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The Role of Personal Experiences In The Formulation of Social Attitudes of Liberalism and Conservatism.

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DOI: 10.58809/IOBW4325

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THE ROLE OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCES IN THE
FORMULATION OF SOCIAL ATTITUDES
OF LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

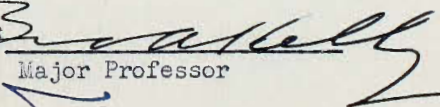
being

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty of the
Fort Hays Kansas State College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of
Master of Science

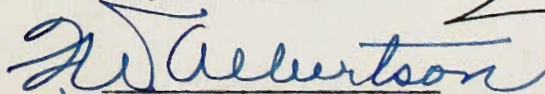
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5-26-41
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INTRODUCTION

Social attitudes are popular subjects of investigation in psychological research. The problems which are investigated are varied, even though they are all concerned with some phase of the general field of attitude study. While the present study is not immediately concerned with the majority of the studies which have been reported in this field, many of these studies are valuable aids for the formulation of a background for this type of research.

Many of the recent studies which have been reported are primarily concerned with the stability of attitudes, how they may be made to change, and how they may be made more stable.

Smith⁸ found that attitudes towards the treatment of criminals could be altered in the direction of leniency during a course in criminology. Remmers and Whisler⁶ demonstrated the shift of attitudes of college students in regard to increasing the number of judges on the Supreme Court. The shifts in attitude were all towards favorability, and were all the result of hearing an address made by the president. Koeninger⁵ found high school seniors to be inconsistent in their attitudes, and subject to rather abrupt changes. Kirkpatrick⁴ in a study of attitudes toward feminism showed how these attitudes could be changed by intelligent discussion in the classroom. Stevenson⁹ pointed out that attitudes as measured by

attitude scales are probably not so stable as their reliability coefficients would indicate since there may be definite trends in the shifting of attitudes without these trends being revealed in the rank order of the subjects.

Studies of the actual construction of attitude scales include those of Thurstone,¹⁰ who set up an attitude scale which made possible the measurement of the differences among attitudes in exact scalar units, and Baines¹ who introduced the method of using the "just noticeable difference" for determining the points on a scale in which reactions to social actions might be checked.

Studies in which the report of results in the use of various attitude scales are given are made rather frequently. Emery² studied the attitudes of prospective teachers towards many existing institutions and many proposed social actions and found high agreement among the cases studied on attitudes towards such issues as the Townsend Plan, capitalism, and adult education. Rosander⁷ summarized some of the literature on the results of the use of attitude scales.

A particularly comprehensive review was made by Ferguson,³ who presented a summary of much of the current literature in the field of attitude testing.

None of the above studies relates directly to the present problem although several of them are suggested as the method.

Staff members of the Fort Hays Kansas State College Psychological Clinic have been led to suspect from their work with individual cases that the general social attitudes which a person maintains toward great public issues are as much the result of the personal experiences which, in themselves, are not related to the public issues, as they are the result of the bias of teaching and home training. Thus it appeared that the personal social milieu of the individual is a very vital factor in the formulation of attitudes toward non-personal issues. This clinical observation was taken as the hypothesis of the present study. The present study, then, is designed to determine, not so much the actual attitudes of the subject, the constancy of these attitudes, or to determine the most effective means of measuring these attitudes, but rather to determine the nature of the actual dynamic factors in an individual's environment which influence these attitudes.

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STATEMENT OF PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to discover if the following hypothesis, which was set up on the basis of clinical experience, is true. The social attitudes of an individual are as much the product of local personal incidents as of the bias of the education and training of that individual. It was with this problem always foremost in mind that the study was carried out.

PROCEDURE

During the course of the entire study 309 college students were used.

The questionnaire method was employed in the major portion of the study, although it became necessary to use clinical procedure with a small number of cases. The only criterion for the selection of cases with whom the questionnaire method was used was a willingness to cooperate.

The following questionnaire was constructed, not in order to measure the subject's inclination towards liberalism or conservatism alone, but also to bring out those personal experiential factors which would seem to be personally significant to the development of these inclinations. As far as is known to the writer this is the first attempt to investigate the personal sources of the attitudes revealed by a questionnaire.

Write a short paragraph, giving what you consider to be a good definition of innovation, in the following space.

COPY OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Write a short paragraph, giving what you consider to be a good definition of innovation, in the following space.

Write a short paragraph, giving what you consider to be a good definition of liberalism, in the following space.

7. I am very liberal.

6. I am a liberal.

5. I am somewhat liberal.

Write a short paragraph, giving what you consider to be a good definition of conservatism, in the following space.

3. I am somewhat conservative.

2. I am a conservative.

1. I am very conservative.

Below is provided a seven point scale on which you are to encircle one of the points. Encircle the point which you feel most nearly characterizes yourself. You need not encircle one of the points which falls on a number, but may encircle any one of the points along the scale.

7. I am very liberal.

6. I am a liberal.

5. I am somewhat liberal.

4. I am neither liberal nor conservative.

3. I am somewhat conservative.

2. I am a conservative.

1. I am very conservative.

In the following list check the number preceeding the most important discovery which you have made about life. Next encircle the numbers preceeding the five next most important discoveries.

