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THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA
GRADUATE COLLEGE

THE EFFECTS OF DOGMATIC AND OPINION
CONFIDENT-TYPES ON
SMALL GROUP CONFORMITY

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
PETER K. HAMILTON
Norman, Oklahoma

1972

THE EFFECTS OF DOGMATIC AND OPINION CONFIDENT-TYPES
ON SMALL GROUP CONFORMITY
A DISSERTATION
APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF SPEECH COMMUNICATION

BY

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Introduction

Theorists are interested in specifying the antecedent conditions of numerous communication behaviors. One such behavior that has been the subject of investigation is conformity. Though this phenomenon has been intensely investigated, we have yet to explain conformity in ways which elicit wide acceptance.

A review of the literature indicates various approaches have been used in attempting to define specific antecedent conditions that consistently precede conformity behavior. Some theorists center their search for antecedent conditions within the individual, while others attempt to delineate external conditions consistently found to precede conformity behavior. Neither the internal or external approach has produced results which would allow any precise prediction of conformity behavior of a given subject.

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between conformity and possible antecedent conditions. Measures of dogmatism and opinion confidence were used to predict subject reaction to "conformity" pressure in two specific situations. It was generally hypothesized that since "public" conformity behavior is primarily a social reaction, dogmatism scores would significantly correlate with conformity

behavior. On the other hand, "private" conformity behavior is not as susceptible to these "social" influences, or at least to the same "social" influences. In this case the past experience of the subject, as reflected in an opinion confidence test, should predict his conformity behavior.

A random sample of subjects was selected from the basic speech communication course at the University of Oklahoma, Summer, 1972. These subjects participated in an experiment designed to test the assumed relationships between dogmatism, opinion confidence and conformity behavior.

The structure of this study is as follows: Chapter I, Rationale and Hypotheses of the Study; Chapter II, Method of Analysis; Chapter III, Results and Discussion; Chapter IV, Summary and Suggestions for Further Study.

Chapter I

Rationale and Hypotheses

This chapter presents the relevant literature and theoretic positions concerning the phenomenon of human conformity. The chapter is divided into five parts: (1) general overview of the rationale for this study; (2) conceptual and operational definitions of conformity; (3) the antecedent conditions of conformity; (4) validity of current conformity theories; and (5) the hypotheses generated by the critical examination of current conformity research.

General Background

The notion that people conform to group standards is not new. Kelley and Thibaut (1969) assert "...the fact that group problem solving discussions generate pressures toward uniformity. . . is hardly newsworthy (p. 71)." However, at least two major difficulties remain: (1) although numerous studies attempted to determine major underlying causes of conformity, no clear correlates exist for empirical precision, and (2) the bulk of work reviewed shows wide variations in methodology and results.

Conceptual and Operational Definitions of Conformity

Two basic notions are consistently found in the conceptual definitions of conformity. First, conformity behavior occurs as a response to some specific antecedent condition,

and secondly, conformity involves a change in the subject's cognitive structure or a change in his overt behavior.

Some specific representative examples demonstrate these general areas of conceptual agreement. Walker and Heyns (1962) define conformity as "some movement toward a norm or standard." Similarly, Kiesler and Kiesler (1971) see conformity as a "change in behavior or belief toward a group. . . ." Finally, McGuire (1969) defines conformity as "a change of one's own attitudinal position toward that of another person or group. . . ."

To be sure, there are also some definite disagreements concerning the conceptual properties of conformity. Specifically these include whether conformity can occur in "degrees" and whether it involves some realignment of assumed hypothetical constructs, or only an overt action. First, the issue of "degree" involves the question of whether conformity is a dichotomous or continuous phenomenon. Those who consider conformity as a dichotomous phenomenon assert that a subject either conforms or he does not. Hollander and Willis (1969) state: "These approaches give rise to the classical bipolar conception of conformity-nonconformity, such as the J-curve formulation of Floyd Allport (1934); or to the work of Asch (1951, 1956), Marie Johoda (1959), and others (p. 415)." On the other hand there are those who claim that people conform along some continuous dimension (Miller, 1965).

The other area of conceptual disagreement concerns the issue of whether conformity is manifested in a shift in some hypothetical construct, or exclusively as a change in overt behavior. Rokeach (1961), typifying the former position, states: "Conformity is a state of mind, sometimes a momentary one induced by certain kinds of social pressure and sometimes a more enduring state built into the personality structure (p. 247)," while the behavioral theorists assert that conformity is manifested in specific, overt, verbal or non-verbal, behavior.

Operational definitions of conformity tend to split into two categories--public and private reactions. The public reaction involves some overt "behavior" on the part of the subject, while the private case generally has the individual fill out some "attitude," "opinion," or "belief" scale. The public situation requires the subject to respond in front of the group or individual who applied the "conformity pressure." The private situation has the subject fill out his scales in some fashion that will not allow the group access to his response.

The vast majority of studies reviewed follow the "public" type definition. In fact, the typical conformity study has the subject view some stimulus object in front of others (ranges are from one to nine). The other members make an appropriate response and then the subject responds. If the subject agrees with the group, it is counted as a "conforming" act. The

confederates are, of course, either responding falsely to some "obvious" stimulus, or responding in a given manner to some "neutral" stimulus.

A specific example of this type of operational definition includes Asch (1956), perhaps the classic study in this area. Subjects observed three lines and were asked to choose the longest line. Three confederates chose some obviously wrong line, and then the subject responded. If he chose the same line as the confederates, it was a "conforming" response. If he did not choose the same line, it was a "non-conforming" response. Crutchfield (1955) used a similar situation in which each subject sat in a booth which had a panel supposedly linked to the other members' boards. Obviously all lights were controlled by the experimenter. Again, subjects were conforming if they agreed with the opinion expressed on the board.¹

A less popular "behavioral" definition counts "conformity" as an imitation of some previous behavior. Miller and Dollard observed rats follow leaders down a T-maze. If the rat followed the leader, it was counted as some "conforming" behavior. This operational definition has been used by others with human subjects. Bandura, Ross and Ross (1964) observed the behavior of children after they had viewed a movie. The amount of "imitative" behavior was counted as a conforming act.

¹Other studies using this operational definition include: Wells, Weinert, and Rubel (1956); Million (1958); Canning and Baker (1959); Gorfein (1961); Samelson (1957); Coleman, Blake, and Mouton (1958); Wiener (1958); Goldberg (1954); and Vaughan (1963).

Similar to the "imitation" approach is the "command" type definition. In this case the experimenter commands the subject to carry out some action. The number of commands the subject completes is counted as his "conformity" score. Vaughan (1964) asked students to perform a given assignment for a class project. After one week the number of completed assignments were counted as conforming acts.

It is obvious that the vast majority of the "public" conformity studies limit their operational definitions to a dichotomous view of conformity behavior. The majority of the data analysis has primarily been limited to some non-parametric test. Some have used various correlation tests in analysis. Others, however, added the number of conformity acts committed by each individual and then calculated a mean and standard deviation score. Vaughan (1964) used four measures of conformity. First, he measured subject reaction to a "social acquiescence" test--56 attitudinal statements to which subjects agree or disagree. The second measure used the "direct command" method, specifically a 12-point scale based on amount of time a subject used to turn in a class assignment. Third, a "normative pressure" test counted the number of occasions (0 - 5) a subject altered a previous judgment. Finally, a "group pressure" score was calculated by the number of occasions (0 - 8) a subject made a complaint response to a perceptual stimulus in front of four dissenting confederates. Comparisons between these scores were then made with a series of t tests.

Studies operationally defining conformity as a "private" response generally used some "interval" level scale. Typically the subject received a pretest, treatment, and posttest. The key element was the posttest which was administered in a "private" situation, i.e., the person or group used to apply the "conformity pressure" is generally not present when the subject completes the posttest. If the design required the confederates to be present, "secrecy" was assured by the experimenter.

Variations of the Likert-type scale comprise the majority of the "private" measures of conformity. Subjects are presented with a list of favorable or unfavorable statements concerning some given topic and are asked to rate them on a one-to-five scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The results of these scales are at times assumed to reflect an "opinion" shift or "attitude" shift. Morris (1965) defines his dependent variable of attitude change by having subjects assess eight statements covering four separate topics. Measures were taken before and after the conformity pressure was applied to each subject.²

The Guttman and the social judgment scale have not been used as extensively as the Likert-type scale. Most studies

²Other studies using this type of an approach include: Beloff (1958); Berkowitz and Lundy (1956); Hardy (1957); Kiesler, Zanna, and DeSalvo (1966); and Blake, Helson and Mouton (1957).

combine these measures with a Likert-type scale. Miller (1965) offered three measures of internal conformity: (1) a six-point Likert response to a statement favoring adding fluoridation to the city's water; (2) a list of eight pro-con statements on the same topic; and (3) a social judgment scale consisting of nine ordered statements ranging from a most favorable to least favorable assertion regarding fluoridation. Miller used the various tests as external reliability checks.

An earlier study by Wagman (1955) used similar external checks. Two Likert-type scales and two Guttman-type scales using variations of the topic of Negro-White relations were used in the experiment. The first Likert-type scale consisted of eight items dealing with various discrimination practices toward Negroes, both on and off the job. A second test consisted of six Guttman-type items dealing with the problem of Negroes as supervisors in industry. Another scale dealt with military discrimination and used six Likert-type items. Finally, the fourth scale was another Guttman-type test consisting of six ordered statements ranging from the phrase, "I am completely in favor of the principle of having both Negro and White personnel living within the same military platoon," to the exact opposite statement on the other extreme position.

The nature of the scales used in these studies is said to allow the experimenter to use numerous parametric tests in the data analysis. Various tests of linearity have been performed with little or no success. Kiesler, Zanna, and DeSalvo

(1966) did find a curvilinear relationship between conformity and group attraction. The ease of using an interval scale "private" measure has led to the current lack of any undimensional tests of conformity in this type of study.

In summary, the conceptual definitions of conformity have produced similarities and differences. At the same time, the operational definitions seem to divide along the basis of "public" and "private" measures of conformity behavior. Those studies using some "public" measures generally operationally define conformity as an overt response that is consistent with responses made by a number of confederates. This is generally an "either-or" situation. Those experiments using some "private" measure of conformity tend to use a continuous measure to operationally define conformity behavior. The relationships between these two different methods of operational definition are analyzed in the fourth section of this chapter.

Antecedent Conditions of Conformity

The purpose of this section is to review the various antecedent conditions that have been observed to precede conformity behavior. An evaluative analysis of these conditions is offered in the fourth section of this chapter. This section is organized in two major parts; (1) the "internal" conditions, and (2) the "external" or "situational" conditions that precede conformity behavior.

