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**Political ideology and personality correlates of college students and their response to a request for helping behavior from a politically biased recruiter.**

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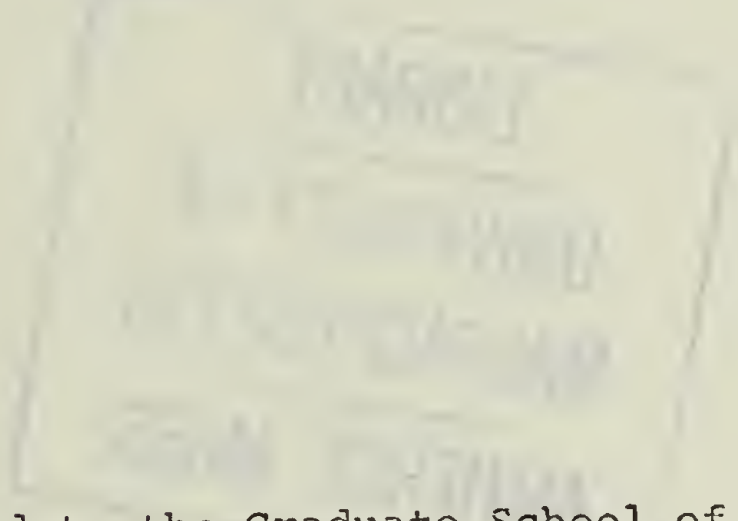
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POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND PERSONALITY CORRELATES OF  
COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THEIR RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FOR  
HELPING BEHAVIOR FROM A POLITICALLY BIASED RECRUITER

A Thesis Presented

By

David Henry Walker



Submitted to the Graduate School of the  
University of Massachusetts in  
partial fulfillment of the  
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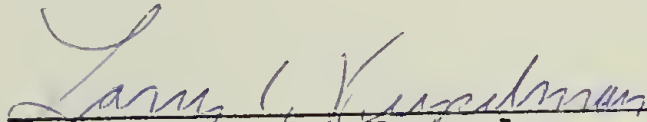
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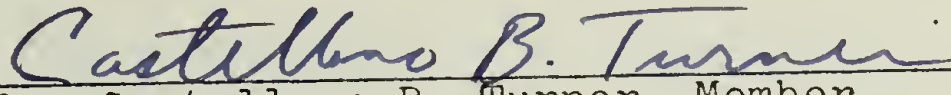
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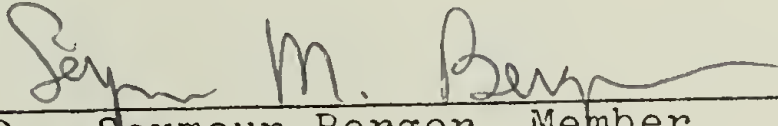
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## SUMMARY

The purpose of the present study was to compare non-activist students, of both left and right political ideologies, on a behavioral measure that would assess, in part, their humanitarian concerns and their valuation of social expectancies. To date, the literature concerning both student activism and ideology has been almost entirely confined to the use of questionnaires, checklists, and other paper-and-pencil techniques. Results from these studies have indicated that student left activists were often found to have a more positive personality profile than nonactivist student cross sectional samples. Later investigations pointed out, however, that due to serious methodological and procedural confounding, many of the personality characteristics previously ascribed solely to student left activists may either apply to all left oriented students or to all activist students, regardless of ideology.

Thus the aim of the present study was twofold. First it was to apply a behavioral measure to investigate prior conclusions, based on paper-and-pencil techniques, concerning students of left and right ideology. Second it was to attempt further clarification and comparison of the existing personality data by means of a series of previously validated questionnaires.

On the basis of pretest scores, a group of 20 liberals and one of 20 conservatives were selected. The subjects were presented individually a series of questionnaires measuring

various demographic and personality characteristics. Following the administration of the questionnaires, the experimenter presented an artificial "rationale" for the experiment which portrayed him as a liberal to half the subjects and a conservative to the other half. He then asked the subject to assist him in an additional project at a local mental hospital. The subject was allowed to make his decision in private and then to leave the experiment. Half the subjects received credit, and half received money for the experiment.

There were no significant differences on the behavioral measure (volunteering) for the overall effects for the type of reward or for the type of recruiter ideology. There was a trend, however, for the effect of recruiter ideology by subject ideology, suggesting that individuals tended to assist the recruiter of like ideology, with effect being stronger for liberals than conservatives. The implications of this finding for a society that is becoming increasingly politically polarized was discussed.

The subjects were divided into subgroups on the basis of ideology, volunteer behavior, and activism scores. Comparisons made between the respective subgroups on the basis of demographic variables indicated that the ideology subgroups were differentiated only by religion, the volunteer subgroups only by political preference, while no differences were noted for high and low scorers on political activism. Inconsistencies in the literature and sample limitations were applied in discussing the failure to obtain additional significant results.



The personality comparisons of the ideology subgroups indicated that liberals tended to be more active, and that conservatives were highest on the discriminant root of "Placidity." Comparisons of the high and low activism scorers indicated that high scorers tended to be more liberal, and that they were highest on a discriminant root of "Extroversion." The implications of these findings as possible discriminators between left nonactivist and left activist students were discussed. In addition, personality comparisons of the volunteers and the nonvolunteers indicated that the volunteers were higher on activism, while the nonvolunteers were highest on the discriminant root of "Self-Discipline."

It was suggested that, although none of the above groups differed on questionnaire measures of humanistic concerns, volunteer rate might offer a more accurate assessment of this dimension. Definite conclusions, however, await further research. The present study also emphasized the importance of controlling for institutional, geographic, ideological, and activism variables in the investigation of student political activity. It was noted that the need for such controls has been intensified by the fractionalization of the student political movement.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The increased political involvement of college students within the past decade has been the focus of considerable research interest. This research has been confined almost entirely to the use of questionnaires, checklists, and other group survey techniques in an attempt to delineate the various demographic and personality correlates of the several student political subgroups investigated. It was the purpose of the present study to obtain a behavioral measure on the students of both left and right political ideologies. Before proceeding it should be understood that left and right refer to liberal and conservative nonactivist students respectively. Left activist and right activist students are also discussed. Any reference to all students, both activist and nonactivist, of either ideology is clearly labeled as such. These distinctions remain consistent throughout.

The inability of activism research to provide for a controlled behavioral measure is in part due to the difficulties encountered in sampling procedures and in problems in cooperation and confidentiality. The most recent increase in the scope of student protest, with its resulting confrontation with authority, has made activists even more suspicious of participation in any form of controlled research than they were in the early and mid 1960's.

These difficulties do not apply to the same extent to investigations of ideologically polarized, but nonactivist, students. Yet of the studies considered, which dealt with



student political ideology whether in whole (Crotty, 1967; Finney, 1959; Goldberg & Stark, 1965; Lane, 1955; Leventhal, Jacobs, & Kudirka, 1964; McClosky, 1958; Milton, 1952; Milton & Waite, 1964; Wrightsman, Radloff, Horton, & Mecherikoff, 1961) or in part (Kerpelman, 1969, 1960; Block, Haan, & Smith, 1968; Westby & Braungart, 1969), none made any attempt to obtain a behavioral measure on their samples. In addition, several of the investigations of ideology (Lane, 1955; Leventhal et al., 1964; Milton, 1952; Milton & Waite, 1964; Wrightsman et al., 1961) focused solely on the variable of authoritarianism without consideration for additional personality and demographic variables. Thus, there exists only a limited body of knowledge concerning the demographic and personality correlates of students of left and right political ideology, and although much more data are reported concerning student political activists, they are often limited due to errors in methodological procedure.

To date, the primary concern of student political research has been the comparison of left activist students with various cross sectional student samples. Some of the most recent findings (Block, Haan, & Smith, 1968; Geller & Howard, 1969; Kerpelman, 1969, 1970), however, suggest that a serious confounding of results may pervade much of the literature due to a failure to differentiate individuals on the basis of activism and ideology. What is reported as being true of left activists may in fact be true of all activists (left or right in ideology) or it may be true of all students with a left

political orientation (whether activist or nonactivist), of note is Kerpelman's (1970) discovery in a comparison of left, middle, and right activist and nonactivist students, that activists and nonactivists within any one ideological subgroup could not be distinguished on the basis of personality measures. The failure, in most previous research, to control for both activism and ideology makes any interpretation based on the resulting data questionable.

It is apparent from these findings that there is a need for controlled behavioral measures based on the previous results concerning student activism and ideology. Despite the problems noted in previous research, a comparison of the activism and ideology literature does suggest the existence of some consistent trends. In general, those individuals of a left activist orientation have been presented in a more favorable light than those individuals of a right nonactivist orientation. Also, activists as a whole are often reported to have a more positive personality profile than nonactivists. Finally, students within a left ideology are frequently depicted as being better adjusted than students with a right ideological orientation. It was the goal of the present study to include a behavioral measure dealing with some of these findings while also further assessing the existence of personality differences between students of opposing political orientations.

#### Academic Environment Factors

As activism appears to be almost synonymous with the

campus and its surrounding cultures, some researchers have looked directly to the institution itself as a principal factor in the development of activism (Brown, 1967; Peterson, 1968; Sampson, 1967). They cite the sudden disruption involved in transfer to a college and the type of institution attended as important factors underlying activism. In respect to ideology, other findings suggest that a positive relationship exists between libertarian ideals in general and year in college (Crotty, 1967; Finney, 1969) and academic major (Crotty, 1967). It was found that seniors tended to be more libertarian than freshmen, and that Journalism, Law, Social Science, and Humanities majors tended to be more libertarian than Business, Natural Science, Education, and Home Economics majors.