1. Many people of my own age are sexually immoral.
2. People who attempt to uphold decent moral standards are called "old fashioned".
3. Many people are looked down upon because of their moral standards.
4. A person who deviates from the conventional standards is immediately labeled immoral.
5. It is very easy to be a hypocrite.
6. Many people are guilty of the same things which they condemn in others.
7. Some parents actually label their children as "bad".
8. All men (girls) are alike.
9. You can't have any fun out of life if you try to live up to your parents' preaching.
10. The nicest appearing people are frequently hypocrites.
11. Love is usually a one sided affair.
12. Parents rarely practice what they preach.
13. Teachers rarely practice what they preach.
14. Preachers rarely practice what they preach.
15. Parents sometimes place their own convenience above the security of their children.
16. Parents often assume that they are privileged to select the companions of their children.
17. Failure to live up to one's beliefs often results in serious trouble.
18. The standards which one sets up for himself are often inadequate to keep him out of serious trouble.
19. It is usually impossible to fulfill the vocational ambitions of youth.
20. If we are honest with ourselves, we will have to admit that most of us are getting nowhere with our lives.
21. Many parents actually consider their children nuisances.
22. Often a person is considered better by others than he really is.
23. Seldom can one find anyone with whom he can discuss all his problems freely.
24. Often a person's actions are irreconcilable with those things for which he would really like to stand.
25. Often a person feels compelled to live up to a reputation for being good when he knows that he is not actually good.
26. Childrens' companions are often looked down upon by their parents.
27. Many children are deliberately kept in ignorance of the most important things of life.
28. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his mate.
29. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his school.
30. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his vocation.
31. Write in one other important discovery which you have made about life.

In the following list which thing do you consider the most dangerous social action? Write in number _____

Which four things do you consider dangerous social actions? Write in numbers _____

1. Invitation by the Kansas State Teachers Association to Norman Thomas to speak at their meeting in Topeka last fall.
2. Raising of the Communist Flag at the Hays High School.
3. The enlistment of Kansas University students in the Spanish Republican Army.
4. The reorganization of the Kansas State Welfare Board.
5. The reorganization of the Kansas State Board of Regents.
6. The condoning of political machines in several American cities.
7. The decision to prosecute Fritz Kuhn in the Dies Committee.
8. Banning of Father Coughlin from the air.
9. The citation of Townsend for contempt of court.
10. The popularity of "ham and eggs" pension plans.
11. The attempt to have Bridges deported.
12. The conviction of the Scottsboro boys.
13. John L. Lewis' characterization of John Nance Garner as a "poker playing, whisky drinking, evil old man".
14. The attempt to pack the Supreme Court.
15. Roosevelt's party "purge" of 1938.
16. Roosevelt's refusal to comment on his intentions as to a third term as president.
17. The proposal to loan Finland money with which to carry on their campaign against Russia.
18. The replacement of religious and folk music by swing music in student social functions.
19. The movement to permit smoking on the campus.
20. The subsidization of athletes by colleges.
21. The disciplining of students for moderate consumption of beer.
22. Drinking at student social and athletic functions.
23. Necking among college students.
24. The open acceptance of the theory of evolution by faculty members.
25. The control of student social and political affairs by the College Administration.
26. The new rooming house regulations on this campus.
27. Presence of faculty members on the student disciplinary court.
28. Political machines in college politics.
29. Greek organization's apparent domination of social life.
30. Cheating in college examinations.
31. Altmark incident.
32. Embargo by Britain of German exports.
33. Seizure of U.S. mails at Bermuda by British.
34. The President's diplomatic recognition of the Vatican.
35. Sending of munitions and scrap iron to Japan.
36. Congress' failure to balance the budget.
37. Write in one other social action which you consider dangerous.

Which of the following groups do you consider the most liberal?

Write in number _____

Which of the following groups do you consider the most conservative?

Write in number _____

Which four other groups do you consider typically liberal?

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

Which four other groups do you consider typically conservative?

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

For each group which you consider LIBERAL encircle the "L" preceding it.

For each group which you consider CONSERVATIVE encircle the "C" preceding it.

For each group which you consider neither liberal nor conservative, or about which you have insufficient knowledge to form a judgment, encircle the "?" preceding it.

- L C ? 1. The United States Supreme Court.
- L C ? 2. The Commitern.
- L C ? 3. The New Deal.
- L C ? 4. The present administration of Kansas.
- L C ? 5. The administration of the FHKSC.
- L C ? 6. The typical city Chamber of Commerce.
- L C ? 7. The Methodist Church.
- L C ? 8. The Roman Catholic Church.
- L C ? 9. The Unitarian Church.
- L C ? 10. The English Parliament.
- L C ? 11. The Nazi Government.
- L C ? 12. The Communist Party.
- L C ? 13. The Democratic Party.
- L C ? 14. The Republican Party.
- L C ? 15. The Socialist Party.
- L C ? 16. The C.I.O.
- L C ? 17. The American Federation of Labor.
- L C ? 18. The American Legion.
- L C ? 19. The American Medical Association.
- L C ? 20. The government of Mexico.
- L C ? 21. The government of Russia.
- L C ? 22. The government of Finland.
- L C ? 23. The government of France.
- L C ? 24. The government of Italy.
- L C ? 25. The government of the United States.

(Continued on next page)

- L C ? 26. The government of Japan.
- L C ? 27. The government of China.
- L C ? 28. The government of Poland. (Before the War.)
- L C ? 29. The United States Senate.
- L C ? 30. The United States House of Representatives.
- L C ? 31. The munitions industry.
- L C ? 32. The automobile industry.
- L C ? 33. The steel industry.
- L C ? 34. The oil industry.
- L C ? 35. The farming industry.
- L C ? 36. The banking industry.
- L C ? 37. The railroad industry.
- L C ? 38. The aircraft manufacturing industry.
- L C ? 39. The marine shipping industry.
- L C ? 40. Independent retail merchants.

Write in any other groups which you care to and label them as the others.

