CHAPTER III

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE
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As early as 1925, Moore submitted Rice's Conservatism-Radicalism Scale to a class of 225 students. He failed to find any differences among radicals and conservatives in regard to intellectual level and emotional stability measured by Woodworth P.D. form. The study revealed that radicals have a few stronger traits like greater speed of reaction, ease of breaking habits, readiness to make snap judgments and independence in the face of majority influences as compared to conservatives. Radicals were better in thinking in unusual terms and gave fewer common responses than the conservatives. In contrast, a conservative subordinates his conduct to the prevalent standard.

Vetter investigated the relationship of socio-political attitudes and various personality traits by giving a number of tests, i.e., Socio-Political Attitude Scale (Vetter), Woodworth P.D. Sheet, Thorndike Intelligence Examination, Ottis Advanced Examination, Allport A.S. Test,


Laird C2 Test, Kent Rosanaff Test and Suggestibility Test to 1200 university students. As compared to the conservatives, radicals were found to be superior in intelligence, more introverted and having greater individualization. Radical women proved to be more ascendant than the conservative ones.

Dexter\(^3\) threw some light on the problem by administering Lentz C-R opinionaire to 267 students. A variety of other tests were given, i.e. Bernreuter Personality Inventory, Henmon-Nelson test of mental ability, Morris trait index, and Downey will temperament test. A positive correlation was found ranging from .20 to .35 between radicalism and intelligence, introversion, self-sufficiency, general information and dominance. Negative correlations ranging from -.20 to -.35 were found between radicalism and speed of decision and movement. Degree of emotional stability seemed to have no bearing on the question. On the basis of paper and pencil items, Lentz\(^4\) too concluded that it seems reasonable to say that conservatives differ from radicals on a very large number of specific symptoms from a wide number of fields.

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SaJiai and Pickard attacked the problem by posing this question: "Is there sufficient experimental support to disprove the hypothesis of nil-relationship between radicalism and personality traits?" With this end in view, a test of politico-economic radicalism-conservatism was constructed. It was given to a group of 70 women students in a Private London Training College. Age range was between 19-24 years. Along with it were given an intelligence test and Rorschach test. Scores on intelligence, radicalism, Rorschach test and ratings by a lecturer on seven traits were intercorrelated. On the basis of Rorschach test and ratings by a lecturer, radicalism was found to be correlated with emotionality (.020, -.19), emotional control (.009, .15), cheerfulness (.078, .06), introversion-extraversion (.159, .19), imagination (.039, .16), aggression (.104, .14), integration (-.031, .01) and intelligence (.248, .25). Correlation (based on Rorschach test) between intelligence and radicalism supports the previous studies. None of the other personality traits seemed to be correlated with radicalism. Radicalism-introversion r is the highest and might be higher if corrected.

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One of the pioneering works in this field has been done by Adorno et al.\textsuperscript{6} The research reported in this volume was guided by the following major hypothesis, that the political, economic and social convictions of an individual often form a broad and coherent pattern, as if bound together by a "mentality" or "spirit" and that this pattern is an expression of deep-lying trends in his personality. It was supposed that (1) anti-Semitism probably is not a specific or isolated phenomenon but a part of a broader ideological framework, and (2) that an individual's susceptibility to this ideology depends primarily upon his psychological needs.

A scale was constructed—a measure of authoritarianism including a number of variables, i.e. conventionalism, authoritarian-submission, authoritarian aggression, anti-intraception, superstition, stereotypy, power and "toughness", destructiveness, cynicism, projectivity and sex. Each was regarded as a more or less central trend in the person, which, in accordance with same dynamic process, expressed itself on the surface in ethnocentrism as well as in diverse psychologically related opinions and attitudes. These variables were thought to form a single syndrome, a

more or less enduring structure in the person that renders him receptive to anti-democratic propaganda. One might say, therefore, that the F scale attempts to measure the potentially anti-democratic personality. The correlation between conventional values and prejudice seemed to be positive. Ethnocentrism scale too was given and correlation of .75 between E and F scale means that scores on the former may be predicted with fair accuracy from scores on the latter.