Internal antecedent conditions of conformity. Two major approaches have been followed in attempting to locate internal antecedent conditions: the "conformity personality" approach, and the "personality symptom" approach. The conceptual basis of each theory and the resulting empirical studies are presented for each major view.

(1) Conformity personality theorists. These theorists assume that conformity is an underlying trait found in all people, with individual differences. The theory further assumes that this "trait" will generate consistent behavior. Supposedly individuals who are "high conformers" will display conforming behavior over a variety of conditions.³ Although never specifically stated, the "conforming personality" is viewed as a result of both innate dispositions and past experiences. The developmental aspect is not seen as an essential part of the theory. What is necessary is that the theory be able to demonstrate the existence of such a trait, and the behavior it generates.

The empirical testing of this theory has taken various forms. The major area of controversy revolves around the question of the criteria used to determine the existence of the "conformity personality." McGuire (1969) describes a sample of

³This approach assumes "high conformity personality" types tend to display more conformity behavior than "low conforming personality" types in both "private" and "public" situations.

these studies (Asch, 1956; Beloff, 1958; Frye and Bass, 1958; Abelson and Lesser, 1959a, 1959b; Harper and Tuddenham, 1964; Rosner, 1957; and Sears, 1963). Some (Asch, 1956) view the individual in one condition over various time segments, while others (Beloff, 1958; Frye and Bass, 1958) observe the same subject in a variety of conditions. The conclusions are similar, i.e., those subjects who conform in one case tend to conform in others. A third group (Abelson and Lesser, 1959a, 1959b; Harper and Tuddenham, 1964; and Rosner, 1957) manipulates the sources of conformity pressure. Again they report that those individuals who conform to one source tend to conform to another source.

Vaughan (1964) divides the studies he reviews along similar lines.

Other writers (Hoffman, 1953, 1958; Bernberg, 1954; Tuddenham, 1959; Steiner and Peters, 1958; Mussen and Kagan, 1958; Jackson, 1958) have assumed that a single measure of conforming behavior is measuring a conformity trait, and have proceeded to describe personality factors distinguishing high from low conformers. A second group (Crutchfield, 1955, 1957, 1958; Rosner, 1957; Endler, 1961), have found behavioral consistency between tasks or conditions within a single experimental situation (pressure in a small group), and again personality correlates of high and low conformity have been obtained. Yet a third group (Weiner, et al., 1956, 1957; Blake, Helson, and Mouton, 1956; Quinn and Lichtenstein, 1962) have found such consistency between two or more situations (pp. 335-336).

The conclusions of McGuire (1969) and Vaughan (1964) are similar:

On the whole...there is a general factor underlying the whole spectrum of conformity tests which accounts for a small but significant portion of the variance in each of these tests, but whose manifestation is attenuated by the unreliability of the separate tests (McGuire, 1969, p. 242).

1. The tendency to conform can be meaningfully described as a trait.
2. This trait is probably normally distributed in a population.
3. Trans-situational consistency in behavior deriving from this trait is characteristic of deviant cases on the distribution.
4. Consequently, situational factors play an increasingly important role in determining conformity behavior as the center of the distribution is approached (Vaughan, 1964, pp. 341-342).

To these authors, conformity is a basic underlying trait, generalizable across many situations. Some people tend to have more of this trait than others and thus will conform more than others no matter what the situation. An evaluation of this theory and its explanatory and predictive power is offered in the fourth section of this report.

(2) Symptom theorists. Other theorists have attempted to delineate various "internal" conditions that consistently precede conformity behavior. This has been referred to as the "symptom" approach by Cronkhite and Goetz (1972). Although there have been numerous "personality" types related to conformity,⁴ this study is primarily interested in the relationship

⁴A good review and overview of various personality traits that have been correlated with conformity can be found in Hovland and Janis (1959); McGuire (1969); and Marlowe and Gergen (1970).

between authoritarianism, dogmatism, and conformity. These two possible antecedent conditions have led to empirical research which may be useful in symptomatic theory building.

First introduced in 1950 by Adorno, et al., the concept of the authoritarian personality had an immediate impact on personality testing. The F-scale was used in over 500 studies in the first five years of its existence. After numerous attacks on the reliability of the scale culminating with Christie and Jahoda (1954), the popularity of the F-scale diminished.

The early work of Adorno, et al., described the "authoritarian" as having certain general personality qualities including rigid thinking, conforming behavior, stereotyping in his judgments, and intolerance for ambiguity. Crutchfield (1955), who conducted extensive work with conformity behavior, concluded:

Previous theoretical and empirical studies seem to converge, though imperfectly, on a picture of the over-conformist as having less ego strength, less ability to accept responsibility, less self-insight, less spontaneity and productive originality and as having more prejudice and authoritarian attitudes, more idealization of parents and greater emphasis on external and socially approved values (p. 195).

The overlap in descriptions between these two theorists led to speculation that indeed conformity could be related to authoritarianism or even be predicted to occur more often among those scoring highly on the F-scale.

Specific testing of the relations between "authoritarianism" and conformity behavior produced seemingly inconsistent

results. Block and Block (1952); Crutchfield (1955); Wells, Weinert, and Rubel (1956); Canning and Baker (1959); Beloff (1958); Nadler (1959); and Vaughan (1964) support the notion that "authoritarianism" and conformity are positively related. However, Million (1958), Gorfein (1961), and Wiener and McGinnies (1961) found no relationship between the two variables.

As stated earlier, the use of the F-scale has been attacked on the basis of its limited reliability. Rokeach's "dogmatism" scale, developed to test "open and closed mindedness," is conceptually similar to the F-scale, yet overcomes the reliability problem. The following section reviews the studies that have utilized the "dogmatism" scale to predict conformity behavior. At the same time, a brief overview of Rokeach's theoretic position is presented.

Rokeach (1961) maintains that "conformity is the loss of independence of belief and action by virtue of the inability to distinguish information from source (p. 249)." Rather than relying on numerous other "personality traits (Adorno, et al.)," Rokeach attempts to build an internally consistent system capable of explaining and predicting human behavior. Since its inception the "dogmatism" scale has been used in various types of studies, and one should not get the impression that its usefulness is limited to predicting conformity behavior.

Relevant to the notion of the individual resolving conflict between his own cognitions and those of "authorities,"

Rokeach asserts "the power of authority does not at all hinge upon cognitive correctness, but solely on the ability of authority to meet out arbitrary reward and punishment." He also claims that "the closed-minded person is more susceptible to the pressures of rewards and punishment arising from external authority (Miller and Lobe, 1967, p. 334)." Thus, the highly dogmatic individual should be more likely to respond to the pressures of external sources such as peer groups even in the face of strong cognitive inconsistency between the group and his previously held opinions.

Following this logic, Kleck and Wheaton (1967) maintain that "an obvious choice to start an investigation into the possibility of personality links with conformity behavior is the dogmatism dimension delineated by Rokeach (p. 249)." This view is supported by Cronkhite and Goetz (1971) when they link dogmatism and general persuasibility.

Similar to the empirical tests of authoritarianism, studies relating dogmatism and conformity have produced seemingly inconsistent results. Norris (1965) and Vaughan (1964) did find a limited but significant relationship between conformity and dogmatism. Norris found dogmatism predicted "conforming attitude change" ($p < .05$), while Vaughan found similar relationship ($p < .01$). On the other hand, Hardy (1957) did not find any significant relationship between dogmatism and conformity. Miller (1965) hypothesized that "dogmatism" would be positively

related to "non-conformity." Such a relationship was found ($p < .001$).

In summary, those who attempt to find some "internal" antecedent condition that continually precede conformity generally take one of two approaches. First, some have searched for a "conformity personality." Treated like other personality traits, this notion assumes that those who possess it will respond in a consistent fashion to various conformity-producing situations. Others attempt to find numerous "personality symptoms" that consistently precede conformity responses. Of the numerous "symptoms" that have been studied, this report is specifically interested in authoritarianism and dogmatism as antecedent to conforming behavior. Both the "personality trait" approach and the "symptom" approach have produced limited empirical support. The remainder of this section considers those studies that specify purely external conditions that precede conformity behavior.

External antecedent conditions of conformity. The primary impetus for this approach comes from various stimulus-response theories of behavior. Conformity behavior is approached as a response to specific external measurable stimuli subject to the laws of reinforcement.

The goal of research in this area is to specify antecedent stimulus conditions that will reliably predict a given observable conforming response. This approach generally

assumes that when confronted with a behavioral "choice," i.e., conform or not conform to a group judgment, the subject will select behavior that has been rewarding in the past. Some stimulus-response theorists attempt to explain higher order behavior through some variation of "secondary reinforcement theory." To these people, "...the bulk of human behavior is learned by means of socially instilled rewards and punishments (Bolles, 1967, p. 368)." Unfortunately, the theory of secondary reinforcement admits that "...reward properties are acquired through association with drive satisfaction (Berkowitz, 1969, p. 56)." Individual differences develop as a result of various contiguous associations of diverse stimuli with the reduction of primary drives. The general principle is summarized by Berkowitz (1969) as follows:

1. A drive state results from deprivation conditions or the intrusion of inimical stimuli, that is, from biological needs.
2. As a consequence, the organism is automatically goaded into activity.
3. When the deprivation is eliminated or the disturbing stimuli are bypassed, the drive state diminishes or disappears altogether and the activity lessens.
4. Previously neutral stimuli that are associated with need satisfaction become rewarding, with the result that effort may be expended to come into further contact with these stimuli.
5. Stimuli that are associated with the arousal of the aversive drive state, or the other hand, come to be avoided.
6. Learning operates to steer or guide the activity impelled by the drive stimuli (p. 55).

The assumption that conformity is a learned response to specific external cues has not produced extensive research. Miller and Dollard (1941) were among the first to demonstrate the importance of differential reinforcement in imitative behavior. They trained hungry albino rats to turn either left or right in a "T-maze." After leaders were trained, followers were rewarded or not rewarded for imitative behavior. The results show that reward, rather than imitative behavior, determined the direction the rat turned. This study was replicated by Church (1957).

Extending their work to humans, Miller and Dollard (1941) rewarded children for following or not following the behavior of other children. The leader child had been told which box contained candy while the second child did not know. After repeated trials, McGinnies (1970) reports that "Miller and Dollard found the dependent members of the pairs had learned when to imitate and when not to imitate in order to secure a piece of candy (p. 106)." Thus, the behavior in one condition (reward present) is not the same as the other (reward not present).