- L C ? 41.
- L C ? 42.

Which of the following persons do you consider the most LIBERAL?
Write in number _____

Which of the following persons do you consider the most CONSERVATIVE?
Write in number _____

Which FOUR other persons do you consider typically LIBERAL?
Write in numbers _ _ _ _

Which FOUR other persons do you consider typically CONSERVATIVE?
Write in numbers _ _ _ _

For each person whom you consider liberal, encircle the "L" preceeding his name.

For each person whom you consider conservative, encircle the "C" preceeding his name.

For each person whom you consider neither liberal nor conservative, or about whom you have insufficient information to form a judgment, encircle the "?" preceeding his name.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| L C ? 1. Moses. | L C ? 23. John L. Lewis. |
| L C ? 2. Jesus. | L C ? 24. Earl Browder. |
| L C ? 3. Aristotle. | L C ? 25. Fritz Kuhn. |
| L C ? 4. Alexander. | L C ? 26. Neville Chamberlain. |
| L C ? 5. Napoleon. | L C ? 27. Adolph Hitler. |
| L C ? 6. Bismarck. | L C ? 28. Benito Mussolini. |
| L C ? 7. Nero. | L C ? 29. Edward Benes. |
| L C ? 8. Robspierre. | L C ? 30. Stalin. |
| L C ? 9. George III. | L C ? 31. Goering. |
| L C ? 10. Queen Victoria. | L C ? 32. Franco. |
| L C ? 11. George Washington. | L C ? 33. Deladier. |
| L C ? 12. Benjamin Franklin. | L C ? 34. La Guardia. |
| L C ? 13. Abraham Lincoln. | L C ? 35. Payne Ratner. |
| L C ? 14. Theodore Roosevelt. | L C ? 36. C. E. Rarick. |
| L C ? 15. Woodrow Wilson. | L C ? 37. Geo. A. Kelly. |
| L C ? 16. William Jennings Bryan. | L C ? 38. R. L. Parker. |
| L C ? 17. Edward VIII. | L C ? 39. W. D. Moreland. |
| L C ? 18. Franklin D. Roosevelt. | L C ? 40. Elizabeth Agnew. |
| L C ? 19. Alfred E. Smith. | L C ? 41. E. R. McCartney. |
| L C ? 20. Huey Long. | L C ? 42. H. B. Reed. |
| L C ? 21. William Allen White. | L C ? 43. Arthur Katona. |
| L C ? 22. Norman Thomas. | L C ? 44. L. D. Wooster. |

Write in and label the names of any other persons whom you care to.

L C ? 45.

L C ? 46.

For the person whom you chose as the most LIBERAL in the above list, choose the personality trait from the following list which is most characteristic of him.

Write in number _____

Choose four other traits which are characteristic of him.

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

For the person whom you chose as the most CONSERVATIVE in the above list, choose the personality trait from the following list which is most characteristic of him.

Write in number _____

Choose four other traits which are characteristic of him.

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

PERSONALITY TRAITS

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Dependability. | 21. Persistence. |
| 2. Thoughtfulness. | 22. Modernity. |
| 3. Consideration. | 23. Dominance. |
| 4. Tactfulness. | 24. Submissiveness. |
| 5. Sincerity. | 25. Extroversion. |
| 6. Kindliness. | 26. Introversion. |
| 7. Broadmindedness. | 27. Aggressiveness. |
| 8. Cosmopolitanism. | 28. Farsightedness. |
| 9. Congeniality. | 29. Optimistic. |
| 10. Gregariousness. | 30. Narrow mindedness. |
| 11. Altruism. | 31. Intemperate. |
| 12. Generosity. | 32. Pessimistic. |
| 13. Loyalty. | 33. Disrespectful. |
| 14. Willingness. | 34. Conceited. |
| 15. Ethical standards. | 35. Disloyalty. |
| 16. Morality. | 36. Submissiveness. |
| 17. Honesty. | 37. Instability. |
| 18. Courage. | 38. Vindictiveness. |
| 19. Energy. | 39. Jealousy. |
| 20. Talented. | 40. Provincialism. |

Of the above traits, which is most characteristic of a LIBERAL?

Write in number _____

What FOUR other traits are characteristic of a LIBERAL?

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

Of the above traits, which is most characteristic of a CONSERVATIVE?

Write in number _____

What FOUR other traits are characteristic of a CONSERVATIVE?

Write in numbers _ _ _ _

In the following list encircle the "L" preceeding those whom you consider liberal, the "C" preceeding those whom you consider conservative, and the "?" preceeding those whom you consider neither liberal nor conservative. Place after each name the two traits which you consider the most characteristic of that person, using either the traits appearing in the above list or any others.

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| L C ? 1. Your mother. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 2. Your father. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 3. Best liked H.S. teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 4. Least liked H.S. teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 5. Most liberal H.S. teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 6. Most conservative H.S. teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 7. Best liked college teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 8. Least liked college teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 9. Most liberal college teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 10. Most conservative college teacher. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 11. Oldest brother (if any). | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 12. Oldest sister (if any). | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 13. Best known minister. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 14. Best friend of same sex. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 15. Best friend of opposite sex. | a. _____ b. _____ |
| L C ? 16. Friend of opposite sex in whom you were most bitterly disappointed. | a. _____ b. _____ |

First the subject was instructed to write a short paragraph giving his concept of liberalism, and a short paragraph giving his concept of conservatism.

Next he was to characterized himself as a liberal or as a conservative. For this purpose a seven point graphic scale, running from extreme liberalism, through neutrality, to extreme conservatism was provided.

