

THE EFFECTS OF PSYCHIC DISTANCE AND DOGMATISM ON THE PERCEIVED CREDIBILITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS

Thesis for the Degree of M. A.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
William James White
1963

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THE EFFECTS OF PSYCHIC DISTANCE AND DOGMATISM ON THE PERCEIVED CREDIBILITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS

Ву

William James White

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

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1963

APPROVED .

ABSTRACT

THE EFFECTS OF PSYCHIC DISTANCE AND DOGMATISM ON THE PERCEIVED CREDIBILITY OF POLITICAL LEADERS

by William James White

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of two psychological variables upon the perceived credibility of political leaders. The independent variables were: 1) the perceived discrepancy between one's personal position on a scale of left-right orientation and that of a party, called "psychic distance," and 2) the degree of open or closedmindedness of the subject, called "level of dogmatism." The dependent variable, source credibility, was measured by means of a source credibility index developed by Berlo and Lemert (963). This index purports to measure, by means of twelve word-pairs, three dimensions of source credibility. In addition, the study was designed to investigate 1) the ability of subjects to distinguish between a political party and its leader as the distance between the subject's own political position and that of the party being rated increased and 2) the effects of high and low levels of dogmatism on a subject's ability to distinguish between political parties and their leaders.

The four statistical hypotheses investigated were:

1. The farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the lower he will score its leaders on a source credibility index.

- 2. Individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will perceive their own party leader as more credible and leaders of the other parties as less credible than will individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale.
- 3. The farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the less he will be able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index.
- 4. Individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will be less able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index than individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale.

One hundred and eighty-seven Canadian college students were asked to score each of the five national political parties and themselves on a nine-point scale of left-right orientation, each of the parties and their leaders on a source credibility index, and themselves on an abridged form of the Dogmatism scale. The data were analyzed by means of analyses of variance to determine the effects of psychic distance and dogmatism level upon one's credibility rating of each of the political leaders on the safety, competence, and dynamism dimensions of credibility. The hypotheses regarding the ability to differentiate between party and party leader were similarly tested.

The first hypothesis was supported for four out of five party leaders on the safety dimension of credibility; supported by two out of five tests on the competence dimension of credibility; and not supported for any of the leaders on the dynamism dimension. The second and third hypotheses were not supported for any of the leaders on any of the dimensions. The fourth hypothesis was not generally supported.

On the basis of these results, it is suggested that a political leader's perceived safety is strongly influenced, his competence possibly influenced, and his dynamism not influenced by the psychic distance between him and the person rating him as a source. Dogmatism does not appear to be an important variable in determining how one will perceive a source. Neither psychic distance nor dogmatism level appear to influence an individual's ability to differentiate within belief and disbelief systems.

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Introduction

The traditional approach to the study of source credibility has been one of attributing the same message to a "high credible source" and a "low credible source," presenting the message to two separate groups and either asking them how fair they perceived the message to be or measuring their attitude change. Studies done by Ewing (1942), Howland and Weiss (1951), Howland and Mandell (1952), Kelman and Howland (1953), Haiman (1949), and Tannenbaum (1956) indicate that audiences tend to perceive messages given by "high credible sources" as more fair, honest and trustworthy than messages given by "low credible sources." Similarly, audiences tend to change their attitudes to a greater extent in the desired direction when the source is "high credible" than when the source is "low credible."

In each of these studies, credibility of the source was the independent or manipulated variable and the fairness of the message or
the attitude change was the dependent variable. Little effort was
made to specify the exact components, constituents or qualities of
the sources which made them appear credible, trustworthy or competent.
Credibility level was usually based upon the ratings of judges.

Recent work by Berlo and Lemert (1963) indicates that the major proportion of credibility can usually be measured by means of three factors. These factors or dimensions have been named safety or trustworthiness, competence and dynamism. The first two dimensions, trustworthiness and competence, appear to be comparable to the two dimensions of credibility hypothesized by Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953, p. 21). Those authors distinguish between a communicator's expertness

and his trustworthiness but do not present any research findings to support their theoretic model. The third factor hypothesized by Berlo and Lemert (1963), which they call "dynamism," appears to refer to those personality characteristics which reflect extroversion, energy and boldness.

One of the few experiments done to test the effects of other variables upon the credibility of a source was a study by Brehm and Lipsher (1959). They studied the effect of differences, called discrepancies, in opinion positions of subjects and message sources upon the perceived trustworthiness of a source. They found that the greater the difference of opinion which existed between a subject and a source, the greater the likelihood that the source would be perceived as untrustworthy by the individual concerned.

The purpose of the present study was to investigate the effects of two psychological variables upon the perceived credibility of a communication source. The independent variables are the perceived distance between a subject and a potential communicator, called "psychic distance," and the degree of the open or closedmindedness of the subject, called "level of dogmatism." A source credibility index based upon the work of Berlo and Lemert (1963) is used to determine whether or not the findings of Brehm and Lipsher (1959) apply to the three separate dimensions of credibility. Individuals classified as "high dogmatic" and "low dogmatic" on the basis of their scores on the Rokeach Dogmatism scale are compared on their credibility ratings of several sources to determine whether or not one's level of dogmatism influences one's perception of a communicator.

Another part of the study is an investigation of 1) the ability to distinguish between a political party leader and his party as the distance between the individual's own political position and that of the party being rated on a credibility index increases and 2) the effects of high and low levels of dogmatism on an individual's ability to distinguish between political party leaders and their parties.

Chapter 1

Almost all studies of source credibility have been an investigation of the effects of high or low credible sources upon attitude change. One of the few studies found to investigate the effect of communicatorcommunicatee variables upon the credibility of a communicator was done by Brehm and Lipsher (1959). They found that, as the size of the distance or discrepancy between the stated positions of the communicator and of the communicatee on an issue increased, the amount of communicator trustworthiness tended to decrease. This effect was limited to a communication message that was simply a statement of opinion and to moderate communicator-communicatee discrepancies. When supporting data was included with the statement of opinion, the subject's trustworthiness ratings of the communicator did not decrease as the discrepancy or difference in opinion on the issue increased. The authors suggested that a simple statement of opinion extremely different from that held by the communicatee will make the communicator appear highly trustworthy. An examination of the published data showed, that in the three cases tested, the level of significance was .20,.15, and .01. The levels of significance indicate that little evidence is available to support their conclusion that a simple statement of opinion extremely different from that held by the communicatee will make the communicator appear highly trustworthy.

The Brehm and Lipsher (1959) study considered only the trustworthiness of a source. There is evidence that trustworthiness is
only one factor or dimension of source credibility. In their book

Communication and Persuasion, Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953)

suggested that communicator credibility has two components or dimensions--

namely, trustworthiness and expertness. They assumed that the effects of the communicator are mediated by attitudes toward him by the members of the audience. The influence exerted by a communicator may be dependent upon any number of underlying variables or attitudes. may include feelings of affection, admiration awe, or fear. Other important attitudes are those of trust and confidence. These are related to perceptions of the communicator's credibility, including beliefs about his knowledge, intelligence and sincerity. Before one accepts a conclusion or platform advocated by a communicator, one must perceive him as not only well informed and intelligent but mest also perceive the communicator as being motivated to make valid assertions. Howland, Janis and Kelley (1953, p. 21) state that "it is necessary to make a distinction between 1) the extent to which a communicator is perceived to be a source of valid assertions (his 'expertness') and 2) the degree of confidence in the communicator's intent to communicate the assertions he considers most valid (his 'trustworthiness')." The authors do not offer any experimental research to validate their theoretic position. They considered credibility to be the summation of the dimensions of expertness and trustworthiness but do not offer any instrument to measure credibility.

