

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SOME SOCIAL ATTITUDES
OF BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS**

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OF BLACK AND WHITE STUDENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The study to be presented represents an attempt to investigate the structure of some primary social attitudes in groups of black and white college students who affiliate with social groups which may be categorized as conservative or liberal. Due to the scarcity of literature in this area, efforts will focus primarily upon the description of these social attitudes; therefore, the study should be viewed as an exploratory undertaking.

Although the structure of social attitudes has received considerable attention from British psychologists, not very much work has been done by their American counterparts. A review of the literature reveals that during the fifties and sixties, for every one study related to the structure of social attitudes in America, there were approximately four done in the United Kingdom and England. But even more interesting was the fact that not a single study reviewed investigated the structure of social attitudes in black subjects. This fact coupled with the emergent social activism visible in the black community points to a need for a better understanding of the organization and structure of these attitudes in black subjects. Furthermore, an analysis of a similar set of attitudes observed in a parallel white sample will further our understanding of these attitude systems and hopefully give some insights into the problems surrounding race

relations in the United States. In response to the absence of empirical evidence concerning the factor structures of social attitudes found in the two groups, the present study will carry out separate factor analyses of the responses of black and white subjects to a scale purporting to measure fundamental social attitudes.

Before we begin discussing social attitudes, however, let us first investigate and discuss attitudes in general. We shall begin by defining an attitude, then we shall discuss the nature of attitudes, and lastly we shall point out how attitudes differ from other internal factors.

Sherif and Sherif (1969) state that we should define an attitude in a way that leads to definite research operations in assessing attitudes. They go on to define an attitude operationally as follows:

An attitude is the individual's set of categories for evaluating a domain of social stimuli (objects, persons, values, groups, ideas, etc.) which he has established as he learns about that domain (in interaction with other persons, as a general rule) and which relate him to subsets within the domain with varying degrees of Positive or negative affect (motivation-emotion). (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, pages 336-337).

Young (1956) pointed out that the concept of attitude has had a varied career among psychologists. At first the concept was used to mean a motor-mental predisposition to action. But later it was used in a much broader sense to designate a specific or general tendency which qualified and controlled the response to a given situation. Some psychologists have gone so far as to use the term to cover the entire contents of the inner life of the individual. Young does not go this far. He believed that the term should be used in a much narrower sense. He sees an attitude as a predisposition to action,

and essentially a form of anticipatory response. That is, a beginning of action which is not necessarily completed. Stability and persistence were pointed out as distinguishing characteristics of attitudes.

Secord and Backman's (1964) definition of an attitude also leads into a discussion of the nature of attitudes. They defined and summarized the concept of attitude rather tersely in the following manner:

The term attitude refers to certain regularities on the part of an individual in feelings, thoughts, and predispositions to act toward some aspect of his environment. Attitudes have three components: affective, cognitive, and behavioral . . . (Secord and Backman, 1964, page 100).

Concerning the nature of attitudes they point out that:

. . . Attitudes cannot be directly observed; they are a hypothetical construct that must be inferred from verbal expression or overt behavior. . . . Attitudes are often emotionally satisfying to a person and serve a variety of social motives. In addition to contributing to understanding an individual's behavior, the concept of attitude is useful in studying broad factors in society that mold attitudes and behavior in particular directions. (Secord and Backman, 1964, page 100).

Again we turn to Sherif and Sherif (1969), and observe that they distinguish an attitude from other internal factor. ". . . Attitudes are inferred from characteristic, consistent, and selective modes of behavior directed toward or against relevant objects, persons and events. However, not all such modes of behavior indicate an attitude . . ." (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, page 334).

For a mode of behavior (verbal or non-verbal) to be classified as indicative of an attitude the following criteria would have to be met:

- 1) Attitudes must be learned: They are not innate.
- 2) Attitudes are not temporary states of the organism; they are enduring once formed.
- 3) Attitudes stabilize a relationship between the persons and objects; subject-object relations.
- 4) The subject-object relationship will have motivational-effective properties.
- 5) Attitude formation involves the formation of categories encompassing a small or large number of specific items.
- 6) The principles applicable to attitude formation in general are applicable to the formation of social attitudes. (Sherif and Sherif, 1969, page 334).

Now that we have briefly discussed the general nature of attitudes, it would be appropriate for us to direct our discussion toward the kinds of attitudes with which our study deals, i.e. social attitudes. *Value*

Here see page Campbell (1950) defined or characterized a social attitude as evidences of consistency in response to social objects by members of a group or society. The feature that makes certain attitudes social is that they are formed in relation to social stimulus situations, such as groups, persons, and the products of human interaction.

Sherif and Sherif (1956) indicate that the social attitude is the final product of a process of socialization, and as such is reflective in the individual's words and deeds. His involvement and interactions with groups, and the various manifestations of culture lead to the formation of attitudes in relation to them.

If one views a culture in terms of interrelated system of institutions and practices, it follows that the process of socialization

may be expected to produce systems of individual behavior that reflect a structure that is congruent with these cultural patterns and inter-relationships. Hence if one might assume that social attitudes are formed in relation to "social stimulus situations," and if, as was indicated, social stimulus situations tend to form integrated systems, he may then assume that social attitudes are intercorrelated significantly. In support of this, Wilson (1969) has shown that a wide variety of social attitudes are intercorrelated, forming a general factor of considerable importance. Other studies by Patterson and Wilson (1969) and Boshier (1969) strongly support this position.

In an attempt to answer the question: "Is there a general Factor in Social Attitudes," Wilson (1969) factor analyzed the conservatism scale of Wilson and Patterson (1968) using a sample of 200 males, heterogeneous by occupation and education. Results confirm the importance of a general factor call conservatism running through the test.

Thus the evidence supports the interpretation of the C-scale as predominantly unidimensional in content, and to the extent that the test is an adequate sample of the universe of social attitudes, it may be asserted that a very important factor (conservatism) underlies that field.

A comparison was made between the concept of a general factor in the field of social attitudes and with the field of human abilities, in which the usefulness of the concept of a general factor is widely recognized. While there are certain reasons why these studies do not permit precise comparison (e.g. Sample homogeneity), results do indicate strongly that the concept of "general attitudes" is as legitimate as that of "general intelligence."

A number of previous investigations carried out in Britain lend additional support to the position that political, ethical, and religious attitudes are interrelated (Sanai, 1950, 1951, 1952; Stacey and Green, 1968; and Eysenck, 1954, 1956, 1960).

Probably the most important of the above studies are those by Sanai (1952) and Eysenck (1956, 1960). Sanai administered a questionnaire of thirty statements of social, political, and religious topics to 259 men and women. They expressed their agreement or disagreement with each on a seven-fold scale. The correlations were factorized by Burt's Method of Simple Summation. The results showed four significant factors. The first was a general factor with positive saturations throughout - Heterodoxy. The second factor was bipolar and appeared to distinguish personal from political problems. Of the others, one divided the positive section of the first bipolar into religious and moral subsections and negative into "inter-group and intra-group" subsections. The last of the significant factors appeared to introduce numerous finer subdivisions.

The most ambitious series of studies, concerned with the structure of social attitudes and opinions and their relationship to political behavior, was conducted by Eysenck and his associates (1954, 1956, 1960). These studies have been acknowledged by many psychologists as making the most important contribution to the field of social attitude structure. After factorizing the results of more than 700 questionnaires administered to adults which dealt with dissentient and unorthodox views over a wide range of social, economic, political and religious topics, they found a basic common factor--radicalism-conservatism. In addition, a second orthogonal factor was identified which was labeled

"toughmindedness - tendermindedness." His analysis which produced a basic common factor (radicalism - conservatism) provides a sub-stratum to opinions and attitudes similar to Sanai's (1952) first factor. The second factor (toughmindedness - tendermindedness) is used to explain individual differences on a whole range of issues, particularly humanitarian, religious and libertarian issues. Interestingly, Stacey and Green (1964) showed that this factor could be better described as moralistic religiosity, and the Eysenck's results could be more cogently explained by religious influences.