McGinnies(1970) goes on to point out further studies that have supported the notion that conformity behavior is a learned phenomenon. Studies by McDavid (1962); Bandura and Walters (1963); and Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1964) demonstrate subjects learn to conform in given situations by observational

learning. Miller (1948); Mowrer (1960); Logan and Wagner (1965); and Ferster (1957) conditioned subjects to conform or not conform by aversive conditioning. McGinnies concludes:

Imitative behavior does not necessarily occur with greater than chance expectancy until it has been strengthened through reinforcement. This seems true of both animals and humans (p. 106).

Working on the assumption that given behavior does not hold the same reward properties for each individual, McDavid (1959), Moeller and Applezweig (1957), and Statland (1959) had subjects participate in group discussions where they would be forced to choose between social approval and task success. The results of these studies claim to demonstrate individual differences. The authors assumed there was no "experimentally induced preference for one or the other." Thus, the choices made by the subjects were assumed to be the result of prior experience in similar situations.

Simply demonstrating individual differences does not help specify which antecedent conditions precede conforming behavior. One obvious antecedent condition would be the relationship between the group member and the group. It would appear to be obvious that if the subject "liked" the group, he would conform to their standards. This has not been clearly supported through empirical investigation. Bovard (1953), using the "public conformity" design described earlier in this chapter, had subjects rate the group on a sociometric choice test. A

comparison of conformity responses made by "high liking" and "low liking" subjects produced no significant difference. Downing (1958) used a similar design but found no significant relationship between affiliation for group and number of conforming responses.

A third study (Jackson and Saltzstein, 1958) did find a limited but significant relationship between affiliation and conformity. Subjects were told by the experimenter that they would "like" the group, or that they would "not like" the group. A comparison between the two groups found a slight positive relationship when subjects were also told that the task was important.

Rather than looking at the group member-group relationship, some theorists have investigated the group member-task relationship. More specifically these authors attempt to specify the relationship between task difficulty, or group member "confidence" and conformity behavior to group pressure.

Results of empirical investigation into the relationship of the antecedent condition of "task" difficulty or "group member confidence" and resultant conformity behavior have produced consistent results. Hochbaum (1954) discovered that when subjects cannot check their opinions against any "physical objective referents," they must rely on "social reality." Blake, Helson, and Mouton (1957) also found that "Conforming responses are more frequent with difficult items than with easy ones (p.304)."

Wiener (1958) investigated subject "confidence" and conformity by having subjects give "names" to ambiguous designs. Then each subject was asked to rank their judgments from "absolute certainty" to "absolute uncertainty" on a five-point equal-appearing interval scale. The "test booklets" were then collected and "compared to the results that others had given." The booklets were then returned to the subjects and subjects were given an opportunity to change their original names. The results show that 25 per cent of the names ranked as "absolute certain" were changed; 42 per cent of those marked as "fairly certain" were changed; and 49 per cent of those marked "uncertain" or "absolutely uncertain" were changed ($p < .001$).

At the same time, Coleman, Blake, and Mouton (1958) investigated the relationship between the antecedent condition of "task difficulty" and group member conformity. Fifty men and fifty women answered 12 questions to establish the "difficulty" of each item. Then another set of men and women answered the same questions in front of four confederates who were instructed to give "wrong" answers. The experimenters found a significant ($p < .05$) correlation ($r = .58$) between difficulty and conformity for men, and a significant ($p < .01$) correlation ($r = .89$) between difficulty and conformity for women. The authors concluded that if the subjects were aware of the right answer they could withstand group pressure to conform.

In summary, there have been various attempts to locate specific external antecedent conditions of conformity behavior. Animals and humans have been conditioned to "conform," "not conform," or "act independently." There are individual differences in responding to task reward or social support. In general the group affiliation, task difficulty, and group member confidence were discussed. An evaluative analysis of the results of these empirical investigations is presented in the following section.

Validity of Current Conformity Theories

The purpose of this section is to evaluate the two major approaches (internal and external) used to specify antecedent conditions of conformity behavior.

Internal antecedent conditions. Two major approaches have been previously described: (1) the "conformity personality" approach, and (2) the "personality symptom" approach. Each major method of specifying antecedent conditions of conformity are analyzed in order.

First, the "conformity personality" approach offers the weakest explanation of conformity and provides the least valid predictive theory. The notion that some people are "high" conformers and will tend to conform more than those who are "low" conformers does not explain what is going on or why. As Kiesler and Kiesler (1970) point out:

A (second) problem with the idea that conformity reflects an acquiescent or "conformer" personality is that this explanation is no explanation at all. All it really says is that conformers conform. But why do they conform? Do they conform under all conditions (p. 12)?

When the predictive aspect of this theory is considered, a further weakness is uncovered. The major weakness is found in the lack of any a priori measurement of the "conforming personality." As described earlier in the report, various empirical efforts have been made to determine the existence of such a personality. It must be noted that all of these efforts used a post hoc procedure. A subject was observed under given "conformity" producing conditions. After the data was collected the author then decided which subject was a "high" or "low" conformer.

One measurement tool does exist that claims to define those subjects who are most susceptible to conformity pressure. The Janis and Field (1959) Test of General Persuasibility supposedly predicts which subject will conform under any given external situation. However, Cronkhite and Goetz (1972) point out that:

The test of "general persuasibility" has the disadvantage that it requires that the subjects be exposed to pro and con communications on a variety of topics. This is time-consuming both in preparation and administration. Further, it is the enemy of both reliability and validity: the temptation is to choose a small number of communications, which decreases the reliability and limits the "generality" of the "general persuasibility" measured. Finally, the communications involved soon become outdated and new ones must be constructed, which limits the comparability of scores every time (p. 344).

Results of empirical attempts to describe the "organism" through specified "personality traits" has not produced consistent antecedent conditions of conformity. This failure to find, or define, any highly consistent "conformer personality" type severely limits the usefulness of this approach. The other major direction attempting to specify internal antecedent conditions of conformity is the "personality symptom" approach. The following section analyzes the results of studies using the "symptom" method.

As stated earlier, this report is primarily concerned with the relationship between authoritarianism and/or dogmatism and conformity. The studies reviewed produced inconsistent results in establishing any general relationship between authoritarianism, dogmatism and conformity. Only when specific situational limitations are defined does any consistent set of antecedent conditions emerge.

First, those studies that found a "significant" relationship between authoritarianism/dogmatism and conformity (Block and Block, 1952; Crutchfield, 1956; Wells, et al., 1964; Norris, 1965; and Kleck and Wheaton, 1967) had certain design similarities. Each study operationally defined conformity as a "public" agreement to some unanimous group statement. The operational limitation to "public" agreement or disagreement responses must reduce the generalizability of these results.

A second similarity is found in the stimulus object which the subject must analyze. Each study presented a vague stimulus such as Crutchfield's geometric shapes (1956), Wiener's automobile accident picture (1958), or Canning and Baker's autonomic clicks (1959). As a result, each subject generally reported a low level of confidence in his ability to correctly analyze the stimulus.

A third similarity is that in each case the subjects had little or no involvement with the topic or stimulus object. As a result, these studies cannot be used to predict conformity in which the subject is highly involved with the topic or the decision reached by the group.

On the other hand, those studies which did not find any significant relationship between authoritarianism/dogmatism and conformity (Million, 1958; Gorfien, 1967; Wiener and McGinnies, 1961; Hardy, 1957; and Miller, 1965) also had some similarities in design. First, each of these studies used some "private" measure of conformity. That is, conformity was operationally defined as a shift or "attitude" or belief as measured by some privately administered test. Miller (1965) had his subjects fill out three separate "attitude" tests including two Likert-type measures and a social judgment scale. Each "private" measure was assumed to be an interval scale, which produces some "degree" of conformity.

A second similarity is to be found in the group member-task relationship. Gorfien (1961), used a series of lines that were "obviously" different. Weiner and McGinnies (1961) had the confederates agree with the subject on a number of previous trials when he correctly judged a "face as smiling or frowning," thus increasing the subject's confidence in his ability to correctly analyze the stimulus object. Miller (1965) went to great lengths to induce a sense of "involvement" in the subject for the topic. Miller told the subjects that their decisions would be used in a public campaign for fluoridation of the city's water supply.

In summary, studies finding a relationship between authoritarianism or dogmatism and conformity behavior use a consistent set of operational definitions and design techniques. Specified external conditions were found to be present in each case where there was a significant relationship, while those studies that were not able to predict conformity on the basis of authoritarianism or dogmatism did not have those external conditions present. Thus, we could not use results of the "dogmatism" scale to predict specific conformity behavior unless other specified external antecedent conditions were present. Since the theorists supporting this approach do not allow for situational differences, these situation-bound results must cast doubt on the general validity of the theory.

Thus, the search for internal antecedent conditions of conformity has not produced any clear results. The "conformity personality" approach has been found to be unacceptable as either an explanation of conformity or a predictor of specific conformity behavior. The "personality symptom" approach, on the other hand, has produced inconsistent empirical findings. These findings seem to indicate that given a specific situation some prediction could be made on the basis of dogmatism pretests. The following section briefly analyzes the external antecedent conditions used to predict conformity.

External antecedent conditions. Attempts to find any general external antecedent condition that consistently precedes conformity behavior has been limited by the individual differences found in human conformity behavior. Inability to define a given population that will respond in some predictable fashion to a given external stimulus has severely limited the usefulness of this approach.

Lab studies that induce a preference for one choice over the other, i.e., a conforming response or a non-conforming response, do tend to support the validity of the general theory. However, these studies do not aid the theorist in predicting the conformity behavior of any given individual who has not been reinforced in some specified fashion by the experimenter. What is needed is some pretest that will define a group in such a manner as to allow the theorist to predict their responses in a given situation.

Various attempts have been made to define populations that will respond in some consistent fashion. The most consistent results have been found in relating "personal confidence" or "past success" with a given task and the resistance that subjects will show to group pressure. Consistency of these results as reported earlier led this writer to conclude that some general task confidence pretest could be used to successfully predict conformity behavior for given individuals.

In summary, the external condition of group member-task relationship has been found to be a consistent predictor of group-member resistance to group conformity pressure. However, no general pretest currently exists to define large populations efficiently.