In the past, the lack of a model which explains the components of credibility or an instrument which allows objective measurement of it has hampered research in the area. The source credibility index recently developed by Berlo and Lemert (1963) provides an operational definition and a measure of credibility of a message source. The index was constructed by means of a principal axis factor analytic procedure which utilized varimax rotation. The construction of the index was

explained by Lemert (1963) as follows:

"A list of 128 pairs of polar adjectives that describe qualities of message sources was compiled by means of interviews and a review of the relevant literature. This sample of adjectives was reduced to 83, using the criteria of overlap between word-pairs and of frequency of occurrence in the English language. These 83 adjective pairs were made the polar terms for scales. The 83 scales were then used by 91 subjects to rate each of 18 sources who have appeared or could appear in the press. Four factor analyses were performed. The first was based upon subjects' ratings of nine sources who have appeared in the news without any consideration of their relation to any subject matter area. The second was based upon subjects' ratings on the 83 scales of three sources whom they knew personally. The third factor analysis involved ratings of six sources who have appeared in the news, with each source presented as a speaker on a topic. In each of these three situations, both positive and negative sources were included. The final factor analysis was made by combining all of the ratings made. In each of the four analyses, three dominant factors emerged: safety (or trustworthiness), competence and dynamism."

In order to construct a credibility index for each dimension, four word-pairs were chosen. The word-pairs selected were highly loaded on the dimension being measured and minimally loaded on the other two dimensions. 1

The first two dimensions found by means of the factor analysis appear to be similar to what Hovland, Janis and Kelley (1953) called trustworthiness and expertness. The third factor, dynamism, refers to the personality characteristics of the communicator which are related to boldness, extroversion, energy, aggression, frankness and colorfulness.

Credibility and Dogmatism

Research by Rokeach (1954, 1960) indicates that the perceived credibility of a source may be influenced by the structure of an

¹The selection of word-pairs was made by V. C. Troldahl and James B. Lemert, their rationale being explained in an unpublished manuscript.

individual's belief system. Rokeach (1960) believes that beliefdisbelief systems can be differentiated on three dimensions: the organization of beliefs along a belief-disbelief continuum, a centralperipheral continuum and a time perspective dimension. The only dimension which is of interest to this investigation is the beliefdisbelief continuum. All of the beliefs being investigated are located within the intermediate region and are related to an individual's
perception of authority.

The belief system is "conceived to represent all the beliefs, sets, expectancies, or hypotheses, conscious and unconscious, that a person at a given time accepts as true of the world he lives in. The disbelief system is composed of a series of subsystems rather than merely a single one and contains all the disbeliefs, sets, expectancies, conscious and unconscious, that, to one degree or another, a person at a given time rejects as false" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 33).

Within the belief-disbelief dimension, beliefs tend to be isolated so that there is an accentuation of differences and a minimization of similarities between belief and disbelief systems. "No two persons have belief systems that are completely similar or completely different from each other. However, in a controversy among men who differ in belief systems we often hear strong denials of similarities between their respective systems, and, instead an overemphasis on differences. From a dynamic standpoint such accentuations of differences are viewed as attempts to ward off a threat to the validity of one's system.

From a structural standpoint it is viewed in terms of isolation between belief and disbelief systems" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 37). The various disbelief systems cannot all be assumed to be equally isolated from

the belief system. Degree of isolation can be conceived as varying with the degree of perceived similarity of the various disbelief subsystems to the belief system. In terms of political behavior the party which one feels closest to and supports can be thought of as the belief system. The other parties can be thought of as disbelief systems which can be arranged along a continuum with those closest to the belief system at one end (i.e., the party which is most similar to one's own) and those farthest from one's own at the other end (i.e., the party which is perceived as being least like one's own). "The greater the dogmatism, the greater the assumed degree of isolation or independence between the belief and disbelief systems" (Rokeach, 1954, p. 197). In other words, the greater the degree of dogmatism, the more will the belief system be perceived as different in content or aim from the disbelief system, e.g., Catholicism and Protestantism, the United States and Russia, or fascism and communism.

Not only the structure, but also the content of an individual's belief system is influenced by the degree of dogmatism. To the extent that the centrally located beliefs are part of a closed system, they form the cognitive bases for authoritarianism and intolerance. With an increase in dogmatism there will be 1) "not only increasing admiration or glorification of those perceived in positions of positive authority but also increasing fear, hatred, and villification of those perceived in positions of authority opposed to positive authority," 2) "an increasing strength of belief in a single cause and concomitantly a decreasing tendency to admit the legitimacy of other causes," and 3) "increasing polarized cognitive distinctions between the faithful and unfaithful, orthodoxy and heresy, loyalty and subversion. Those who

disagree are to be rejected since they are enemies of God, country, man, the working class, science or art" (Rokeach, 1954, p. 201).

Individuals who are high dogmatic tend to accentuate the differences and suppress and minimize the characteristics which they have in common with others who do not belong to their group or party. They also tend to overemphasize similarities between themselves and people they like or causes they support.

Differentiation and Dogmatism

In <u>The Open and Closed Mind</u>, Rokeach (1960) suggests that belief-disbelief systems vary in their degree of differentiation or articulation or richness of detail. Indicators of differentiation include the relative amount of knowledge possessed and the ability to perceive similarities and differences both within and between adjacent disbelief subsystems. "Intuitively, it would seem that most people know more facts, ideas, events and interpretations consistent with their belief system than with their disbelief system. That is, the belief system is generally more differentiated than any one of the disbelief subsystems" (Rokeach, 1960, p. 38).

In a recent study by Powell (1962) it was found that high dogmatics are less able to differentiate between a source and a message than are low dogmatics. When they were asked to rate sources and messages on evaluative scales, the low dogmatics were able to differentiate between the source and the message to a greater degree than were high dogmatics. Both sources and messages were used as reference points in judging the other. This study tended to support Rokeach's fundamental distinction between high and low dogmatics -- the relative

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ability to differentiate between and evaluate independently information and source of information.

Statement of Hypotheses

In order to replicate the work of Brehm and Lipsher (1959) on the trustworthiness dimension and to investigate whether or not the perceived competence and dynamism also decreased as the communicatorcommunicatee discrepancy of opinion on an issue increased, the following general hypothesis was tested:

The perceived credibility of a communicator or potential source will decrease as the perceived communicator-communicatee discrepancy increases. (This hypothesis should be true for all three dimensions of credibility.)

In order to test the theoretic proposition that "highly dogmatic individuals tend to emphasize the differences and minimize the similarities between their own belief systems and those of others" and that "there is a tendency for highly dogmatic individuals to agree very strongly with others who share their own views and to reject all other views," the following hypothesis was investigated:

Highly dogmatic individuals will perceive a representative of a political party which is a small psychic distance from themselves as more credible and a representative of a party which is a large psychic distance from themselves as less credible than will low dogmatic individuals.