Although these findings cannot be directly applied to the development of political ideology per se, it would appear safe to assume that some association exists between a libertarian philosophy and a liberal political point of view. Some support for this assumption can be drawn from Koenig (1964), who noted that only when a college educated population is dealt with, is a consistent relationship found to exist between conservative ideology and authoritarianism. Thus it appears that the factors involved in college attendance do contribute to ideological shifts. They alone, however, are not enough to explain the degree of change and/or commitment found in many college students.



### Demographic and Socialization Factors

The failure of college attendance alone to account for the development of political ideology, and in many cases activist commitment, has led to research and speculation as to the correlation of various familial and cultural factors to account for these dimensions. Again the emphasis has been on activism (Bay, 1967; Block, Haan, & Smith, 1968; Flacks, 1967; Geller & Howard, 1969; Haan, Smith, & Block, 1968; Keniston, 1967, 1968; Thomas, 1970; Watts, Lynch, & Whittaker, 1969; Westby & Braungart, 1969). These investigators present a consistent composite of the left activist in comparison to a cross section of his fellow students as follows: The activist's family is more likely to be of upper middle class status, with his parents being predominantly college educated, many with advanced degrees. The activist student is more likely to be either Jewish or completely without religious orientation, being little influenced by formal religion.

The parents of activists tend to be more politically liberal and tend to have had activist leanings in their own youth. Yet the activist, more so than the average student, perceives himself as even more liberal than his parents, and he often feels that his parents have not fulfilled their commitment. Still, the upbringing of the activist is usually nonauthoritarian in nature and is characterized by security, permissiveness, democracy, and rationality. In particular, Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969) noted that the activist tends to more openly discuss topics with his parents.

Differing from the preceding investigators, Westby and Braungart (1969) and Thomas (1970) compared left activists and right activists on social background variables. In Westby and Braungart's (1969) study, left activists perceived themselves as differing more from their parents and demonstrated a higher degree of alienation than did right activists. Most significant was the finding that left activists came from high economic status but low ethnic status families, while these factors were just the reverse for right activists. While Westby and Braungart used questionnaire measures on students alone, Thomas (1970) based his conclusions on interviews with left and right activist parents and their children. The parents were selected from a list of names gathered from newspaper articles covering political events. Thomas found both parent groups to be similar in age and in educational and occupational levels. He did find, however, the liberal activist parents to be more dedicated to causes and to be more active in tutoring their children politically than were the conservative activist parents.

Findings on the basis of ideology alone are much more limited. Conservative students tend to be more ritualistic and more orthodox in their religious practices, and more "rigid in their conceptualization of sex roles and family structure [Kerpelman, 1968, p. 224]." Religious inconsistencies are apparent in the findings of Wrightsman et al. (1961), who found Jewish students and those nonaffiliated with religion to be less authoritarian than either Catholic or Protes-



tant students, while Crotty (1967) found Catholics to be more libertarian than either Jewish or Protestant students. Sample size and geographic differences, however, most likely account for these discrepancies.

### Personality Factors

There are numerous comparisons of personality characteristics of activists and cross sectional student samples (Block, Haan, & Smith, 1968; Keniston, 1967; Lipset, 1968; Trent & Craise, 1967; Watts & Whittaker, 1966; Winborn & Jansen, 1967). Across studies, left activists obtained consistently higher ratings in dimensions emphasizing empathy, strong humanitarian values, flexibility, adaptiveness, autonomy, independence, and assertiveness. In addition, Haan, Smith, and Block (1968) noted that members of activist groups were more likely than the average student to have achieved the most mature form of moral reasoning, as measured by the Kohlberg Moral Judgement Scale. Activists' moral development was characterized by a conscience or principled orientation which emphasizes mutual respect and trust as opposed to the more conventional levels of moral reasoning based on role expectancies and sensitivity to the judgment of others.

Other specific comparisons have been made by Whittaker and Watts (1968) and Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969) in their comparative studies of activists and the members of the alienated nonstudent subculture. Both experimental groups scored higher on alienation than a cross sectional control group, a finding somewhat at odds with the more posi-

tive findings noted previously. In addition, activists were higher than the control group on the dimensions of change, exhibition, and aggression, while they were lower on order. When compared to the nonstudent sample, activists proved to be higher on aggression, dominance, and achievement. Also the parents of activists held higher status occupations and had more advanced educations, while parents of the alienated nonstudents were more similar to those of the college cross section. Religious affiliations of both groups were similar, with the exception that the nonstudents were involved in more exotic religions.

Despite the apparent consistency of the above investigations, certain discrepancies have been noted. Kerpelman (1969) refines some postulates made by Bay (1967) that implied that left activists alone were more intelligent than nonactivist students. Kerpelman found that activists of all ideologies tend to be more intelligent than nonactivists. In addition, he points out that the relative lack of concern for social expectancies suggested by Bay (1967) and Winborn and Jansen (1967) as specific only to left activists, may more accurately be reported as being true of all left oriented students (whether activist or nonactivist).

Further support for the hypothesis that many of the left activist and nonactivist differences reported are likely to be general liberal-conservative ideological differences can be drawn from Kerpelman's (1968) findings that conservatives have a more traditional view of sex roles and family structure

and that they tend to reject impulse life on moralistic grounds. In addition, Kerpelman (1970) found that left (liberal) oriented students valued leadership, conformity, and recognition from others less, while they value concern for others more than did right (conservative) oriented students. He also noted that left oriented students were more subjective, hypersensitive, and "thinskinne." General support of these findings is contributed by Goldberg and Stark (1965), who offer the additional interpretation that conservatives are more guarded than liberals. The similarity of these findings based on ideological groupings to those previously described as differentiating only left activists from cross sectional nonactivist samples would seem to suggest that the findings previously ascribed only to left activists may in fact hold for all left oriented students.

#### Behavioral Manipulations

As was noted previously, the data presented in this brief overview is based almost entirely on paper-and-pencil measures. A comparison of either activists or nonactivists or of left oriented students and right oriented students in a controlled setting where behaviors or attitudes are observed or manipulated, has yet to be performed. Some precedent does exist, however, in the work of Gore and Rotter (1963) and Strickland (1965) with black southern college students. These investigators found significant positive correlations between a measure of internal directiveness and a willingness to actually volunteer for civil rights work.



Because left activists have frequently been reported to be generally self directing, Geller and Howard (1969) suspected that they might be found to have a higher internal directiveness rating than nonactivist students. The results, however, showed no differences between the two groups on a measure of internal-external directiveness. One possible explanation for this result is that due to a continued ineffectiveness and a frustration of goals, activists are becoming less positive and less sure of the efficacy of self directed constructive change.

Similarly Geller and Howard suggest that black activism may be more instrumental and directed toward obtainable goals, while left activism may be more expressive and principally oriented toward the rejection of the power structure. Thus an internal directiveness factor would be of less importance in white activists. Although this distinction might have been true at one time, it is felt that it would be more accurately applied to "constructivist activism" in general, such as civil rights or Peace Corps workers regardless of race. The styles of black activism are also changing, and it is difficult to imagine the goals of the militant black activists as being any less expressive or less oriented toward the rejection of the power structure than those of white college students.

#### Limitations of "Real Life" Comparisons

In both of the above studies, black students were asked to volunteer to work in an area where they were already likely to have had a strong commitment. As Geller and Howard (1969)

point out, large numbers of white activists also volunteer for civil rights projects and other similar types of community change programs. This would seem to be in accordance with their consistently high ratings on the dimensions of sympathy, idealism, and humanitarian values reported above. Yet with most of these activities, political commitment is also a factor. Involvement in civil rights and community change projects is likely to be associated with left oriented political views. Also, the argument may be made that civil rights demonstrations, peace marches, and the more recent college demonstrations all have the aura of mass movements and that they are added to by the excitement and the sense of involvement in social change. All of these factors may lead to the attractiveness of these activities to such an extent that the true motives of an individual's involvement may not always be self evident. A more accurate assessment of the humanitarian values of the individual should be provided when he is asked to help others in a situation where the commitment is a personal one and there is scant possibility of publicity or of involvement in broad-scale social change.

#### Measurement of Helping Behavior

Schwartz (1968) determined that an interaction exists between the ascription of responsibility and the awareness of consequences in the activation of moral norms in an action situation. He found that moral norms are critical to a situation only when individuals determine that they have some control over the situation, and where they perceive their actions



as having consequences on the welfare of others. The potential "helper's" view of the "victim" is also of importance. As Shopler and Mathews (1965) note, individuals will help a victim more when the latter's dependence is seen as being due to external forces as opposed to self controlled contingencies. Thus any situation attempting to measure the moral norms of students of varying levels of political ideology and commitment must take these factors into account. It must also control for obvious biases inherent in using a helping situation that is more attractive to one political ideology than to another.

Most of the investigations that have dealt with the area of helping behavior have concentrated on the importance of social pressure and model effects. Rosenbaum and Blake (1954) found that more individuals volunteered to participate in an experiment after a confederate model had volunteered than when no model's behavior was presented. There was also a nonsignificant trend that suggested that the use of a negative model reduced the volunteer rate. As Bryan and Test (1967) noted, however, the request for volunteers in the Rosenbaum and Blake study was made in the presence of large numbers of fellow students, thus resulting in additional social pressure. Yet, Bryan and Test cited several additional studies that demonstrated that a helping model increases the likelihood of helping behavior in subjects even without the additional peer group social pressure.