In summary, we find that the structure of social attitudes has received considerable attention. Findings frequently indicate the presence of a general factor and several more specific factors (Fugerson, 1939; Eysenck, 1944, 1947). On the other hand, some psychologists are skeptical on this topic and hold that attitudes, like traits, are highly specific to given situations (Young, 1956). Eysenck (1944) pointed out that both sides have adduced experimental evidence to support their views, and it would appear that we must admit the existence of both concrete attitudes which are directed towards specific objects and generalized attitudes which are directed towards a class of objects, but it is also recognized that generality is a matter of degree.

In the study of social attitudes, one of the most fundamental issues is their degree of generality of specificity. Many writers appear to hold that attitudes are always narrow in their range, each representing a highly specific tendency to make a particular response to a particular situation. Others, however, believe that certain attitudes arise from emotional dispositions of a fairly general type and are thus liable to extend over wide fields of opinion or behavior. If, in spite of long-drawn-out discussions, no decisive conclusion has been reached, that may perhaps be attributed to two main reasons: first, the lack of any clear formulation of what is

meant by 'generality' and second, the neglect to use any rigorous technique by which along such questions can be solved (Sanai, 1952, p. 81).

Having given due consideration to the above admonition, the working hypothesis being pursued in this paper is that there is a basic set of social attitudes that serve as a foundation on which more specific attitudes are built. These specific attitudes embrace contemporary social topics and are thought to be constructed in such a fashion as to be psychologically consonant with the set of more general attitudes with which the present study is concerned. This attitude domain will be called Liberalism-Conservatism. We do realize, however, that our position is not the only one. Kerlinger (1966), like Hartley (1946), found our position not to be the case in their studies. They found just the opposite. Specific attitudes were as numerous as the objects to which people respond.

Now that we have chosen our position despite the controversy over general vs. specific attitudes, we are faced with the task of operationally defining what is meant by liberal and conservative. Morgan (1961) suggests that when discussing these concepts (liberal-conservative) we need to be aware of socio-economic matter, cultural and sub-cultural contexts, and even religious persuasions. For liberalism-conservatism have differing meaning when viewed from one or more of the above perspectives. We do realize that the distinction between the two camps has not always been sharply drawn. Both the liberal and the conservative camps, as a condition for survival, are compelled to hold important beliefs in common. Nevertheless, there are some differences between the two. Traditionally speaking, liberals and conservatives differ on economic issues such as, how much

money the Federal or State governments should spend on welfare programs. Then there is the issue over Communism and dealings with Communist countries. They frequently divide on the issue of public expression of dissent and how much tolerance the government should have for dissenters. The list could go on almost endlessly compounded by the confusing but interesting fact that each group has reversed itself on these and certain other issues when competing for popular support, be it an election or any other political contest.

Because of diversions in opinions, we can only hope that the definition employed in our research and the scale that we have constructed from this definition will be satisfactory. We have concentrated upon those attitudes and values that continually recur among acknowledged conservative thinkers and appear to comprise the significant and stable elements of the conservative outlook. By the same token, attitudes and opinions that seem to be situationally determined were considered as secondary and too unstable to be used as correlates of liberal or conservative propensities.

We shall begin our efforts to develop a satisfactory definition of the liberal-conservative domain by referring to the work of McCloskey (1958).

McClosky (1958) lists seven characteristics of the conservative outlook:

- 1) That man is a creature of appetite and will; he is a fallen creature, doomed to imperfection and inclined to sin.
- 2) That society is ruled by "divine intent" and made legitimate by Providence and prescription. And that religion is the bedrock of society and is man's only defense against his own

evil impulses.

- 3) That society is organic, plural and complex; the product of a long and painful evolution. It has accumulated wisdom of previous ages and that there is a presumption in favor of whatever has survived the ordeal of history.
- 4) That man's traditional inheritance is rich, grand, and desirable. It deserves veneration and should not be cast away lightly in favor of new narrow ideas. Theory is to be distrusted, since reason from which theory arises is shallow and limited.
- 5) That change must be resisted. ✓
- 6) That men are naturally unequal, and society requires order and classes for the good of all. The superior classes should have a hand in the direction of the state. This will bring balance to society since they are outnumbered by the inferior classes. ✓
- 7) That order, authority and community are the primary defenses against the impulse of violence and anarchy which men have. Duty is superior to rights. There is a need to strengthen the stabilizing institutions of society such as the home, church, school, and above all, private property (McClosky, ✓ 1958, p. 35).

As a preliminary position, we shall view liberalism as a position lying at the end of the continuum of social attitudes opposite the position identified with conservatism. Liberalism may be further defined as a deep lying set of attitudes which tries to understand and integrate the varied intellectual, moral, religious, social, economic, and political relationships of human society. It also implies tolerance

of others' views which may differ from one's own and being openminded to ideas which may challenge tradition and established institutions. Its primary postulate and basic assumption is that the individual is free to advocate change and reform for progress. Thus, the individual will be unfettered to develop and express himself.

To summarize the definitions presented, we may say that the conservative camp eventually becomes the advocate of the status quo, trying to reinforce it, thereby increasing the privileges of the already privileged classes. The liberal, on the the other hand, keeps in mind the future as well as the present and past, and with these in mind, sponsors innovations and reforms in the name of progress.

Realising that liberalism-conservatism are key terms in the language of political and social attitudes, choked with emotive connotations, their meaning and definition have evoked controversy. Further confusion has been caused in recent decades by the already mentioned switch in economic, political, religious and other social attitudes. Nevertheless, McClosky's model will be used as a satisfactory point of departure in our exploration of social attitudes. However, bearing in mind that the present investigation defines the liberal-conservative attitude domain in terms of a general factor which underlies the expression of attitudes in a variety of social circumstances, some advantage may be found in substituting for McClosky's model one that is a bit more parsimonious but yet retains the basic concepts found in McClosky's approach to the domain. Hence, for the purpose of this study, three intuitively derived concept categories will serve as the initial definition of the domain. Subsequent analysis of the data will possibly revise this definition, but for purposes of establishing

a conceptual structure from which items could be written the following three concepts seemed appropriate. For the purpose of this study, we would like to confine the meaning of these terms to three categories: (1) the nature of man, (2) the order of society, and (3) tradition and change.

In the scale to be used in this study, the "Nature of Man" refers to one's concept about whether man is inherently good or bad, whether man is governed by emotion or reason, and whether he is selfish or has concern for others. "The Order of Society" deals with its structure. Does it have rigid or non-rigid structure; whether it is stable or unstable; and how well adaptive are its institutions to the needs of the people. How does one view order and authority; are they superior to individuals rights? One's attitudes about the order of society will center around these topics. "The Tradition and Change" concept concerns itself with man's view of his inheritance. Does he like it and want to preserve it at all cost? Does he view change as "progress" or believe it must be resisted. To the extent one wants to hold on to tradition at all cost and resist change despite its practicality will along with the above dimensions, give some indication of one's position on the liberalism-conservatism scale.

As was stated before, this study is primarily concerned with describing the structure of social attitudes among samples of black and white subjects who affiliate with groups that might be described as liberal or conservative. We have also defined liberalism-conservatism in terms of the nature of man, order of society, and tradition and change. It is believed that these items load heavily on this general factor (liberalism-conservatism). Our concern centers around whether

or not these definitions or concepts will have the same or similar meaning to both groups, blacks and whites. The literature shows (Lipset, 1959; Anderson, Zelditch, Takagi, and Whiteside, 1965) that for the most part, white America views liberalism-conservatism in terms of socio-economic standing, one's ability to tolerate differing ideas and opinions, and a host of socio-political issues. Realizing that by and large blacks and whites live under social circumstances that are substantially different in America, are there any differences in their social attitudes? More specifically, if as implied by Sherif and Sherif (1969) attitudes are the result of a process of socialization, will the structure of social attitude systems observed in black and white subjects reflect the markedly different social circumstances under which these groups tend to live?

It is possible that within the black community civil rights and civil liberties is the core around which social attitudes revolve. Liberalism-Conservatism might therefore be thought of and defined in terms of this core. While for the white community, there may be a much broader base of concepts upon which is built the definition of liberalism-conservatism; and similarly, all social attitudes.