The following theoretic hypothesis was investigated in order to test the proposition that "disbelief subsystems relatively close to the belief system will be relatively highly differentiated, while those farther away will be poorly differentiated":

As the distance between the belief system and the disbelief subsystems increases, the degree of differentiation within the disbelief subsystems will decrease. The hypothesis that:

Highly dogmatic individuals will be less able to differentiate within their belief and disbelief systems than will low dogmatic individuals.

was investigated to test the proposition that "the greater the dogmatism, the more differentiated the belief system will be compared to the disbelief system."

In order to test the theoretic hypotheses it was necessary to find an area where it was possible to measure varying distances between the position of a communicator and a communicatee on an issue. also necessary to be able to isolate a specific belief system or position and several disbelief subsystems or alternative positions which are at varying distances from that belief system. The area of partisan political adherence and consequent beliefs as found in the United States met the first but not the second of these criteria. The twoparty system found in the United States does not lend itself to an investigation of the party leaders as potential sources of the parties' belief systems because it is possible to compare only two leaders and it is not possible to differentiate within the disbelief system. The concept of subsystems within the disbelief system can only be investigated if there is more than one party within the over-all disbelief system. It was possible to overcome these problems by investigating the five Canadian political parties and leaders. With a multi-party system it is possible to consider the party which an individual considers closest to his own political position as the belief system and the other four as representing the disbelief system. The other parties can be thought of as four disbelief subsystems which can be differentiated between in terms of their position on an issue.

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Chapter 2

In order to investigate the theoretic hypotheses, it was necessary to restate them in terms of the subject matter area chosen. When operationalized in political behavior terms the theoretic hypotheses were:

- 1. The farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the lower he will score its leader on a measure of source credibility. (This was hypothesized to be true for the safety, competence and dynamism dimensions.)
- 2. Individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will perceive their own party leader as more credible and leaders of the other parties as less credible than will individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale.
- 3. The farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the less he will be able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index.
- 4. Individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will be less able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index than individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale.

Source Credibility

The source credibility of each of the five political parties and of each party leader was measured by means of the source credibility index developed by Berlo and Lemert (1963). This index purports to measure

Berlo, D. K. and Lemert, J. B. Unpublished manuscript. 1963. (The index was developed by means of a principle axis factor analysis utilizing varimax rotation. In order to check the reliability of the instrument Lemert performed a similar factor analysis on this data. When the scores from both the leaders and parties were combined into a single factor analysis it was found that each of the twelve word-pairs loaded highest on the predicted dimension.)

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three dimensions of credibility by means of twelve word-pairs. These dimensions are safety, competence and dynamism. The scores used in the statistical analyses were calculated by summing the individual scores on the four appropriate rating scales for each dimension. Each of the word-pairs was scored on a scale which extended from one to seven. In each case the "negative" word of the pair was put at the "one" end of the scale and the "positive" word at the "seven" end of the scale. The maximum possible credibility score for a party leader or party on each dimension was twenty-eight and the minimum was four. The word-pairs which were used to measure each of the three dimensions are presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Word-pairs used in the source credibility index.

| Dimension | Items |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Trustworthiness | Objective-Subjective |
| | Honest-Dishonest |
| | Safe-Dangerous |
| | Operminded-Closedminded |
| Competence | Educated-Uneducated |
| - | Trained-Untrained |
| | Informed-Uninformed |
| | Experienced-Unexperienced |
| Dynamism | Colorful-Dull |
| | Bold-Timid |
| | Extroverted-Introverted |
| | Frank-Reserved |

| 1Scales were | present | ed in | this | fashio | n: | | | |
|--------------|---------|-------|------|--------|----|---|---|------------|
| educated | | | : | : | · | : | : | uneducated |
| Scores: | 7 | 6 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 1 | |

The differentiation scores used in the second part of the investigation were calculated by subtracting, without regard for sign, the party leader score from the appropriate party score. In other words, the credibility rating on each dimension for each party leader was subtracted from the party ratings for the corresponding dimension. The maximum possible differentiation score was twenty-four and the minimum zero.

Psychic Distance

The perceived discrepancy or distance between one's own position and that of the other political parties was called the "psychic distance." It represents a measure of the communicator-communicatee discrepancy and of the distance between the belief and the several disbelief subsystems. In order to measure the psychic distance between one's own position and that of the five parties, each subject was asked to indicate where he believed each of the political parties would fall on a nine-point scale which had the word "left" at one end and "right" at the other. For ease of scoring, each party was judged on a separate scale. The final scale had the word "yourself" above it. The points on the scale were numbered from one to nine with the extreme "left" numbered one and the extreme "right" numbered nine. An individual's psychic distance for a particular party was determined by subtracting, without regard to sign, the score for that party from the score on the "yourself" scale.

Dogmatism

The degree of dogmatism was measured by means of an abridged version of the Rokeach Dogmatism Index, Form E (Rokeach, 1960, p. 73).

This index consisted of twenty items rather than the standard forty.

The items used were selected on the basis of an Item Analysis conducted by Troldahl (See Appendix 1).

Each subject was asked to score each statement from -3 to +3 with the zero position excluded. These were transformed into numerical scores of 1 to 6 and summed to provide a Dogmatism Score for each subject. The distribution of scores is indicated in Table 2. The median value of the distribution was 64, which is below the expected median of 70.² This indicates that the group as a whole tended to be slightly openminded. This finding is in accord with the findings of Rokeach (1960).

In an effort to gain maximum differentiation between the very high dogmatic and the very low dogmatic individuals Rokeach usually divides his samples into quartiles and compares the two extreme groups. The distribution of subjects and the small number of subjects in this study did not lend itself to such a division of the sample. It was decided to use three groups or levels of dogmatism rather than two in order to achieve greater statistical precision. The subjects were divided into three almost equal-sized groups on the dogmatism variable by classifying all those who scored 59 or less as low; those from 60 to 69 as medium; and those with scores of 70 and above as high.

¹Troldahl, V. C. Unpublished manuscript. 1963. (The item analysis was based on the responses of 227 suburban Boston residents. The 20 items are those which correlated highest with the total Dogmatism score as measured by Form E of the Rokeach Dogmatism Index. A separate cross-validation study found a correlation of 94 between individual's scores on the abridged and regular Dogmatism scales.)

²Expected median is half way between minimum score of 20 and maximum score of 120.

Table 2. Distribution of subjects' dogmatism scores.

| Scores | Frequency | |
|-----------|-----------|--|
| 30-39 | 3 | |
| 40-49 | 12 | |
| 50-59 | 45 | |
| 60-69 | 69 | |
| 70-79 | 45 | |
| 80-89 | 10 | |
| 90-99 | 3 | |
| | 187 | |

Research Design

The same statistical design was used to test the four hypotheses. The design which is illustrated in Figure 1 is a standard treatment by levels design used in the analysis of variance (Lindquist, 1953). The disproportionate distribution of subjects in the cells of the design made an approximate statistical test necessary (Walker and Lev, 1953). This means that an approximate rather than an exact test of significance was used. In the analysis the perceived discrepancy between an individual and each party, called psychic distance, was considered the "treatment." There were nine possible distances or treatments in each analysis but the number of treatments was reduced so that each cell had at least four observations. This criteria reduced the number of treatments to four, five or six depending upon the distribution of subjects within the party under study. Three degrees of dogmatism were used as the "levels" in the statistical analysis. In testing the hypotheses regarding credibility, each subject's score of the credibility of a leader was

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entered in one of the cells. In testing the hypotheses regarding differentiation, each subject's differentiation score was entered in the appropriate cell.