Others have been more interested in the helper's

perception of the model as a similar or dissimilar person. Hornstein, Fisch, and Hohmer (1968) found that the perceived similarity or dissimilarity of a model made no difference in the incidence of helping behavior, but rather that the positive and negative aspects of the task created by the model were the most significant factors affecting helping behavior. Bryan and Test (1967), however, did note significant differences in the rate of charitable contributions when a black model was used as opposed to a white model. In varying the race of the "victim," Pilavian, Rodin, and Pilavian (1969) found a trend that suggested that when the victim was "drunk," he received assistance only from members of his own race.

"Social influence" and "diffusion of responsibility" have both been offered as partial determinants of helping behavior. Latané and Rodin (1969) used the "social influence" concept to explain the fact that eighty per cent of their subjects responded to a plea for help when they were alone, but only twenty per cent responded when a nonresponsive confederate was with them. Similarly they maintained that social influence was also a principal factor in the results obtained by Latané and Darley (1968). In Latané and Darley's study only ten per cent of the subjects attempted to remove themselves from a room filling with smoke when an inactive model was present, while thirty-eight per cent did so when they were alone. Latané and Rodin (1969), however, indicated that the "diffusion concept" more accurately explains the results of Darley and Latané (1968). It was found that students

would refuse to help a fellow student having a "seizure" if they knew others were around, even though channels of communication were blocked, thus preventing them from knowing whether others were responding.

In a more complex analysis, Wagner and Wheeler (1969) compared the factors of the victim's need, model generosity, and cost to the subject. Most interesting was their finding that model effects were significant only under conditions producing low cost to the subject. Given a low cost situation, a generous model increased contributing behavior, while a selfish model inhibited it. Also the stated need of the victim was not a significant factor affecting contributing behavior. Instead, each subject's action was based on his own evaluation of the need of the victim.

### Hypotheses

Proceeding with the above considerations in mind, it was the purpose of the present study to present a situation that would provide a behavioral assessment of the moral norms of college students of both left and right political ideology, based on their willingness to assist a politically biased model. This was to be accomplished by asking students of both ideologies to participate individually in a study of political attitudes. After filling out several questionnaires the "rationale" was to be explained to them by an experimenter who was either obviously a conservative or obviously a liberal. Following this explanation the student would be asked to help the experimenter in an additional study without compensation.



It was felt that such a manipulation would yield a differential volunteer rate for the ideological subgroups.

It should be understood that only nonactivist students were involved in the present investigation. Although it was originally intended to also include activist students and although preliminary contacts indicated that they were willing to cooperate, later reports uncovered a plan to sabotage the study by generating false data. Thus, even though other activist groups might have been contacted, it was felt that nonactivist ideologically polarized students would be more amenable to manipulative procedures than would activist students. The nonactivists, not being members of a unified group, were not likely to develop a group decision concerning their approach to the study.

In addition, it was hoped that a comparison of students when activism was controlled for would provide a clarification of much of the confounding that still exists in the studies of student activism where ideology is not taken into consideration. As previously noted, it remains unclear as to whether the humanitarian value set and the principled moral reasoning reported for left activists might also apply to all left students in general. Also, left oriented students have appeared to share with left activists attitudes which deemphasize conformity and social expectancies and emphasize concern for others to the extent that they would be less constricted by any "social set" in giving assistance than would right oriented students. If the above relationships are true for all

left oriented students, then it might be expected that non-activist left oriented students would be more responsive to a situation demanding the activation of moral norms than would right oriented students.

An equal number of politically left and right oriented students were compared on their responses to a request to assist either a left or a right oriented experimenter (recruiter) in an additional project, for which they would receive no additional compensation. Given the above expected differences in humanitarian concerns and valuation of social expectancies, it was predicted that the overall volunteer rate for left oriented students would be significantly greater than the rate for right oriented students, and that the right oriented students' volunteer rate would decrease to a greater degree than would that of the left oriented students when the "recruiter" was of the opposite ideology.

Given that when ideology of students is considered alone or is controlled for in activism research, left oriented students appear to share many of the personality characteristics previously ascribed solely to left activists, it was predicted that in the present study left oriented students would be found to share a personality configuration similar to that found in previous research for the left activist student.

Given the previously reported parallels between the differences reported to exist between left activists and non-activists and the differences reported to exist between left and right oriented students, it was predicted that left



oriented students would be differentiated from right oriented students on many of the same dimensions that have been reported as discriminating between left activists and nonactivists.

When the subjects were separated on the basis of their activism scores, it was predicted that the differences noted for the high and low activist subgroups on the several personality measures available would coincide with results previously noted as discriminating between activists and non-activists.

Finally, when the subjects were separated on the basis of those who volunteered and those who did not, it was predicted that the resulting subgroups would differ significantly on several of the personality measures available.

## 2. METHOD

### Subjects

The Ss were 40 male and female undergraduates attending the University of Massachusetts. They were selected on the basis of their scores on a questionnaire of politico-economic conservatism (PEC) (described below) from an original pool of 169 students enrolled in an introductory psychology course. Two groups, one of 20 high scoring Ss and one of 20 low scoring Ss, were formed. The possible range for scores on the questionnaire was from 1 to 7. The mean for the liberal student group was 2.49 (S.D. = 0.45) and the mean for the conservative student group was 4.26 (S.D. = 0.28).

One half of the Ss in each experimental group were paid \$2.00 for their participation; the remaining halves were given experimental course credit. Only those Ss that were not requested to earn experimental credit as part of their course experience were placed in the paid condition.

### Instruments

The scales used in the present study served several purposes. First they provided a "cover" for the behavioral manipulation. The study was presented to the Ss as one dealing only with political attitudes and personality factors, thus necessitating the use of several questionnaires. The behavioral manipulation in the form of a request for volunteers occurred after the "conclusion" of the experimental session.

A second function of the scales was to provide data for

comparisons between the groups and for comparisons with previous findings. It was hoped that the questionnaires would provide a basis for formulations concerning the personality characteristics of nonactivist left and right oriented students so as to further compare them to activist students of like ideology. In addition, it was hoped that the questionnaires would provide differential personality profiles for those Ss who volunteered and for those who did not.

Demographic variables. Demographic and descriptive data collected included academic major, age, sex, birth order, military status, home area (urban, suburban, rural), religious and political affiliations, and parents' educational level, occupation, and religious and political affiliations.

Political ideology. As a pretest to separate the Ss on the basis of political ideology, Levinson's (1959) 12-item revision of the Politico-Economic Conservatism (PEC) scale (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950, pp. 154-168) was used. Kerpelman (1968) demonstrated that this 12-item form of the PEC scale is a valid index of political orientation.

Sophistication of awareness. Since a recent major focus of political concern has been the Vietnam War, the Vietnam Information Survey (VIS), developed by Geller and Howard (1969), was used to assess the level of sophistication concerning relevant issues for both experimental groups. Results obtained by Geller and Howard (1969) showed that the VIS discriminated between signers and nonsigners of an anti-draft



petition ( $t = 4.41$ ,  $p < .001$ ). In light of these results, it was expected that the VIS would serve as a partial check for the level of activism engaged in by either group.

Political activity. To assess the level of political activity of both groups, the 24-item Activism Scale (ACT) (Kerpelman, 1969) was administered. The ACT scale is divided into two 12-item subscales. One (ACT-A) questions Ss on their actual frequency of participation in political activities during the prior three years. The remaining 12-item scale (ACT-D) questions Ss on desired participation (how the person would have acted had he been free of all commitments). Kerpelman found odd-even split-half reliability of the ACT-A subscale, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, to be .93, while the reliability of the ACT-D subscale was .96. On both subscales activists differed significantly in the expected direction from the nonactivists, providing further support for the construct validity of the ACT scale.

Personality. The Adjective Check List (ACL) developed by Gough and Heilbrun (1965) was used as a measure of personality variables. Whittaker and Watts (1968) have shown that the ACL discriminates between left activists and nonactivists on at least five dimensions. Activists were shown to be significantly higher on Autonomy, Change, Exhibition, and Aggression, and lower on Order. It was the interest of the present study to determine if these same differences could be observed between ideologically different but nonactivist students. An additional rationale for the use of the ACL was its practi-



cality, both in the simplicity of its instructions and in its brief administration time (15 to 20 minutes).

Alienation. In using the Srole (1956) Scale of Anomie, Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969) found left activists and members of the nonstudent subculture to be nearly equal on their ratings of alienation. Both groups were significantly higher than a cross sectional sample. The Srole was used in the present study to determine if significant differences in levels of alienation might exist between left and right oriented nonactivist students.

Self-estrangement. In addition to the Srole, a Psychological Anomy Scale (McClosky & Schaar, 1965) was also included. McClosky and Schaar argued that the Srole taps anomie only in relation to one's status and position in society, whereas their own scale measures anomie in the context of the psychology of the individual. In addition to the ideological groups, it was speculated that both Srole's and McClosky and Schaar's scales might provide some clues to the discrimination of the personality characteristics of those Ss who volunteered and those who did not.

Finally the Merwin (1970) Self-Estrangement Scale was used to determine if in fact nonactivist left and right oriented students differ in degree of self alienation as opposed to the more general social alienation measured by the Srole scale.

### Procedure

As was described previously, Ss were selected on the basis

of their scores on the PEC scale. The PEC was administered to the students by the leaders of their introductory psychology laboratory sections. Before administering the scale, the discussion leaders were asked to read the following instructions:

This questionnaire is part of a Master's thesis research project dealing with personality factors and social attitudes. It is a brief, 20-item scale. It will take about 5 minutes to complete. The results will be explained in approximately one month. If you decide to complete the scale, please answer the items so as to most accurately represent your personal views. Thank you for your cooperation.