The results of blind ratings of the interviews have shown that the individuals extremely high on overt ethnic prejudice tend to differ with respect to a great variety of personality traits from those extremely low on prejudice. Some of the personality traits discussed were also measured by other techniques, especially by the questionnaire method. The outstanding finding was, that the extremely unprejudiced individual tends to manifest greater readiness to become aware of unacceptable tendencies and impulses in himself. The prejudiced individual on the other hand is more unlikely to face these tendencies openly and thus to fail in integrating them satisfactorily with the conscious image he has of himself.

One of the results of greater internalization is the generally more creative and imaginative approach of the low scorer (unprejudiced) both in the cognitive
and in the emotional sphere as compared with a more constricted, conventional and stereotyped approach in the high scorer.

Inclinations toward dependency and a far-reaching passivity are evident in the interviews of high scoring men although these remain unaccepted and ego-alien. The comparative lack of ability for affectionate and individualized interpersonal relations, together with the conception of a threatening and a dangerous environment, must be seen as underlying the prejudiced individual's striving for attainment of power, either directly or by having the powerful on his side. In this vein, weakness is considered dangerous, since it may lead to being "devoured" by the strong, or at least to deprivation or starvation, dangers only too readily anticipated by the high scorer. Numerous variables in areas not ordinarily covered by studies of political, economic and social ideology have been found to form a syndrome and to correlate significantly with anti-democratic trends in areas covered by the A-S, E & PEC Scales. This means, at least, that the conception of a potentially fascistic pattern can be considerably extended, and that the hypothesis of central personality dispositions which give rise to this pattern is but considerable support.
Dreger conducted a study, with various church groups as subjects. Ferguson scale (religious attitude), Wonderlic Personnel test (intelligence), Rozensweig Picture Frustration Study, TAT and Rorschach tests were administered. The investigator noted that in the area of perceptual keenness and insight, liberals are more developed than conservatives. These differences can be used as a suggestive hypothesis for further research. Conservatives have greater need for dependence and liberals are more independent. Hypotheses: (1) Rigidity and conservatism related. (2) Conservatives more guilt-ridden. (3) Liberals tend to gross over aggression-provoking situations. All the three hypotheses were rejected.

Probing into the area of personality correlates of social attitudes, Sanai gave the following tests to 250 men and women, drawn from University of London, Training College, London, L.C.C. and from University Extension Course classes: (I) Burt NIIP group 33 Intelligence test, (II) Short form of Thurstone's

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Neurotic Inventory, (III) Neyman-Kohlstedt test of Introversion-Extraversion, (IV) Allport's Ascendance-Submission Reaction Study, (V) Allport-Vernon's test of Values, (VI) A test of Alterationism and Preservationism in social attitudes, and (VII) Ratings obtained on seven personality traits. The correlation found between intelligence and alterationism (radicalism) is insignificant (.154) and fails to support the previous findings. Ascendancy-submissiveness, emotional adjustment and introversion as assessed by personality tests fail to show significant correlations with alterationism. There is high correlation (.513) between radicalism and theoretical values. High negative correlation (-.566) was found between radicalism and religious values. High correlations were obtained between radicalism and ratings on emotionality (.289) and on introversion (.257). This study along with others proves that religious conservatism goes hand in hand with political and social conservatism.

Barron⁹ has reported some consistent self-descriptions of independents and yielders in Asch situation. For males he found that yielders tended to characterize themselves as obliging, optimistic, efficient, determined, patient and kind; whereas independents saw themselves primarily as original, emotional and artistic.

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In order to examine several correlates of attitudes, Grace Rubin-Rabson administered Hunter's Test of Social Attitudes, Bemreuter Personality Inventory, the Ottis S.A. Test of Mental ability and Bellevue-Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale to 69 adults. Significant positive dependency exists between liberal attitude and intelligence. But the expected positive relationship between other personality traits and liberalism failed to appear.

Examining the personality correlates of social conformity, Bemberg made a study on a group of 89 female social welfare case workers and supervisors. The subjects were administered social conformity scale — a projective paper and pencil test constructed by the author and Guilford-Zimmerman Temperament Survey. Results showed that social conformity is correlated with general activity (.10), ascendance (.09), objectivity (-.47), restraint (-.19), sociability (-.21), emotional stability (-.19), friendliness (-.25), personal relations (-.26), and masculinity (-.15).