On the other hand, looking at the similarities within the general society and culture (democratic government, schools, churches, jobs, and general life styles) one may wonder if the dissimilarities are important enough to cause a difference in social attitudes. Nevertheless, if the United States is going to have a totally integrated, harmonious society, it is of paramount importance that these differences and similarities be empirically documented. It is hoped that this study will give some indication of the extent of, or lack of,

alienation and isolation the blacks in America have experienced because of the pressures induces by the social-environmental duress which they have experienced.

CHAPTER II

METHOD AND PROCEDURE

The beginning of any study such as this requires the construction of a measurement scale. Such a scale has been developed although at the present time it is still undergoing revision. In large measure the scale conforms to the current level of scaling construction standards in that the items have all been evaluated using a Likert procedure. In addition the items have all been screened on the basis of their ability to differentiate affiliation groups. Nevertheless, the present study will be carried out with recognition of the fact that additional work will contribute to the development of the scale, and it is hoped that the information derived from the factor analyses to be reported in the present investigation will improve our understanding of the measurement structure of the instrument.

The scale used to measure liberal-conservative attitudes is an instrument developed by Rambo. It is a 109 item, Likert-type scale with the items so written that they are compatible with the three categories of Liberalism-Conservatism previously discussed. Each of the items provide five response alternatives, and the subject indicates the extent to which he agrees or disagrees with the stated attitude by filling in the appropriate blank on the answer sheet. Response alternatives are: 1) strongly disagree, 2) disagree, 3) undecided, 4) agree, or 5) strongly agree. To illustrate, the following

are several items taken from the instrument:

1. There are many people in this country who live under social conditions that would prevent even the best of men from rising.
2. Science and man's intellect will eventually solve all mysteries of life.
3. He is not much of a person who does not feel great love, gratefulness, and respect for his parents.
4. Children should be encouraged to question the ideas of parents, teachers, and clergymen.
5. If the lower classes would not let their houses run down so, perhaps they would be more acceptable as neighbors.
6. In general, I believe that much of the world's evil comes from bad social environment and not from the basic nature of man, which I believe is good.
7. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.

Items in each category were randomly arranged in a test booklet and IBM answer sheets were used for responding. The statements were phrased in such a manner that a response "strongly agree" would represent, at times, a conservative position and at other times a liberal attitude.

The reader is referred to Appendix A for a copy of the complete scale and the response sheet that was analyzed.

The items had been selected previously on the basis of their ability to satisfy the Likert criterion of internal consistency.

Furthermore, unpublished work by Rambo has further screened the items

on the basis of their ability to differentiate subjects who affiliate with organizations that may be classified as being liberal or conservative in their orientation.

College students served as subjects during this phase of the construction sequence. Students affiliating with campus organizations that tend to support conservative programs, e.g. Young Republicans, certain fraternal organizations, were given one form of the instrument as were students who affiliated with organizations more closely identified with liberal social-political programs. Each item was retained in the present form of the instrument if it could generate a t-statistic that was significant at the .05 level. Hence, at the time the instrument was used with the subjects in this experiment each item had been screened on the basis of an internal and an external criterion. At the present time no reliability data is availability for the scale.

Subjects

In selecting subjects for the experiment an attempt was made to seek out groups that could be identified with a position on the liberal-conservative continuum. Since the middle segments of such continua are difficult to identify and locate, groups were selected that could be identified with one or the other poles of the scale.

It was thought that by selecting subjects with consideration of their affiliation with social groups some better insight into the composition of the sample could be achieved. Also, since the groups involved were in one sense or another related to the attitude domain under investigation, it was thought that the approach used would improve

the prospects that the attitude scale items would be tapping an area of concern that was psychologically relevant to the subjects.

Groups were identified with respect to subject matter considerations and extra-curricular affairs. Subjects, both black and white, who were identified with the liberal end of the scale tended to be social science majors who participated in groups that were active in campus and community social actions groups; groups whose actions tended to reflect a substantial element of social protest. Subjects, both black and white, who were identified with the conservative pole of the continuum tended to be predominantly in education, religion, home economics, and business-practices areas, and affiliated with groups that reflected in their activities a commitment to middle class standards, values and goals. In the case of both the liberal and conservative categories the selection of groups was largely dependent on the judgment of the experimenter in consultation with as wide a sample of individuals having direct knowledge of each group.

The black subjects were found in three groups. One was a group of 52 black college students at a fundamentalist, segregated, church supported school in the South. About 80 per cent had declared their intentions to prepare for the ministry with emphasis on working in predominately all black communities. Subjects ages ranged from 19-28; all four academic classes were represented, the majority being upperclassmen. As for geographical distribution of their birthplace, more than half (60 per cent) came from the South's rural regions. The others were from the Northeastern and urban sectors.

The second black group numbered 47. They were all social and behavioral science majors. The school they attended was state

supported, segregated and located in the Southwest. These subjects were activists based upon participation in campus organizations and various demonstrations. Most of these subjects came from the rural areas within the state, and approximately 80 per cent were upperclassmen. Unlike the subjects in the first group, these students tended to be preparing for entry into a more completely integrated community. The subjects age range was comparable to that found in the first group.

The third group of black subjects numbered 33. Again they were for the most part social science majors. These subjects attended a large, integrated, state university in the Southwest when the black enrollment was less than .02 per cent. All were members of the campus black action group which advocated innovations for black recognition throughout the university. Eighty per cent of the subjects came from the two largest cities in this state. Their age, classification and socio-economic standing were comparable to the other black groups.

There were 106 white subjects in the experiment. Those 51 subjects affiliating with the group designated "liberal" were active with a protest movement that was organized for the stated purpose of improving the quality of education on the campus of Oklahoma State University. Viewed by the members as a reform movement, the group's goals related to a wide segment of campus affairs ranging from changes in the content and structure of the curriculum to the removal of certain administrative personnel. The members of this group predominantly were enrolled in the College of Liberal Arts with a heavy representation of social science majors, and most had been involved with a number of campus activities that were not officially sanctioned by the University, and in certain instances were carried out in a

thinly veiled defiance of the university administration.

The 55 subjects affiliating with groups designated "conservative" were obtained from two organizations, one a conservative political club that is found on many campuses across the country, and the others were members of a national sorority. The local chapter of this sorority was comprised of girls who were openly disapproving of most forms of social activism and nonconventional influences on the campuses, they tended to be enrolled in the Colleges of Business, and they tended to limit their social contacts to members of other fraternal organizations. Ten of the subjects assigned to the conservative group were members of the sorority and 45 subjects were active members of the political club.

Administration

Using the same instructions, the instrument was administered to both black and white groups. Four weeks separated administration times. Subjects were told that the purpose of the survey was to measure their attitudes toward a number of social topics. They were instructed to read each statement and indicate the extent to which they were in agreement with the attitude expressed by filling in the appropriate blank, one through five, on the answer sheet. They were further instructed that there were no right answers to the statements, so they should feel free to express their attitudes about the statements.

Subjects were tested in groups; those in the black conservative group were tested in one sitting while those in the black liberal group were tested in two sittings on the same day. There was no time

limit, and no names were required on the answer sheets. The experimenter was present while the subjects were reacting to the survey. No significant indication of resistance or confusion was observed during or subsequent to the administration of the survey.

CHAPTER III

RESULTS

The questionnaires were scored according to the requirements of the Likert procedure. Strongly disagree was given the value of (1), disagree (2), undecided (3), agree (4), and strongly agree (5). This raw data was transferred to IBM cards and matrices of inter-item correlations were computed separately for the data obtained from both the black and white subjects. The index of inter-correlation was the Pearson correlation coefficient.

A choice had to be made between the Pearson correlation and the tetrachoric correlation even though both statistics required the same basic assumptions. That is:

- 1) That the underlying distribution is a bi-variate normal distribution;
- 2) That both deal only with the linear component of the variance.