From the 169 pretest scales completed, 20 Ss with extreme conservative (high) scores and 20 Ss with extreme liberal (low) scores were selected. These Ss were contacted by phone by the experimenter who identified himself as a psychology graduate student. The Ss were asked to participate in a "social attitude" study that involved about an hour's time to fill out a set of questionnaires. Of the original Ss contacted, eight of those with extreme liberal scores declined to cooperate, while five of the Ss with extreme conservative scores declined to take part in the experiment. None of the Ss refused without offering an excuse. Reasons given were illness, pressure from other commitments, and prior completion of experimental requirements.

Also, as previously mentioned, one half of the Ss in each ideology subgroup were offered pay for their participation, while the remaining Ss were offered experimental credit. This paid-nonpaid dimension was included to determine if the

differential reward would in any manner affect the volunteer rate.

It was arranged for all Ss to meet with the experimenter individually at their convenience. The 20 Ss within each ideological subgroup were randomly assigned to one of four conditions of 5 Ss each: liberal recruiter paid (LRP), liberal recruiter credit (LRC), conservative recruiter paid (CRP), and conservative recruiter credit (CRC). The "liberal recruiter" and "conservative recruiter" conditions are described below. Each S was administered a battery of questionnaires (described previously) while seated alone in a small office-sized room. Before each S began, a brief set of instructions was read to him as follows:

While you are working on these questionnaires, I'm going to be in the next room scoring forms from the previous sessions. Before you begin, open the folder and read the instructions as I read them to you.

This booklet contains several questionnaires that deal with both political and personal attitudes. Instructions are provided at the beginning of each section. Read each set of instructions carefully before proceeding. There is no time limit, but do not spend too much time on any one question. Your first impression will usually most accurately reflect your true attitude. Begin on the following page and continue until you have completed all of the forms in this booklet.

One final point. The last questionnaire in the folder is a separate machine-scored sheet. This sheet is to be answered using the pencil provided. For the rest of the questionnaires in the booklet, either pen or pencil is suitable. Your name is not required on any of the forms. Any questions? O.K. Begin.

In the LR conditions, E dressed in a casual manner in



white jeans, a work shirt, and leather boots. He also wore his hair long and had a mustache. In the CR conditions the E wore a tie and jacket, dress slacks, and loafers. He also cut his hair to average length and shaved off his mustache. In addition, he added a pair of heavy glasses in place of his usual contact lenses.

When the questionnaires were completed the E then gave a brief "explanation" of the experiment (which was varied according to the appropriate recruiter condition). In the LR conditions the following explanation for the study was presented to the S after he had completed the questionnaires:

The results will be available in about a month. I'll send a letter to you at that time explaining the experiment in detail. But at this time I can say that I've had a lot of personal feelings about this study. There is a lot that needs to be changed about our governmental system. The stuff that Nixon is doing is just absurd. You know, like everything is just messed up, like that farce of a trial in Chicago, and they are going to spend more on ABM, and now we are getting more into Laos. Anyway, I'm doing this study to see just where U. Mass. students stand on a lot of these issues. A lot of them just seem apathetic. They have to realize that it's up to them if they want anything done. (Discussion was cut off at this point and the request for volunteers was given.)

In the CR conditions the following rationale for the study was presented to the S after he had completed the questionnaires:

The results will be available in about a month. I'll send a letter to you at that time explaining the experiment in detail. What I can say is that I've had a lot of personal feelings about this study. To me, things politically just seem to be changing a bit too fast. In a

lot of cases we seem to be losing respect for individual rights, like when Humphrey was shouted down in the (field house). The radicals seem to think they have all the answers and that they should make the decisions for everybody. They don't seem to realize that just because an idea is new doesn't mean it's better. I don't know but it just seems that things could get really messed up if we aren't careful. Anyway, I was just doing this study to see where U. Mass. students stood on a lot of these current issues. It's really hard to tell because most of what you hear is always about the radical groups. (Discussion was cut off at this point and the request for volunteers was given.)

After the appropriate "rationale" for the experiment had been given, the E then gave the S his payment or credit. At this point E asked the S to read "one more thing." He was then handed a sheet which contained the following request for volunteers:

I'm conducting some research on community re-orientation at the local mental hospitals in Northampton, and I very much need student volunteers to help me with the program. It is an experimental training program designed to help people who are preparing to leave the hospital by having them meet and talk with volunteers from the outside. The purpose of this project is twofold. It will help these people get used to dealing with others who have no connection with either the hospital or their families, and it will help us to see how we can better prepare them to meet the demands of the community.

Your commitment, should you decide to volunteer, would be to give a 3-hour block of time at some time before the end of the semester. You would be asked to spend about 2 hours with one of the people who are getting ready to leave the hospital. You will be able to spend that time in any way you wish. Some of the things that you could do with the person are play pool, cards, bowl, or just talk casually about such topics as books, music, or current events. At the end of this two hours you will have one additional

hour in which you may discuss some of your impressions with a staff member from the hospital. Transportation to and from the hospital will be provided. Unfortunately, due to certain limitations, I will not be able to give you any compensation in the form of money or experimental credit; thus, this is strictly a volunteer project.

If you are willing to volunteer, please give your name and phone number, so that I can contact you to make arrangements for scheduling.

The E read the request sheet aloud and then told the S that he would go into the adjoining room and close the door. The S was asked to place the sheet, whether he signed or not, on the desk, after which he was free to leave. It was felt that this procedure reduced social pressure to a minimum.

At the conclusion of the study a letter explaining the true nature of the experiment and some of the preliminary results was sent to all Ss at their regular home address. The letter also included information on how those interested might become involved in any of the several actual hospital volunteer projects that exist in the area.



### 3. RESULTS

#### Volunteer Rate

Exactly one half (20) of the Ss volunteered to help the E in the additional project. The distribution of volunteers and nonvolunteers for the eight experimental conditions is presented in Table 1. To assess the effects of subject ideology, recruiter ideology, and type of reward on volunteer rate, a series of chi-square analyses on volunteer rate were performed. These analyses are presented in Table 2. An analysis comparing subject ideology and the number of volunteers failed to achieve significance ( $\chi^2 = 1.6$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .30$ ), thus failing to support the hypothesis that liberals would volunteer at a greater rate than conservatives. Analyses for the overall effects of recruiter ideology ( $\chi^2 = .40$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .90$ ) and reward ( $\chi^2 = .40$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .90$ ) also did not approach significance.

When only those Ss that volunteered were considered (collapsed across reward conditions), however, the effect for recruiter ideology by subject ideology did approach significance ( $\chi^2 = 2.8$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .10$ ). This analysis is presented in Table 3. Similarly, when only those Ss that did not volunteer were considered, the effect for recruiter ideology by subject ideology also approached significance ( $\chi^2 = 2.8$ ,  $df = 1$ ,  $p < .10$ ). This analysis is presented in Table 4.

#### Demographic and Descriptive Comparisons

Following the analyses of volunteer rate the various

TABLE 1

Distribution of Volunteers (N=20) and Nonvolunteers (N=20)  
for the Eight Experimental Conditions

	Liberal Students			
	Liberal Recruiter		Conservative Recruiter	
	Paid	Credit	Paid	Credit
No. Volunteers	4	4	1	3
No. Nonvolunteers	1	1	4	2
	Conservative Students			
	Liberal Recruiter		Conservative Recruiter	
	Paid	Credit	Paid	Credit
No. Volunteers	1	2	3	2
No. Nonvolunteers	4	3	2	3

TABLE 2

Distribution of Volunteers (N=20) and Nonvolunteers (N=20)  
by Ideology, Type of Reward, and Recruiter Ideology

Variable	Volunteers	Nonvolunteers	$\chi^2$	p
Ideology				
Liberals	12	8	1.60	N.S.
Conservatives	8	12		
Reward				
Paid	9	11	.40	N.S.
Credit	11	9		
Recruiter Ideology				
Liberal	11	9	.40	N.S.
Conservative	9	11		



TABLE 3

Distribution of Liberal Volunteers (N=12) and Conservative  
Volunteers (N=8) by Recruiter Ideology

Variable	Liberal Recruiter	Conservative Recruiter	$\chi^2$	p
Subject Ideology				
Liberal	8	4	2.8	.10
Conservative	3	5		

TABLE 4

Distribution of Liberal Nonvolunteers (N=8) and Conservative Nonvolunteers (N=12) by Recruiter Ideology

Variable	Liberal Recruiter	Conservative Recruiter	$\chi^2$	p
Subject Ideology				
Liberal	8	4	2.8	.10
Conservative	3	5		

subgroups were compared on the basis of their answers to the various scales used in the study.

Ideology. Liberal and conservative Ss were compared on several demographic and descriptive variables. Means and standard deviations for the continuous variables are presented in Table 5, and the cell totals for the discrete variables are presented in Tables 6 and 7. To assess the significance of the individual variables, t tests were performed on the continuous scores, and chi-squares were performed on the discrete scores. The only variable that demonstrated significance was that of religious preference of the Ss ( $\chi^2 = 9.39$ , df = 3,  $p < .05$ ), and of their parents ( $\chi^2 = 13.14$ , df = 3,  $p < .01$ ). Both the liberal students and their parents tended to be Catholic, while conservative students and their parents tended to be Protestant. Liberal students were also more likely to indicate no religious preference than were conservative students. (See Tables 6 and 7.)

Volunteers and nonvolunteers. The volunteer and non-volunteer subgroups were also compared on the several demographic and descriptive variables. The means and standard deviations for the continuous variables are presented in Table 8, and the cell totals for the discrete variables are presented in Tables 9 and 10. To assess the significance of the individual variables, t tests were performed on the continuous scores, and chi-squares were performed on the discrete scores. Only political preference attained significance ( $\chi^2 = 8.31$ , df = 3,  $p < .05$ ), indicating that volunteers



TABLE 5

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between Liberals  
and Conservatives on Variables of Age  
and Parents' Educational Level

Variable	Liberals		Conservatives		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
Age	18.95	1.15	18.90	1.17	.13	N.S.
Father Ed. in years	12.70	3.21	14.75	2.88	2.12	N.S.
Mother Ed. in years	12.00	2.53	12.35	2.30	.45	N.S.