Summary and Hypotheses

The review of the relevant literature concerning conformity behavior has produced the following general conclusions. First, conformity behavior is controlled by different antecedent conditions when it takes place in "public" versus "private" situations. Second, any attempt to locate the specific antecedent conditions that can be used to predict specific conformity behavior must account for "public" conformity as primarily a "social" reaction, with "private" conformity less dependent on immediate social pressures. Thus, the "personality" test that primarily defines a population that is highly susceptible to "social" rewards, i.e., the dogmatism scale, could be used to

predict conformity behavior of these individuals in the "public" arena. However, when the "social support" is removed, this test will no longer have any predictive power. On the other hand, a test that would determine the individual's "confidence" in a given stand should predict the stability of his opinions. The more stable his opinions, the less susceptible he should be to group pressure. When the group is not present, there should be little "social" pressure to influence the decision. For these reasons the following hypotheses are offered:

- Hypothesis 1: Levels of dogmatism will significantly correlate to public conformity scores.
- Hypothesis 2: Levels of opinion confidence will significantly correlate to private conformity scores.
- Hypothesis 3: There will be a significantly greater correlation between dogmatism scores and public conformity behavior than between dogmatism scores and private conformity behavior.
- Hypothesis 4: There will be a significantly greater correlation between opinion confidence scores and private conformity behavior than between opinion confidence scores and public conformity behavior.

The following chapter offers a method of analysis to determine in part the validity of these research hypotheses.

Chapter II

Method of Analysis

Chapter I developed a rationale for expecting conformity behavior to be predictable on the basis of two pretests. Results of a dogmatism test should predict conformity in a "social situation," while scores on an "opinion confidence" scale should predict conformity in a "private situation." This chapter develops the procedures, variables, assumption checks, method of data analysis, and possible post hoc analysis used in testing the reliability of using dogmatism and opinion confidence to predict conformity.

Procedures

Subjects. A random sample of subjects (N = 77) was selected from the basic course in Speech Communication at the University of Oklahoma, Summer, 1972. On the basis of a pretest a smaller sample (N = 51) was selected that met the requirements established in the next section. Generalizability of the results of this experiment is limited to the statements about the population from which they have been selected, i.e., students in the basic speech communication course at the University of Oklahoma, Summer, 1972.

Pretest manipulations. Each subject completed a social judgment scale over three topics, a dogmatism scale, and an

opinion confidence scale. Copies of these tests are found in Appendix A. Upon completion of these tests, the following analysis and decisions were made. A Pearson r correlation was calculated to determine the relationship between dogmatism and opinion confidence. Results indicated a slight relationship⁵ between the two variables, thus the original set of hypotheses was tested. However, should a strong⁶ or weak⁷ correlation have been found, adjustments in analysis would have been necessary. Specific adjustments are discussed in the "data analysis" section of this chapter.

The results of the social judgment scale was plotted on a scattergram. A visual analysis of the three scattergrams was made in order to determine the topic producing the desired distribution.⁸

Manipulation. Subjects were selected to continue in the experiment on the basis of their social judgment scale results.⁹ These subjects will then be randomly assigned to a discussion group.

⁵A "slight relationship" is considered to reflect a correlation of $(p.) .05$ to $r = .79$.

⁶A "strong" correlation will be assumed if $(r = .80)$.

⁷A "weak" correlation will be assumed if $(r = p.< .05)$.

⁸A bimodal distribution is deemed most desirable. Should no bimodal distribution be found, the topic producing the greatest amount of homogeneity of responses will be selected.

⁹Those subjects scoring equal distance from the neutral position were selected.

Each discussion group consisted of three confederates and one subject. One of the confederates was pre-selected to serve as the discussion leader. In order to guard against some particular combination of confederates producing greater conformity pressure than others, confederates were randomly assigned to the various discussion groups from a pool of confederates. This procedure was repeated before each discussion round.

When the subject and confederates arrived at their assigned room, an experimenter provided the following instructions:

The Speech Communication Research Laboratory is conducting a series of experiments testing interaction patterns of people participating in various discussion situations. You have been selected to participate in one of these discussions. In this session we are interested in the interaction patterns of discussion members while discussing an important topic under a severe time limit.

Your assignment is to discuss the topic "gay liberation" and arrive at one statement on which you all agree. At this time, I will select a Chairman.¹⁰ During your discussion I will be charting your interactions on this chart (experimenter then shows subjects a blank interaction chart; a copy is found in Appendix B). You now have 10 minutes to complete your task. Begin!

When the group produced a statement on which they all agreed, the experimenter made the following announcement:

Thank you for your cooperation. At this time we would like your reactions to this discussion. At this time I will assign you to a room in which you will fill out two separate forms. This should not take much time.

¹⁰Experimenter will have subject and confederates guess a number from 1 to 100. The preselected chairman will automatically "guess" the closest number.

At this time, the subject filled out the posttests; a copy of this is found in Appendix C.

Variables

Independent variables. Three independent variables were measured: (1) dogmatism, (2) opinion confidence, and (3) conformity pressure.

Dogmatism. Stratification into high and low dogmatic types was necessary in order to predict the effect of "conformity" pressure on the individual when responding in the public-testing segment. The 20-item Powell-Troidahl dogmatism scale (1965) was used. A copy of this scale is found in Appendix A.

Opinion confidence. Stratification into high and low opinion confidence types was necessary to predict the effect of conformity pressure on the individual when he is responding in the private testing segment. This variable was operationally defined as subject's response to the "opinion confidence" portion of the social judgment scale. A copy of this scale is found in Appendix A.

Conformity pressure. Conformity pressure is operationally defined as the overt statement of an opinion expressed by three¹¹ group members. The expressed opinion was previously rated as "unacceptable" or "non-commitment" on a social judgment pretest.

¹¹Goldberg (1954) and Kidd (1958) found no significant difference between one and three confederates. Asch (1951) found two confederates produced less "pressure" than three, but more than three produced no difference.

No attempt will be made to provide "arguments" or "proof" for these expressed opinions. If the subject asked for "proof," the confederates were instructed to say, "I am not sure where I got the information. I guess it is just my opinion."

The chairman of the group discussion had a copy of the subject's social judgment pretest. The chairman expressed an opinion supporting a position farthest from the subject's "anchor." In turn each confederate was asked to agree to the chairman's opinion. After each confederate agreed, the chairman then asked the subject to agree. If the subject did not agree, the chairman made another attempt by saying, "Are you sure you could not accept this statement?" If the subject still did not agree then the chairman was directed to say, "Perhaps we could modify our position somewhat." He then offered the statement marked one point closer to the subject's original anchor. This procedure was continued until the subject agreed to a statement.

Dependent variables. Two dependent variables were measured in this study: (1) public conformity, and (2) private conformity.

Public conformity. The public conformity score of each subject was recorded by an experimenter while the subject was participating in a group discussion. As stated earlier, three confederates attempted to get the subject to agree to statements he had previously listed as "non-acceptable." The experimenter

had a blank copy of the social judgment scale. If the subject did not agree to the group consensus attempt, that statement was marked as "non-acceptable." If the subject equivocated during the consensus attempt, the experimenter marked that statement as "non-commitment." If the subject agreed to the statement offered by the leader and agreed to by the other members, then the experimenter marked the statement as "acceptable." The difference between his pretest anchor on the social judgment scale and the "acceptable" position filled out by the experimenter was considered as the subject's "public conformity" score.

Private conformity. After the discussion session, each subject was asked to fill out two forms. One was an evaluation of the "interaction patterns" used by the group. This was not used in the analysis and was only used to provide some reasonable explanation for the posttest session. Finally, the subject was asked to complete another social judgment scale. He was told that his opinions would not be revealed in any way to the other members of the group. The difference between his original anchor and his latitude measurement of acceptance on this measurement was considered as his "private conformity" score.

Assumption Checks

Prior to data analysis, certain design assumptions were checked. First, it was assumed that public and private measures of conformity produced differential results. In order to check this assumption, a t_{corr} was performed ($p < .05$, two tailed, $H_0: M_1 - M_2 = 0$).

Second, it was assumed that no one chairman produced more conformity pressure than any other chairman. In order to check this assumption, a one-way analysis of variance was performed ($p < .05$, $H_0: M_1 = M_2 \dots = M_k$).

Third, it was assumed that there would be no difference in dogmatism, opinion confidence, public conformity or private conformity due to sex. Two t tests were performed to check this assumption ($p < .05$, two tailed, $H_0: M_1 - M_2 = 0$).

Fourth, it was assumed that there would be no differences in dogmatism, opinion confidence, public conformity, or private conformity due to pretest attitude position. Due to disparate N in each area, two t tests and two analysis of variance tests were performed ($p < .05$, two tailed, $H_0: M_1 - M_2 = 0$).

Data Analysis

The assumption checks did not produce any significant differences due to extraneous variables, and the pretest correlation between dogmatism and opinion confidence produced only a slight relationship. Thus, the data was analyzed in the following manner: the four original hypotheses found in Chapter I will be tested in the following research hypotheses:

- H_1 Levels of dogmatism will significantly correlate to public conformity scores ($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_1 = 0$).
- H_2 Levels of opinion confidence will significantly correlate to private conformity scores ($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_2 = 0$).

- H₃ There will be a significantly greater correlation between dogmatism and public conformity than between dogmatism and private conformity ($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_1 = r_3$).
- H₄ There will be significantly greater correlation between opinion confidence and private conformity than between opinion confidence and public conformity ($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_2 = r_4$).

Subjects were stratified into high and low dogmatic types on the basis of a median split. High and low opinion confidence types were also stratified on the basis of a median split. A Pearson r was selected for testing the a priori comparisons.

If the assumption checks or the pretest analysis indicated that the original four hypotheses could not be tested or that additional analyses would be in order, a series of post hoc tests were to be conducted. The following section describes these contingency plans.

Possible Post Hoc Analysis

Four specific contingency testing situations are described in this section.

(1) If the pretest correlation between dogmatism and opinion confidence yielded a highly significant correlation ($r > .80$), then dogmatism and opinion confidence tests may be measuring the same phenomenon. Two specific questions were then to be asked: (a) Do subjects rated high on the dogmatism and opinion confidence scale conform to pressure presented by a group when the subject responds in some public fashion?

($p < .05$; one tailed; $H_0: r_5 = 0$), and (b) Do subjects rated low on the dogmatism and opinion confidence scale conform to pressure presented by a group when the subject responds in some private fashion? ($p < .05$; one tailed; $H_0: r_6 = 0$).

(2) If the pretest correlation between dogmatism and opinion confidence yielded a low correlation ($r < .79$; $p < .05$), then dogmatism and opinion confidence may be independent variables.¹² In addition, if the original four hypotheses are conformed and a visual inspection of a scattergram does not indicate a strong linear relationship, then the following interaction hypotheses could be tested.¹³

- (a) There will be a significant interaction between high dogmatism and low opinion confidence on public conformity ($p < .05$).
- (b) There will be a significant interaction between low dogmatism and low opinion confidence on private conformity ($p < .05$; $H_0: 0$).