Following this he was to select from a list of thirty items the most important discovery which he had made about life, also to select five other important discoveries which he had made. This list contained those discoveries which had seemed to be important in cases which had been handled clinically. They were designed to include six types, discoveries concerning moral issues involving persons other than themselves, discoveries relating to hypocrisy both in others and in the subject, discoveries relating to control by parents or by environmental influences, discoveries of the impossibility of attaining the vocational ambitions of youth, discoveries of the subject's failure to live up to his own moral standards, and discoveries pertaining to disillusionment in love.

Next the subject was instructed to select from a list of thirty-seven items, six dangerous social actions, one of which was to be designated as the most important.

The next task was to classify forty sociologically important groups as to liberalism and conservatism.

The following section required the subject to classify persons, both international figures of the past and present, and persons with whom he was personally acquainted, as to liberalism and conservatism.

Next the subject was instructed to choose from a prepared list, those personality traits which he considered as characteristic of a liberal and those traits which characterized a conservative.

Last, a list of people who constituted the individual's critical social milieu were to be characterized as to liberalism and conservatism as well as by the personality traits from the aforementioned list.

This scale was administered to 276 students in all. The reliability of the seven point graphic scale was determined at .895 employing 58 cases, these cases being included in the results of the other sections of the study. The method of successive administrations with a four-day interval was used.

Following the administration of the scale, clinical conferences were held with three of the most liberal, and with three of the most conservative cases. The marking on the original seven point scale was used as the criterion of liberalism or conservatism in this instance.

DEFINITIONS OF LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

In regard to the first section of the questionnaire, in which the subject was instructed to write a short statement of his personal opinion concerning liberalism and conservatism the following facts were observed.

There was small agreement among the subjects in these definitions. Sixteen per cent of the subjects wrote their definitions on a definitely international level, such as, "A liberal is one who is willing to try new innovations in social and political situations." Nineteen per cent considered liberalism and conservatism in the light of finance, such as, "A conservative does not like to spend any more money than is absolutely necessary." Eight per cent were primarily concerned with morals, for example, "A liberal does not have such strict moral standards as a conservative." Thirty-two per cent considered general personality traits of a liberal or a conservative, "A conservative is more provincial than a liberal." Twenty-five per cent gave definitions which were ambiguous and which could not be classified, for example, "A liberal is one who is liberal in all his views."

No other statistical handling of these statements was attempted, due to the fact that the statements were called for merely to give the observer some check upon the subjects' interpretation of liberalism and conservatism. This check proved to be of value later in the study.

STATEMENTS CHARACTERIZING THE SUBJECT

In the section in which the subject was instructed to check the statement which most nearly characterized himself, nothing of importance could be determined excepting that most of the subjects would take no stand at all. It was thought that this might be an indication of immaturity on the part of the subjects, or perhaps was evidence of a lack of information. None of the subjects admitted any communistic tendencies, and only a very small percentage admitted any socialistic leanings.

SUBJECT'S CHARACTERIZATION OF HIMSELF
AS LIBERAL OR CONSERVATIVE

It was found that the majority of the cases studied classified themselves as liberals. In Figure I the distribution of the cases in respect to the point which the subject marked on the one point graphic scale is shown.

DISTRIBUTION OF CASES ON SEVEN POINT GRAPHIC SCALE OF
LIBERALISM AND CONSERVATISM

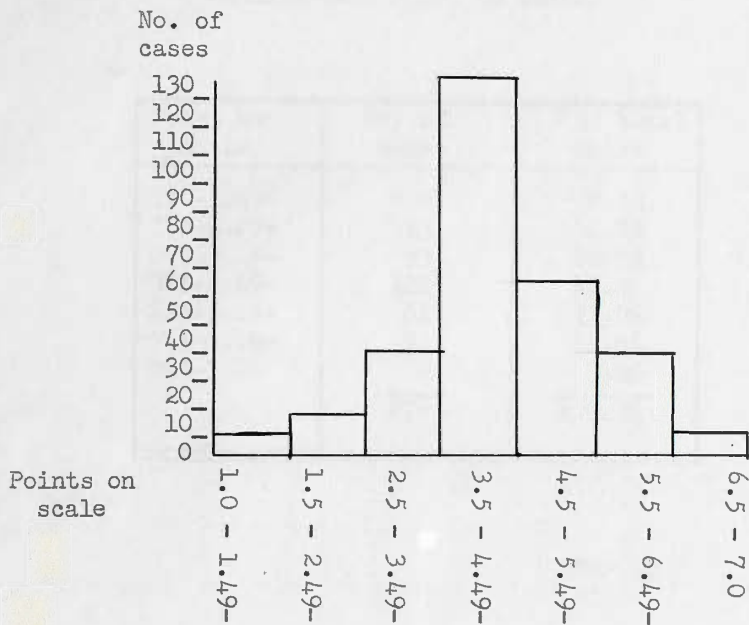


TABLE I

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL CASES

MARKING EACH POINT ON SCALE

Point on scale	No. of cases	% of total cases
1.0-1.49-	6	2.2%
1.5-2.49-	13	4.7%
2.5-3.49-	33	11.9%
3.5-4.49-	122	44.8%
4.5-5.49-	61	22.0%
5.5-6.49-	32	11.6%
6.5-7.0	9	3.3%
	<u>276</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

Thus it may be seen that while neutrality was the point indicated in the greatest number of cases, whenever two points of the scale are considered, both equidistant from neutrality, and in opposing directions, there is always a higher frequency in the direction of liberalism.

As was mentioned previously, the reliability of this scale was determined to be .895.

