their role in the family.
19. This country has made as much progress as it has through the help of God and by good old fashioned hard work.
20. Children should be encouraged to question the ideas of parents, teachers, and clergymen.
21. The Constitution of the United States is a document that needs constant reinterpretation in order to keep it up with the times.
22. Increasing the severity of prison sentences would do much to discourage disregard for law and order.
23. If a man has the ambition and character, he will rise above the most humble beginnings.
24. One reason crime is on the rise is because police have been overrestricted in carrying out their duties.

25. I have found that many very bright people use their minds to lead you away from beliefs that are fundamentally true.
26. The strength and prosperity of our nation should be viewed as an act of Providence.
27. In general, I believe that much of the world's evil comes from a bad social environment and not from the basic nature of man, which I believe is good.
28. Although not the only answer, regular church attendance by more people would contribute much to the solution of many of our most trying social problems.
29. The social changes that have been of most value to man have taken place very slowly and over a long period of time.
30. We've been so concerned with the rights of minority groups in this country that we have completely neglected the rights of ownership and property.
31. I really do not understand why authorities permit so many obscene books and movies to come into our neighborhoods.
32. People deserve punishment for their crimes.
33. Since our country is founded on a belief in God, I believe that our national leaders should have firm religious convictions.
34. Most people who advocate social changes are merely advocating a poorly disguised scheme through which they would gain wealth or power.
35. It is unfair for an individual to inherit more wealth than he needs to provide a comfortable life for himself and his family.
36. We should not go about making social changes unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.
37. The solutions to many of our current social problems are more likely to be found within the social sciences than in religion.
38. If the Federal Government would just leave people alone, they would find that people would work out their own problems to the satisfaction of all.
39. Unless one accepts the idea that people are out for all

they can get, he can't think realistically about social problems.

40. You can tell a lot about a person's character by the way he dresses and keeps himself neat and clean.
41. Try as we might, we cannot obtain basic changes in people's character and morality by carrying out social action programs and educational reforms.
42. Modern technology, although making life easier, has unfortunately tended to reduce self-discipline and individual initiative.
43. On most issues I tend to maintain a conservative position.
44. The frontiers of American opportunity are closed for many citizens, and the age of rugged individualism must be replaced by the age of collectivism.

FORM L OF SOCIAL ATTITUDE SCALE

1. There should be no authority that has the right to determine the type of reading material that is available in the community.
2. I firmly believe that this country has been built on a foundation of truth and righteousness.
3. If a child is ever to learn self-discipline he must first be exposed to firm discipline at home.
4. Many of our current social problems could be solved if there was a fairer distribution of wealth in this country.
5. As a general rule, how a man behaves is the result of reason and choice; he is not forced to act in a certain way by the circumstances under which he lives.
6. There are many times when I feel that we are changing things much too rapidly in this country.
7. A person born to the most humble circumstances can succeed in this country if he has the ability and ambition to get ahead.
8. Many of our most difficult social problems cannot be solved unless the Federal Government becomes more involved with individual communities.

9. Our society should place much more emphasis on the importance of private property and ownership as an essential condition for freedom.
10. Many of our so-called intellectuals get so wrapped up in complicated ideas that they overlook the basic truths that apply to man and his world.
11. I'm sure that environmental factors exert some influence in determining a man's social achievements, but what he inherits in the way of character and ability plays a much more significant role.
12. Many governmental programs are nothing but poorly veiled handouts to the lower classes who, in turn, keep the politician in office.
13. The basic structure of our society is built upon a religious heritage.
14. Although our jails should attempt to return a man to a productive life in the community, they should also serve as a strong reminder that when a man breaks a law, he will be punished.
15. We must experiment with social affairs just as we experiment with physical and biological matters.
16. Although a good break is sometimes important, I believe that men rise in a society largely through their own efforts.
17. There are natural leaders and natural followers, and the country would be better off if more people really accepted this idea.
18. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.
19. He is not much of a person who does not feel great love, gratefulness, and respect for his parents.
20. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.
21. Much of the trouble in our country could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.
22. One can never justify breaking the law by claiming that he is following the dictates of his conscience.
23. I know that man has progressed far through science and

reason, but I also know that there are many important truths that man will never completely comprehend.