Figure 1. Investigational design.

| Degree of Dogmatism | Psychic Distance | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------|--------|------|-------|------------|-------|-------|----|
| | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| Low | | l Credil L | ilit | y Scoi | e or | Diffe | l renti | ation | n Sco | re |
| Medium | | | | | | | | | | |
| High | | | | | | | | | | |

Each subject assigned himself to a treatment and a level on the basis of his psychic distance from the party under study and his score on the Dogmatism scale. This meant that a subject's assignment to a cell was not randomized, since he could not be randomly assigned to the psychic distance or the dogmatism level. This lack of randomization limits the confidence we have in the interpretation of the findings. The inability to randomize each subject's assignment to the various cells of the statistical design means that the effects of variables which are correlated with psychic distance have not been held constant. A significant difference between the several psychic distances may in fact be due not to an intrinsic or actual difference but may be due to some uncontrolled variable which is correlated with psychic distance.

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It was necessary to analyze each of the parties separately because an individual's psychic distance from each of the parties could be different. The three dimensions of credibility were also analyzed separately because the researcher wanted to observe whether or not the three dimensions were all affected in the same way by the independent variables. The investigation consisted of thirty Analysis of Variance tests -- fifteen to test the hypotheses involving credibility and fifteen to test the hypotheses involving the ability to differentiate between party and leader. All one-hundred and eighty-six¹ subjects were included in every statistical test. The level of significance chosen was .05, two-tailed test.

Subjects

The subjects investigated were 187 male students from three colleges in Ontario. Six separate groups were surveyed: three at the Ontario Agricultural College, Guelph; two at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo; and one at the University of Western Ontario, London. The distribution of the sample by group and college is given in Table 3.

and applied biology. Groups Two and Three consisted of 18 juniors and 16 seniors respectively, who were specializing in Agricultural Economomics. The 50 seniors in Group Four were enrolled in a five-year alternate work-study program in engineering. The Fifth Group was composed of 39 men taking a non-degree evening course in business management.

The one subject who said that he was a Communist was included in all of the descriptions of the sample, but was not included in the analysis of the hypotheses. There was question as to the validity of his actual political preference and no generalizations can be made from a sample of one individual.

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 $\lim_{t\to\infty} ||\mathbf{a}_t(t)|| \leq \lim_{t\to\infty} ||\mathbf{a}_t(t)|| \leq \lim_{t\to\infty} ||\mathbf{a}_t(t)|| \leq \lim_{t\to\infty} |\mathbf{a}_t(t)||$

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Most of the individuals in this group were skilled technicians and foremen employed by local manufacturing industries. Group Six consisted of 39 first and second year Master of Business Administration candidates.

Table 3. Distribution of subjects according to groups and colleges.

| Group | College | % | |
|-------|-----------------|-------|--|
| 1 | 0.A.C. | 13 | |
| 2 | O.A.C. | 10 | |
| 3 | O.A.C. | 8 | |
| 4 | Waterloo | 27 | |
| 5 | Waterloo | 21 | |
| 6 | Western | _21 | |
| | | 100 | |
| | | N=187 | |

As is the case with any group of college students, this sample was not representative of the general population in terms of education, age or status. The number of years in school, although not reported, was well above the population average. Only students of voting age, 21 years and over, were included in the analysis. The distribution of subjects according to age is given in Table 4.

Table 4. Age of subjects

| Age | % | |
|---|--------------------------------|--|
| 21-25 26-30 31-35 36-40 41-50 | 69 14 9 5 <u>3</u> | |
| | 100 | |
| | N=187 | |

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When the status of their father's occupation was compared with the Canadian Census (1951), a large discrepancy was found between the percentage of individuals in the sample and in the general population who belonged to the different status classifications. An occupational scale² developed by Blishen (1959) was used to assign the subjects to seven status groups. Those individuals found in class one have the highest status while those in class seven have the lowest status. Table 5 shows the distribution of subjects within the seven classes and the percentage of people in the general population falling into each class. The difference between the sample and the general population distribution was significant at the .01 level ($X^2 = 147.6$; d.f. = 6). The four highest class groups were over-represented in the sample while the lowest two were severely under-represented. This means that the sample is not representative of the population. Almost half of the subjects were in the top three status groups, while less than a fifth of the total Canadian population were in these status groups.

¹The members of Group Five, because they were older and almost all were employed, were asked to indicate their own occupation.

²The scale was based upon the average yearly income and the number of years of schooling of each of 343 occupations.

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 $\mathbf{a} = \mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{b} \cdot \mathbf{a} + \mathbf{b} \cdot \mathbf{a} \cdot \mathbf{b}$

Table 5. Distribution of subjects according to occupational status of fathers.

| Class | Score | % in Sample | % in Canada (1951 Census) |
|-------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | 74 plus | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 57 - 73 | 36 | 11 |
| 3 | 54 - 56 | 9 | 6 |
| 4 | 51 - 53 | 11 | 7 |
| 5 | 46 - 50 | 34 | 34 |
| 6 | 42 - 45 | 8 | 20 |
| 7 | 41 less | 1 | 21 |
| | | 100 | 100 |
| | | N=187 | |
| | $X^2 = 14$ | 7.6; d.f. = 6; p <.01 | |

The way in which the whole group perceived the relative positions of the five national political parties on the left-right continuum is illustrated in the graph below (Figure 2). The average score for "self" was the same as the average score for the Liberal Party. This similarity may be partly related to the fact that a large percentage of the subjects stated that they felt closest to the Liberal Party.

Figure 2. Average of perceived positions of the political parties on the left-right continuum.

| Left | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 7 | 8 | 9 | Right |
|------|----------|---|---|------------|---|--------------------------|---|---|---|---|-------|
| | 1 Com | | | 3.8 .P. | | 5.9 Lib. & Self | | | | | |

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 $\mathcal{F}_{i} = \mathcal{F}_{i} \mathbf{a}_{i} \mathbf{a}_{i} \mathbf{a}_{i}$, where i is i in

The distribution of subjects according to stated political party preference is given in Table 6.

Table 6. Stated party preference of subjects.

| Party | % | |
|--------------------------|-------|--|
| Liberal | 42 | |
| Progressive Conservative | 39 | |
| New Democratic | 15 | |
| Social Credit | 3 | |
| Communist | _1 | |
| | 100 | |
| | N=187 | |

Each of the subjects indicated his interest in politics on a four-point scale extending from "very much" to "none at all." The distribution of subjects according to amount of political interest is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of subjects according to amount of interest in politics.

| | Interest | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-------------|-------|--|--|--|
| | Very Much | A Good Deal | A Little | None at All | Total | | | |
| % of Sample N=187 | 18 | 52 | 29 | 1 | 100% | | | |

Further analysis by means of Chi Square tests to determine whether there was a relationship between interest in politics and political preference or interest in politics and the group of which the subject was a part indicated that there was no significant difference in either case.