(3) If the t_{corr} indicates little or no difference between conformity scores measured in the public and private situations, then a series of post hoc comparisons will be made.¹⁴

¹²It should be noted that a non-significant correlation does not mean the variables are independent. See McNemar (1969), p. 151.

¹³For a discussion of the rationale and testing procedures for such a comparison see McNemar (1969).

¹⁴For a discussion of the rationale and testing procedures for such a comparison, see Hays (1963), Sec. 14.15.

(4) If the analysis of variance test indicates some differential amounts of conformity pressure could be accounted for by differences in "chairmen," then a series of post hoc comparisons will be made.¹⁵

Summary

This chapter has presented the procedures, variables, assumption checks, methods of data analysis, and possible post hoc analysis that could be used in testing the rationale developed in Chapter One. Chapter Three reports the results of these procedures.

¹⁵Hays (1963, Sec. 14.16).

Chapter III

Results and Discussion

This chapter reports the results of the experimental investigation described in Chapter II. The chapter is divided into two major sections: (1) a reporting of the results of the various tests used to analyze the assumptions and hypotheses of the study; and (2) a discussion of the relevant events that took place during the experiment, along with their implications for symptomatic theory building of conformity behavior.

Results

This section reports the results of the various tests that were performed on the data generated by the experiment. The section is organized in six parts: (1) the procedures used in topic selection, (2) subject attrition, (3) reliability manipulations, (4) manipulation checks, (5) hypotheses testing, and (6) unhypothesized testing.

Topic selection. Three topics were originally selected for pretesting: (1) "The Use of Marijuana," (2) "Curriculum Selection by Students," and (3) "The Gay Liberation Movement on the University of Oklahoma Campus." All topics produced a skewed distribution. The tests allowed the subject to select one of nine evaluative statements arranged along a continuum. The statements at either end of the scale, Statements A and I, represented extreme positions. Statement D, found in the middle position, represented a "neutral" statement.

The topic of "Gay Liberation" had the greatest number of subjects located equal distance from the neutral statement. The results of the pretest are shown in Table 1. A complete description of the statements is found in Appendix A.

TABLE 1

Pretest Distribution of
Subject's Most Acceptable Position

Statement	"Use of Marijuana"	"Curriculum Selection"	"Gay Liberation"
A	3	1	2
B	0	1	6
C	10	0	4
D	4	1	0
E	11	8	10
F	25	34	18
G	13	11	12
H	11	11	22
I	0	8	2
	—	—	—
	77	77	77

Subject attrition. The pretest was administered to a sample of subjects (N = 77) enrolled in the basic speech communication course at the University of Oklahoma, summer session, 1972. A smaller sample (N = 51) was selected to continue in the experiment. Subjects who marked either Statements A, B, or C, which represented a negative response to the Gay Liberation

movement on the OU campus, or Statements F, G, H, or I, which represented a positive reaction to the Gay Liberation movement, were selected. These positions were approximately equal distant from the neutral statement. Those subjects selected who marked "F" had to meet one additional requirement, namely that their other acceptable statements on this topic fell in the "G" through "I" range. This was done to assure a sample of subjects whose attitude toward the topic was somewhat homogeneous. A complete description of the nine statements used in the pretest is found in Appendix A.

Out of the original selected sample ($N = 51$) a total of 42 subjects completed the experiment. Because of teacher requests three of the classes used in this experiment were tested during the regular class period, while subjects in the other two classes were asked to volunteer for a time of their own choice. Four subjects were not present on the day selected to have students volunteer for specific times. One subject failed to report after volunteering for a specific time.

Three subjects were rejected after they had completed the experiment due to errors on the part of the confederates used in the study. In two of the sessions the confederates assigned to support the chairman by agreeing in total with the chairman's opinion, did not follow directions. The confederates in both of these sessions added their own opinions to those expressed by the chairman. This confounded the "conformity pressure" being presented, and as a result both sessions were

declared void. The final subject was rejected because the chairman did not carry out the required behavior. In this case the experimenter assigned to the testing session could not recognize the opinion expressed by the chairman as one of the nine assigned statements. It was assumed that this violated the assumption that all subjects were given the opportunity to respond to similar statements in a given order.

Validity of assumptions. Essential to the success of the study was a series of assumptions that were made about the nature of the major control variables, dogmatism and opinion confidence, and their distributions within the samples selected for this experiment. In order to determine what the nature of these variables were under given conditions, a series of manipulation checks were made. Five major areas were considered: (1) It was assumed that no differences in dogmatism and opinion confidence existed due to class selection on the part of the students; (2) It was assumed that the dogmatism and opinion confidence tests were not measuring the same phenomenon; (3) It was assumed that the subjects selected to continue in the experiment on the basis of their pretest attitudes toward the "Gay Liberation" topic were randomly assigned on the major control variables of dogmatism and opinion confidence; (4) It was assumed that there was no significant difference between subjects on the control variables of dogmatism and opinion confidence due to their attitude toward the topic; and (5) It was assumed that there was no significant difference between subjects on the control variables

due to sex. Each of these reliability manipulations is discussed below.

TABLE 2

Dogmatism; Summary of One Way Analysis
of Variance: Original Sample,
Pretest Scores of Each Class

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	4	209.59	52.39	0.28
Within	72	13191.20	185.79	
Total	76	13400.79		

(1) Differences in dogmatism and opinion confidence by classes. In order to determine that subjects selected did not differ on the variables of dogmatism and opinion confidence due to class variations, an analysis of variance test on their pretest scores was conducted. The results of this analysis are reported in Tables 2 and 3. There were no significant differences on these pretest scores.

TABLE 3

Opinion Confidence; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Original Sample,
Pretest Scores of Each Class

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	4	1572.83	393.20	0.42
Within	72	66386.45	922.03	
Total	76	67959.28		

(2) Relationship between dogmatism and opinion confidence.

An essential assumption of the experimental design was that the dogmatism and opinion confidence tests were not measuring the same phenomenon. In order to determine what the relationship was between these two variables, a Pearson r correlation was performed on the data generated by the pretest from the original sample. This test produced a correlation ($r = -.10$) which was not significant ($p = .05$). Although it cannot be claimed that these variables are independent, it does seem that they are not related. A complete description of dogmatism and confidence scores is found in Appendix D.

(3) Random assignment assumption. It was further assumed that the assignment of subjects to treatment or non-treatment sections did not violate a random assignment probability. First, in order to determine what effect, if any, the assignment of subjects had on the relationship of dogmatism and opinion confidence, correlations were conducted on those subjects selected to continue in the experiment. A class by class analysis produced correlations ($r = -.21$; $r = -.01$; $r = -.07$; $r = -.46$; and $r = .36$) which were not significant ($p < .05$).

Since the analysis of variance tests on dogmatism and opinion confidence scores of subjects arranged by classes did not produce significant results ($p < .05$, see Tables 2 and 3), it was decided to further test the random assignment assumption by conducting an analysis of variance test on the dogmatism and opinion confidence scores of these subjects selected to continue

by classes. The results of this analysis are reported in Tables 4 and 5. There were no significant differences on the pretest scores of those subjects assigned to continue in the study.

TABLE 4

Dogmatism; Summary of One Way Analysis
of Variance: Selected Sample,
Pretest Scores of Each Class

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	4	37.34	9.33	0.05
Within	46	7858.59	170.83	
Total	50	7895.93		

TABLE 5

Opinion Confidence; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Selected Sample,
Pretest Scores of Each Class

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	4	48.49	12.12	0.06
Within	46	8424.26	183.13	
Total	50	8472.75		

(4) No difference due to attitude assumption. One of the primary assumptions claimed by Rokeach (1960) was that dogmatism was not topic bound. This experiment made the assumption that both control variables, dogmatism and opinion confidence, were

not effected by the subject's attitude toward the selected topic, "Gay Liberation movement on the Oklahoma University campus." In order to determine possible effects due to attitude toward the topic, a series of analysis of variance and t tests were conducted on the dogmatism and opinion confidence scores of those subjects marking Statement A, B, or C, primarily opposed to the Gay Liberation movement on campus, and those marking F, G, H, or I, basically in favor of the Gay Liberation movement on campus. Both tests were employed due to the disparate size of the samples. The results of the analysis of variance tests are found in Tables 6 and 7. A significant difference was found between the dogmatism scores of the two samples. The t test found a significant difference ($\bar{X}_1 = 73.91$; $\bar{X}_2 = 62.20$; $t = 3.36$; $p < .05$)¹⁶ between the dogmatism scores of those favoring the topic and those opposing it. There was no significant difference between the two samples concerning the opinion confidence variable.

TABLE 6

Dogmatism; Summary of One Way Analysis
of Variance: Selected Sample,
Pretest Scores Attitude Toward Topic

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	1	1258.65	1258.65	61.17 ¹⁶
Within	49	6637.28	135.45	
Total	50	7895.93		

¹⁶($p < .01$).

TABLE 7

Opinion Confidence; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Selected Sample,
Pretest Scores Attitude Toward Topic

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	1	202.60	202.60	1.20
Within	49	8270.15	168.77	
Total	50	8472.75		

(5) No difference due to sex assumption. The final assumption was that there was no difference between the dogmatism and opinion confidence scores on the basis of sex. In order to determine if any difference existed between these two control variables due to sex, a series of t tests were performed. The results of this analysis found no significant difference due to sex on either dogmatism ($\bar{X}_1 = 69.18$; $\bar{X}_2 = 64.90$; $t = 1.23$) or opinion confidence ($\bar{X}_1 = 62.86$; $\bar{X}_2 = 63.10$; $t = 0.05$).

Manipulation checks. Prior to the analysis of the major research hypotheses offered in the previous chapter, certain manipulation checks were in order. Basically, it was assumed that manipulation of conformity pressure would produce certain conformity responses. Essential to the progress of this study was the assumption that subjects would respond differentially in public and in private. Further it was assumed that this difference in response was not a function of either prior position, sex, or the amount of "pressure" generated by any given chairman.

First, the crucial assumption that a significant difference existed between the public and private responses of subjects was checked on the basis of a t_{corr} test. The analysis of the change scores of each subject produced a significant difference ($p < .05$)¹⁷ as predicted ($H_0: \bar{D} = 0$).

Once this difference was assumed to exist, further tests were conducted to determine the possible source of the difference. First, subject responses were arranged according to their prior position. An analysis of variance and t test was conducted on the responses of those subjects originally marking statements A, B, or C with those marking F, G, H, or I. Because of the disparate sample size ($N = 9$ and $N = 32$), both tests were employed. The t tests found no significant differences due to attitude on either public conformity ($\bar{X}_1 = 4.66$; $\bar{X}_2 = 3.90$; $t = 1.48$) or private conformity ($\bar{X}_1 = 3.33$; $\bar{X}_2 = 2.66$; $t = 1.21$). The results of the analysis of variance tests are reported in Tables 8 and 9. There were no significant differences found between the two samples on either variable.