TABLE 6

Distribution of Liberals (N=20) and Conservatives (N=20) by the Variables of Sex, Birth Order, Home Area, Military Status, Academic Major, Religious Preference and Political Preference

Variable	Liberals	Conservatives	$\chi^2$	p
Sex				
Male	12	7	2.50	N.S.
Female	8	13		
Birth Order				
First Born	11	5	3.75	N.S.
Other	9	15		
Home Area				
Urban	6	2	2.80	N.S.
Suburban	8	12		
Rural	6	6		
Military Status				
2-S Deferment	9	5	2.66	N.S.
Veteran	1	1		
Unclassified	2	1		
Not Apply (Female)	8	13		
Academic Major				
Business and Engineering	2	0	4.80	N.S.
Arts, Humanities, and Social Science	10	9		
Biological, Natural, and Physical Science	7	6		
Education	1	5		
Religion				
Catholic	9	7	9.39	.05
Protestant	1	6		
Jewish	1	3		
None	10	4		
Political Preference				
Democrat	10	5	5.86	N.S.
Republican	0	4		
Independent	2	3		
None	8	8		

TABLE 7

Distribution of Liberals (N=20) and Conservatives (N=20) by  
Their Parents' Occupations, Their Parents' Religious  
Preferences and Their Parents' Political Preferences

Variable	Liberals	Conservatives	$\chi^2$	p
Father Occupation				
Sales, Business, Finance	9	7	5.79	N.S.
Production	1	1		
Craft and Trade	1	1		
Science, Engineer, Professional	2	8		
Service and Government	4	3		
Mother Occupation				
Housewife	9	12	7.70	N.S.
Business, Sales, Secretarial	8	3		
Factory Worker	3	1		
Medical Technical	0	3		
Professional	0	1		
Parents' Religious Preferences				
Catholic	15	4	13.14	.01
Protestant	3	11		
Jewish	2	3		
Split	0	2		
Parents' Political Preferences				
Democrat	13	5	7.22	N.S.
Republican	3	9		
Independent	1	2		
None	2	2		
Split	1	2		



TABLE 8

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between Volunteers  
and Nonvolunteers on the Variables of Age  
and Parents' Educational Level

Variable	Volunteers		Nonvolunteers		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
Age	18.90	1.21	18.95	1.10	.13	N.S.
Father Ed. in years	13.45	2.68	14.00	3.67	.54	N.S.
Mother Ed. in years	12.00	2.75	12.35	2.03	.45	N.S.

TABLE 9

Distribution of Volunteers (N=20) and Nonvolunteers (N=20) by the Variables of Sex, Birth Order, Home Area, Military Status, Academic Major, Religious Preference and Political Preference

Variable	Volunteers	Nonvolunteers	$\chi^2$	<u>p</u>
Sex				
Male	9	10	.10	N.S.
Female	11	10		
Birth Order				
First Born	9	7	.41	N.S.
Other	11	13		
Home Area				
Urban	3	5	1.01	N.S.
Suburban	12	9		
Rural	5	6		
Military Status				
2-S Deferment	6	8	.66	N.S.
Veteran	1	1		
Unclassified	2	1		
Not Apply (Female)	11	10		
Academic Major				
Business and Engineering	1	1	1.22	N.S.
Arts, Humanities, and Social Science	11	8		
Biological, Natural, and Physical Science	6	7		
Education	2	4		
Religion				
Catholic	7	9	4.40	N.S.
Protestant	2	5		
Jewish	1	2		
None	10	4		
Political Preference				
Democrat	8	7	8.31	.05
Republican	1	3		
Independent	0	5		
None	11	5		

TABLE 10

Distribution of Volunteers (N=20) and Nonvolunteers (N=20) by  
 Their Parents' Occupations, Their Parents' Religious  
 Preferences and Their Parents' Political Preferences

Variable	Volunteers	Nonvolunteers	$\chi^2$	<u>p</u>
Father's Occupation				
Sales, Business, and Finance	11	5	7.98	N.S.
Production	2	0		
Craft and Trade	1	5		
Science, Engineer, Professional	4	6		
Service and Government	2	4		
Mother's Occupation				
Housewife	7	13	6.80	N.S.
Business, Sales, Secretarial	6	6		
Factory Worker	3	1		
Medical Technical	3	0		
Professional	1	0		
Parents' Religious Preferences				
Catholic	9	10	.25	N.S.
Protestant	7	7		
Jewish	3	2		
Split	1	1		
Parents' Political Preferences				
Democrat	10	8	2.22	N.S.
Republican	5	7		
Independent	1	2		
None	3	1		
Split	1	2		



either preferred the Democratic Party or had no political preference, while the nonvolunteers were more equally distributed among all four categories.

Activism. The subjects were separated on the basis of their ACT-A scores, into high political activity ( $N = 11$ ,  $M = 19.31$ ,  $SD = 2.97$ ). An obtained score of 25 was chosen as an arbitrary division between high and low scorers, as it fell roughly on the mid-point between the means for left non-activists ( $M = 29.00$ ,  $SD = 9.90$ ) and for right nonactivists ( $M = 20.24$ ,  $SD = 5.06$ ) at a similar institution reported by Kerpelman (1970). The groups were compared on the several demographic and descriptive variables by means of  $t$  tests and chi-squares. Means and standard deviations for the continuous variables are presented in Table 11, and the cell totals for the discrete variables are presented in Tables 12 and 13. No differences between the groups were noted for any of the measures.

### Personality Measures

Ideology. Group means and standard deviations for the ideology subgroups on the independent questionnaires are presented in Table 14, and the groups means and standard deviations on the ACL subscales are presented in Table 15. The groups were compared on each independent scale and on each of the ACL subscales by the means of the  $t$  statistic. The significance of the PEC scale was expected, as it was the original criterion measure used to separate the two groups. The only other scale that differentiated the two groups was the ACT-A

TABLE 11

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between High Scorers on the ACT-A Scale and Low Scorers on the ACT-A Scale on the Variables of Age and Their Parents' Educational Level

Variable	High Scorers (N=11)		Low Scorers (N=29)		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
Age	18.72	.75	19.00	1.25	.17	N.S.
Father Ed. in years	12.55	3.70	14.17	2.92	1.46	N.S.
Mother Ed. in years	11.00	2.72	12.62	2.14	1.98	N.S.

TABLE 12

Distribution of High Scorers on the ACT-A Scale (N=11) and Low Scorers on the ACT-A Scale (N=29) by the Variables of Sex, Birth Order, Home Area, Military Status, Academic Major, Religious Preference, and Political Preference

Variable	High Scorers	Low Scorers	$\chi^2$	p
Sex				
Male	5	14	2.54	N.S.
Female	6	15		
Birth Order				
First Born	4	12	.08	N.S.
Other	7	17		
Home Area				
Urban	3	5	2.63	N.S.
Suburban	7	14		
Rural	1	10		
Military Status				
2-S Deferment	4	10	.83	N.S.
Veteran	0	2		
Unclassified	1	2		
Not Apply (Female)	6	15		
Academic Major				
Business and Engineering	0	2	7.75	N.S.
Arts, Humanities, and Social Science	9	10		
Biological, Natural, and Physical Science	2	11		
Education	0	6		
Religion				
Catholic	4	12	3.46	N.S.
Protestant	1	6		
Jewish	0	3		
None	6	8		
Political Preference				
Democrat	4	11	.27	N.S.
Republican	1	3		
Independent	1	4		
None	5	11		



TABLE 13

Distribution of High Scorers on the ACT-A Scale (N=11) and Low Scorers on the ACT-A Scale (N=29) by Their Parents' Occupations and by Their Parents' Religious and Political Preferences

Variable	High Scorers	Low Scorers	$\chi^2$	p
Father's Occupation				
Sales, Business, and Finance	4	12	1.24	N.S.
Production	0	2		
Craft and Trade	2	3		
Science, Engineer, Professional	3	7		
Service and Government	2	5		
Mother's Occupation				
Housewife	6	15	2.96	N.S.
Business, Sales, Secretarial	3	7		
Factory Worker	2	2		
Medical Technical	0	3		
Professional	0	2		
Parents' Religious Preferences				
Catholic	6	13	1.07	N.S.
Protestant	3	11		
Jewish	1	4		
Split	1	1		
Parents' Political Preferences				
Democrat	7	11	3.91	N.S.
Republican	3	9		
Independent	1	2		
None	0	4		
Split	0	3		

TABLE 14

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between Liberals  
and Conservatives on the Independent Measures

Scale	Liberals (N=20)		Conservatives (N=20)		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
PEC	2.49	.45	4.27	.28	14.85	.001
Self-Estrangement	2.26	.34	2.43	.43	1.38	N.S.
Srole	2.25	.56	2.10	.39	.98	N.S.
McClosky-Schaar	2.17	.34	2.30	.50	.93	N.S.
ACT-A	24.10	5.68	19.90	4.27	2.64	.020
ACT-D	37.15	10.75	31.45	12.49	1.55	N.S.
VIS	11.25	4.69	9.75	4.17	1.07	N.S.