An other study, somewhat of a similar nature

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was done by Crutchfield\textsuperscript{12} on 100 men who visited the Institute of Personality Assessment and Research at the University of California, Berkeley. Comparing the conformers and independents, the investigator found personality differences among the two. The California F-Scale — a measure of authoritarian attitudes was found to be positively related to conformity tendencies. Independents as compared to conformists, were found to have more maturity in social relations, greater intellectual effectiveness, more self-control and fewer inferiority feelings. Conformers tended to express more conventional and moralistic attitudes than independents. Conformers also seem to have less ability in coping with threatening and stressful situations and being more anxious and timid. Excessive conformity is negatively related to creativity. A few correlations will illustrate. The Assessment Staff Rating on "intellectual competence" correlates -.63 with conformity score. An Ego-Strength Scale independently derived by Barron\textsuperscript{13} correlates -.33 and staff rating on leadership ability -.30 with conformity. Scales of CPI pertaining to such dimensions as tolerance, participation

\textsuperscript{12}R.S. Crutchfield, "Conformity and character," \textit{Amer. Psychol.}, X (1955), 191-98.

\textsuperscript{13}F. Barron, "An Ego-Strength Scale which predicts response to Psychotherapy," \textit{Jour. Consult. Psychol.}, XVII (1953), 327-33.
and responsibility range in correlation from -.30 to -.41 with conformity. And as for some of the positive correlates, a measure of authoritarian attitudes, correlates .39 with conformity.

Eysenck\(^\text{14}\) too did research in this field. He accepted provisionally the view that tendermindedness and toughmindedness are not in themselves representative of attitude constellations, but rather the projection of personality variables on to a Radical-Conservative attitude continuum. Further results show that there is a close relationship between tough-mindedness and extraversion on the one hand and between tender-mindedness and introversion on the other. Three experimental proofs were given, all of which verified this hypothesis.

Newcomb\(^\text{15}\) made a valuable contribution in this field. He raised the question, "What kinds of personal characteristics in any student community determine those social relationships which in turn lead to varying reactions to proposed social changes?" The study makes use of three major types of data: paper and pencil questionnaire responses, written reports on individual


students filed in college offices and individual interviews.

The study showed that those lowest (liberals) on Political and Economic Progressivism Scale are somewhat higher in theoretical, aesthetic and social values and much lower in economic and political values than those highest (conservative) in P.E.F. score. The conservatives are chiefly characterized as negativistic or resistant according to judgments both by faculty and by other students. The latter source also describes many of them as indifferent. Several of them are also described by faculty members as being timid and docile. According to both faculty and medical reports, more of them than of the nonconservatives are overdependent upon parents, and fewer of them give evidence of smooth, stable personality adjustments. Their relationship to faculty members is easier and more secure, in general, than that of conservatives, and the majority of them are considered self-sustained and independent. Students whose attitudes changed during their stay in college had the following characteristics: intellectual self-respect, independent status as an adult person in one's own right, sense of responsibility to a college, one of whose chief functions it is to create awareness of a changing world and sense of responsibility as a citizen in such a world.
McClosky, on the basis of PAR study, carried out on a sample of 1211 persons, obtained similar kind of results as Crutchfield. He concluded that conservative beliefs are most frequently found in the uninformed, the poorly educated, the less intelligent. Uniformly, every increase in the degree of conservatism shows a corresponding increase in the submissiveness, anomia, sense of alienation, bewilderment, pessimism, less social responsibility, guilt and less self-confidence. The figures made plain that the conservatives tend to score more at the undesirable ends of the distribution of personality tests. Conservatives and liberals are found to be sharply distinguished on clinical-personality variables. The figures demonstrate with overpowering effect that conservatives tend to score on the more undesirable, poorly adapted side of personality variables. The extreme conservatives are easily the most hostile, suspicious, the most rigid and compulsive, the quickest to condemn others for their imperfections and weaknesses, the most intolerant, most easily moved to scorn, inflexible, disappointment in others, unyielding in their perceptions and judgments. They are defensive for their own ego needs, poorly integrated psychologically, anxious, having inadequacy feelings, guilt feelings.

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A study by Tuddenham revealed very interesting relationship between women yielders and EPPS scales and Gough's CPI scales. The correlations showed some relationship between yielding behavior and Dominance (-.20), Capacity for social status (-.33), Sociability (.13), Social Presence (-.41), Self Acceptance (-.22), Responsibility (.07), Tolerance (-.21), Good impression (-.04), Achievement via Conformance (-.12), Achievement via Independence (-.45), Intellectual Efficiency (-.23), Psychological mindedness (-.22) and Flexibility (-.59).