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES ABOUT LIFE

When all the cases are considered we find that some of the important discoveries about life are more common than others. To yield greater simplicity the discoveries were classified into six categories, those which were mentioned in the discussion of the construction of the scale. These categories were, morals, hypocrisy, control, vocational, standards, and love.

The statements were classified in the following manner:

Morals.

1. Many people of my own age are sexually immoral.
2. People who attempt to uphold decent moral standards are called "old fashioned".
3. Many people are looked down upon because of their moral standards.
4. A person who deviates from the conventional standards is immediately labeled immoral.

Hypocrisy.

1. It is very easy to be a hypocrite.
2. Many people are guilty of the same things which they condemn in others.
3. The nicest appearing people are frequently hypocrites.
4. Parents rarely practice what they preach.
5. Teachers rarely practice what they preach.
6. Preachers rarely practice what they preach.
7. Often a person is considered better by others than he really is.

Control.

1. Some parents actually label their children as "bad".
2. You can't have any fun out of life if you try to live up to your parents' preaching.
3. Parents sometimes place their own convenience above the security of their children.
4. Parents often assume that they are privileged to select the companions of their children.
5. Many parents actually consider their children nuisances.
6. Seldom can one find anyone with whom he can discuss all his problems freely.
7. Children's companions are often looked down upon by their parents.

8. Many children are deliberately kept in ignorance of the most important things of life.
9. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his mate.
10. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his school.
11. Sometimes one must give in to his parents in their selection of his vocation.

Vocational.

1. It is usually impossible to fulfill the vocational ambitions of youth.
2. If we are honest with ourselves, we will have to admit that most of us are getting nowhere with our lives.

Standards.

1. Failure to live up to ones beliefs often results in serious trouble.
2. The standards which one sets up for himself are often inadequate to keep him out of serious trouble.
3. Often a person's actions are irreconcilable with those things for which he would really like to stand.
4. Often a person feels compelled to live up to a reputation for being good when he knows that he is not actually good.

Love.

1. All men (girls) are alike.
2. Love is usually a one sided affair.

The discoveries which were deemed the most important by the greatest number of cases were those regarding hypocrisy, next those discoveries relating to failure to live up to personal standards, third, those discoveries about the results of control upon their lives, fourth, discoveries concerning moral issues, fifth, realization of the impossibility of reaching vocational ambitions, and last, discoveries concerning love.

TABLE II
PERCENTAGE OF CASES MARKING EACH
IMPORTANT DISCOVERY

Type of discovery	% marking each type
Hypocrisy	38.8%
Standards	26.3%
Control	13.7%
Morals	10.0%
Vocational	6.2%
Love	5.0%
	<u>100.0%</u>

IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES ABOUT LIFE --

Sex Differences

Some rather significant differences between sexes were found in the classifications of important discoveries about life. College

men marked the discoveries in the following order of importance, standards, hypocrisy, control, vocational and moral, and last love. College women attributed the most importance to hypocrisy, then standards, love and morals, control, and last, vocational.

TABLE III

ORDER OF IMPORTANCE ATTRIBUTED TO EACH
TYPE OF IMPORTANT DISCOVERY
ACCORDING TO SEX

Order	Men	Women
1	Standards	Hypocrisy
2	Hypocrisy	Standards
3	Control	Love
4	Vocational	Morals
5	Morals	Control
6	Love	Vocational

TABLE IV
PERCENTAGES OF MEN AND WOMEN MARKING
EACH TYPE OF IMPORTANT DISCOVERY

Type of discovery	% men marking	% women marking
Hypocrisy	31.2%	50.0%
Standards	33.4%	15.6%
Control	18.8%	6.2%
Morals	8.3%	12.5%
Vocational	8.3%	3.2%
Love	0.0%	12.5%
	<u>100.0%</u>	<u>100.0%</u>

From the above table, it may be seen that, while the actual experiences of an individual may be somewhat the same for both men and women, the reactions regarding these experiences are different for the two sexes. Men presumably have nearly as many unsuccessful love affairs as women, but do not seem to place as great emphasis upon the after effects of these disillusionments as do women. Men also, rather surprisingly, are more conscience stricken by their inability to live up to their own standards than are women. Other differences, while not so striking, are present.

In order to gain a better picture of sex differences, the two sexes were each taken separately and divided into liberal and conservative groups on the basis of the marking on the seven point scale.

Table V shows the percentage of each type of discovery marked by liberal men and conservative men, liberal women and conservative women.

TABLE V
PERCENTAGE OF LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE
MEN AND WOMEN MARKING EACH TYPE
OF IMPORTANT DISCOVERY

Type of discovery	% liberal men	% cons. men	% liberal women	% cons. women
Standards	33%	19%	16%	20%
Control	17%	31%	12%	0%
Vocational	8%	13%	7%	0%
Hypocrisy	34%	25%	44%	46%
Love	0%	0%	0%	26%
Morals	8%	12%	18%	8%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

TYPES OF DISCOVERIES CONSIDERED IN
LIGHT OF EXPRESSED LIBERALISM
AND EXPRESSED CONSERVATISM

One of the more obvious questions which arises at this point is, "Do those persons who differ in calling themselves liberals and conservatives also differ in the type of experiences which they have had?" The easiest approach to this question is merely to determine whether the types of important discoveries which the liberals have made are different from those which have been made by the conservatives. The answer to this question is essentially in the negative.