TABLE 15

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between  
Liberals and Conservatives on the ACL

Scale	Liberals (N=20)		Conservatives (N=20)		<u>t</u>	p
	M	SD	M	SD		
Total Adjectives Checked	85.55	38.35	97.55	37.53	.99	N.S.
Defensiveness	13.15	6.67	15.10	4.90	1.05	N.S.
Number of Favorable Adjectives Checked	37.30	15.40	42.40	15.45	1.05	N.S.
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked	8.65	5.12	12.30	7.71	1.76	N.S.
Self Confidence	14.20	5.36	16.25	5.94	1.46	N.S.
Self Control	13.25	6.16	11.30	5.52	1.05	N.S.
Lability	8.95	3.89	8.85	4.73	.07	N.S.
Personal Adjustment	16.55	4.50	18.60	4.71	1.41	N.S.
Achievement	16.35	6.47	18.05	6.75	.81	N.S.
Dominance	16.25	6.50	18.90	6.84	1.25	N.S.
Endurance	14.60	6.38	15.45	6.38	.41	N.S.
Order	15.95	7.78	15.75	6.89	.08	N.S.
Intraception	10.95	5.03	11.85	5.73	.53	N.S.
Nurturance	23.05	8.69	25.80	7.63	1.06	N.S.
Affiliation	16.00	6.99	19.40	6.38	1.61	N.S.
Heterosexuality	7.55	3.98	8.10	4.08	.43	N.S.
Exhibition	11.50	4.73	12.95	4.25	1.02	N.S.
Autonomy	12.00	3.83	12.70	4.66	.52	N.S.
Aggression	22.40	7.33	22.10	8.46	.12	N.S.
Change	15.05	4.85	14.80	4.80	.16	N.S.
Succorance	11.00	3.04	12.55	4.08	1.36	N.S.
Abasement	11.15	4.70	10.74	4.85	.27	N.S.
Deference	11.45	4.63	11.75	5.73	.18	N.S.
Counseling Readiness	17.95	5.97	19.00	6.11	.55	N.S.

( $t = 2.64$ ,  $p < .02$ ), indicating that the liberal Ss tended to be more active than the conservative Ss.

In order to determine the relative importance of the various dependent measures in predicting ideology, a multivariate regression analysis was performed. Table 16 indicates the percentage of the variance of student political ideology accounted for by the six variables noted. The remaining variables contributed such minimal percentages of the variance (.04 or less) as to make their inclusion meaningless.

As can be seen, the ACT-A scale accounted for 22% of the total variance and showed a negative correlation ( $r = -.47$ ) with the criterion measure, the PEC scale (high scores = conservative). Additional negative correlations were obtained with the Srole ( $r = -.22$ ) and the Self-Control subscale of the ACL ( $r = -.12$ ). Positive correlations were obtained with three subscales of the ACL: Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked ( $r = .16$ ), Personal Adjustment ( $r = .22$ ), and Successance ( $r = .12$ ).

A multiple discriminant analysis (Veldman, 1967, pp. 268-279) resulted in a single root which significantly discriminated between the groups ( $\chi^2 = 61.31$ ,  $df = 30$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and which contained a somewhat similar loading of variables. Variable loadings on the root are given in Table 17. The group centroid on the root for the conservative sample was 4.14, while the centroid for the liberal sample was 3.11. The root, which accounted for 100% of the variance, has been labeled a "Placidity" factor. As can be seen, the ACT-A



TABLE 16

Regression Analysis of the Dependent Variables  
upon the Measure of Political Ideology (PEC)

Variable	<u>r</u>	Multiple <u>R</u>	Cumulative Per Cent of Variance Accounted For
ACT-A	-.47	.47	22%
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives (ACL)	.16	.54	29%
Srole	-.22	.57	32%
Self Control (ACL)	-.12	.62	39%
Personal Adjustment (ACL)	.22	.65	42%
Succorance (ACL)	.12	.70	49%

TABLE 17

Correlations of the Variables on the Discriminant Function

Variable	<u>r</u>	Variable	<u>r</u>
ACT-A	-.47	Dominance	.23
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked	.28	Personal Adjustment	.23
Affiliation	.26	Self Estrangement	.23
ACT-D	-.25	Succorance	.22

scale correlates the highest, but negatively, with Placidity. The ACL subscale, Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked, had the highest positive loading. Additional positive loadings were attained by the Affiliation, Personal Adjustment, Dominance, and Succorance subscales and by the Self-Estrangement scale. Liberals tended to be discriminated by the factors of activism, alienation, and low self control, while the factors of dependability, wholesomeness, trust, seeking of support, and concern for position appeared to load most heavily on the conservative dimension.

Volunteers and nonvolunteers. Group means and standard deviations for the volunteer and nonvolunteer subgroups on the independent measures are presented in Table 18, and the group means and standard deviations on the ACL subscales are presented in Table 19. The groups were compared on all measures by means of the  $t$  statistic. Only three scales were noted as significantly differentiating the groups: the ACT-A scale ( $t = 2.40$ ,  $p < .05$ ), and the Order ( $t = 2.10$ ,  $p < .05$ ) and Endurance ( $t = 2.97$ ,  $p < .01$ ) subscales of the ACL. Volunteers were higher on activism and lower on order and endurance.

In order to further assess the extent to which the two groups were differentiated by the dependent variables, a multiple discriminant analysis was performed. A single root accounting for 100% of the variance failed to achieve significance ( $\chi^2 = 37.11$ ,  $df = 30$ ,  $p < .18$ ). Group centroids were -1.20 (volunteer) and -0.68 (nonvolunteer). Factor loadings on the root, which has been labeled as "Self-Discipline," are

TABLE 18

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between Volunteers and Nonvolunteers on the Independent Measures

Scale	Volunteers (N=20)		Nonvolunteers (N=20)		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
PEC	3.14	.92	3.63	1.00	1.54	N.S.
Self Estrangement	2.41	.35	2.28	.46	1.04	N.S.
Srole	2.28	.37	2.07	.57	1.38	N.S.
McClosky-Schaar	2.20	.34	2.28	.50	.56	N.S.
ACT-A	24.30	6.11	20.20	4.57	2.40	.05
ACT-D	36.40	8.98	32.20	14.09	1.12	N.S.
VIS	10.60	5.31	10.40	3.45	.14	N.S.



TABLE 19

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between  
Volunteers and Nonvolunteers on the ACL

Scale	Liberals (N=20)		Conservatives (N=20)		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
Total Adjectives Checked	87.15	35.56	94.45	41.74	.60	N.S.
Defensiveness	12.80	6.49	15.45	4.97	1.45	N.S.
Number of Favorable Adjectives Checked	37.10	16.64	42.85	14.47	1.16	N.S.
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked	10.20	5.77	10.75	7.70	.26	N.S.
Self Confidence	15.25	4.94	15.20	6.46	.02	N.S.
Self Control	12.95	5.96	11.10	4.55	1.10	N.S.
Lability	9.80	4.06	8.00	4.41	1.34	N.S.
Personal Adjustment	16.65	5.40	18.50	3.70	1.26	N.S.
Achievement	16.10	6.90	18.30	6.22	1.05	N.S.
Dominance	16.80	7.00	18.60	6.44	.85	N.S.
Endurance	12.10	5.66	17.60	6.02	2.97	.01
Order	13.20	7.43	17.90	6.67	2.10	.05
Intraception	10.10	5.37	12.70	5.11	1.57	N.S.
Nurturance	23.35	7.65	25.75	7.67	.99	N.S.
Affiliation	17.30	7.48	18.80	6.05	.70	N.S.
Heterosexuality	7.30	4.28	8.35	3.71	.83	N.S.
Exhibition	12.95	4.78	11.50	4.19	1.01	N.S.
Autonomy	13.05	4.94	11.95	3.67	.80	N.S.
Aggression	23.25	8.02	21.00	7.48	.92	N.S.
Change	15.55	5.18	14.05	4.19	1.00	N.S.
Succorance	12.25	4.44	11.55	3.10	.58	N.S.
Abasement	10.95	4.94	11.10	4.54	.10	N.S.
Deference	10.75	5.68	12.45	4.52	1.05	N.S.
Counseling Readiness	18.75	5.74	17.55	6.49	.46	N.S.

presented in Table 20. Endurance and Order correlate positively with Self-Discipline, while activism correlates negatively. It should be remembered, however, that the root of "Self-Discipline" did not discriminate significantly between the volunteer and nonvolunteer subgroups.

Activism. Group means and standard deviations for the high and low scorers on the ACT-A scale on the independent measures are presented in Table 21, and the group means and standard deviations on the ACL subscales are presented in Table 22. Three scales differentiated between the groups. The high scorers were lower on the PEC ( $t = 2.19, p < .05$ ), and higher on Self-Confidence ( $t = 2.56, p < .02$ ) and Autonomy ( $t = 2.07, p < .05$ ).

In order to further assess the extent to which the two groups were differentiated by the dependent variables, a multiple discriminant analysis was performed, resulting in a single significant root ( $\chi^2 = 59.29, df = 29, p < .001$ ) which accounted for 100% of the variance. Variable loadings on the root are given in Table 23. The group centroid on the root for the high scorers group was 2.80, while the centroid for the low scorers sample was 1.31. The root has been labeled an "Extroversion" factor. As can be seen, the ACT-D scale correlates most highly and positively with Extroversion. Other positive loadings are noted for the Self-Confidence, Lability, Unfavorable Adjectives Checked, Aggression, Total Adjectives Checked, and Exhibition subscales of the ACL. Negative loadings were obtained by the PEC scale and the

TABLE 20

Correlations of the Variables on the Discriminant Function

Variable	<u>r</u>
Endurance	.38
ACT-A	-.38
Order	.36

TABLE 21

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between High Scorers  
on the ACT-A Scale and Low Scorers on the ACT-A Scale  
on the Independent Measures

Scale	High Scorers (N=11)		Low Scorers (N=29)		<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
	M	SD	M	SD		
PEC	2.86	1.14	3.59	.86	2.19	.05
Self Estrangement	2.34	.35	2.33	.39	.08	N.S.
Srole	2.23	.48	2.15	.50	.49	N.S.
McClosky-Schaar	2.28	.22	2.18	.42	.73	N.S.
ACT-A	28.90	3.41	19.31	2.97	8.74	.001
ACT-D	43.81	10.21	30.68	10.46	3.56	.01
VIS	11.36	5.50	10.17	4.00	.76	N.S.