Eysenck did a study on 600 subjects — members of a panel of research organizations. He kept in mind that social attitude continuum labelled as toughmindedness versus tendermindedness has been discovered on the basis of factor analytic studies and was found to be orthogonal to the radical-conservative continuum. Results yielded a negative correlation (-.2479) between tendermindedness and extraversion and a positive correlation (.2502) between tendermindedness and neuroticism.

Meyers and Hoble assessed the relation of

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anxiety to conformity and confidence measures, using 40 college subjects. It can be concluded that in a small homogenous group, significant relationship between anxiety and conformity and confidence were found. The correlations are as follows: Conformity and Taylor anxiety scores (.27), conformity and Sarason anxiety scores (.33), conformity and confidence (-.57).

Similarly, in the quest of finding relationship between conservatism and various personality traits, Photiadis found the following results, using a sample of 300 adult men and women who were members of three Protestant churches. Conservatism was found to be related to Orthodoxy (.75), Extrinsic-intrinsic values (.443), Anomia (.414), Status concern (.572), Authoritarianism (.497), Withdrawal tendencies (.216), Anti-social tendencies (.253) and Education (-.180).

Singh designed an experiment to study the relationship of conformity behavior with extraversion.

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20 Conformity scores were obtained with the Olmstead and Blake's Simulated Group Procedure. J.A. Olmstead and R.E. Blake, "The use of Simulated Groups to produce modification in judgment," Jour. Person., XXIII (1955), 335-45.


and neuroticism, as measured by MPI. According to the results, high neuroticism subjects show higher conformity, and high extraversion subjects show greater conformity compared to the low extraversion people. But the differences obtained were not statistically significant.

Appley and Moeller\textsuperscript{23} compared the conforming behavior of 41 college men and women as measured by Asch situation with the scales of Edwards Personal Preference, Gough's CPI and Gordon Personal Profile. For males they found that yielders tended to characterize themselves as obliging, optimistic, efficient, determined, patient and kind, whereas independents saw themselves primarily as original, emotional and artistic. But for one correlation i.e. between conformity and EPPS Abasement Scale (+.33), the study failed to yield significant correlations between conformity and the various personality traits. The results of the mentioned study cast some doubt on the previous findings.

Bendig\textsuperscript{24} administered questionnaires to 192 college students varying in age and background. Scores on Radicalism scale (included in Cattell's .16 PF

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Questionnaire) were correlated with the following Personality Scales (i) MPI, (ii) Taylor's Manifest Anxiety Scale, (iii) California F Scale and (iv) Bass Social Acquiescence Scale. Unlike the previous studies, the results did not show any significant correlation between radicalism and extraversion or anxiety. Low negative correlations were found between radicalism neuroticism and California Authoritarianism Scale. Radicalism was negatively correlated (-.32) with Bass Acquiescence Scale for women.

Sundby\textsuperscript{25} posed the question "Does conformity correlate with specific personality indices?" Sample of the study consisted of 121 high school students. Personality indices as used in this study did not correlate with conformity. All correlations failed to reach significance, with the one exception of dominance with moderate pressure on the strong issue.

A study by Mittal\textsuperscript{26} on 50 women showed a positive relationship between conservatism and neuroticism, a negative relationship between conservatism and self-

\textsuperscript{25}E.M. Sundby, "A study of personality and social variables related to conformity behavior," Diss. Abst., XXIII (1963), 3470.

sufficiency, a positive relationship between conservatism and dominance. In brief, the conservative women, when compared to the progressive ones, were found to be introverted, lacking self-sufficiency, submissive and displaying clear cut neurotic trends.