TABLE VI
 PERCENTAGE OF SUBJECTS MARKING EACH
 TYPE OF IMPORTANT DISCOVERY
 CLASSIFIED AS TO LIBERALISM
 AND CONSERVATISM

Type of discovery	% liberals	% conservatives
Standards	24.5%	19.5%
Control	14.5%	15.5%
Vocational	7.5%	6.5%
Hypocrisy	40.5%	35.5%
Love	0.0%	13.0%
Morals	<u>13.0%</u> 100.0%	<u>10.0%</u> 100.0%

From Table VI it can be seen that on only one type of item, that dealing with love, is there any significant difference between liberals and conservatives. At this stage of the investigation it appeared that the hypothesis was divided.

REGROUPING OF THE CASES INTO MORE MEANINGFUL CATEGORIES

Throughout the analysis of the data it was suspected that the subjects were not altogether clear upon the meaning of the terms "liberalism" and "conservatism". The subjects' definitions of

"liberalism" and "conservatism" provided a valuable check on this point. As was reported in an earlier section, there was small agreement among the subjects in their original definitions of liberalism and conservatism, and in many cases actual disagreement as to the meaning of the terms. Another check may be found in the markings of dangerous social actions. There was found to be very little agreement among subjects marking any given point on the liberalism-conservatism scale on the social actions which they considered dangerous.

In view of these facts a new criterion of liberalism and conservatism was established. This criterion was determined to be the tolerance or resistance to minor social change evidenced by the subject upon the section in which dangerous social actions were under consideration. Those showing great concern over items which are normally considered as rather local and of not general importance, such as smoking on the campus, were classified for the purposes of this part of the study as provincials. Those who evidenced a tolerant outlook by considering dangerous only those things which are of a national or international nature, and which are generally considered important to the welfare of a great number of people, were classified as cosmopolitans.

When this was completed the results were considerably different from those when only the subject's definition of himself was considered. Table VII gives the percentage of cosmopolitans and the

percentage of provincials, according to our new criteria, marking each type of important discovery.

TABLE VII

PERCENTAGE OF COSMOPOLITANS AND PROVINCIALS
MARKING EACH TYPE OF DISCOVERY

Type of discovery	% Cosmo- politans	% Pro- vincials
Standards	27%	15%
Control	25%	15%
Vocational	4%	8%
Hypocrisy	32%	46%
Love	2%	8%
Morals	10%	8%
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

From this table it may be seen that although there were no great differences between the liberals and conservatives on the types of important discoveries when the subject classified himself, there are more real differences between those who have a more tolerant outlook, and those who are more resistant to local change.

TREATMENT OF FORTY SOCIOLOGICALLY
IMPORTANT GROUPS

Light is thrown upon our original hypothesis by the results found in the handling of the forty sociologically important groups. It would seem evident that if the attitude toward these groups were a thing which had been instilled into the individual by his reading and intelligent discussion of these groups, then there must be some common factor of liberalism or conservatism within each of the groups which would force the individual to consider any given group as either liberal or conservative, regardless of the way in which the individual characterizes himself. This is not always the case, however. In several cases a significant proportion of those persons classifying themselves liberals will also classify a given group as liberal while most of those classifying themselves as conservatives will also consider the group in question conservative. It was also found that in cases where this is noticed, the group in question was one considered by all the subjects to be a group with a high reputation. Where the group was one commanding little respect the opposite became evident. Groups such as the United States Government were called conservative by conservatives and liberal by those classifying themselves as liberals, while groups such as the Nazi Government were called liberal by conservatives and conservative by liberals. Obviously personal prejudice was a determining factor in the classifications of these groups more than anything which the individual had learned in objective study of the liberal and conservative tendencies of the involved groups.

Table VIII shows those groups which were judged consistently (chi square ratio showing less than one chance in one hundred that the difference is due to chance) either liberal or conservative by self-classified liberals and self-classified conservatives.

TABLE VIII

Self-classified liberals		Self-classified conservatives	
Groups consistently classified liberal	Groups consistently classified conservative	Groups consistently classified liberal	Groups consistently classified conservative
1. English parliament 2. Finnish government 3. U.S. government 4. Polish government 5. House of Representatives 6. Aircraft industry 7. Retail merchants	1. Administration of Kansas 2. Administration of F.H.K.S.C. 3. Methodist church 4. Unitarian church 5. Nazi government 6. C.I.O. 7. Russian government 8. Japanese government	1. The New Deal 2. Socialist party 3. Nazi party	1. Supreme Court 2. Methodist church 3. U.S. government

As may be seen in the above table, liberals tended to be more consistent in their judgements than did conservatives, judging fifteen items consistently, while conservatives judged only six items consistently. Also, there may be seen a tendency upon the part of the subjects to classify a commonly regarded "good" group

in the same liberalism-conservatism category in which they had placed themselves, and to relegate to the opposite category those groups which are commonly considered "bad".

TREATMENT OF IMPORTANT PERSONS

The section which required the classification of important persons, both of history, and of the personal acquaintance of the individual, yielded results similar to those found in the handling of the groups. Liberals tended to call men such as Abraham Lincoln liberal, while conservatives would call him conservative. Hitler was almost universally classified as the opposite of whatever the subject had originally classified himself.

The chi square test was again applied to determine the reliability of the judgements, and it was again found that the liberals yielded greater agreement among themselves than did the conservatives. In this tabulation the liberal showed a reliable difference in nineteen cases of the forty-four, while the conservatives showed a reliable difference in only nine.

Table IX shows those persons who were judged consistently (chi square ratio showing less than one chance in one hundred that the difference is due to chance) either liberal or conservative by self-classified liberals and self-classified conservatives.