TABLE 22

t Test Comparisons of Mean Differences Between High Scorers  
on the ACT-A Scale and Low Scorers on the ACT-A Scale  
on the ACL

Scale	High Scorers (N=11)		Low Scorers (N=29)		<u>t</u>	p
	M	SD	M	SD		
Total Adjectives Checked	107.63	47.53	87.17	33.13	1.54	N.S.
Defensiveness	14.27	6.03	14.07	5.91	.09	N.S.
Number of Favorable Adjectives Checked	42.09	17.02	38.93	14.91	.58	N.S.
Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked	13.81	6.52	9.31	6.41	1.98	N.S.
Self Confidence	18.72	6.23	13.89	4.93	2.56	.02
Self Control	9.81	4.60	13.20	6.08	1.67	N.S.
Lability	11.09	4.15	8.41	4.49	1.71	N.S.
Personal Adjustment	16.54	5.46	17.34	4.51	.47	N.S.
Achievement	18.63	7.36	16.65	6.31	.85	N.S.
Dominance	19.18	7.77	17.13	6.31	.86	N.S.
Endurance	14.36	5.61	15.62	7.46	.51	N.S.
Order	14.72	7.18	15.72	7.40	.38	N.S.
Intraception	11.81	5.65	11.13	5.40	.35	N.S.
Nurturance	23.81	6.99	24.86	8.91	.35	N.S.
Affiliation	18.72	7.48	17.48	6.34	.51	N.S.
Heterosexuality	8.18	3.63	7.69	4.17	.35	N.S.
Exhibition	14.18	4.28	11.48	4.42	1.73	N.S.
Autonomy	15.54	5.75	12.10	4.27	2.06	.05
Aggression	24.81	7.60	20.75	7.70	1.49	N.S.
Change	16.81	4.92	14.20	4.59	1.58	N.S.
Succorance	12.36	2.87	11.38	3.82	.77	N.S.
Abasement	11.72	4.98	10.75	4.62	.58	N.S.
Deference	9.18	4.70	12.17	5.23	1.65	N.S.
Counseling Readiness	18.36	7.35	18.68	5.71	.15	N.S.

TABLE 23

Correlations of the Variables on the Discriminant Function

Variable	<u>r</u>	Variable	<u>r</u>
ACT-D	-.52	Number of Unfavorable Adjectives Checked	.20
Self Confidence	.40	Exhibition	.28
PEC	-.34	Aggression	.28
Lability	.33	Total Adjectives Checked	.28
Deference	-.31	Self Control	-.27

Deference and Self-Control subscales of the ACL.

#### 4. DISCUSSION

##### Volunteer Rate

The results obtained did not support the core hypothesis that liberals would express a more humanitarian value set by volunteering for an interpersonal helping task in greater numbers than would conservatives. Overall analyses of volunteer rate for the type of reward and for the type of recruiter ideology proved nonsignificant. Neither of the manipulations (monetary vs. credit reward and liberal vs. conservative recruiter) yielded a difference in the total number of volunteers produced. There was, however, a slight trend which indicated that volunteer behavior was dependent on an interaction between recruiter and subject ideology. More liberals than conservatives volunteered to help in the liberal recruiter condition, while more conservatives than liberals volunteered to help in the conservative recruiter condition. These results parallel those of Bryan and Test (1967) and Pilavian, Rodin, and Pilavian (1969). The former study noted that the race of a model significantly influenced the rate of contributions of subjects, while the latter study noted a tendency for persons to help a "drunk" victim only when the victim was of their own race. Thus there is some suggestion that individuals are more likely to help those whom they perceive as being similar to themselves than they are to help those whom they view as dissimilar. The slight differential effectiveness of the recruiter conditions suggests that liberal students might be more sensitive to political cues than are conservatives.



Another possible explanation is that because the experimenter's own biases favor a liberal ideology, he may not have presented himself as a credible conservative recruiter.

An attempt to draw firm conclusions about the behaviors considered must await more conclusive findings. It is felt, however, that given a larger sample, the results of the recruiter by subject interaction would have achieved significance. If such a relationship for political ideology should be found to exist, it would have important implications for a society that is becoming increasingly polarized on the basis of political ideology. It is only with some difficulty that a student can pass through four years of higher education without firmly identifying with a particular political point of view. If he does not choose one of his own, a political label is likely to be applied to him by others. Although political issues have always been the source of strong disagreements, the present data seem to coincide with evidence drawn from naturalistic observation that an individual's political ideology is becoming an increasingly important factor in making interpersonal assessments. Such depth of allegiance has implications far beyond the scope of a mere helping behavior situation.

#### Demographic and Descriptive Comparisons

Ideology. When the ideological subgroups were compared on demographic and descriptive characteristics, they differed only on religious preference. Although this difference may be considered statistically no better than chance, there is a

certain consistency in the fact that both students and their parents differed in identical directions. Both liberal students and their parents tended to be Catholic, with several liberal students also indicating that they had no religious preference. Conservatives and their parents, on the other hand, tended to be of Protestant orientation.

Although the literature dealing with left activists and with left oriented students as a whole generally report them to be of the Jewish faith, as was noted above (Chapter 1), Crotty (1967) obtained results similar to those of the present study. In both cases the Jewish subsamples were too small to be considered a valid sample of the college Jewish population. One possible explanation for the high frequency of Protestant students consistently found in conservative samples is offered by Watts and Whittaker (1966). They noted that students who were once members of the more liberal Protestant denominations tended to switch to a no-preference position. Thus, although they were often included in liberal samples, their Protestant background was not noted. The results of the present study do not indicate that such a switch occurred. Another possible explanation in the case of the present study is that Massachusetts has a long-standing liberal-Catholic tradition. Several leaders of prominence from the state have been both Catholic and liberal Democrats. Thus, given a Catholic-Protestant dichotomy, it would seem probable that Catholics would appear as more libertarian.

As was noted in the introductory review, left activists

have been reported as differing from nonactivists on several of the demographic variables (i.e., political background, parents' educational level, parents' socio-economic status) considered in the present study. The failure of the present study to duplicate any of these findings for students separated on the basis of ideology, at first appears to contradict the earlier suggestion that many of the characteristics of left activists were also true of left students in general. That is to say, if there are no differences between left and right nonactivist students on these dimensions, but there are differences between left activists and left nonactivists on these dimensions, it would seem obvious that left activists and left nonactivists do not share similar characteristics as measured by these dimensions.

A careful examination of the literature, however, demonstrates that a good deal of inconsistency exists in the report of demographic differences. Major sources of variance appear to be geographic area, sampling procedures, and the type of institution involved. Nonsignificant differences between activists and nonactivists were reported by Geller and Howard (1969) for parents' educational level and political affiliation and the type of home area. Similarly, Kerpelman (1970) found no differences for academic major, and Watts, Lynch, and Whittaker (1969) found no differences for age and sex, while Watts and Whittaker (1966) found that birth order did not discriminate between activists and nonactivists. In addition, Thomas (1970) found no differences for right



and left activist parents on the dimensions of socio-economic status, and educational and income levels.

In the present study, as the university involved is a relatively inexpensive state university, there was most likely a leveling effect on the parental socio-economic and educational variables. The failure of academic major to discriminate is in line with Kerpelman's (1970) results. Similarly, birth order has been noted as an inconsistent predictor. Age was not expected to vary, as nearly all the subjects came from the Freshman class. Likewise military status did not differentiate, as almost all the male subjects held 2-S deferments.

The most striking result was the failure of political preference to separate along ideological lines. Inspection of the data discloses that the expected liberal-conservative, Democrat-Republican trend did exist, but that it was confounded by the nearly equal numbers of both ideological subgroups claiming either Independent status or no affiliation whatever. A partial explanation for this result is that as college Freshmen, many of the subjects in the present sample were in a period of flux in their political attitudes. Many were still reflecting the views of their parents. Others, while rejecting the views of their parents, had not yet developed a firm political preference of their own.

A secondary but perhaps more significant speculation concerning these results involves the major political parties themselves. Although social pressure is causing rapid shifts



in the traditional constructs of the major parties, many students apparently feel that neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party offers them a meaningful vehicle for political expression. If this trend continues, the traditional party structure will have to face growing challenges from nonaffiliated coalitions or from third party "movements" such as those that backed Wallace and McCarthy in the 1968 presidential campaign.

The dearth of significant differences between ideology categories in the present study, in combination with the many inconsistencies noted in previous studies, emphasizes Kerpelman's (1970) view that any meaningful discussion of both the activism and ideology issues must take both institutional and geographic differences into account.

Volunteers and nonvolunteers. A comparison of the volunteer and nonvolunteer subgroups on the various demographic and descriptive dimensions showed that they differed only on political party preference. Volunteers were more likely to be Democrats or to have no party allegiance, while nonvolunteers tended to be more equally distributed between the four choices (Democrat, Republican, Independent, No Affiliation). Little can be said about this difference, as it can only safely be attributed to statistical chance.