One of the most extensive studies done recently in this field has been by Plant et al. A battery of psychological tests was given to freshmen of Junior colleges, which included:

1. Rokeach Dogmatism scale, Form E.
3. The Allport-Vernon and Lindzey Study of values.
4. Scholastic Aptitude Test.

Top and bottom 10% of the scores on D scale were selected from 2643 males and 1863 females. Without exception the non-dogmatic males had the highest means on the five CPI variables and on SCAT variables. The non-dogmatic males had a significant lower mean on the

AVL religious scale as compared to the dogmatic males. The non-dogmatic females had a significantly higher mean on the AVL aesthetic scale than did the dogmatic females. The personality differences with extreme scores were statistically significant without exception both for males and females. Compared to highly dogmatic group, the non-dogmatic subjects would be described as being outgoing and enterprising, calm and patient, mature and forceful, efficient and having clear thinking, planful and responsible and more likely to succeed in an academic setting than would the highly dogmatic subjects. Although all the differences were significant, yet differences on achievement via independence and intellectual efficiency were most striking. The comparisons indicate that the dogmatic college fresh men would be described as being impulsive, defensive, conventional and stereotyped in thinking. Korn and Giddan\textsuperscript{28} too, utilizing three different scales from the CPI, concluded that the more dogmatic an individual is, the less tolerant, flexible and secure he is.

A social attitude scale, to measure the world-mindedness dimension was administered by Prien\textsuperscript{29} to 101


\textsuperscript{29}E.F. Prien, "Personality correlates and change in pre-worldmindedness and anti-worldmindedness, following an intercultural experience," Jour. Soc. Psychol., LXVIII (1966), 243-47.
female college juniors. The obtained scores were correlated with twenty-six measures of personality. The results of Prien's study indicate that the pro-worldminded individual is the more adaptable, outgoing and "other" oriented and seems to place more value on interpersonal relations as opposed to tangible and concrete satisfactions. The anti-worldminded individual appears to be self-oriented, seeking tangible rewards, less flexible or adaptive in dealing with other people, and considerably more conservative. Pro-worldmindedness was positively related to scales reflecting sociability, original thinking, benevolence and aesthetic values. The pro-worldmindedness attitude is inversely related to those scales that reflect responsibility, economic values, dominance, confidence, recognition, personal relations and cautiousness.

Barocas and Gorlow\textsuperscript{30} made an effort to identify the self-report personality dimensions associated with resistance and capitulation to social pressure. More specifically, the hypothesis under examination was the proposition that self-report personality factors account for some portion of the variance of the conformity response. The study failed to confirm a relationship

between personality and yielding. In view of the negative results, the present study does not afford an unequivocal answer to the question of the relationship between self-report personality measurement and conformity behavior.

Making some explorations in non-conformity, Smith 31 used a 28-item multi-dimensional scale. Three groups—conformers, independents and rebels—were empirically derived from an N of 162 undergraduate, male college students. Conformers were defined as favoring the social norms implicit in the items, rebels as opposing those and independents as favoring some, opposing others, and being little influenced by norms implicit or explicit. Besides, few other tests, three scales of CPI, "Well being", "Socialization", and "Achievement via conformance" were given which differentiated the three groups. The independents scored highest on all three subscales, the conformers scoring intermediately and the rebels lowest.

Vacchiano et al. 32 demonstrated that three diverse personality instruments (Edwards Personal


Preference Schedule, the Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire and the Tennessee Self Concept Scale) yielded clusters of scales which seemed to identify the "dogmatic personality". Dogmatism was found to be related positively to the need for succorance and negatively to needs for change and introspection. Similarly there was a positive relationship between conformity and dogmatism, restraint and conservatism on 16 PF.

Hypotheses

The present study has one technological and a theoretical aim. The former involves the construction of a device for assessing individual's position on the conservatism-radicalism continuum. It was hypothesized that individuals are relatively consistent in their tendency to take a conservative or a radical stand on diverse issues of social change. Determination of reliability, item analysis and factor analysis will involve partial testing of the hypothesis.

The theoretical aim involves the testing of the guiding hypothesis of the study, stemming directly from the researches of Adorno et al.,33 Crutchfield;34

33 Adorno et al., 1950.
34 Crutchfield, 1955.
and McClosky. It was hypothesized that conservatism-radicalism is related to other traits of personality. Regarding the direction of relationship, it was hypothesized that radicalism will be positively correlated with all traits but one i.e. Intelligence, Capacity for Status, Self Acceptance, Social Presence, Responsibility, Tolerance, Good Impression, Achievement via Conformance, Achievement via Independence, Flexibility, Psychological Mindedness, Self-Sufficiency, Introversion, Dominance, Confidence, and Sociability. Negative correlation was hypothesized in respect of the one trait of Neuroticism.

McClosky, 1958.