If the tetrachoric correlation were used, a loss of information from the undecided category would result: but with the Pearson correlation all of the data would be used. Then, too, the stability of the Tetrachoric correlation is influenced by both the number of degrees of freedom and the border totals of the four-fold table. In other words, the popularity of the item(s) would influence the stability of the inter-correlation index. On the other hand, the reliability of the Pearson correlation is a function of the degrees of freedom alone,

and its stability is not influenced by "popularity of items." Hence, a decision was made to use the Pearson correlation with the admitted disadvantage of our having only five data points for each item. As we have shown, neither statistic was completely satisfactory but the Pearson coefficient seemed to have fewer disadvantages than the Tetrachoric coefficient.

The matrices obtained from the black and white subjects were subjected to separate factor analysis. The analysis procedure used was a principle component solution and a varimax rotation. It should be pointed out that the analysis resulting from the varimax rotation was not used in this study because it was interpretable. In both analyses factor extraction was continued until the eigenvalues dropped below unity. For the black subjects, the data yielded 33 factors whose eigenvalues were above the critical point. And the data from the white subjects yielded 29 factors. Table I presents the eigenvalues and the corresponding proportion of common variance associated with each of the factors extracted. Table II summarized the communalities associated with each item, and Table III presents factor loadings for the first four factors.

It is apparent from Table I that the first factor extracted from the white subjects accounted for a substantially larger portion (33%) of the communalities than did the first factor extracted from the black subjects (18%). However, visual inspection of the factor loading for the white subjects were considerably larger than the corresponding loading for the black Ss, it seemed that there was a significant relationship between the factor loading in the black and white groups.

To assess the similarity in the pattern of factor loadings, a

TABLE I

EIGENVALUES AND PROPORTION OF COMMON VARIANCE
 DERIVED FROM THE SEPARATE FACTOR ANALYSES OF THE 109 ITEMS
 OF THE LIBERALISM - CONSERVATISM SCALE

Factor	Eigenvalues	% of Com Var	Factor	Eigenvalues	% of Com Var
1	15.152	18.49	1	29.816	33.18
2	7.406	9.00	2	5.510	6.12
3	4.737	5.62	3	4.299	4.70
4	4.005	4.71	4	3.974	4.38
5	3.344	4.53	5	3.410	3.71
6	2.837	3.36	6	3.304	3.60
7	2.722	3.25	7	2.822	3.12
8	2.518	3.04	8	2.711	3.01
9	2.334	2.68	9	2.622	2.82
10	2.286	2.64	10	2.438	2.64
11	2.192	2.54	11	2.263	2.46
12	2.110	2.46	12	2.140	2.34
13	2.000	2.35	13	2.056	2.26
14	1.939	2.29	14	1.878	2.08
15	1.897	2.25	15	1.831	2.03
16	1.837	2.19	16	1.709	1.81
17	1.735	2.09	17	1.614	1.71
18	1.709	2.06	18	1.539	1.64
19	1.660	2.01	19	1.480	1.58
20	1.534	1.74	20	1.413	1.51
21	1.504	1.68	21	1.405	1.50
22	1.484	1.66	22	1.351	1.45
23	1.483	1.60	23	1.341	1.44
24	1.418	1.59	24	1.272	1.37
25	1.342	1.51	25	1.228	1.33
26	1.319	1.49	26	1.182	1.28
27	1.242	1.42	27	1.118	1.22
28	1.221	1.39	28	1.069	1.17
29	1.169	1.34	29	1.017	1.11
30	1.113	1.29			
31	1.077	1.25			
32	1.051	1.22			
33	1.034	1.21			

TABLE II
COMMUNALITIES ASSOCIATED WITH EACH ITEM

Items	Black <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>
1	0.70452	0.86240
2	0.71209	0.88516
3	0.75772	0.85676
4	0.75037	0.78808
5	0.70834	0.83079
6	0.76813	0.75879
7	0.78685	0.86028
8	0.80344	0.82443
9	0.80105	0.79042
10	0.73173	0.82201
11	0.77313	0.72859
12	0.70130	0.82020
13	0.76984	0.86772
14	0.71659	0.79890
15	0.73417	0.77339
16	0.79931	0.86975
17	0.78571	0.85560
18	0.76916	0.78302
19	0.76295	0.85198
20	0.75708	0.84577
21	0.75591	0.77432
22	0.71964	0.81180
23	0.80462	0.81808
24	0.74116	0.83101
25	0.72916	0.83933
26	0.72012	0.82583
27	0.81315	0.84412
28	0.72473	0.83470
29	0.77010	0.81486
30	0.74256	0.79177
31	0.75261	0.74450
32	0.78407	0.91005
33	0.71172	0.81101
34	0.75544	0.80528
35	0.72770	0.78208
36	0.82937	0.85033
37	0.69498	0.87761
38	0.73304	0.81484

TABLE II (continued)

Items	Black <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>
39	0.74580	0.83405
40	0.71409	0.77606
41	0.70941	0.81319
42	0.79542	0.75453
43	0.72462	0.81140
44	0.81341	0.78443
45	0.84811	0.85104
46	0.68079	0.81808
47	0.76459	0.85999
48	0.80771	0.82064
49	0.69397	0.76027
50	0.74093	0.85713
51	0.79412	0.82338
52	0.76040	0.84405
53	0.76206	0.84769
54	0.83370	0.78055
55	0.73929	0.78070
56	0.78157	0.79906
57	0.75490	0.83189
58	0.70240	0.80786
59	0.74779	0.87696
60	0.80714	0.81023
61	0.76643	0.81259
62	0.82743	0.77970
63	0.72097	0.80897
64	0.74404	0.83998
65	0.76482	0.83111
66	0.74530	0.80270
67	0.73217	0.89005
68	0.71876	0.76845
69	0.75747	0.83932
70	0.73729	0.75393
71	0.75813	0.84403
72	0.72932	0.89048
73	0.69607	0.86142
74	0.74017	0.78424
75	0.78609	0.87209
76	0.72479	0.80214
77	0.72246	0.86494
78	0.78662	0.80182
79	0.78052	0.86554
80	0.67232	0.88732
81	0.80194	0.75580
82	0.75547	0.87524
83	0.72899	0.85509
84	0.76318	0.86713
85	0.78912	0.85924

TABLE II (continued)

Items	Black <u>Ss</u>	White <u>Ss</u>
86	0.76515	0.88147
87	0.75993	0.86215
88	0.72289	0.81020
89	0.72269	0.84797
90	0.74966	0.75912
91	0.74353	0.85979
92	0.77343	0.83504
93	0.78970	0.86275
94	0.78043	0.85237
95	0.77451	0.75734
96	0.66650	0.86868
97	0.79123	0.76432
98	0.77418	0.78194
99	0.88348	0.82034
100	0.84987	0.74006
101	0.77384	0.79184
102	0.85389	0.74866
103	0.78785	0.70814
104	0.84671	0.82656
105	0.78096	0.78449
106	0.82065	0.71073
107	0.77919	0.82673
108	0.86083	0.75964
109	0.80835	0.73742