24. It seems that the real power in this country has been shifting from the practical, hard-headed, business leaders to fuzzy-thinking, ivory tower, intellectuals who know very little about the real world.
25. Finding fault with this country generally comes from those people who lack the skill or ambition to make something of themselves.
26. I believe that truth endures, hence ideas that withstand the test of time are more likely to be closer to the truth than are ideas that are new.
27. If the lower classes would not let their houses run down so, perhaps they would be more acceptable as neighbors.
28. A man who manages to succeed in business is likely to possess the sound judgment, practical intelligence, and personal characteristics that are required by public office.
29. When I look about at Nature, I see a well ordered plan. The family and all human groups can best secure happiness when they conform to this natural ordering.
30. Many social reformers feel that it is acceptable to destroy both the good and the bad aspects of the society in order to achieve their objectives.
31. I think we are moving away from a time when people were happier and life was simpler.
32. As a general rule, poor people are just as happy as rich people.
33. Labor unions have demonstrated the benefits people may expect when they join together in the pursuit of their own interests.
34. The decent people of this country, the ones who work for a living and have respect for the law, are not the ones we see agitating for social change.
35. God's laws are so simple and beautiful that I do not understand why man has turned away from them to a set of fuzzy ideas that are constantly changing.
36. The saying, "Mother knows best," still has more than a grain of truth.

37. Very few people today seem to be willing to do hard work. I see this as a fundamental weakness in our country.
38. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.
39. There is greater leadership potential in the business community than is generally found in other sectors of the society.
40. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents or else he will lose respect for them.
41. Today we pamper our children, keep our lower classes on the dole, and neglect the traditions that made this country great.
42. During the recent past this country has been undergoing a steady decay in national character and morality.
43. Despite all the recent criticism and attacks, I still feel that this country is basically good and decent.
44. I believe that religion and patriotism are among the highest virtues a man can display.

APPENDIX D

INFORMATION SCALE

- * 1. The Vice President of the Republic of South Viet Nam is:
 - a. Ho Chi Minh
 - b. Nguyen Van Thieu
 - c. Phom Van Dong
 - d. Nguyen Cao Ky
 - e. Chui Hui-tso

- 2. The Westberry vs Sanders decision by the U.S. Supreme Court established which concept:
 - a. separate but equal schools
 - b. judicial review
 - c. one man, one vote in national elections
 - d. that prayer in public schools is unconstitutional
 - e. social jurisprudence

- * 3. The Bureau of the Budget is part of the:
 - a. House of Representatives
 - b. Treasury Department
 - c. Executive Office of the President
 - d. State Department
 - e. Interior Department

- 4. The CIA was created during the administration of President:
 - a. Harding
 - b. Roosevelt
 - c. Lincoln
 - d. Johnson
 - e. Truman

- 5. Charles Percy could be characterized as a:
 - a. liberal Republican
 - b. conservative Republican

*Item selected for use in the final scale form.

- c. liberal Democrat
 - d. conservative Democrat
 - e. conservative Independent
6. The star on the American Flag stand for:
- a. each of the states
 - b. American generals who have died in combat
 - c. the original American colonies
 - d. each of the states and U.S. colonies
 - e. only the continental states
- ** 7. The current Vice-President of the United States is:
- a. John N. Garner
 - b. Hubert H. Humphrey
 - c. Richard M. Nixon
 - d. Spiro T. Agnew
 - e. Lyndon B. Johnson
8. The President of the United Mine Workers Union is:
- a. Tony Boyle
 - b. Walter Reuther
 - c. James Hoffa
 - d. John L. Lewis
 - e. Joseph Jablonski
- * 9. As currently proposed the Revenue Sharing Plan of President Nixon would return federal money to local areas based on which criteria:
- a. percent of total U.S. population
 - b. the portion of overall tax revenues raised in its state
 - c. need
 - d. percent population plus proportion of taxes
 - e. only to states which voted Republican in 1968 Presidential election
10. The authority to approve Presidential appointments on the part of the U.S. Senate is generally referred to as:
- a. judicial review
 - b. advise and consent
 - c. check and balances
 - d. veto power
 - e. the power of the purse
11. The concept of federalism in government refers to:

**"Lie Score" Item.

- a. political system dividing power between a central government and a series of local governments
 - b. the federal government is supreme
 - c. the states have equal rights with the federal government
 - d. centralized government
 - e. an agriculture system of landowners and resident workers
12. The Bureau of Indian Affairs is part of which Cabinet Department:
- a. Transportation
 - b. Health, Education, and Welfare
 - c. Justice
 - d. State
 - e. Interior
13. Which of the following provisions is an unlawful labor practice by the National Labor Relations Act:
- a. endorsement of political candidates by unions
 - b. strikes
 - c. secondary boycotts
 - d. the Union Shop
 - e. primary boycotts
- * 14. To whom was Vice-President Agnew referring when he charged that vast power was concentrated "in the hands of a tiny enclosed fraternity of privileged men elected by no one and enjoying a monopoly sanctioned and licensed by the government":
- a. television news commentators
 - b. college professors
 - c. lobbyists
 - d. the Supreme Court
 - e. the Joint Chiefs of Staff
15. The agency specifically responsible for investigating cases of counterfeiting is the:
- a. Secret Service
 - b. FBI
 - c. CIA
 - d. Justice Department
 - e. state police of the state in which the counterfeiting occurred
- * 16. Which Vice-Presidential candidate admitted that his name was not a household word after his nomination:
- a. Humphrey

- b. Nixon
 - c. Agnew
 - d. Muskie
 - e. Lodge
- * 17. A philosophy which advocates a strategy of "seizure of power by the proletariat and the establishment of a transitional socialist state with state control of industry, labor, distribution and credit" would best be described as:
- a. socialist
 - b. liberal
 - c. conservative
 - d. anarchiest
 - e. communist
18. The former Sergeant-Major of the Army who appeared before a Senate subcommittee dealing with the service club scandal in Viet Nam is:
- a. SGM Meadlo
 - b. SGM Brown
 - c. SGM Mitchell
 - d. SGM Woolridge
 - e. SGM Henderson
- * 19. The government body charged with regulating communications in the U.S. is:
- a. FTC
 - b. FCC
 - c. AT&T
 - d. SEC
 - e. CCCP
20. The Vietnamization policy refers to:
- a. a military victory in Viet Nam
 - b. a negotiated peace in Viet Nam
 - c. the tactic of search and destroy employed by South Viet Nam forces
 - d. a gradual assumption of the combat by South Viet Nam forces
 - e. a gradual assumption of the cost of the war by South Viet Nam
- * 21. The right to trial by jury was provided by the:
- a. Articles of Confederation
 - b. Constitution
 - c. Truman Doctrine
 - d. Monroe Doctrine
 - e. Supreme Court

22. Those theories and political movements espousing "the reconstruction of the capitalist system of a society by democratic and parliamentary methods, with the aim of establishing state ownership and control of the most fundamental means of production and distribution of wealth" describes:
- liberalism
 - capitalism
 - democracy
 - communism
 - socialism
- * 23. The organization which often offers legal aid in court cases allegedly involving individual civil rights is the:
- American Association of Trial Lawyers
 - Americans for Democratic Action
 - American Bar Association
 - Americans for Legal Action
 - American Civil Liberties Union
24. The "I have a dream" speech was delivered by:
- President Kennedy
 - President Nixon
 - Timothy Leary
 - Martin Luther King
 - James Farmer
- * 25. The Minority Leader of the Seante is:
- Senator Scott
 - Senator Griffin
 - Senator Taft
 - Senator Jackson
 - Senator Case
- * 26. The Civil Service Commission was created primarily:
- as a reform measure to control the "spoils system"
 - to hire the unemployed
 - to systematize government jobs
 - to provide employment for veterans
 - to train people for government jobs
- * 27. The President of South Viet Nam is:
- Nguyen Van Thieu
 - Ho Chi Minh
 - Phom Van Dong