TABLE 8

Public Conformity; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Final Sample,
Pretest Attitude Toward Topic

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	1	4.06	4.06	1.47
Within	40	110.73	2.76	
Total	41	114.79		

¹⁷ $t_{\text{corr}} = 15.48$, ($p = .0001$).

TABLE 9

Private Conformity; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Final Sample,
Pretest Attitude Toward Topic

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	1	3.14	3.14	0.98
Within	40	127.34	3.18	
Total	41	130.48		

In order to determine if any difference in conformity responses existed due to sex, t tests were conducted between the public and private responses of males (N = 22) and females (N = 20). No significant results were found¹⁸

Finally, an analysis of variance test was conducted to determine if any difference existed in conformity responses due to chairman pressure. It was assumed that each subject was exposed to the same "amount" of conformity pressure. Since the chairman of each group was responsible for expressing the divergent opinion and then asking the subject to agree, it was decided that if any difference in conformity pressure did exist, it would produce differential responses according to chairman. The results of this analysis are found in Tables 10 and 11. There were no significant differences found in conformity responses due to chairman pressure on either public or private conformity.

¹⁸public conformity $\underline{t} = 0.10$; private conformity $\underline{t} = 0.03$; ($\underline{t} = 2.093$ necessary for significant difference beyond .05 level, two tailed).

TABLE 10

Public Conformity; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Final Sample,
Chairman Results

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	6	15.59	2.59	0.88
Within	35	102.41	2.92	
Total	41	118.00		

TABLE 11

Private Conformity; Summary of One Way
Analysis of Variance: Final Sample,
Chairman Results

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	6	25.71	4.28	1.49
Within	35	97.81	2.87	
Total	41	123.52		

Major hypotheses results. This experimental study was designed to test four major research hypotheses. This section reports the results of the various statistical tests designed to test each hypothesis.

H₁ Levels of dogmatism will significantly correlate with public conformity scores.
($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_1 = 0$).

In order to test this hypothesis, a Pearson r was calculated between the dogmatism scores and public conformity scores. The resultant correlation ($r = .40$) was significant ($p < .05$).¹⁹ On the basis of this test, the research hypothesis was supported and consequently the null hypothesis ($H_0: r_1 = 0$) was rejected.

H₂ Levels of opinion confidence will significantly correlate with private conformity scores.
($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_2 = 0$).

In order to test this hypothesis, a Pearson r was calculated between the opinion confidence scores and private conformity results. The correlation ($r = -.43$) was significant ($p < .05$).²⁰ On the basis of this test, the null hypothesis ($H_0: r_2 = 0$) was rejected. Therefore, we may accept the research hypothesis.

H₃ There will be a significantly greater correlation between dogmatism and public conformity than between dogmatism and private conformity.
($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_1 = r_3$).

In order to test this hypothesis, a Pearson r was first calculated between dogmatism and private conformity scores.

¹⁹($r = .40$, $N = 42$ produced a correlation significant beyond .01).

²⁰($r = .43$, $N = 42$ produced a correlation significant beyond .01).

The correlation ($r = .00$) was not significant. An analysis of the difference between r_1 and r_3 did not produce a significant difference.²¹ Although the general results indicated that a trend existed in support of the hypothesis, the null hypothesis ($H_0: r_1 = r_3$) could not be rejected.

H_4 There will be a significantly greater negative correlation between opinion confidence and private conformity than between opinion confidence and public conformity.
($p < .05$; two tailed; $H_0: r_2 = r_4$).

In order to test this hypothesis, a Pearson r was first calculated between opinion confidence and public conformity scores. The correlation ($r = -.20$) was not significant. An analysis of the difference between r_2 and r_4 did not produce a significant difference.²² As in the case of Hypothesis 3, a general trend did exist in support of the predicted relationship; however, the null hypothesis ($H_0: r_3 = r_4$) could not be rejected.

Unhypothesized tests. Since there was a significant relationship between dogmatism and public conformity, and opinion confidence and private conformity it was deemed desirable to check for a possible interaction effect due to some combination of dogmatism and opinion confidence. In order to test this possible condition a two by two analysis of variance test was performed. There were no significant main effects. A complete description of these tests is found in Appendix E.

²¹A difference was found ($p < .061$).

²²A difference was found ($p < .25$).

Discussion

As stated above, this study found general support for all of its manipulation assumptions and two major hypotheses. This section presents a discussion of four procedural events that may have influenced the outcome, and the implication these results hold for conformity theories.

Experimental procedures. Four particular procedural events seemed to provide some concern as to their possible effect on the outcome of the experiment. First, the original pretest data had to be cancelled due to the subjects' absence prior to the fourth of July vacation. One section had already completed its pretest a day before the cancellation was needed. Since this group did not have any absent members on that occasion, it was decided that they should remain in the total sample.

A second possible confounding effect due to procedural events concerns the method of arranging testing sessions for the subjects. It was first decided to ask each subject to volunteer for a specific time other than his class period. This was suggested in order to control for any subject collusion and as a service to the instructors of the sections to be used. However, two instructors requested that whole classes be used in order that they might meet certain scheduling problems. All possible precautions were taken to assure that no subject communicated in any way with an untested subject. Post experiment interviews with these classes indicated that no communication took place between subjects during the experimental sessions.

A third possible area of concern deals with the natural differences that existed between confederates. It was a basic assumption of the study that each subject was exposed to a similar amount of "group conformity pressure." Since theoretical and economic reasons prevented the same set of individuals from acting as confederates in all of the testing sessions, a given amount of "conformity pressure" was assumed to exist. The primary concern was that certain chairmen might be more "persuasive" than others, thus producing conformity responses that would not otherwise have existed. As reported earlier in the chapter, an analysis of the conformity responses, both public and private, elicited by each chairman disclosed no significant difference. How much of the final variance can be explained by the obvious natural differences in chairmen is unknown.

A final procedural event that may have confounded the results is the time limit set on each discussion session. A ten minute limit was put on each discussion for two reasons. First, time considerations had to be taken into account. Since over 40 subjects were being tested in individual sessions, it was necessary to keep the time limit to a minimum. Second, and more importantly, conformity responses had to be made to an "awareness" of the existence of a difference of opinion, and not because of given arguments or evidence. A ten minute time limit was established to discourage the subject from pushing the confederates for "reasons" or "evidence" for their stated positions. Posttest interviews indicated that the ten minute time

limit may have produced a "conformity pressure" of its own. The generalizability of the results must obviously be limited to situations in which such a time factor is present.

Although some of these procedural events may have confounded the general results it is assumed that the combined effects of all four would not be great enough to reverse the trends revealed by the data.

Implications of the results of the major hypotheses. As stated earlier in this chapter, two major hypotheses were supported, while two others indicated a trend in the predicted direction. This section first considers three measurement procedures which may account for the results, and finally the implications these results hold for existing and future theories of conformity behavior.

Three specific measurement problems may have contributed to the results of this study. First, the dependent variables of public and private conformity may have inflated scores due to the scoring procedure. Briefly the public score was calculated by counting the number of statements that fell between the subject's "anchor," or most acceptable statement, and the statement he agreed to in the group discussion. The private score was calculated by measuring the number of statements between the subject's original "anchor" and his most extreme acceptable statement on the posttest.

This measurement procedure was used for the following reasons. First, it was assumed that the subject's "anchor" on the pretest best reflected his attitude toward the given topic. Since selection of subjects to continue in the study depended upon their attitude on the topic, it was decided that the "anchor" statement would be the best statement to use as a base. The statement that the subject agreed to in public could not be considered as his "anchor," or most acceptable statement. At best it must be considered the most extreme position he would accept. In order to keep a reasonable balance in the public and private scores, the private score also used the same formula, i.e., pretest anchor minus posttest extreme position, equals "private" conformity score.

If these public and private conformity scores are inflated, it is assumed that they are inflated in the same direction. The statistical manipulation used to test the hypotheses, a Pearson correlation, is not effected by the addition of a constant to both variables. Thus, the final results should not be adversely effected by this admitted compromise.

A second measurement difficulty that occurred in the experiment concerned the pretesting procedure. As stated above the subject's pretest served as a basis to determine his public and private conformity responses. The operational definition of this study draws a distinction between "public" and "private" conformity primarily on an "overt oral response made in front

of others" as opposed to a "pencil and paper test, filled out in private." The pretest was a "pencil and paper test" and each subject was told that his answers would be confidential. An argument could be made that the pretest fits the "private" criteria used to determine a "private conforming response." The experiment found a significant ($p < .05$) difference between public and private conformity responses based on a private only pretest. Perhaps a "public" pretest may have produced different results.

Finally, an inspection of the Pearson r correlation results indicated that the homogeneity of variance assumption was not met. However, it is known that such differences in variance tend to depress the resultant correlation. Since the research hypotheses predicted a high correlation, this measurement difficulty does not appear to effect the rejection of the null hypotheses. If anything, this assumption would tend to strengthen the results in favor of the predicted relationship.

The implications for conformity theory resulting from this study come from three main areas: (1) implications of the differences between public and private conformity responses; (2) implications of the significant correlation found between dogmatism and public conformity, but not between dogmatism and private conformity; and (3) the implications of the significant relationship between opinion confidence and private conformity, but lack of any significant relationship between opinion confidence and public conformity.

Perhaps the strongest feeling, in terms of confidence levels of rejection, was the difference found between subject's public and private conformity behavior. The theorists who search for antecedent conditions of conformity "within" the individual assume that the same internal condition predisposes a particular action in various situations. However, the significant differences found in this study indicate that the same subject, presumably with the same set of "internal states" acts differentially under two different situations. Even if one would argue that a different "internal state" was being stimulated by the various situations, it would still indicate that the search for antecedent conditions of conformity can best be served by defining situation-bound conditions. This finding is contrary to numerous studies reported in Chapter I.

A second area of implication stems from the relationship found between dogmatism and conformity behavior. The results indicate that dogmatism at least correlates at a significant level ($p < .05$) with public conformity behavior. This would seem to limit the relationship claimed by various previous studies reviewed in Chapter I. It must be remembered that even those studies claiming a positive relationship between the two variables used similar operational definitions of "conformity."