Double space

TABLE III
 FACTOR LOADINGS ON FIRST FOUR FACTORS EXTRACTED
 FROM BLACK AND WHITE SUBJECTS

Item	BLACK Ss				WHITE Ss			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
1	-.1096	.2919	.1321	-.0834	-.4996	-.3452	.0549	.1970
2	-.3794	.1537	.1594	-.1986	-.5230	-.1004	-.0853	-.1824
3	.3649	-.0743	-.2587	.0180	.5901	.0754	-.1126	.3148
4	.2592	.0846	.3501	.0940	.6375	.1160	.1701	-.1581
5	-.3572	-.1439	.0742	-.1175	-.2334	.4684	.3973	.2357
6	.1953	-.1392	.1934	-.1509	.4344	.0610	-.2358	-.4134
7	.5246	.0826	-.1832	.0837	.6662	-.1982	.1749	-.2030
8	.3273	.0785	.0209	.1760	.6010	.1941	.2311	.0318
9	.3014	.3094	.1995	-.1090	.4846	-.1483	-.1077	.0884
10	.4992	.1880	-.1193	-.1941	.6617	-.0896	-.2970	.2910
11	-.0166	.4819	.1605	-.1614	-.3927	-.2762	-.0821	.0104
12	.1762	.2766	.1026	.4107	.3873	-.4731	-.2996	.0320
13	.2267	.2390	.1065	-.1520	.4566	-.3570	-.0991	-.0717
14	.2480	.4594	.0450	.0010	.4662	.0072	-.0318	.3107
15	.3115	.2749	.0683	.1421	.4929	-.1654	.2220	.0391
16	.6011	.0640	-.3518	-.0035	.7541	.0324	.0718	-.0935
17	.3830	.5610	-.0380	.0790	.3430	-.5345	.2005	-.0207
18	.1110	.2271	.2155	-.2586	.0190	-.1447	.1452	.1469
19	.5417	-.0240	-.1717	.1735	.7930	-.0640	-.1240	.1414
20	-.0549	.5690	.0306	-.1768	-.2692	-.3482	-.0631	.0670
21	.0165	.4045	.3389	.1360	.1149	-.4204	-.3384	-.0922
22	.4176	-.2560	-.0137	-.0858	.4552	.2252	-.2593	.0744
23	.5403	-.0299	-.3035	.0249	.7227	-.2094	.0477	.0438
24	.5098	.0301	.2429	.0954	.5137	-.1119	.0283	-.0202
25	-.3674	.3162	.0413	.2695	-.4674	-.2684	-.1815	.1800
26	.2048	.4491	-.0312	.1818	.1066	-.3906	-.0693	.0287
27	.1896	.3596	.2277	.0177	.5124	-.1708	-.4292	-.0864
28	.3396	.1859	.3197	.1190	.5835	-.2125	-.1887	.0480
29	.2073	.1101	.1086	-.3882	.5123	-.2621	-.1409	.1821
30	-.0282	-.1865	.0755	-.1761	-.1007	-.4694	.0394	.1682
31	.1866	.6009	-.1104	-.1504	-.3451	-.5476	-.0175	-.0119
32	.4892	-.4046	-.0226	-.1118	.7532	.0323	-.1101	.2710
33	.5635	.0996	-.2611	-.2048	.6986	-.0209	.1081	.0815
34	.2901	-.0560	-.1733	-.0102	.6679	.2757	.0448	.0594
35	.3316	.1592	-.1576	-.2800	.5640	-.0277	-.1850	.4289
36	.6457	.0483	-.3013	-.0791	.7920	-.0754	.1583	-.0383
37	.1886	-.0807	.2402	.0913	.2436	.0167	-.0545	.3717

TABLE III (Continued)

Item	BLACK <u>Ss</u>				WHITE <u>Ss</u>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
38	.2709	.2536	.0439	-.0271	-.3687	-.3128	-.1781	-.0984
39	-.0034	.3567	.0729	-.1144	-.2269	-.3245	.3056	.0883
40	.3424	-.2668	.4093	-.0010	.5767	.0525	.1304	-.0046
41	.2502	-.0640	.3768	-.0903	.6640	.0226	-.2203	.1580
42	.3245	.2632	.0288	.1818	.0707	.1145	.1787	.5950
43	.1309	.0381	.1600	.5358	.1648	-.1162	.2473	-.2382
44	.3452	.5472	.0774	.0104	.1210	-.3378	-.0206	.2245
45	-.0404	.1131	.0280	.0497	-.2409	-.2259	.4956	.0148
46	.2727	.0048	-.0255	.1279	-.0531	-.0298	.3306	.1893
47	.4516	-.2272	.1449	-.2675	.6302	.1882	-.0832	.2718
48	.4319	-.2603	.2896	.1159	.4366	.0614	.3932	.2533
49	.1988	.1961	.0874	-.1236	.5044	-.2062	.2481	.1950
50	.4660	-.2365	.1029	.0411	.5731	-.1882	.1932	-.0269
51	.5148	.0626	-.1024	.2089	.4399	.4434	.1690	-.0364
52	.5964	.1219	-.0717	.1668	.6829	-.0830	.0883	-.0325
53	.4799	-.2406	.0023	.0420	.4742	.0342	-.0420	-.2235
54	.2922	-.2245	.1374	-.1253	.4425	.0951	.3201	-.0228
55	.0052	.4276	.1256	-.3656	-.2885	-.1922	-.1619	.2760
56	.3657	-.3515	.2762	-.0328	.6685	.0808	.2574	.0600
57	-.0851	.2710	.0218	-.2269	-.5093	-.2324	.4404	.0926
58	.5063	-.1414	.2318	.0222	.4860	.1764	.2449	-.0016
59	.5375	.3851	.1413	-.0220	.6594	.2709	-.1475	.2069
60	.1552	.4242	.0729	-.0672	-.4364	-.5430	.0183	.0107
61	.2241	.4382	.3052	.2264	.2830	-.1697	.2524	.1946
62	.0801	.2187	.1702	.1403	.1546	-.2517	-.0023	.2491
63	.5505	-.1420	.0297	.0048	.6553	.0642	.1701	-.1363
64	.6537	.1109	-.0772	-.3352	.6046	.0675	-.0649	-.1301
65	.3808	.0670	-.1974	-.3989	.6061	-.9925	-.0102	-.0786
66	-.0787	.0621	-.0621	-.3590	-.4392	.0171	.2913	.1409
67	.2056	-.0009	.3927	-.1049	.3067	-.0909	-.2507	.1175
68	.5153	.2692	-.1126	.1923	.6261	-.2519	.1047	-.2341
69	-.0146	.6105	.0397	.0866	-.5590	-.4940	.0707	-.0047
70	.2043	.2590	.2694	.3735	.2522	-.0933	.1388	-.2358
71	.3680	-.1827	.2611	-.0526	.5900	-.1065	.2084	.0438
72	.6051	-.2246	-.0373	-.0142	.6038	-.1660	.2354	.1495
73	.5218	.0048	.0087	-.2703	.6463	-.3484	.1803	.0875
74	.1484	.1939	.1981	-.3313	.4070	-.2238	.3157	.1495
75	.4429	.0865	.0161	-.0656	.4462	.1730	.0972	-.2318
76	.5771	.1176	-.2029	-.0136	.5491	.1574	.0858	.2098
77	.3075	-.4010	.1914	-.3535	.6852	.1525	.0677	.0778
78	.0006	.0843	.1342	-.1051	.6003	-.0184	-.3350	-.0511
79	.4957	.2458	.0207	-.2721	.6809	-.0776	-.0345	-.1480
80	.3536	-.2438	.0613	-.1833	.6072	.2752	-.0043	-.0558
81	.2717	.3138	.1332	.1733	.5831	-.3940	.2168	.1126
82	.4610	.3044	-.1231	-.0290	.5365	.1062	-.1833	.0459
83	.2946	.3761	.0657	.1786	.2283	-.0339	-.1163	.2452

TABLE III (continued)

Item	BLACK <u>Ss</u>				WHITE <u>Ss</u>			
	I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
84	.4778	.2982	-.0306	.1553	.6474✓	-.2668	.1511	-.1148
85	-.5310	-.0295	.3451	-.1882	-.7480	-.0842	.1116	.0833
86	.2483	.2957	.0946	-.2131	.1202	-.0954	-.1857	.2772
87	.5614	.0793	-.0774	.1254	.7843	-.0770	.1966	-.1075
88	.1653	.2549	.1402	.1539	.1173	-.1309	.0999	-.3616
89	.3521	-.1075	.3258	-.2910	.6601✓	.1069	-.2564	.0550
90	.4094	.0628	-.0404	-.2655	.4638	.1248	.2895	.2026
91	.5484	-.1349	.0524	.3394	.6510✓	-.2091	.0746	-.0508
92	-.1600	.0604	.4140	-.1798	-.1685	.0395	.0803	.4390
93	.1370	.1742	.5648	-.0168	.7130✓	-.0726	-.1149	-.2540
94	.6941	-.0172	-.2453	.1786	.7992	-.0997	.0746	-.0249
95	.5375	-.1346	.1847	.1562	.5448	-.0532	.1959	.1443
96	-.1236	-.3193	.5468	-.0583	.4926	-.0186	-.0378	-.5363
97	.3045	-.2985	.1985	-.1610	.5260✓	.2236	-.2368	-.1147
98	.1159	-.0782	.4143	.1695	.4769	-.0452	.1289	-.1722
99	.5317	-.3216	-.1683	-.0583	.5810	.1195	-.0488	.3974
100	.4705	-.2812	-.1386	-.1006	.5243	.2687	-.0994	.2762
101	.4404	-.1677	-.0855	-.1302	.5589	-.0672	.1796	-.0826
102	.4813	-.3044	-.0404	-.2392	.5701	.2729	.1383	-.0743
103	.2057	-.2477	.2492	.2766	.5485	.0569	.2289	-.1487
104	.5149	-.0501	.1602	.3382	.5278	-.2053	.0487	-.1885
105	.1262	-.0889	.4624	-.0947	.5529	-.0923	-.3062	-.0108
106	.0800	.0359	.5203	.0561	-.2790	-.2945	.4486	.0298
107	.3738	-.1905	.0152	.1685	.3564	.1388	.2764	.1615
108	.5449	-.3720	.0486	.0370	.7599✓	.3284	.0161	-.0755
109	.3127	-.1048	.2445	.3931	.6670✓	.0927	.0252	-.2273