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The Questionnaire

Identical questionnaires were administered to all the subjects. The first part was a series of nine-point scales which had the word "left" at one end and "right" at the other. Five of the scales had the names of one of the political parties above it. The sixth and final scale had the word "yourself" above it. The subjects were asked to indicate the positions of each party and of themselves on a left-right continuum. The names of the two parties which were best known were presented first so that the subjects would be faced with a relatively easy decision at the beginning. Parties were presented in alternate order of "left" and "right" as generally perceived.

The second part of the questionnaire consisted of ten identical copies of the source credibility index. Each of the twelve polar-opposite word-pairs was separated by a seven-point scale. The word-pairs were ordered so that no two word-pairs of the same dimension followed one another. The positive-negative ends of the continuum were randomized. The name of one of the national political parties was put at the top of each of the first five pages and the name of the five national party leaders were put at the top of the last five pages. The parties were presented in random order and the leaders were arranged in the same order as the parties.

The third section of the questionnaire contained twenty-one items of the Rokeach Dogmatism Index, Form E. The twenty items of the abridged dogmatism scale were arranged in random order and one extra item was then placed at the beginning of the test in order to give the subjects

¹See Appendix 2.

an opportunity to acquire practice in scoring the scale. Each subject was asked to score each statement on a six-point scale from -3 to +3 with the zero position excluded. These were later transformed into numerical scores of 1 to 6 and summed over the twenty items in order to get a Dogmatism score for each subject.

Additional information regarding sex, age, voting intentions, father's occupation, interest in politics and party to which the subject felt closest was collected in the final section of the questionnaire.

Interviewing Procedure

With five of the six groups the researcher was able to have the respondents fill out the questionnaire during or immediately after a class. In three cases the professor introduced the researcher as a student interested in collecting data for a research project. In one case the students were told that an alumnus wished them to participate in a survey and they went to a lecture room after the completion of a laboratory period. The subjects were not forced to participate but all chose to do so. In another case the students were instructed to meet the researcher in a classroom and were not told the purpose of the meeting prior to their arrival. In the sixth case the questionnaires were administered by a friend of the researcher to the subjects at lunch and at the end of classes.

The interviewing procedures were not uniform because many scheduling problems were encountered. The timing of the survey coincided with the end of the winter semester. All interviews were conducted between March 21 and 26, 1963. Many professors were unwilling to give up even part of a class because they had specific work designated for each remaining class session. In order to get enough subjects without

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without increasing the number of interviewing sessions considerably, the researcher had to be flexible as to the time and the conditions under which he interviewed the subjects.

Controls

Throughout the questionnaire the order in which the five parties and leaders were presented was randomized every time it was necessary to list them. This was done in an effort to prevent the subjects from getting the impression that the researcher had a party preference.

The items within the source credibility index were arranged so that no two word-pairs which were a measure of the same dimension occurred consecutively and the positive-negative ends of the scales were randomized. The twenty-items used to measure Dogmatism were randomized by means of a table of random numbers. An example was given and a warm-up item was inserted at the first of the series of statements.

Before administering the questionnaire, the experimenter stated very explicitly that he was not primarily interested in voting behavior, that he had no affiliation with any political party, and that he was interested only in the measurement of attitudes and that political attitudes were being studied because the impending national election had created a lot of interest in politics.

During the first interviewing session, it was found necessary to identify Leslie Morris as leader of the Communist Party and to explain the concept of "left-right." Leslie Morris was unknown to most of the subjects. In order not to use the words Liberal or Conservative because of their party connotations, an effort was made to explain the left-right dimension in terms of Marxism-Fascism. Even though these instructions

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were given to all groups, three individuals scored the Communist Party at the extreme right position. This may have been due to a misunder-standing or a failure to discriminate between Communists and Fascists.

The subjects were instructed to use the middle blank of the scales if they were unable to make a judgment, felt neutral towards the concept being scored, didn't know how to score the concept or felt that the word-pairs did not apply.

Chapter 3

Results

One hundred and eighty-seven Canadian college students were asked to rate the five national political parties and their leaders on a Source Credibility Index. The subjects were divided into several groups on the basis of their distance from each of the political parties and on the basis of their scores on a Dogmatism Index. The credibility ratings of each of the leaders was investigated to determine whether the level of dogmatism or the distance between an individual and a political party influences an individual's perception of a communicator's credibility. Further analysis of the data was done to investigate the influence of one's dogmatism level on the ability to differentiate between a political party and that party's leader on a source credibility index.

Source Credibility

The hypothesis that the credibility of a party leader would decrease as the psychic distance increased was said to be supported if the treatment effect was found to be significant and an examination of the treatment means indicated that they increased in the predicted direction.

This hypothesis was supported for the safety dimension, partially supported for the competence dimension and not supported for the dynamism dimension.

The hypothesis that highly dogmatic individuals tend to rate their own party leader as more credible and all other leaders as less credible than do low dogmatic individuals was tested by means of an interaction effect. A significant interaction would support the hypothesis only if the interaction occurred in the cells of minimum psychic distance

and the cell means varied in the predicted direction. This hypothesis was not generally supported. The findings on all of the dimensions for both of these hypotheses will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The results of the fifteen analysis of variance tests are summarized in Table 8. The treatment (psychic distance) means and the levels (dogmatism) means are presented in Table 9 for all of the analyses where a significant difference was found. In the cases where there was a significant interaction, all of the cell means are given.

Table 8. Results of analysis of variance tests on credibility ratings of five political leaders.

| Test | Party Leader | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------------|----------|--------|--|--|--|--|
| | Pearson | Diefenbaker | Douglas | Thompson | Morris | | | | |
| | Di | mension Analyzed | l: Safety | | | | | | |
| Treatment | .01 | .01 | .05 | nsd | .01 | | | | |
| Level | nsd | .01 | nsd | .05 | nsd | | | | |
| Interaction | nsd | .01 | nsd | .05 | .01 | | | | |
| | Dime | ension Analyzed: | Competenc | e | | | | | |
| Treatment | .01 | .05 | .05 | nsd | nsd | | | | |
| Level | .01 | .05 | nsd | nsd | nsd | | | | |
| Interaction | .01 | nsd | nsd | .05 | nsd | | | | |
| | Din | nension Analyzed: | : Dyn ami sm | ı | | | | | |
| Treatment | nsd | nsd | nsd | nsd | .01 | | | | |
| Level | nsd | nsd | nsd | nsd | .05 | | | | |
| Interaction | nsd | nsd | nsd | nsd | nsd | | | | |

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Table 9. Significant analysis of variance tests and treatment and levels means for source credibility ratings of party leaders.

| | Dimension: | : S a fety | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------|--------|
| | Party Leader: I | Lester Pe | arson | |
| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
| Psychic Distance | 26.22 | 3 | 8.74 | 4.43** |
| Dogmatism | 9.31 | 2 | 4.66 | 2.36 |
| Interaction | 3.65 | 6 | .61 | |
| Error | | 174 | 1.97 | |
| Total | 39.28 | 185 | | |
| **p<.01 | | | | |
| | Treatment Means (Pa | sychic Di | stance) | |
| Psychic Distance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Average | 20.6 | 19.3 | 19.7 | 16.6 |

| Party Lead | der: | John | Di | .efen | baker |
|------------|------|------|----|-------|-------|
|------------|------|------|----|-------|-------|

| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
|------------------|----------------|------------|-------------|---------|
| Psychic Distance | 53.80 | 3 | 17.93 | 27.38** |
| Dogmatism | 7.39 | 2 | 3.70 | 5.64** |
| Interaction | 19.04 | 6 | 3.17 | 4.84** |
| Error | | <u>174</u> | .65 | |
| Total | 80.23 | 185 | | |