TABLE IX

Self-classified liberals		Self-classified conservatives	
Persons consistently classified liberal	Persons consistently classified conservative	Persons consistently classified liberal	Persons consistently classified conservative
1. Moses 2. Jesus 3. Victoria 4. Washington 5. Lincoln 6. Bryan 7. F.D.R. 8. W.A. White 9. Deladier 10. LaGuardia 11. G.A. Kelly	1. Lewis 2. Hitler 3. Mussolini 4. Goering 5. Ratner 6. Rarick 7. Parker 8. Agnew	1. F.D.R. 2. Huey Long 3. Thomas 4. Lewis	1. Jesus 2. Lincoln 3. White 4. Chamberlain 5. Rarick

Again we find a tendency for the subjects to classify those who are considered "good" in the same liberalism-conservatism category in which they have placed themselves, and to place "bad" persons in the other category.

One should not attempt to use reverse logical in interpreting these findings and say that because people were placed in certain columns they were "good" or "bad".

The findings in this and the section regarding the groups, while not conclusive proof, are at least an indication that when an individual assumes liberalism, his convictions become clearer

in his mind. These convictions are probably no more accurate than those of the conservatives (this is demonstrated by the fact that many liberals marked the Supreme Court and other comparable groups as liberal, primarily because they are "good" groups) but they are definitely more firmly entrenched.

PERSONALITY TRAITS

Further evidence in support of the findings in the above section was uncovered in the handling of the section on personality traits. One of the things noticed was that there was a tendency to assign desirable personality traits to those personal acquaintances whom the subject placed in the same liberalism-conservatism category as himself, and to associate undesirable personality traits with those whom he considered unlike himself. Correlation of the subjects' ratings of their personal acquaintances, with the personality traits classified as to desirability, yielded a tetrachoric r of .64 with a probable error of .01.

Liberals tended to allot to those whom they classified as liberals a large percentage of desirable traits, and to designate the more undesirable traits to those whom they considered conservatives. The conservatives showed a slight tendency to mark conservatives with good traits and liberals with undesirable traits, but not in such outstanding proportion. There was found to be less than one chance in one hundred that the differences, which the liberals

showed in assigning desirable traits to liberals and undesirable traits to conservatives, were due to chance by the chi square test. The differences, which the conservatives showed in assigning desirable traits to conservatives and undesirable traits to liberals, showed seventy-eight chances in one hundred of being due to chance.

These findings bear out the contention that liberals are more intolerant in their judgments of those whom they consider unlike themselves than are conservatives. For people to be judged both as liberal and intolerant seems inconsistent; but, it may be that tolerance of social change is negatively correlated with tolerance of people. Perhaps this observation is supported by history -- to wit the Russian Revolution.

THE INDIVIDUAL'S PERSONAL SOCIAL MILIEU

In the final section, that in which those individuals who go to make up the personal social milieu are considered, the following things were found.

Conservatives tend to find about as many liberals as conservatives in this group of persons, while liberals report a preponderance of liberals. See Table X.

TABLE X

PERCENTAGE OF LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES FOUND
IN PERSONAL SOCIAL MILIEU OF BOTH
LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES

Persons in social milieu	Self-classified liberals		Self-classified conservatives	
	% times marked liberal	% times marked conser- vative	% times marked liberal	% times marked conser- vative
Mother	93%	7%	67%	33%
Father	86%	14%	62%	38%
Best liked H.S. teacher	88%	12%	53%	47%
Least liked H.S. teacher	24%	76%	42%	58%
Most liberal H.S. teacher	100%	0%	100%	0%
Most conservative H.S. teacher	0%	100%	0%	100%
Best liked college teacher	87%	13%	61%	39%
Least liked college teacher	17%	83%	52%	48%
Most liberal college teacher	100%	0%	100%	0%
Most conservative college teacher	0%	100%	0%	100%
Oldest brother	63%	37%	42%	58%
Oldest sister	59%	41%	38%	62%
Best known minister	41%	59%	23%	77%
Best friend same sex	69%	31%	36%	64%
Best friend opposite sex	62%	38%	41%	59%
Friend in whom disappointed	71%	29%	83%*	17%

*This suggests an element in the personal experience of conservatives which bears further investigation. See also report of Clinical studies in the present investigation.

CLINICAL STUDY

It was considered advisable to do clinical work with a few of the cases in order to bring out some of the more obscure points which had been indicated in the use of the questionnaires, but which needed clarification by more detailed analysis. For these conferences three of the most liberal, and three of the most conservative cases from the preceding study were chosen.

With each of these cases the number of conferences was arbitrarily determined to be that number in which the most information could be obtained without too greatly inconveniencing the subject. The conferences were all approximately forty minutes in length. One of the cases was seen for only two conferences, one for three, two for five, and two were seen for six conferences.

The primary aim of these conferences was to determine what, if any, personal experiences were to be found in the background of liberals which could not be found in the background of conservatives, and vice versa. Upon the determination of the nature of these experiences, it was hoped to ascertain how these personal experiences were related to the attitudes which the subject had evidenced upon the questionnaire. The hypothesis had been suggested, both by the findings of the earlier portion of this study, and by previous clinical indications, that those who profess liberalism are those who have had more disillusionments regarding life than those who call themselves conservatives. This hypothesis was considered throughout the conferences.

FINDINGS OF CLINICAL STUDIES

Those things which seem to be most common to the background of liberals in the three cases studied seem to be more clearly homogeneous than those experiences of the conservatives. All of the liberals, for example had looked up to some particular person as an ideal, in one case the fiancée, and in other cases close relatives. In the case where the fiancée was idolized, the subject became very heartbroken when he met with an unexpected death. In the cases where relatives, in one case the father, and in the other the older sister, were admired more than seemed natural, the ideals turned out to be not all that the subjects had thought them to be. The reaction in all of these cases seemed rather stereotyped, evidenced primarily by a rejection of all people in so far as actual close friendship was concerned.