- d. Chou En-lai
 - e. Chui Hui-tso
28. Which of the following legislators recently announced his support of U.S. trade with Red China:
- a. Senator Rhuska
 - b. Representative Boggs
 - c. Senator Case
 - d. Senator Javits
 - e. Senator Bellmon
29. The approximate cost of the Viet Nam war to the U.S. has been:
- a. \$100 million
 - b. \$500 million
 - c. \$500 billion
 - d. \$100 trillion
 - e. \$100 billion
- * 30. The NATO-member country which disallowed NATO bases in its territory was:
- a. Great Britain
 - b. Germany
 - c. Ireland
 - d. France
 - e. the Neatherlands
- * 31. Which of the following would a political liberal hold as being most important to American Society:
- a. property rights
 - b. big business
 - c. individual freedoms
 - d. laissez faire capitalism
 - e. nationalization of basic industry
- * 32. The major foreign policy adviser to the President is:
- a. Secretary of State
 - b. Attorney General
 - c. Secretary of Defense
 - d. Army Chief of Staff
 - e. Vice-President
- * 33. An individual with a conservative political philosophy would be most likely to favor which of the following:
- a. men are naturally created equal and therefore

- society requires classlessness for the good of all
- b. order, authority, and community are the primary defense against the impulse to violence and anarchy
 - c. progress is the root of society, tradition is worthless
 - d. man is ruled by reason rather than emotion
 - e. if something develops over a long period of time it is likely to be out moded and useless
- * 34. Which individual allegedly aided President Nixon's nomination as part of the so-called "Southern Strategy":
- a. George Wallace
 - b. William Fulbright
 - c. Russel Long
 - d. Mendall Rivers
 - e. Strom Thurman
35. The foreign embassies of the United States are under the jurisdiction of the:
- a. House of Representatives
 - b. Treasury Department
 - c. Interior Department
 - d. State Department
 - e. Justice Department
36. The phrase "effete intellectual snobs" was used by Vice President Agnew in a speech to describe:
- a. labor union leaders
 - b. the Democratic Party leadership
 - c. anti-war advocates
 - d. newsmen
 - e. the members of the Senate
- * 37. The current Secretary of the Treasury Department is:
- a. John B. Connelly
 - b. Melvin Laird
 - c. David Kennedy
 - d. John Volpe
 - e. John Mitchell
38. The symbol of the Democratic Party is:
- a. hawk
 - b. elephant
 - c. donkey
 - d. dove
 - e. eagle

- * 39. The stripes on the American flag represent:
- the bill of rights
 - harmony and justice
 - the original American colonies
 - courage and valor
 - each of the states
- * 40. The proposed SST has been supported officially by which group:
- Sierra Club
 - AFL-CIO
 - SDS
 - American Civil Liberties Union
 - Democratic Party
41. The Anti-Communist organization headed by Billy James Hargis is named:
- John Birch Society
 - the Christian Crusade
 - the Weathermen
 - the Minutemen
 - the American Nazi Party
- * 42. A Writ of Habeas Corpus requires that:
- a pre-trial prisoner must be given bail opportunities
 - a body must be entered as evidence of a murder
 - an individual has to be formally charged for an offense in order to be held by authorities
 - an individual must be advised of his rights when arrested
 - an individual cannot be required to testify against himself
43. The symbol of the Republican Party is:
- rooster
 - donkey
 - elephant
 - hawk
 - tiger
- * 44. The Supreme Court Decision which reversed the "separate but equal" policy for school integration was:
- McLauren vs Oklahoma State Board of Regents
 - Avery vs Midland, Texas
 - Brown vs Topeka, Kansas Board of Education
 - Plessy vs Ferguson
 - Colebrow vs Green