^{**}p < .01 in all cases

Cell, Treatment and Levels Means

| Dogmatism Levels | | Treatmen | ts (Psychic | Distance) | |
|------------------|------|----------|-------------|-----------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | x |
| Low | 18.7 | 14.5 | 13.3 | 15.4 | 16.0 |
| Medium | 19.3 | 18.3 | 16.0 | 14.9 | 17.8 |
| High | 19.4 | 17.2 | 14.7 | 10.5 | 17.5 |
| X | 19.2 | 16.7 | 14.7 | 13.6 | |

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Table 9--Continued

| Party | Leader: | Tommy | Doug 1 | Las |
|-------|---------|-------|--------|-----|
|-------|---------|-------|--------|-----|

| Party Leader: Tommy Douglas | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|--------|----------------|--|--|
| Source | Sum of So | quares d.f. | Mean Squ | are | F | | |
| Psychic Distance | 58.0 | 9 5 | 11.62 | | 5.46 ** | | |
| Dogmatism | .7 | 0 2 | .35 | | | | |
| Interaction | 36.6 | 50 10 | 3.66 | | 1.72 | | |
| Error | | <u>168</u> | 2.13 | | | | |
| Total | 92.3 | | | | | | |
| **p<.01 | | | | | | | |
| | Tı | eatment Means | | | | | |
| Psychic Distance | 1 | 2 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |
| Average | 19.7 | 20.1 17.4 | | 16.9 | | | |
| | Party Lead | ler: Robert The | omp son | | | | |
| Source | Sum of So | quares d.f. | Mean | Square | F | | |
| Psychic Distance | 8.4 | 8 4 | 2.12 | | 1.23 | | |
| Dogmatism | 10.7 | - | 5.39 | | 3.13* | | |
| Interaction | 30.5 | | 3.82 | | 2.22* | | |
| Error | | 171 | 1.72 | | | | |
| Total | 49.8 | 171 185 | | | | | |
| *p<.05 | | | | | | | |
| | Cell, Treat | ment and Level | s Means | | | | |
| Dogmatism Levels | | Treatments (| Psychic Dis | tance) | | | |

| Dogmatism Levels | | Trea | tments (P | sychic Di | stance) | |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | X |
| Low | 18.1 | 15.4 | 16.1 | 16.5 | 11.3 | 15.9 |
| Medium <u>H</u> igh | 17.4 15.8 | 17.2 17.5 | 15.7 16.9 | 15.5 18.1 | 14.3 19.2 | 16.4 17.3 |
| X | 17.1 | 16.7 | 16.3 | 16.7 | 14.9 | |

Table 9--Continued

Party Leader: Leslie Morris

| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
|------------------|----------------|-------------|-------------|---------|
| Psychic Distance | 17.07 | 4 | 4.27 | 14.16** |
| Dogmatism | 1.60 | 2 | .80 | 2.65 |
| Interaction | 34.69 | 8 | 4.34 | 14.39** |
| Error | | <u> 171</u> | .30 | |
| Total | 53.35 | 185 | | |

^{**}p<.01 in all cases

Cell, Treatment and Levels Means

| Dogmatism Levels | Je11, 11. | | atments (Pa | | stance) | |
|------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|-------|-------------|--------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | x |
| Low | 13.5 | 13.1 | 12.0 | 9.7 | 14.0 | 12.8 |
| Medium <u>H</u> igh | 14.4 12.3 | 12.8 15.0 | 13.7 14.2 | | 7.5 11.1 | 13.6 13.2 |
| X | 13.4 | 13.6 | 13.3 | 11.9 | 10.7 | |
| | Dim | ension: | Competence | e | | |
| | Party 1 | Leader: | Lester Pe | arson | | |

| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
|------------------|----------------|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Psychic Distance | 20.24 | 3 | 6.75 | 15.09** 7.18** |
| Dogmatism | 6.42 | 2 | 3.21 | |
| Interaction | 8.43 | 6 | 1.40 | 3.14 ** |
| Error | | <u>174</u> | .45 | |
| Total | 35.09 | 185 | | |

^{**}p <.01 in all cases

Cell, Treatment and Levels Means

| Dogmatism Levels | | Treatmen | ts (Psychic | Distance) | |
|------------------|------|----------|-------------|--------------|------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | x |
| Low | 26.0 | 26.3 | 26.1 | 25. 2 | 26.1 |
| Medium | 24.1 | 22.0 | 23.1 | 23.6 | 23.3 |
| High | 24.3 | 22.2 | 25.2 | 20.8 | 23.3 |
| High X | 24.8 | 23.4 | 24.8 | 23.2 | |

Table 9--Continued

Party Leader: John Diefenbaker

| Source | Sum of Squares | | Mean Squar | e F |
|------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|--------------|--|
| Psychic Distance | 14.57 | 3 | 3 4.86 | |
| Dogmatism | 11.85 | 2 | 5.92 | 3.50 [*] 4.27 [*] |
| Interaction | 2.88 | 6 | .48 | |
| Error | | <u>174</u> | 1.39 | |
| Total | 29.30 | 185 | | |
| * p < .05 in both ca | ses | | | |
| | Treatmen | t Means | | |
| Psychic Distance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Average | 24.4 | 23.3 | 22.4 | 21.6 |
| | Levels : | Means | | |
| Dogmatism | Low Medium | | High | |
| Average | 24.3 | | 23.7 | 22.8 |
| | Party Leader: | Tommy Dou | g las | |
| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Squar | e F |
| Psychic Distance | 31.48 | 5 | 6.30 | 2.32* |
| Dogmatism | 1.90 | 2 | .95 | 2.32 |
| Interaction | 6.64 | 10 | .66 | |
| Error | | <u> 168</u> | 2.71 | |
| Total | 40.00 | 185 | | |
| * p ⟨ .05 | | | | |
| | Treatmen | t Means | | |
| | | | | |
| Psychic Distance | 1 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 6 |

Table 9--Continued

| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Squares | F |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|--------------|-------|
| Psychic Distance | 20.65 | 4 | 5.16 | 2.37 |
| Dogmatism | 3.52 | 2 | 1.76 | |
| Interaction Error Total | $\frac{35.90}{61.07}$ | 8 <u>171</u> 185 | 4.49 2.17 | 2.06* |

^{*}p<.05 in all cases

Cell, Treatment and Levels Means

| | 0022, 110 | Ju Cim Cin C | ic bever | .o iwano | | |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Dogmatism Levels | Treatments (Psychic Distance) | | | | | |
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | x |
| Low Medium <u>H</u> igh X | 19.9 20.0 16.4 18.8 | 16.9 19.0 19.8 18.6 | 18.9 18.4 18.5 18.6 | 18.4 16.1 18.6 17.7 | 14.1 19.4 | 18.0 18.2 18.4 |
| | Din | ension: | Dynamis | sm. | | |
| | Party I | Leader:] | Leslie M | lorris | | |
| Source | Sum of | Squares | d.f. | Mean | Square | F |
| Psychic Distance Dogmatism Interaction Error Total | 5 12 | 5.96 5.88 2.09 | 4 2 8 <u>171</u> 185 | 2. 1. | 24 94 51 85 | 4.94** 3.42* 1.76 |
| **p < .01 *p < .05 | | | | | | |
| | | Treatment | t Means | | | |
| Psychic Distance Average | 1 16.6 | 2 16.8 | 3 | 3 16.2 | 4 15.2 | 5 18.4 |
| | | Levels 1 | Mea ns | | | |
| Dogmatism Average | Low 16.0 |) | | Medium 17.5 | | High 16.6 |

Dogmatism and Differentiation

The hypothesis that the farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the less he will be able to differentiate between the party leader and party on a source credibility index was tested by means of the treatment effect. The statistical tests failed to support the hypothesis.