Rokeach (1960) claims that conformity can exist only in the mind. Unless one wishes to argue that the "public" behavior of the individual reflects a momentary condition of the mind,

and that this condition was quickly changed once the group was removed, then these results would tend to contradict Rokeach's notion that "closed minded" individuals are more susceptible to conformity pressure.

Finally, it was found that those with high opinion confidence tended to resist conformity pressure significantly more than those with low confidence. The Pearson correlation found a significant ($p < .05$) negative correlation between high confidence and private conformity responses. If the "confidence scale" represents some topic bound experience, then it may be argued that a successful experience with a given topic may tend to act as a buffer to conformity pressure when one is asked to respond in a "private" fashion. It must be noted that there was no significant correlation between opinion confidence and public conformity. This could indicate that the chance of "immediate" reward is sufficient to offset past experiences for some subjects. The lack of any significant correlation between opinion confidence and public conformity in any direction would indicate that even the past experience of a subject does act as a consistent antecedent condition capable to predict conformity or nonconformity behavior without consideration of the situation.

Summary

This chapter has presented the results of the various statistical procedures used in analyzing the assumptions and hypotheses of this study. A discussion of the results and their implications for conformity theory was presented.

Chapter IV

Summary and Suggestions for Further Study

This chapter presents a brief, overall summary of the experimental study described in this report. The study is concluded with specific suggestions for future study that this experiment has generated.

Summary

This study is based on the assumption that conformity behavior is primarily a learned response. As a learned response, each individual should respond to conformity pressure on the basis of his past experience under similar conditions. In order to test this assumption, two specific situations were presented to subjects, a public or highly social setting, and a private, or minimal social setting, and their "conformity" behavior was measured. As predicted, there was a significant difference within the overall conformity responses to public and private settings.

The major thrust of this study was to specify antecedent conditions of specific conformity behavior. Four major research hypotheses were offered. The first was that there would be a significant correlation between a subject's dogmatism score and his public conformity behavior. It was supported by the results. The second hypothesis was that dogmatism would not correlate with private conformity and as a result, there would be a significant

difference between the two resultant correlations. Although there was no significant difference between dogmatism and private conformity, the overall difference between the two correlations was not significant.

Levels of dogmatism were the primary control condition used to predict conformity under specified public settings. Levels of opinion confidence were the control conditions used to predict conformity under private, or low social pressure, situations. As predicted, there was a significant negative correlation between opinion confidence and private conformity. It was further hypothesized that there would be a significant difference between the correlations of opinion confidence and public versus private conformity. As was the case in the dogmatism hypothesis, the overall difference between the two correlations was not significant.

On the basis of these results, the author concluded that dogmatism could not be used to predict conformity behavior beyond the limited social situation described in this study. It was also concluded that a subject's confidence in his opinion, high or low, does not aid in predicting his conformity behavior in social settings. When the group is removed and the subject is told he is free to act privately, the dogmatism scores did not correlate in any way with the subject's conformity behavior. However, the opinion confidence of the subject did provide a significant cue as to his resultant conformity behavior in private situations.

From these specific results, the study generally concluded: (1) That external conditions provide the most chance in finding consistent antecedent conditions of conformity. (2) The phenomenon of dogmatism cannot be used to predict conformity behavior beyond the limited operational definitions and situations described in this study. At the same time, numerous previous studies supporting a general relationship between the two variables seem to have overgeneralized their conclusions. (3) Opinion confidence may reflect past experience with a specific topic, and as such, can be used to predict a subject's resistance to group pressure after the group is removed. However, immediate social pressure seems to overcome resistance provided by past experience.

Suggestions for Further Study

Although the results of this study offer some specific results concerning the antecedent conditions of conformity under specific conditions, a number of related issues remain to be answered. This study concludes with three specific areas that may be used in future investigations.

(1) Before the search for antecedent conditions of conformity "within" the individual can be dismissed, major theoretic positions must be tested. If one were to accept the notion of "balance" or "dissonance" as consistent internal states found in all humans, then the measurement of these variables would be crucial in determining a given subject's conformity behavior.

It is therefore suggested that a series of studies be conducted using the predictions derived from these theories and the general design of this report.

(2) The relation between the subject and the environment is a crucial consideration of this study. It is suggested that a series of studies could be performed using environmental changes as the independent variable. Topic involvement, confederate composition, i.e., age, sex, acceptability, could be a few of the manipulations that may produce differential conformity behavior.

(3) Any design can be altered in various ways, and produce different results. It is suggested that a delayed posttest may provide insight into the lasting effects of conformity pressure. The delayed test could take various forms. For example, it would be interesting to retest "privately" and then reconvene the group and delay test in a "public" fashion. As suggested earlier in the report, the pretest could be revised to include some "public" measure of the subject's original attitude toward the topic.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Pretest

Directions

Do not write in
this space:

Subject No. _____

University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma

Project No. _____

Tests: 1(a) _____

1(b) _____

GROUP STUDY PROJECT
(College-University)

1(c) _____

2(a) _____

Name _____

2(b) _____

Sex _____

2(c) _____

Social Security No.
or Student Number _____

3(a) _____

Year in College:

3(b) _____

_____ Freshman

3(c) _____

_____ Sophomore

4 _____

_____ Junior

5 _____

_____ Senior

6 _____

7 _____

Date _____

The University of Oklahoma's Speech Communication Research Laboratory is conducting an exploratory study on personal and social opinions in connection with small group communication processes. This test booklet has several short blocks or groups

of questions which are essential in the carrying out of this project.

Please remember there are no right or wrong answers. You are asked to give your frank and honest opinion at this time. The University administration is not sponsoring this survey, and neither the administration, the instructor, nor anyone not associated with the research laboratory will have usage of this information. We ask for your name, et al., for identifying purposes only to be used later in this experiment. Your anonymity is guaranteed. At a later date, a University of Oklahoma research staff member will return to answer any questions you might have about the project.

Please do not open this booklet until you have received appropriate instructions from the project leader. Thank you for your cooperation.

Test #1Social Judgment

We are interested in finding out what topics might be worthwhile in small group discussions in the beginning course. Therefore, we would like for you to respond to the questions on the topics which follow.

Please read all of the statements below carefully. Then select the one statement which seems most acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

- A. Marijuana is as dangerous as heroin or any other hard drug, so its sale and use should be consistently considered a felony and pushers should be imprisoned.
- B. All sale and use of marijuana should be prohibited because it is a dangerous drug and a primary cause of current discontent in this country.
- C. Because of the potential harm, sale and use of marijuana should be restricted to purely experimental uses under strict governmental control.
- D. Since marijuana may induce slight side effects when improperly used, its sale and use should be strictly regulated to allow access to only the most mature individuals.
- E. The arguments for and against the sale and use of marijuana are about equal.
- F. Since the evidence of harmful effects of marijuana are very slight, the penalties for its sale and use should be reduced.
- G. Since prohibition of marijuana contributes to organized crime, lawlessness, and juvenile delinquency, legalizing its sale and use would be less harmful than its prohibition.
- H. The sale and use of marijuana pose no threat because it is a harmless nonaddictive drug with effects similar to those of alcohol.
- I. The sale and use of marijuana should be totally unrestricted and encouraged because it provides beneficial sensations in the individual which are important to his intellectual and emotional well-being.

Please read all of the following statements carefully. Then select any statement or statements which seem acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

- A. Marijuana is as dangerous as heroin or any other hard drug, so its sale and use should be consistently considered a felony and pushers should be imprisoned.
- B. All sale and use of marijuana should be prohibited because it is a dangerous drug and a primary cause of current discontent in this country.
- C. Because of the potential harm, sale and use of marijuana should be restricted to purely experimental uses under strict governmental control.
- D. Since marijuana may induce slight side effects when improperly used, its sale and use should be strictly regulated to allow access to only the most mature individuals.
- E. The arguments for and against the sale and use of marijuana are about equal.
- F. Since the evidence of harmful effects of marijuana are very slight, the penalties for its sale and use should be reduced.
- G. Since prohibition of marijuana contributes to organized crime, lawlessness, and juvenile delinquency, legalizing its sale and use would be less harmful than its prohibition.
- H. The sale and use of marijuana pose no threat because it is a harmless nonaddictive drug with effects similar to those of alcohol.
- I. The sale and use of marijuana should be totally unrestricted and encouraged because it provides beneficial sensations in the individual which are important to his intellectual and emotional well-being.

Please read all of the following statements carefully. Then select any statement or statements which seem objectionable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

- A. Marijuana is as dangerous as heroin or any other hard drug, so its sale and use should be consistently considered a felony and pushers should be imprisoned.
- B. All sale and use of marijuana should be prohibited because it is a dangerous drug and a primary cause of current discontent in this country.
- C. Because of the potential harm, sale and use of marijuana should be restricted to purely experimental uses under strict governmental control.
- D. Since marijuana may induce slight side effects when improperly used, its sale and use should be strictly regulated to allow access to only the most mature individuals.
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Please read all of the statements below carefully. Then select the one statement which seems most acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

- A. The entire program of a student's coursework should be prescribed by the University since the University has the experience and knowledge necessary to establish the most effective program for the student.
- B. The number of required courses needs to be greatly increased to provide students with necessary interdisciplinary background.
- C. The number of required courses needs to be increased slightly.
- D. A few more hours of coursework required would benefit the student by enabling him to broaden his horizons.
- E. The present number of required courses creates about the correct proportion between required courses and electives.
- F. The number of required courses is okay, but the content of a few of them needs changing.
- G. The number of required courses needs to be decreased slightly.
- H. The number of required courses at present is unquestionably too great for students are forced to spend too much time in areas which will be of no benefit to them in later life.
- I. A student should have complete and unobstructed freedom in selecting his coursework since he is the one best suited to determine what courses will be most relevant for him.

Please read all of the following statements carefully. Then select any statement or statements which seem acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

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- B. Since the practice of homosexual act is illegal in Oklahoma and the Gay Alliance promotes such acts, the University must abolish it.
- C. Since members of the Gay Alliance may tend to influence weaker members of the community toward becoming homosexuals, it must be carefully watched, even as an off campus organization.
- D. Since members of the Gay Alliance are probably troublemakers, the University should keep an eye on them.
- E. The Gay Alliance really has no important effect on the University, positive or negative.
- F. Since members of the Gay Alliance have not caused any serious problems for the University, they should be left alone.
- G. The Gay Alliance should be afforded recognition as an organization, but should not be able to use campus facilities because of possible legal problems.
- H. The University should recognize the Gay Alliance and grant it all the rights and privileges of other campus organizations.
- I. Students should be encouraged to support the Gay Alliance since it promotes sexual freedom and understanding essential to good human relationships.