45. The United States is not a member of which of the following:
- NATO
 - United Nations
 - SEATO
 - Warsaw Pact
 - Alliance for Progress
46. The Labor Management Relations Act of 1947 is more commonly known as the:
- Wagner Act
 - Taft-Hartley Act
 - Sherman Antitrust Act
 - Miller-Tydings Act
 - Fair Labor Standards Act
47. The Rev. Joseph D. Duffy is President of which of the following organizations:
- Students for a Democratic Society
 - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 - Americans for Democratic Action
 - John Birch Society
 - Ripon Society
- * 48. In 1952 Richard Nixon went on television to make an address which became known as the "Checkers Speech" to answer allegations that:
- political friends had given him kickbacks on government contracts
 - he had slandered Helen Gaghan Douglas
 - he had railroaded Alger Hiss to prison
 - that he opposed the Marshall Plan
 - political friends had established a fund for his traveling expenses
49. Barry Goldwater could be characterized as a:
- liberal Democrat
 - liberal Republican
 - conservative Democrat
 - conservative Republican
 - liberal Independent
50. The civil rights organization which led the boycott of buses in Montgomery, Alabama and is currently headed by the Rev. James Abernathy is:
- the Southern Christian Leadership Council

- b. the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
 - c. Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee
 - d. Students for a Democratic Society
 - e. The Urban League
51. The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee is:
- a. Senator Rhuska
 - b. Senator Scott
 - c. Senator Kennedy
 - d. Senator Harris
 - e. Senator Fulbright
- * 52. The Chairman of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee is:
- a. Rep. Ford
 - b. Rep. Albert
 - c. Rep. Byrnes
 - d. Rep. Stratton
 - e. Rep. Mills
- * 53. The statement "our society is so complicated that if you try to reform parts of it you're likely to upset the entire system" expressed the views of which type of political system:
- a. liberalism
 - b. radicalism
 - c. socialism
 - d. conservatism
 - e. communism
54. The term which has recently developed to depict the conservative working class is:
- a. hardhats
 - b. rednecks
 - c. wasps
 - d. mugwumps
 - e. Birchers
- * 55. The 1969 Tax Reform Bill did not include which of the following provisions:
- a. increases in personal exemptions
 - b. reduction in the oil depletion allowance
 - c. rise in social security benefits
 - d. extension of the income-tax surcharge at 5% through June, 1970
 - e. reduction in personal exemptions

- * 56. A national convention party platform is drafted by which of the following processes:
- a committee consisting of one man and one woman from each state and territory
 - the party chairman drafts the platform
 - the nominated presidential candidate drafts the platform
 - a committee consisting of the party members in Congress
 - a committee consisting of 10 individuals chosen from the convention at large
- * 57. Which of the following bills was not passed by the U.S. Congress in 1969:
- Tax Reform and Relief Bill
 - the A.B.M. Deployment Bill
 - the Federal-State Revenue Sharing Bill
 - National Environmental Policy Act
 - Extension of the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act
- * 58. The railroad company which was recently reorganized after declaring bankruptcy is:
- M K & O
 - Penn Central
 - Atcheson, Topeka, & Santa Fe
 - Great Northern
 - Southern Pacific
59. The statement "Given our times, we cannot expect political demonstrations to be conducted like prayer meetings" was made by:
- Vice President Agnew
 - Senator McGovern
 - Attorney General Mitchell
 - Senator Kennedy
 - President Nixon
60. Which of the following statements is true:
- Representatives serve for 4 years each term
 - Senators represent the state as a whole, while Representatives are elected from districts
 - Representatives serve for 6 years each term
 - Representatives represent the state as a whole, while Senators are elected from districts
 - both Senators and Representatives are elected from districts

- * 61. John Connelly could be characterized as a:
- liberal Democrat
 - conservative Republican
 - liberal Republican
 - liberal Independent
 - conservative Democrat
62. Which political office has President Nixon not held:
- Senator
 - President
 - Representative
 - Vice-President
 - Mayor
- * 63. The Youth International Party is better known as the:
- YAF
 - Hippies
 - Weathermen
 - Ripon Society
 - Yippies
64. The Presidential song is entitled:
- American the Beautiful
 - Hail to the Chief
 - Battle Hymn of the Republic
 - the Presidential Anthem
 - Lead On O King Eternal
65. The "preventive detention" clause of the Washington D.C. crime bill provided that:
- judges could order ex-convicts arrested during riots and demonstrations
 - judges could order communists arrested during riots and demonstrations
 - judges could order potentially dangerous suspects held for sixty days
 - the police could enter private homes without a search warrant
 - the police could arrest suspects without advising them of their rights
- * 66. George McGovern could be characterized as a:
- liberal Republican
 - conservative Democrat
 - conservative Republican
 - liberal Democrat
 - conservative Independent