correlation coefficient was computed between factor one loadings obtained from the black and white groups. The resulting coefficient was .71, which for 107 d.f. was statistically significant beyond the .01 level, thus confirming a substantial relationship between factor one loadings for both groups.

Similar computations carried out for factor two loadings yielded a correlation coefficient of .51. Although this coefficient is statistically significant at the .01 level, it is evident that there is a substantial reduction in the strength of association between the two group's loadings when compared with the observed relationship reported for factor one loadings. The correlation between the factor three loadings obtained from the black and white subjects failed to attain statistical significance as did a similar coefficient derived from the loadings on factor four. Therefore, it would appear that there was a substantial relationship existing between the first two factors extracted, but this relationship disappeared on the next two factors that were extracted from the matrix of inter-correlations.

The criterion used in identifying the factors was a conventional one. For each of the factors, items were ranked according to factor loading. Items carrying the heaviest loadings contributed most significantly to the identification and definition of the factor; however, an additional criterion was imposed in identifying substantive content of the factors. Only items loading heavily on a factor under consideration but loading lightly on the remaining factors were selected.

The first factor extracted from the white group's data was clearly a general factor. Of the 109 items comprising the instrument, 79 of them loaded above .40 on this factor; also relatively few reversals of

sign were noted in the factor loading. This factor accounted for 33% of the common variance. The pattern of loading observed for factor I in the black Ss has been shown to correlate substantially with this factor in the white group. Of the 10 items carrying the largest loadings for the white Ss, 8 of them were among the items carrying the largest loadings on the first factor extracted from the black Ss. Although bearing in mind the general structure of this factor, items referring to religious beliefs and institutions tended more frequently than not to find their way into categories of items carrying the heaviest loading in both groups. Table IV presents in rank order the 10 items in both groups most heavily loaded with factor one.

Somewhat more difficulty was encountered in attempting to identify the characteristics of factor II. Reference to Table I will indicate that this second factor accounted for less than 10% of the common variance in both analyses. The analysis carried out with the black Ss did indicate, however, that the concept of change was a recurring one in the items loading most heavily on this factor. Concepts dealing with change, experimentation, the questioning of authority, and social influence were observed to carry a positive loading; while items suggesting a return to a traditional past, or items criticizing agents of social change, tend to carry a negative loading. Reference to Table V will indicate the items carrying the heaviest positive or negative loadings on this factor. Examination of the data indicates that this factor appears to be tapping a domain that might be designated tradition-change. This factor approximates one of the intuitive factors that was used to construct the item pool at the beginning stages of the study. It is also evident that this factor is congruent with central

TABLE IV

ITEMS LOADING HEAVILY ON FACTOR I
 (*INDICATES OPPOSITE SIGN)

BLACK <u>Ss</u>	WHITE <u>Ss</u>
94. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.	94. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.
64. A person born to the most humble circumstances can succeed in this country if he has the ability and ambition to get ahead.	19. This country has made as much progress as it has through the help of God and by good old fashion hard work.
36. Since our country is founded on a belief in God, I believe that our national leaders should have firm religious convictions.	36. Since our country is founded on a belief in God, I believe that our national leaders should have firm religious convictions.
16. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.	87. 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.
72. The strength and prosperity of our nation should be viewed as an act of Providence.	108. On most issues I tend to maintain a conservative position.
52. The old fashioned notion of stick-to-it-ness and hard work seems to be sadly lacking in our modern world.	16. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.
76. Children should learn respect for authority and develop a willingness to function under discipline.	32. Much of the trouble in our country today could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.

TABLE IV (Continued)

91. Very few people today seem to be willing to do hard work. I see this as a fundamental weakness in our country.
33. 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.
108. On most issues I tend to maintain a conservative position.
- *85. The solutions to many of our current social problems are more likely to be found within the social sciences than in religion.
23. I believe that religion and patriotism are among the highest virtues a man can display.
93. In my opinion, the Supreme Court has been steadily undermining the true meaning of the Constitution.
-

TABLE V

ITEMS LOADING HEAVILY ON FACTOR II.
 (* INDICATES OPPOSITE SIGN)

BLACK <u>Ss</u>	WHITE <u>Ss</u>
69. Throughout history, this country has been responsible for many immoral and shameful deeds.	31. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.
31. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.	60. It strikes me as unfair that certain people exercise great powers in the nation simply because they possess great wealth.
20. Children should be encouraged to question the ideas of parents, teachers, and clergymen.	17. 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.
11. We must experiment with social affairs just as we experiment with physical and biological matters.	69. Throughout history, this country has been responsible for many immoral and shameful deeds.
60. It strikes me as unfair that certain people exercise great powers in the nation simply because they possess great wealth.	12. 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.
*32. Much of the trouble in our country could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.	
*56. 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.	
*96. If the federal government would just leave people alone, they could work out their own problems to the satisfaction of all.	

concepts that are used in defining liberalism and conservatism by many writers in this area.

The items loading most heavily on the second factor that was extracted from the white data contains several items that entered into the identification of factor II in the previous analysis. Hence, the initial reaction was to give this factor a designation similar to the one obtained from the black Ss. However, there was reason to hesitate in doing this since several of the items seem to bear more directly on concepts dealing with a mental process than they did on temporal considerations. Items expressing subjective value concepts like unfair, immoral-shameful, were found in association with items that recognized the role of intuition as a source of knowledge. In addition, items implying humanitarian-like consideration were also found among the items that were most heavily loaded on Factor II. See Table V for items most significant for Factor II.

Because of this wider range of concept found in this group of items, it was felt that the previous factor definition, tradition-change, was inadequate; therefore, this domain appeared best to be described by a continuum titled Subjectivity-Objectivity.

In many respects this factor is similar to the Tenderminded-Toughminded dimension that was extracted from white Ss who supplied data for Eysenck's factor analysis of social attitudes. On one end of the continuum a tendency to deal with social events in terms of a set of social values that reflect affect rather than reason. Perhaps this is a more traditionalistic approach to social affairs since one implication may be that subjective values contrast with the immediate circumstances that frequently serve as a source of objective fact. At the other end

of the continuum are found concepts that relate to science and reason. Therefore, even though the concept of change is found in the items loading heavily on this factor, this temporal concept gives way to a broader concept that deals with a psychological style that varies along the continuum of subjectivity-objectivity.

The greatest contrast in factor content appeared in factor III. Here the data from the black ss yielded a factor that incorporated what appears to reflect agents and influences for social action into a general context of pessimism. Items expressing concern for the ulterior motives of social reformers are found in association with expression of skepticism that referred to the Supreme Court and Federal Government. Although there are few items loading negatively on this factor, those with the heaviest loadings in this direction seem to imply some possibility of hope for a solution to man's problems. It should be emphasized here that most of the items loading in this direction carried weights that were smaller than .30. Perhaps a clearer picture of this factor can be obtained subsequently, if items are prepared that reflect more directly this end of the continuum.