Evidence of this rejection of other persons is seen in the fact that these three cases were especially critical of the persons who were included in their personal social milieu. They were prone to ascribe undesirable personality traits to those whom would ordinarily be given desirable, such as their parents and brothers and sisters. This is consistent with the observation made earlier concerning negative correlation between tolerance for social change and tolerance of people.

All of the three liberal cases showed a need for catharsis, some of the conferences being given up to this need. It was felt that this feeling of a need to discuss their problems was one of the factors which may have been influential in their formulation of their attitudes. Those persons who have a great many personal resentments built up which are smouldering under the surface are less able to attain a tolerant attitude toward others.

Two of the liberal cases were disappointed in not having been able to carry out the vocational plans which they had made at the start of college. One of these cases had had a desire to become a nurse, the other had wanted to be married. Both became teachers through no other choice, and both could see no way in which they might ever better their position. The feelings of frustration which seemed to result from the dashing of these vocational hopes seemed to be tied up vaguely in the subjects' minds with the rejection of their parents, the subjects feeling that if their parents had been interested enough some way could have been made possible for them to realize their ambitions.

The liberals with whom conferences were held considered as the best personality traits which an individual could possess, broad-mindedness, generosity, and courage. These traits were those which were considered as very undesirable, narrowmindedness, dominance, and provincialism.

The backgrounds of the conservative cases were more ordinary than those of the liberal cases studied. The outstanding thing which could be seen in the cases studied was the fact that all three of the cases were still to a great extent entirely dependent upon their parents for support, both financially and in regard to responsibility. None of these cases had ever had to assume any responsibility for the welfare of others, and very little responsibility for the welfare of themselves. Unlike the liberal cases with whom clinical conferences were held, the conservative cases evidenced no resentment of the excessive amount of parental control which had been exercised over them, merely letting things go on in their accustomed course, letting their parents and friends decide all major issues for them.

The three conservative cases studied were, according to ordinary standards, rather well adjusted, in that they could see no problems within their lives, or in the lives of those around them.

The personality traits which the three conservative cases admired were consideration for others, thoughtfulness, honesty, and dependability. Traits which they admired least were jealousy, conceit, and selfishness. On the whole it would seem that their interests were more narrow than those of the average college student.

CONCLUSIONS

1. There is small agreement among the subjects used as to the meaning of liberalism and conservatism.

2. A majority of college students in this college consider themselves to be liberals.

3. A majority of the cases considered the discovery of the prevalence of hypocrisy to be the most important discovery which they had made about life. Discoveries which were also considered important are, in the order in which they were chosen, failure to live up to the standards which the subject has set up for himself, the fact that the control which others have exercised over him was too severe, discoveries concerning morals, the realization that the vocational ambitions of youth could not be attained, and last, discoveries of the unsuitability of some love affair.

4. When sex differences are considered, the important discoveries which are indicated are somewhat different. Women tend to place more emphasis upon love and upon hypocrisy than do men.

5. The type of personal discoveries indicated has little bearing upon the self-classification of liberalism or conservatism of the individual. When the individuals are reclassified into more meaningful liberalism-conservatism categories -- cosmopolitanism-provincialism -- however, there is a greater difference between the liberals and conservatives in regard to the type of discoveries which they have made about life.

6. The hypothesis that personal experiences are more influential in the formulation of social attitudes is supported by the fact that many sociologically important groups which are either overtly liberal or overtly conservative, are marked rather indiscriminately. Liberals tended to mark "good" groups as liberal and "bad" groups as conservative, conservatives reversed this procedure. If the bias of teaching were the only thing which entered into the classification of these groups, groups such as the United States Supreme Court could only be called conservative, and groups such as the New Deal would usually be considered liberal. This was not the case.

Further support for this conclusion is found in the treatment of the important persons. The results of this section of the questionnaire are almost identical with the results of the above-mentioned groups.

7. Liberals tend to be less tolerant of people whom they consider unlike themselves while being, supposedly more tolerant of social changes.

8. Liberals tend to find more liberals than conservatives in their personal social milieu, while conservatives find liberals and conservatives in more nearly equal proportions.

9. In the liberal cases studied clinically it was evident that there were many common personal experiences which seemed to influence the formulation of their social attitudes. The three conservatives, on the other hand, had no set of personal experiences in their back-

ground excepting possibly a tendency to rely upon others to a very great extent. The most common of experiences found in the three liberal cases' backgrounds was the rejection of persons whom they had trusted, and in whom they had lost faith. Further study of this observed relationship may reveal a great deal regarding the making of liberals and radicals in our society.

10. It is suggested by the findings of this study that possibly new definitions of liberalism and conservatism are necessary in order to understand better the practical meaning of these concepts.

A more practical definition of conservatism might be the following. "A conservative is one who has not been jolted out of his complacency, one who is willing to let well enough alone, and one who does not see that there are any great problems other than those which are immediately within his own small realm and which the sage advice of others is competent to solve".

A more practical definition of a liberal might be, "A liberal is one who has revolted from the control of others, feels that he is qualified to make his own decisions as he sees fit, and is resentful of those who attempt to pry into his affairs and to give him counsel".

Findings which were suggestive of these definitions were the following. First, it was found that conservatives reacted less strongly to the control of their parents over them than did liberals. Second, liberals were more definite in their classifications of groups and persons than were conservatives. Third, liberals were more vindictive in their judgments concerning others than were conservatives. Fourth, clinical findings were very much in line with these definitions.

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