67. One of the co-founders of the Black Panthers was:
- Martin Luther King
 - Huey Newton
 - Stokley Carmichael
 - H. Rap Brown
 - Whitney Young
68. Which administration figure was recently under attack because of his privileged position of not being subject to congressional questioning:
- Secretary of State Rogers
 - Secretary of Defense Laird
 - Presidential Adviser Kissinger
 - FBI Director Hoover
 - Attorney General Mitchell
69. All federal judges are appointed by the:
- President
 - House of Representatives
 - Senate
 - Supreme Court Justices
 - Department of Justice
70. The so-called Philadelphia Plan dealt with:
- wage controls in construction industry
 - federal guidelines for appointment of state legislators
 - federal welfare payments
 - anti-racketeering legislation for unions
 - integration of construction industry unions
- * 71. In the House of Representatives a teller vote is one in which:
- a collective voice vote is employed
 - the roll is called and the vote recorded
 - the roll is called but not recorded
 - the secret ballot is employed
 - House members leave their seats and pass between tellers and vote
72. Which of the following is not one of the functions of the Federal Reserve Banking System:
- holds the deposits of member banks
 - provides for the collection of checks
 - supplies the economy with paper currency
 - acts as fiscal agent for the federal government
 - loans of money to private corporations

- * 73. Freedom from Double Jeopardy means that:
- an individual cannot be tried for the same offense twice
 - an individual cannot be taxed on the same source of income twice
 - a convicted offender cannot receive a sentence beyond that which is specified legally as the maximum penalty
 - an individual cannot be tried by both a civilian and a military court
 - an individual cannot be tried for an offense by a state in which he does not reside
- * 74. The National Anthem of the United States is:
- American the Beautiful
 - Battle Hymn of the Republic
 - Star Spangled Banner
 - Pomp and Circumstance
 - Stars and Stripes Forever
- * 75. Which of the following actions was taken by Congress this year on the SST bill:
- passed by Congress, but vetoed by the President
 - tabled
 - defeated by vote
 - passed by Congress and signed into law by the President
 - was never brought out of committee
- * 76. The term of office for the U.S. Senate is:
- 6 years
 - 2 years
 - 4 years
 - 8 years
 - 5 years
77. President Nixon was born in which state:
- Florida
 - New York
 - California
 - Kansas
 - Oregon
- * 78. Which of the following statements is true:
- there is a Republican majority in Congress
 - the current Democratic majority in Congress is the first since the Kennedy Administration

- c. the current Republican majority in Congress is the first since the Eisenhower Administration
 - d. currently there is an equal number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress
 - e. there is presently a Democratic majority in Congress
79. The American Federation of Labor is an organization composed of autonomous:
- a. industrial unions
 - b. textile unions
 - c. craft unions
 - d. steel unions
 - e. construction unions
- * 80. Which individual promised to "bring us together" in his Presidential campaign:
- a. Richard Nixon
 - b. Hubert Humphrey
 - c. George Wallace
 - d. Eugene McCarthy
 - e. Robert Kennedy
- * 81. The Cooper-Church Amendment dealt with which of the following:
- a. tax reform measures
 - b. welfare revisions
 - c. the use of U.S. forces in Southeast Asia
 - d. funds for the proposed SST
 - e. busing of school children in the South
82. The approximate percentage of Negroes in the U.S. population is:
- a. 5%
 - b. 10%
 - c. 12%
 - d. 15%
 - e. 18%
- * 83. The Commanding General of United States Forces in Viet Nam is:
- a. General Westmoreland
 - b. General Abrams
 - c. General Wheeler
 - d. General Cull
 - e. General Vance
- * 84. Which act of Congress has been called the Magna Charta of organized labor:

- a. Miller-Tydings Act
 - b. Sherman Anti-Trust Act
 - c. Taft-Hartley Act
 - d. Wagner Act
 - e. Morrill Act
- * 85. The Speaker of the House of Representatives is:
- a. Representative Boggs
 - b. Representative Albert
 - c. Representative Waldie
 - d. Representative McCormick
 - e. Representative Downing
- * 86. The Cabinet Department that was recently made a federal corporation is the:
- a. Defense Department
 - b. Treasury Department
 - c. Interior Department
 - d. Post Office Department
 - e. Health, Education, and Welfare
87. The Secretary of the Interior is:
- a. Rogers Morton
 - b. John Mitchell
 - c. Stewart Udall
 - d. John Connelly
 - e. Walter Hickel
88. The Job Corps was created as a provision of:
- a. Economic Opportunity Act
 - b. Manpower Development and Training Act
 - c. Area Redevelopment Act
 - d. National Defense Education Act
 - e. Technical and Vocational Training Act
89. An Oligopoly is defined as:
- a. an industry where only one firm is allowed to operate
 - b. an industry where a few firms dominate
 - c. an industry with perfect competition
 - d. a country ruled by the rich
 - e. a country ruled by a few individuals
- * 90. The unfair apportionment of political districts for election purposes is called:
- a. boondoggling
 - b. moonlighting

- c. feather bedding
 - d. pork barreling
 - e. gerry mandering
91. Recently President Nixon suspended the Davis-Bacon Act which had provided that:
- a. cost-of-living wage increases must be granted to government employees
 - b. contractors handling federally assisted construction projects must pay their workers the prevailing wage rates in that locality
 - c. the President could not impose a wage-price freeze on a particular industry
 - d. the federal government could not let bids to contractors utilizing non-union labor
 - e. the President could not impose a wage-price freeze on the economy as a whole
92. The Senator who chairs a Senate sub-committee which has been investigating U.S. Army intelligence is:
- a. Senator Kennedy
 - b. Senator McGovern
 - c. Senator Ribicoff
 - d. Senator Ervin
 - e. Senator Taft
93. The pocket veto occurs when the:
- a. President returns a bill to the legislature without his signature
 - b. bill remains unsigned and unreturned for ten days
 - c. the Senate and House Conference Committee fail to reach agreement on the final form of the bill
 - d. President privately opposes a bill
 - e. President holds a bill without signing it during which time Congress adjourns its session
- * 94. Which of the following groups has been most closely associated with urban political conservatism:
- a. school teachers
 - b. businessmen
 - c. farmers
 - d. social workers
 - e. blue collar workers
- * 95. The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court is:
- a. Earl Warren

- b. Warren Burger
 - c. Abe Fortas
 - d. Felix Frankfurter
 - e. Arthur Goldberg
- * 96. The radical faction associated with the Students for a Democratic Society which allegedly has claimed credit for some of the bombing incidents in public and government buildings is known as the:
- a. Birchers
 - b. Minutemen
 - c. Yippies
 - d. Hippies
 - e. Weathermen
- * 97. James Hoffa is the President of which labor union:
- a. United Steelworkers
 - b. United Auto Workers
 - c. United Mine Workers
 - d. Longshoremen
 - e. Teamsters
98. LLT William Calley's trial took place at:
- a. Fort Benning, Georgia
 - b. Fort Knox, Kentucky
 - c. Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri
 - d. Fort Dix, New Jersey
 - e. Fort Rucker, Alabama
- * 99. The Majority Leader of the House of Representatives is:
- a. Representative Boggs
 - b. Representative Preyer
 - c. Representative Downing
 - d. Representative Taft
 - e. Representative Waldie
100. The American aircraft company whose own business was in difficulty due to the problems of the British based Rolls Royce firm is:
- a. McDonald-Douglas
 - b. Lockheed
 - c. North American
 - d. Boeing
 - e. Cessna
- **101. The current President of the United States is:
- a. Lyndon B. Johnson

- b. Richard M. Nixon
- c. Hubert H. Humphrey
- d. Edmund Muskie
- e. George Wallace

**102. The capital of the United States is:

- a. Austin
- b. Philadelphia
- c. Oklahoma City
- d. Washington D.C.
- e. Sacramento

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