The hypothesis that individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will be less able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index than individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale was tested by means of the levels effect. The statistical tests failed to support the hypothesis.

The results of the fifteen analysis of variance tests are summarized in Table 10. The treatment (distance between the belief and disbelief subsystems) means and the levels (dogmatism) means are presented in Table 11 for all of the analyses where either the treatment or the levels were found to be significant. Since no hypotheses were made which involved interaction effects, the means of the cells will not be presented for those interactions which were significant.

Table 10. Results of analysis of variance tests on differentiation ratings of five party-party leader pairs.

| Test | Party of Party-Party Leader Pair | | | | | | | | |
|-------------|---|-----------|-------------|------------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| | Liberal Conservative Democratic Social Credit Communist | | | | | | | | |
| | D | imension | Analyzed: | Safety | | | | | |
| Treatment | nsd | .05 | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| Level | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| Interaction | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| | D | imension | Analyzed: | Competence | | | | | |
| Treatment | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| Level | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| Interaction | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| | Di | mension A | Analyzed: 1 | Dyn amism | | | | | |
| Treatment | nsd | nsd | nsd | ns | d nsd | | | | |
| Level | nsd | nsd | nsd | .0 | l nsd | | | | |
| Interaction | nsd | nsd | .05 | ns | | | | | |

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Table 11. Significant analysis of variance tests and treatment and levels means for differential ratings.

| | Dimension: | Safety | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|--------|
| | Party: Progressiv | e Conser | vative | |
| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
| Psychic Distance | 4.79 | 3 | 1.60 | 3.32* |
| Dogmatism | .33 | 2 | . 17 | |
| Interaction | 2.22 | 6 | .37 | |
| Error | | 174 185 | .48 | |
| Total | 7.34 | 185 | | |
| * _P <. 05 | | | | |
| | Treatment | : Means | | |
| Distanc | e between belief ar | nd disbel | lief subsystems | |
| Psychic Distance | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
| Avera ge | 2.9 | 2. 5 2.7 | | 4.1 |
| | Dimension: | Dynamism | n. | |
| | Party: Soci | ial Credi | lt | |
| Source | Sum of Squares | d.f. | Mean Square | F |
| Psychic Distance | .90 | 4 | .23 | |
| Dogmatism | 10.07 | 2 | 5.03 | 4.76** |
| Interaction | 12.44 | 8 | 1.55 | 1.47 |
| Error | | <u>171</u> | 1.06 | |
| Total | 23.37 | 185 | | |
| **p<.01 | | | | |
| | Levels h | leans | | |
| Dogmatism | Low | P | High | |
| Average | 4.9 | • | 4.1 | 3.3 |
| - | • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • | | | |

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Other Findings

Analysis of the data by means of analysis of variance tests to determine the effect of party preference upon how individual scored each of the parties on the left-right continuum indicated that the differences were not significant. The way in which each party was scored by the individual adherents of each of the other parties was tested separately. The way in which the five Social Creditors and the one Communist scored the other parties was not computed because of the small number of subjects involved. Table 12 shows the complete scoring of the parties on the left-right continuum. Note the high agreement between the way in which party members score their own position and that of the party to which they feel the closest. This agreement is an indicator of the reliability of the subject's scoring of the left-right continuum.

Table 12. Average scores showing how subjects scored parties on the left-right continuum.*

| Party Preference of Subject | Item Scored | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-------|--------|------|------|------|
| | N. | Self | Comm. | N.D.P. | s.c. | Lib. | P.C. |
| N.D.P. | 28 | 4.6 | 1.5 | 4.4 | 5.0 | 5.6 | 6.2 |
| Liberal | 80 | 5.3 | 1.3 | 3.6 | 5.0 | 5.9 | 6.2 |
| P.C. | 73 | 6.4 | 1.6 | 3.9 | 4.6 | 5.9 | 6.4 |
| Social Credit | 5 | 6.2 | | | 6.0 | | |

^{*}Most extreme left position was scored 1 and most extreme right position was scored 9.

A number of tests of significance using Chi Square were carried out in an effort to determine whether the adherents to each of the parties differed in respect to: distribution among each of the six college groups; status and dogmatism level. A significant difference was found in the number of party adherents who were found in each of the six college groups (X² = 65.8; d.f. = 15). At the Ontario Agricultural College a disproportionate number of subjects preferred the New Democratic Party. At Waterloo the Progressive Conservatives appeared to have larger than expected number of supporters. At Western a majority of the students interviewed preferred the Liberal Party. The distribution of subjects according to political preference and college group is given in Table 13.

No significant difference was found in the frequency with which party adherents were distributed within the status groups. No significant difference was found in the frequency with which the adherents of each party were distributed to the three levels of dogmatism. The adherents of each party tended to be equally high, medium and low dogmatic.

An analysis of the data showed that there was a very significant difference between the members of the six college groups in their distribution to the three levels of Dogmatism ($X^2 = 28.9$; d.f. = 10). The engineering students tended to be much more dogmatic than average. Group One, composed of biology students, also tended to be highly dogmatic. The two groups of agricultural economics students tended to be just slightly less dogmatic than average, while the business administration students scored particularly low on the Dogmatism Index. See Table 14 for the distribution of party adherents to the three levels of Dogmatism.

Table 13. Party preference by college and group.

| Party Preference | Ontario Agricultural | | | Wate | rloo | Western | |
|---------------------|----------------------|-----------|------------|------------|---------|---------|--------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | All Ss |
| s. C. | 0% | 0% | 0% | 4% | 3% | 5% | 3% |
| N.D.P. | 44 | 50 | 0 | 10 | 3 | 5 | 15 |
| P.C. | 40 | 17 | 5 6 | 5 2 | 46 | 18 | 39 |
| Lib. | 16 | 33 | 44 | 32 | 48 | 72 | 42 |
| Comm. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | _1_ |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% |
| | N=25 | N=18 | N=16 | N=50 | N=39 | N=39 | N=187 |
| | | $x^2 = 6$ | 5.8 at 1 | 5 d.f.; | p < .01 | | |

Table 14. Distribution of subjects according to experimental group and dogmatism level.

| Dogmatism | | Group | | | | | | |
|---|------|-------------|------|------|------|------|--|--|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | | |
| Low | 20% | 33% | 50% | 24% | 18% | 56% | | |
| Medium | 40% | 39% | 44% | 38% | 33% | 33% | | |
| High | 40% | <u> 28%</u> | 6% | 38% | 49% | 11% | | |
| Total | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | 100% | | |
| | N=25 | N=18 | N=16 | N=50 | N=39 | N=39 | | |
| x ² - 28.9 at 10 d.f.; p < .01 | | | | | | | | |

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Chapter 4

Discussion

Summary of Findings

The four statistical hypotheses were tested with the following results:

- 1. The hypothesis that the farther one perceives a political party to be from his own position, the lower he will score its leader on a source credibility index was supported for the safety dimension of credibility, partially supported for the competence dimension, and not supported for the dynamism dimension.
- 2. The hypothesis that individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will perceive their own party leader as more credible and leaders of the other parties as less credible than will individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale was not supported.
- 3. The hypothesis that the farther one perceives a political party to be from his own political position, the less he will be able to differentiate between party leader and party on a source credibility index was not supported.
- 4. The hypothesis that individuals who score high on the Dogmatism scale will be less able to differentiate between party and leader on a source credibility index than individuals who score low on the Dogmatism scale was not supported.