The third factor extracted from the matrix of inter-correlations obtained from the white group clearly appeared to reflect a dimension that referred to collectivism at one end and individualism at the other. Table VI presents the items most substantially loaded on this factor. Examination of these items will indicate that those loading positively express concepts dealing with events in terms of groups, and those that load negatively expressed ideas that referred to the individual, private property, etc., as a focus of consideration. The designation "individualism" is used here with reference to the principle element used

TABLE VI

ITEMS LOADING HEAVILY ON FACTOR III
 (* INDICATES OPPOSITE SIGN)

BLACK <u>Ss</u>	WHITE <u>Ss</u>
93. In my opinion, the Supreme Court has been steadily undermining the true meaning of the Constitution.	106. The frontiers of American opportunity are closed for many citizens and the age of rugged individualism must be replaced by an age of collectivism. ✓
96. If the federal government would just leave people alone they could work out their own problems to the satisfaction of all.	57. Many of our current social problems could be solved if there was a fairer distribution of wealth in this country. ✓
106. The frontiers of American opportunity are closed for many citizens and the age of rugged individualism must be replaced by an age of collectivism.	*27. Many governmental programs are nothing but poorly veiled handouts to the lower classes who in turn keep the politicians in office. ✓
92. I believe that wealthy people have a better chance for happiness than do poor people. ✓	45. It is unfair for an individual to inherit more wealth than he needs to provide a comfortable life for himself and his family. ✓
	46. Population trends, urban concentration, etc. require that the citizen consider himself as a member of a group rather than as an individual who is seeking his own interests. ✓
	*78. Our society should place much more emphasis on the importance of private property and ownership as an essential condition for freedom. ✓

Skidmore

National Security

in social thought. For the items that load toward the collectivism end of the scale, the elemental units of social thought appear to be collectivities as compared to the individual. It is this factor that probably would lie at the center of much of the thinking concerning the polarity of current national and international political-economical ideas. The designation collectivism-individualism, that will be used for the third factor appears to be more acceptable than terms that pertain to specific political philosophies.

Items loading heavily on factor IV for both the black and white Ss were not easily interpretable. Therefore, the process of factor interpretation was discontinued at this point.

CHAPTER IV

DISCUSSION

The first factor extracted from both the black and white Ss was clearly a general factor. The general factor for the white group contributed 33 per cent to the common variance. This is more than the next three factors combined. Similarly, in the black group a general factor was obtained, however, it was not as distinct and clear-cut as the white group's. Only 18 per cent of the common variance could be accounted for by this factor. This, of course, was two times as large as the next factor extracted, and it should be noted that there was a substantial similarity in the pattern of factor loadings in the two groups. A correlation coefficient of .71, significant beyond the .01 level, was computed to substantiate this relationship. This finding of a general factor especially in white Ss, is supported by several investigations using the factorial method.

Sanai (1952) administered a questionnaire of 30 statements on social, political, and religious topics to 250 men and women, who expressed their agreement or disagreement with each on a seven-fold scale. Correlation coefficients were computed and factorized. Four significant factors were found. The first proved to be a general factor with little or no reversal of sign throughout. He called this factor heterodoxy. He suggested that the generality of the factor implies that in any individual there may be a non-compliant tendency

and the reverse can be true, too. This tendency may be a habitual standpoint affecting the person's views in all fields covered by the survey instrument. Recognizing that habits and attitudes are very similar, Sanai's suggestion seems feasible. Attitudes and habits are both learned modifications of the organism; both are hypothetical constructs; and lastly, both denote persisting states of the organism which are necessary for any type of action.

Stacey and Green (1968) factor analyzed an attitude questionnaire comprised of 58 items. Again their findings implied a general factor operating as an anchor for social attitudes. Wilson (1969) administered a scale to a sample of 200 males from the London area. Correlation coefficients were computed and a principle components analysis conducted. He, too, found a general factor (conservatism) in social attitudes. His study further suggests that all social attitudes are, to some extent, intercorrelated forming a general factor of considerable importance.

In the same vein, Eysenck (1954) found a basic common factor "radicalism conservatism" and in addition identified a second factor which he called "toughmindedness-tendermindedness." Eysenck postulates that this "T-factor" is the projection of the personality dimension extroversion-introversion onto the attitude field, while the content of the attitudes of extroverts and introverts is determined by their position on the radicalism-conservatism axis. It follows then that a person's social attitudes would seek expression in terms of the fundamental personality variables so closely connected with toughminded-tendermindedness. The toughminded-tenderminded oriented person would appear to have his opinions dominated by

ethical, moralistic, superego, altruistic values on the one hand and, on the other by realistic, worldly, egotistic values.

The fact that the general factor extracted from the black data was not as clearly defined as the white's suggests some differences in the structuring of social attitudes within the two groups. Further analysis of the black data shows that the second and third factors differed even more than the first. There was a substantial reduction in the strength of association between the two groups' factor II loadings. In both groups the second factor accounted for less than 10 per cent of the common variance. However, in the black group, it was evident that the central concept evolved around change. Items referring to change were positively loaded, while items suggesting a return to a ~~traditional~~ past, or items expressing pessimism toward agents for social change were negatively loaded. Realizing the plight of negroes in America over the years, these attitudes relating to change and tradition are understandable in light of today's circumstances. Their concept of change is compatible and logical with their social position.

For the white group the second factor contained items which seemed to relate to the idea of change. The concept of change, however, seemed to be secondary to a mental style that dealt with social events along a continuum of subjectivity-objectivity. This factor appeared to reflect a process or a psychological set to deal with social situations in a particular fashion.

It was not too surprising to find a marked contrast between the two groups on factor III. The data from the black Ss showed that by and large the third factor referred to agents of social influence.

In addition, these items also included an evaluative component that varied from skepticism to optimism. It is quite possible that this is because of past experiences in dealing with these agencies.

Certainly the skepticism and lack of trust as identified by this factor is a reasonable perceptual dimension when considered in connection with the social position of the Negro in America. With the promise of social mobility and the countervailing resistance to social assimilation, it appears reasonable that the black subject would organize his social attitudes around these concepts.

The continuous upward struggle the Black in America have experienced seems to have had some adverse psychological effects. This may be the cause for the black Ss' lighter loadings on a general factor. There seems to be a higher degree of uncertainty and insecurity. This will account for them not being as committed to a given ideology as are the whites. They have learned to be skeptical, untrusting and unsure as a means for survival. This study had demonstrated that blacks do have a somewhat different psychological orientation than whites. The presence of a general factor in both groups has further substantiated the position that social attitudes are interrelated; that one's actions and experiences are not independent of each other. What one believes about one thing certainly influences his beliefs in other areas. This study confirms a well-known social psychological principle that certain factors in one's frame of reference will contribute more to attitudes, judgments, and perceptions than do others.

Future research should become concerned with the differences observed in the two groups; particularly with respect to the general

factor. Seeing that the Ss in this study were all college students, it may be well to investigate and compare findings from groups outside an academic setting.

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Rambo's Liberalism - Conservatism Scale

The purpose of this survey is to measure your attitudes toward a number of social topics. Read each statement on the following pages and indicate the extent that you agree with the attitudes expressed by filling in the appropriate blank on the answer sheet. In marking down your response to a statement make sure the row number of the answer sheet corresponds with the number of the statement. The spaces in each row will be defined as follows:

1. Strongly disagree
2. Disagree
3. Undecided
4. Agree
5. Strongly agree

There are no right answers to these statements; we are interested in attitudes relating to topics about which people hold a wide variety of positions; therefore, your attitudes are just as valid as any one else's.

Work rapidly; do not spend a great deal of time on any one statement, and when you are finished, turn your material face down on your desk and a short, second section of the survey will be given to you.

DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THE ANSWER SHEET, and do not mark on the statement booklet, since it will be used in other classes. If you have a question, please raise your hand.