Please read all of the following statements carefully. Then select any statement or statements which seem acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

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- I. Students should be encouraged to support the Gay Alliance since it promotes sexual freedom and understanding essential to good human relationships.

Test #2Opinion Confidence

We are now interested in how "confident" you feel about the validity of the statements you have just read. You are to read each statement then circle either the (t) if you feel the statement is true, or (f) if you feel the statement is false. Then you should place a check on the space that best represents how confident you feel about your judgment. The confidence scale ranges from (1) one to (9) nine. A check on the one space would indicate that you would not be surprised to find out you were wrong. A check on the nine would indicate that you are very confident in your answer and would be most surprised to find out that your judgment was incorrect.

SAMPLE: (t) f University of Oklahoma is a good school.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

This would indicate that the subject feels that the statement is true, and he is very confident about his judgment.

You should work as quickly as possible. Do not over-analyze the statements, your first impression is important. Do not begin until you are told to do so.

- t f Marijuana is as dangerous as heroin or any other hard drug, so its sale and use should be consistently considered a felony and pushers should be imprisoned.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f All sale and use of marijuana should be prohibited because it is a dangerous drug and a primary cause of current discontent in this country.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Because of the potential harm, sale and use of marijuana should be restricted to purely experimental uses under strict governmental control.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since marijuana may induce slight side effects when improperly used, its sale and use should be strictly regulated to allow access to only the most mature individuals.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The arguments for and against the sale and use of marijuana are about equal.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since the evidence of harmful effects of marijuana are very slight, the penalties for its sale and use should be reduced.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since prohibition of marijuana contributes to organized crime, lawlessness, and juvenile delinquency, legalizing its sale and use would be less harmful than its prohibition.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The sale and use of marijuana pose no threat because it is a harmless nonaddictive drug with effects similar to those of alcohol.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The sale and use of marijuana should be totally unrestricted and encouraged because it provides beneficial sensations in the individual which are important to his intellectual and emotional well-being.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The entire program of a student's coursework should be prescribed by the University since the University has the experience and knowledge necessary to establish the most effective program for the student.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The number of required courses needs to be greatly increased to provide students with necessary interdisciplinary background.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The number of required courses needs to be increased slightly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f A few more hours of coursework required would benefit the student by enabling him to broaden his horizons.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The present number of required courses creates about the correct proportion between required courses and electives.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The number of required courses is okay, but the content of a few of them needs changing.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The number of required courses needs to be decreased slightly.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The number of required courses at present is unquestionably too great for students are forced to spend too much time in areas which will be of no benefit to them in later life.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

t f A student should have complete and unobstructed freedom in selecting his coursework since he is the one best suited to determine what courses will be most relevant for him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since the Gay Alliance is composed of perverse and corrupt individuals, it should be eliminated by any method necessary to insure its complete abolition.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since the practice of homosexual act is illegal in Oklahoma and the Gay Alliance promotes such acts, the University must abolish it.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since members of the Gay Alliance may tend to influence weaker members of the community toward becoming homosexuals, it must be carefully watched, even as an off campus organization.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since members of the Gay Alliance are probably trouble-makers, the University should keep an eye on them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The Gay Alliance really has no important effect on the University, positive or negative.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Since members of the Gay Alliance have not caused any serious problems for the University, they should be left alone.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The Gay Alliance should be afforded recognition as an organization, but should not be able to use campus facilities because of possible legal problems.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f The University should recognize the Gay Alliance and grant it all the rights and privileges of other campus organizations.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

- t f Students should be encouraged to support the Gay Alliance since it promotes sexual freedom and understanding essential to good human relationships.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

Test #3Dogmatism

We are interested now in what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1 +2 +3 or -1 -2 -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE	-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE
+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE	-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE
+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH	-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

Please write both the number and the sign in the margin left of each statement.

_____ The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.

_____ It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.

_____ Man on his own is a helpless and miserable creature.

Continue marking your answers in this manner:

+1: I AGREE A LITTLE	-1: I DISAGREE A LITTLE
+2: I AGREE ON THE WHOLE	-2: I DISAGREE ON THE WHOLE
+3: I AGREE VERY MUCH	-3: I DISAGREE VERY MUCH

- _____ In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- _____ I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.
- _____ The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are intelligent.
- _____ While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great man, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.
- _____ The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.
- _____ To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to betrayal of our own side.
- _____ It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.
- _____ Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.
- _____ The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
- _____ Most people just don't know what's good for them.
- _____ Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.
- _____ In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.
- _____ Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

- ___ It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.
- ___ My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.
- ___ There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
- ___ Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.

Test #4Check on Directions

We are finally interested in your interpretation of the questions we have asked in this study. Please place the letter of the answer that best fits the question in the blank.

_____ 1. The first test:

- A. Was interested in the "confidence" of your judgments.
- B. Was interested in your reactions to a variety of statements over a few topics.
- C. Was interested in your reactions to a wide variety of specific social and political questions.
- D. Was interested in your selecting the correct statement from a variety of statements.

_____ 2. The second test:

- A. Was interested in the "confidence" of your judgments.
- B. Was interested in your reactions to a variety of statements over a few topics.
- C. Was interested in your reactions to a wide variety of specific social and political questions.
- D. Was interested in your selecting the correct statement from a variety of statements.

_____ 3. The third test:

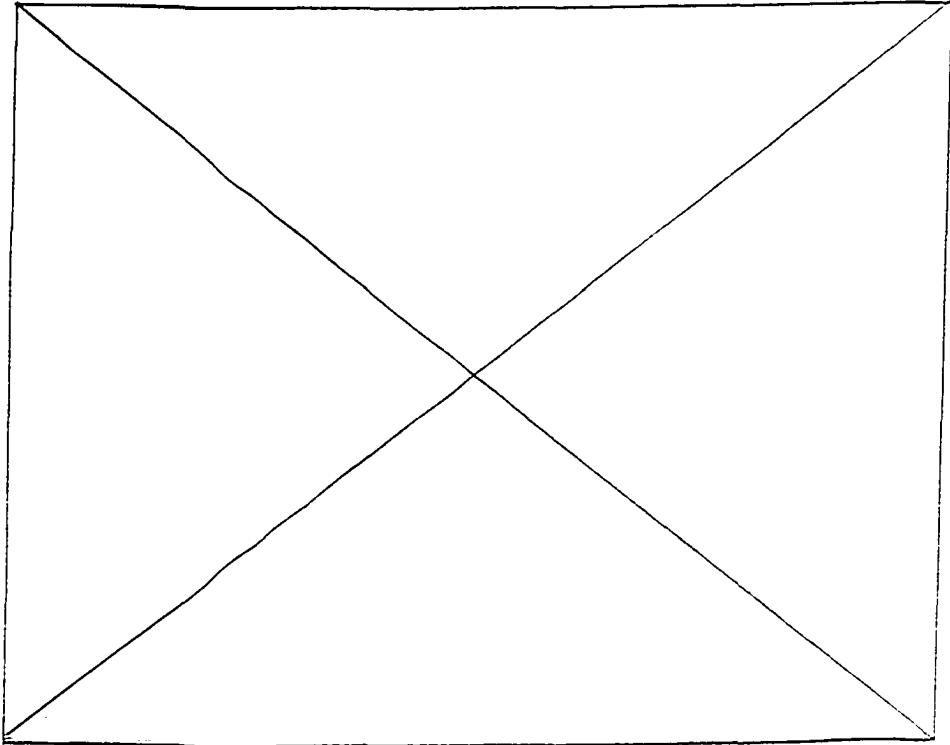
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- C. Was interested in your reactions to a wide variety of specific social and political questions.
- D. Was interested in your selecting the correct statement from a variety of statements.

APPENDIX B

Experimenter's Package

Check the statement group accepts.

- A. Since the Gay Alliance is composed of perverse and corrupt individuals, it should be eliminated by any method necessary to insure its complete abolition.
- B. Since the practice of homosexual acts is illegal in Oklahoma and the Gay Alliance promotes such acts, the University must abolish it.
- C. Since members of the Gay Alliance may tend to influence weaker members of the community toward becoming homosexuals, it must be carefully watched, even as an off campus organization.
- D. Since members of the Gay Alliance are probably troublemakers, the University should keep an eye on them.
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- I. Students should be encouraged to support the Gay Alliance since it promotes sexual freedom and understanding essential to good human relationships.

Interaction Analysis

APPENDIX C

Posttest

Directions

Do not write in
this space:

Subject No. _____

University of Oklahoma

Project No. _____

Norman, Oklahoma

Tests: 1. _____

GROUP STUDY PROJECT
(College-University)

2. _____

3. _____

Name _____

4. _____

Sex _____

Social Security No.
or Student Number _____

Date _____

These two brief blocks of questions conclude this experiment. We realize that a group experience is different for each member. Therefore we are now interested in how you feel, individually, about the group discussion in which you have participated, and your opinion on the topic.

It is most important that you realize that your evaluation of the group and your statement of opinion will not be shown to any other member of your group. In fact we ask that you do not discuss your evaluations with each other. These answers must be private to assure a candid response. Thank you.

Speech Communication
Research Laboratory

Test #1Bogus Group Evaluation

This test asks you to evaluate the group. Check the space which best represents your feeling about the group.

1. The group was friendly.

Agree _____ Disagree

2. The group had good communication.

Agree _____ Disagree

3. I enjoyed this group discussion.

Agree _____ Disagree

4. The chairman was democratic.

Agree _____ Disagree

5. The other members were responsive to my ideas.

Agree _____ Disagree

Test #2Social Judgment

This test asks that you provide your opinion of the topic you have discussed. You may or may not agree with the group. What we are interested in is your personal opinion.

Please read all of the statements below carefully. Then select the one statement which seems most acceptable to you and circle the letter preceding that statement.

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APPENDIX D

Dogmatism and Opinion Confidence Scores
(Descriptive Statistics)

<u>Distribution</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>Mean</u>	<u>Median</u>	<u>Mode</u>	<u>Variance</u>	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Skewness</u>
Dogmatism	106	29	65.49	66	61	176.59	13.28	-0.07
Opinion Confidence	243	113	186.27	192	215	894.20	29.90	-0.57

APPENDIX E

Summary of Analysis of Variance Tests

Public Conformity; Summary of Two by Two
Analysis of Variance: Pretest Scores
of Dogmatism and Opinion Confidence

Source	d.f.	S.S.	M.S.	F.
Between	3	1.91	0.64	
Dogmatism	1	0.14	0.14	0.01
Opinion Confidence	1	1.68	1.68	0.17
Dogmatism by Opinion Confidence	1	0.09	0.09	0.00
Within	38	362.14	9.53	
Total	44	365.96	12.08	