Activism. Demographic comparisons between the high and low scorers on the ACT-A scale yielded no significant differences. There are several reasons why these results failed to duplicate the differences usually noted to exist

between activists and nonactivists. First, the sample size was small, with a high scoring subgroup consisting of only eleven subjects. Secondly, the high scorers in the present study may not be activists in the traditional sense. Activism is usually determined by membership in an activist organization or by participation in a political event, and neither criterion was directly observed in the present study. On the other hand, the inconsistencies in the literature noted in the above section on ideology are also applicable here, and thus previously reported differences on the activism dimension may not hold under finer examination.

### Personality Characteristics

Ideology. In a comparison of the ideological subgroups on the several independent scales and on the twenty-four subscales of the ACL, only the ACT-A scale yielded significant differences. (Significant differences for the PEC were to be expected, as it was the criterion measure for the original separation of the two groups.) The ACT-A results suggest that the liberal students were more active than the conservative students. Taken alone, this result could only be explained as statistically no better than a chance occurrence. In additional analyses, however, the ACT-A accounted for the highest percentage of the variance in a regression on ideology, showing a high negative correlation with conservative ideology. Finally, the ACT-A scale showed the highest negative correlation with a discriminant factor of Placidity that was slightly associated with conservative ideology. These findings are in

keeping with those of Kerpelman (1969, 1970) that suggested that those individuals of a liberal orientation also are more likely to be politically active.

The remaining regression correlates and discriminant factor loadings were also consistent. In the discriminant analysis, the Placidity factor established some separation between the groups. For both the regression and discriminant analyses, liberals were characterized by such factors as activism, alienation, resourcefulness, individualism, impulsivity, and anxiety. Conservatives, on the other hand, were characterized by such factors as arrogance, dependability, peacefulness, seeking of support from others, and a concern for position.

The liberal students in the present sample appear as more active, independent, and resourceful, yet they also appear as ambivalent toward society, as is indicated in their feelings of anxiety, alienation, moodiness, and withdrawal, as measured by the ACL. The conservatives, on the other hand, appear more placid and traditional in their orientation, as was indicated in their tendency toward practicality, loyalty, the seeking of support of others, and the concern for position. Although these findings are tentative at best, due to the relatively low correlations and factor loadings, they do show a consistency with previous findings on the personality correlates of ideology. Numerous investigators (Goldberg & Stark, 1965; Kerpelman, 1968; Lane, 1955; Leventhal, Jacobs, & Kudirka, 1964; Wrightsman, Radloff, Horton, & Mecherikoff,



1961) have all found authoritarianism and traditionalism to be correlated with conservatism in college students. Similarly, Kerpelman (1969, 1970) and Nowiciki (1969) found liberal students to be less concerned with social acceptance than conservatives. In addition, Kerpelman (1970) found liberal students to be more hypersensitive, and to value concern for others more, while valuing conformity and leadership less than right oriented students. Although Goldberg and Stark (1965) obtained higher pathology scores for liberals than for conservatives, they interpret their results as meaning conservatives were more guarded in admitting pathology. Finally, there is agreement between Kerpelman's (1970) and the present study that no marked differences in overall personal stability exist between left and right oriented college students.

The present findings also offer support for Kerpelman's (1970) suggestion that many differences traditionally attributed to left activists may well be true of left oriented students in general. Factors such as individualism, resourcefulness, and independence reported earlier as applying to left activists also appear to apply to the nonactivist left oriented students in the present study. In addition, left oriented students in general seem to possess these characteristics more than do right oriented students. A striking difference noted in the present study, however, was the absence of any clear contrast between the groups in their humanitarian concerns as measured by the Nurturance subscale of the ACL. As Whittaker and Watts (1968) also failed to find any differences between



a left activist and a nonactivist sample on the basis of the Nurturance subscale, it may well be that the behavioral differences observed in the present study are a more accurate assessment of humanitarian concerns. Although the numbers involved are small (twelve liberal volunteers as opposed to eight conservative volunteers), they offer some support for such a speculation. Any more concrete conclusions, however, must await further research using behavioral manipulations and measures.

In addition to the present study's failure to obtain any clear discriminations on the basis of humanitarian concerns, there was also a somewhat more negative configuration of individual characteristics associated with the left students in the sample than is commonly reported as being true of left activists. As noted earlier, these negative characteristics appear to align themselves in the area of anxiety, uncertainty, moodiness, and withdrawal. A partial explanation for these differences can be drawn from the findings of Whittaker and Watts (1968), who compared activist and nonactivist students on the ACL. They found left activists to be significantly higher in Autonomy, Change, Exhibition, and Aggression, and lower on Order. The left oriented students in the present study did not differ from the right oriented students on these same dimensions. Thus, it is speculated that while the left activist and the extreme left nonactivist students share many similar personality characteristics, they differ in the dimensions of dominance, aggression, and self assertion.

Left nonactivist students are often limited and ambivalent in their actions, humanitarian or otherwise, due to their anxieties and lack of self assurance, while left activists, with their greater feelings of autonomy and self assurance, are able to act on their concerns. In short, if the individual is more dominant and aggressive, he can work actively to achieve desired change, while the less self assured individual hesitates and is ambivalent about becoming involved in a commitment.

Volunteers and nonvolunteers. In comparing the volunteer and nonvolunteer subgroups on the various independent measures and the twenty-four subscales of the ACL, significant differences were obtained on the ACT-A scale and on the Order and Endurance subscales of the ACL. Volunteers were higher on activism, but lower on Order and Endurance. Loadings on a discriminant root of Self-Discipline gave further slight support to the possibility that these particular factors do differentiate the groups. A tentative conclusion from these results suggests that the volunteers would be less likely to persist in any task undertaken, that they would be generally more impatient and erratic, and that they would place less emphasis on neatness in the planning of activities, while the reverse may be true for the nonvolunteers. Thus there is some suggestion that the volunteer behavior observed can be attributed to an "impulsivity" factor. Implied in this is the possibility that many of the volunteers would not have followed through on their original pledge. If actually con-

tacted, many might have decided not to cooperate.

The failure of the present study to obtain significant differences between volunteers and nonvolunteers on the several remaining dimensions is consistent with previous findings. Of studies dealing with helping behavior, only Jones (1970) and Darley and Latané (1969) attempted any direct personality measures on the parameters of volunteering and helping behavior. Using measures of Internal-External directiveness, orientation, argumentiveness, suspiciousness, feelings of inadequacy, social inhibition, and aggressiveness, Jones (1970) found no significant correlations of these variables with the amount of time volunteered in response to a request from a stimulus person. On measures of Machiavellianism, anomie, authoritarianism, social desirability, and social responsibility, Darley and Latané (1968) likewise found no differences between individuals separated on the basis of the speed with which they came to the aid of the victim. Thus, beyond the tentative conclusion of the present study that volunteers tend to be more impulsive than nonvolunteers, the personality correlates of helping behavior have yet to be found.

Another consideration is that such correlations, if they exist, are so slight that the social determinants in a helping situation override any personality differences that might exist. If this is a valid assumption, then a more accurate test of the original hypothesis--that a relationship could be demonstrated between humanistic orientation and willingness



to help--would be best carried out in a totally neutral helping situation. If social influences were kept to a minimum, there would be more of a chance for personality factors to operate.

Activism. The significant negative association that existed throughout the study between PEC and ACT-A scores was replicated in analyses for activism. This is in keeping with Kerpelman's (1970) finding that left oriented students were more active.

In comparison of the high and low scoring subgroups on the several independent measures and on the twenty-four subscales of the ACL, significant differences were obtained for the PEC scale and the Self Confidence and Autonomy subscales of the ACL. Those receiving higher activism scores also tended to be more liberal, self confident, and autonomous than those receiving lower activism scores. A somewhat similar profile was obtained through discriminant loadings on a root of Extroversion. High scorers were shown to be high in such factors as liberalism, assertiveness, spontaneity, rebelliousness, self assurance, arrogance, independence, and impulsivity. Characteristics attributed to the low scorers, on the other hand, were those of inactivity, conventionalism, placidness, apathy, calmness, dependability, and seriousness. These findings are somewhat in keeping with those traditionally noted as discriminating between left activists and non-activist cross sectional student samples. They also appear to offer further support for the hypothesis that the crucial



dimensions discriminating between activists and nonactivists, regardless of ideology, are those of assertiveness, self assurance, and dominance.

The results of the present study are in keeping with a recent trend in the literature that activists no longer appear outstanding on many of the more positive personality dimensions, as was the case in the research in the early and mid 1960's. A partial explanation for this phenomenon is offered by Kerpelman (1970), who suggested that this leveling may be due to a "broadening of the movement" to include so many individuals as to make them indistinguishable from the general student population. While the movement is expanding, it is also becoming more violent. Activists who have been continually frustrated in their attempts to achieve change through peaceful demonstration are now being tempted to more violent methods. With the growing emphasis on violence, it does not appear surprising that the personality factors of dominance, assertiveness, independence, and aggression are showing an increasingly consistent relationship with activism. It may well be that the value of the political research of the past decade is purely a historical one, as the activist of today is influenced by some ten years of increasingly violent confrontation with the power structure.

If this trend continues it is likely to fractionalize still further an already divided movement. While there are those that feel that indiscriminant violence is the only tool remaining that will effectively produce social change,

other activists appear to be moving toward an admixture of calculated violent action and civil disobedience. Still others prefer to rely on peaceful protest and systematic political organization to achieve their goals. Finally, there is a growing number of students who appear to be rejecting political involvement entirely. They prefer to develop and live within their own subculture rather than attempt to change society as a whole. The development of these various factions present the researcher of student political activity with a more complex problem than he has faced in the past. A continual refinement of terminology and methodological procedures will be necessary if valid conclusions are to continue to be achieved.

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