1. There are many people in this country who live under social conditions that would prevent even the best of men from rising.
2. There should be no authority that has the right to determine the type of reading material that is available in the community.
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 society.
5. Science and man's intellect will eventually solve all mysteries of life .
6. Those who support increasing the scope of Federal involvement in local and economic affairs are usually those who do not conduct their own financial affairs in a thrifty and prudent manner.
7. The only true science of man's behavior is religion because it is here that we can find most of our answers about man.
8. Advocates of modern child rearing practices do not realize that if a child is ever to learn the self-discipline necessary for success in adult life, he must first be exposed to firm discipline at home.
9. I believe that people in my parents' generation were more patriotic and cared more for this country than do people in today's generation.
10. 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.
11. We must experiment with social affairs just as we experiment with physical and biological matters.
12. 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.
13. The writings of our Founding Fathers contain many basic truths that have been virtually forgotten by modern social thinkers.
- ✓ 14. The leadership structure of each community traditionally and rightfully is dominated by men, however women should and do exert their leadership influence on the community through their role in the family.
15. He is not much of a person who does not feel great love, gratefulness, and respect for his parents.

16. In times of great national trouble the people and their leaders should turn to God for guidance.
17. 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.
18. When appressed and insecure, man tends to become evil, but when secure and free his humanitarian nature will be seen.
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. Many college professors hold ideas that have little practical value in the everyday world that most people live in.
22. If the lower classes would not let their houses run down so, perhaps they would be more acceptable as neighbors.
23. I believe that religion and patriotism are among the highest virtues a man can display.
24. I'm sure that environmental factors exert some influence in determining a man's social position, but what he inherits in the way of character and ability plays a much more significant role.
25. The Constitution of the United States is a document that needs constant re-interpretation in order to keep up with the times.
26. Happiness is something inside a person and not something that comes from wealth and easy living.
27. Many governmental programs are nothing but poorly veiled handouts to the lower classes who in turn keep the politicians in office.
28. I have found that many very bright people use their minds to lead you away from beliefs that are fundamentally true.
29. There are natural leaders and natural followers, and the country would be better off if more people really accepted this idea.
30. 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.
31. There are many aspects of our country that are unfair and should be changed.
32. Much of the trouble in our country today could be avoided if our schools would return to the teaching of patriotism and Americanism.

33. 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.
34. One can never justify breaking the law by claiming that he is following the dictates of his conscience.
35. People deserve punishment for their crimes.
36. Since our country is founded on a belief in God, I believe that our national leaders should have firm religious convictions.
37. I believe that most men, in spite of their faults, strive to lead a virtuous life.
38. Sometimes I believe that the right of free speech is abused as much as it is used in this country.
39. Every individual has the right to join any group in which he can function constructively.
40. Most people who advocate social changes are merely advocating a poorly disguised scheme through which they would gain wealth or power.
41. It seems that the real power in this country has been shifting from the practical, hard-headed business leaders who made this country great, to fuzzy-thinking ivory tower intellectuals who know very little about the real world.
42. I see no reason why the government employee would not be as highly motivated to do a good job as a person in the private sector.
43. The large amount of credit buying we see in this country disturbs me.
44. Like it or not, there are people who just cannot be expected to assume a leadership role in the community.
45. It is unfair for an individual to inherit more wealth than he needs to provide a comfortable life for himself and his family.
46. Population trends, urban concentration, etc. require that the citizen consider himself as a member of a group rather than as an individual who is seeking his own interests.
47. Finding fault with this country generally comes from those people who lack the skill or ambition to make something of themselves.
48. 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.

49. The social changes that have been of most value to man have taken place very slowly and over a long period of time.
50. We should not go about making social changes unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.
51. I think we are moving away from a time when people were happier and life was simpler.
52. The old fashioned notion of stick-to-it-ness and hard work seems to be sadly lacking in our modern world.
53. As a general rule, poor people are just as happy as rich people.
54. You can't change man's basic nature through education, he's the way he is and we should recognize the fact and accept it.
55. Labor unions have demonstrated the benefits people may expect when they join together in the pursuit of their own interests.
56. 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.
57. Many of our current social problems could be solved if there was a fairer distribution of wealth in this country.
58. 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.
59. People who go around knocking our country and wanting to change everything are, in my opinion, just a bunch of trouble-makers.
60. It strikes me as unfair that certain people exercise great powers in the nation simply because they possess great wealth.
61. Human nature being what it is, we cannot expect our representatives in government to represent the interest of the people in an unselfish fashion when they themselves tend to be ambitious men who are out to serve their own interests.
62. There are many times when I feel that we are changing things much too rapidly in this country.
63. Many of the more important things in life cannot be learned in books.
64. A person born to the most humble circumstances can succeed in this country if he has the ability and ambition to get ahead.
65. Although a good break is sometimes important, I believe that men rise in a society largely through their own efforts.

66. All property and natural resources should be owned by the Federal Government or rigidly controlled by it.
67. When the Constitution states that all men are created equal it means that they are equal in the eyes of God, not in the social sense.
68. During the recent past this country has been undergoing a steady decay in national character and morality.
69. Throughout history, this country has been responsible for many immoral and shameful deeds.
70. The solutions to many of our social and international problems are so simple that many of our leaders have overlooked them.
71. The Constitution of the United States is a document that is a product of divine inspiration.
72. The strength and prosperity of our nation should be viewed as an act of Providence.
73. Each man has his place in the scheme of things and he is happiest when he recognizes and accepts his station in life.
74. Many of our most difficult social problems cannot be solved unless the federal government becomes involved with individual communities.
75. The skills and personal qualities that are usually associated with business success are the same characteristics that are essential to a position of governmental leadership.
76. Children should learn respect for authority and develop a willingness to function under discipline.
77. Increasing the severity of prison sentences would do much to discourage disregard for law and order.
78. Our society should place much more emphasis on the importance of private property and ownership as an essential condition for freedom.
79. If a man has the ambition and character he will rise above the most humble beginnings.
80. One reason crime is on the rise is because the police have been overrestricted in carrying out their duties.
81. 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.

82. The basic structure of our society is built upon a religious heritage.
83. People naturally work harder when they are pursuing their own personal interests.
84. 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 as it applies to man and society.
85. The solutions to many of our current social problems are more likely to be found within the social sciences than in religion.
86. The compromises, that come out of a situation in which many people are individually pursuing their own interests, are generally sound and beneficial to the group as a whole.
87. 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.
88. In general, happiness and wealth are not closely related.
89. 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.
90. The saying "Mother knows best" still has more than a grain of truth.
91. Very few people today seem to be willing to do hard work. I see this as a fundamental weakness in our country.
92. I believe that wealthy people have a better chance for happiness than do poor people.
93. In my opinion, the Supreme Court has been steadily undermining the true meaning of the Constitution.
94. There is an absolute truth that is revealed to man through his belief in God.
95. I really do not understand why the authorities permit so many obscene books and movies to come into our neighborhoods.
96. If the federal government would just leave people alone they could work out their own problems to the satisfaction of all.
97. There is greater leadership potential in the business community than is generally found in other sectors of the society.

98. Unless one accepts the idea that people are out for all they can get, he can't think realistically about social and governmental problems.
99. I firmly believe that this country has been built on a foundation of truth and righteousness.
100. Despite all the recent criticism and attacks, I still feel that this country is basically good and decent.
101. You can tell a lot about a person's character by the way he dresses and keeps himself neat and clean.
102. 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.
103. Try as we might, we cannot obtain basic changes in people's character and morality by carrying out social action programs and educational reforms.
104. Modern technology, although making life easier, has unfortunately tended to reduce self-discipline and individual initiative.
105. 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.
106. The frontiers of American opportunity are closed for many citizens and the age of rugged individualism must be replaced by an age of collectivism.
107. A child should not be allowed to talk back to his parents, or else he will lose respect for them.
108. On most issues I tend to maintain a conservative position.
109. Today we pamper our children, keep our lower classes on the dole, and spoil our children with new educational techniques.

SCORES

NAME _____ DATE _____ DATE OF BIRTH _____ AGE _____ SEX _____
 SCHOOL _____ CITY _____ GRADE OR CLASS _____ INSTRUCTOR _____

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
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BE SURE YOUR MARKS ARE HEAVY AND BLACK.
 ERASE COMPLETELY ANY ANSWER YOU WISH TO CHANGE.

VITA

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Master of Science

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