Psychic Distance and Source Credibility

<u>Safety Dimension</u>. The findings on the safety dimension support the conclusions of Brehm and Lipsher (1959) that the farther one perceives

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a political party to be from his own position the less trustworthy he perceives its leader. In four of the five tests of the hypothesis, the findings were significant and in the direction predicted. In the fifth test, an interaction was found to be significant. Further examination of the cell means indicated that the hypothesis was supported by those who scored low on the Dogmatism scale, but not by those who scored high.

Competence Dimension. The hypothesis that perceived competence decreases as psychic distance increases was partially supported. Two of the five tests of the hypothesis supported it. In another test, a significant effect was found, but not in the predicted direction; competence increased rather than decreased as psychic distance increased. In another test, where the main effects were not significant, the interaction was significant and the hypothesis was supported for those who scored low on the Dogmatism scale. In the fifth case no significant difference was found.

Dynamism Dimension. The hypothesis that perceived dynamism decreases as psychic distance increases was not supported. In the one test where a significant main effect was found, the direction of the difference was opposite to that predicted.

Critique of Methodology. The non-significant findings on the dynamism dimension cannot be explained in terms of the inability of the scale of left-right orientation to measure psychic distance because of the significant findings on the safety dimension. The source credibility index may not give as accurate a measure of dynamism as it does of

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safety. Two of the word-pairs used to measure dynamism, colorful-dull and bold-timid, loaded moderately on the competence dimension in the factor analysis used to choose the word-pairs. The dynamism ratings may be somewhat contaminated by ratings on the other dimensions.

Dogmatism, Psychic Distance and Credibility

The hypothesis that high dogmatics will perceive their own party leader as more credible and all other leaders as less credible than will low dogmatics was tested by means of an interaction effect and an inspection of the pattern of means. The hypothesis was not supported for any of the party leaders on any of the dimensions.

The lack of significant findings on this hypothesis might suggest that the abridged form of the Dogmatism scale was not discriminating adequately between high and low dogmatics. This may be true, but it should be remembered that in a cross-validation check of the abridged Dogmatism scale, the 20 items correlated .94 with the total 40-item scale. This indicates that the full 40-item scale would not have produced a very different distribution of subjects into the three levels of dogmatism.

Differentiation Hypotheses

Psychic Distance. The hypothesis that the degree of differentiation will decrease as the distance between the belief and disbelief subsystems increases was not supported in any of the analyses. In one case, a significant difference was found (John Diefenbaker of the safety dimension), but the results were in the direction opposite to that predicted.

<u>Dogmatism</u>. The hypothesis that low dogmatics are better able to differentiate than high dogmatics was not generally supported. Where the differentiation was based on judgments of "safety" or "competence," the hypothesis was never confirmed. Where differentiation was based on "dynamism" judgments, the results were significant in one of the five tests of the hypothesis. For three of the other tests, the differences, although not significant, were in the predicted direction. Two interactions were significant, and in one case, Leslie Morris on the dynamism dimension, the differences were in the predicted direction.

These results tend to contradict those of Powell who found that high dogmatics were less able to differentiate between message and source than low dogmatics. The two studies differ in that the Powell study (1962) compared subjects' ratings of a source and a message while this study compared subjects' ratings of two potential sources, a party and its leader. There was no actual message in this study.

Critique of Methodology. The generally non-significant findings on the differentiation hypotheses could be due to inadequacies in either the research methodology or the Dogmatism theory. Before the theory is questioned, an evaluation of the methodology used in the study is in order.

The failure to find a significant difference in differentiation as psychic distance increases may have been related to the subject matter area chosen. Each of the five political parties was assumed to be representative of a belief or disbelief subsystem. It was assumed that, with this number of parties, each subject would feel that one of the parties was representative of his political philosophy (belief

system) and that the other four were representative of subsystems within his disbelief system. It is possible that some individuals did not perceive any of the parties as a belief system nor any of the others as disbelief subsystems. If an individual were slightly interested in politics and did not have any strong party identification, he might perceive all of the parties rather similarly. In such a case, he might not distinguish between the belief and disbelief systems. However, since 70 per cent of the subjects stated that they were either "very" or "a good deal" interested in politics and 97 per cent of them said that they intended to vote in the forthcoming election, political parties and their leaders seemed to be a salient issue to most of the subjects.

When each individual's scoring of "self" on the left-right scale was compared with his stated political preference, 23 per cent of the subjects scored themselves closer to one of the other parties on the left-right scale than they did to the party that they stated they felt closest to. Most of these discrepancies in psychic distance were eliminated when the nine possible psychic distance categories were reduced for the final analysis.

The measuring instrument used in the study may have contributed to the non-significant findings. The results on the credibility hypothesis suggest that psychic distance, as measured by the scale of left-right orientation was a meaningful measure of the distance between an individual and a belief system. This unidimensional measure of an individual's distance from each of the political parties may not have been meaningful or accurate. The use of a scale which considered more dimensions, such as the Radical-Conservative and Tough-Tender dimensions used by Eysenck (1954), would have allowed more complete measurement of

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the psychic distance but would also have complicated the experimental design. Some or all of these aspects of the psychic distance measure may have contributed to the non-significant findings.

One of the most obvious explanations of the lack of significance on the differentiation tests would be that the difference between one's rating of a political party and the party leader on a source credibility index is not a precise measure of one's ability to differentiate within a belief or disbelief system. Since an individual's perceptions, in terms of credibility, of a party and a leader are usually fairly similar, one's differentiation score would always be quite small. The seven-point scale may be too gross a measure for such small differences. This may partly explain the lack of significant differences on the psychic distance hypothesis.

The investigational design did not allow randomization of treatments or levels because each subject assigned himself to a Dogmatism level and a psychic distance. The lack of randomization reduces the generalizability of the results and decreases our confidence in the one hypothesis that was statistically supported. The significant differences found may be due to psychic distance or to other uncontrolled variables that are correlated with psychic distance, such as the amount of information known about each party or leader, interest in politics, previous voting behavior, parental voting record or area where one lives.

The results of the analyses on Leslie Morris, leader of the Communist Party, and Robert Thompson, leader of the Social Credit Party, may not be as dependable as the others. Forty-three per cent of the subjects scored Leslie Morris in the neutral position of the scale for all the word-pairs in the credibility index. Very few of the subjects knew

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who he was. Only two per cent of the subjects scored the Communist

Party in this manner. This may have increased the differentiation
scores used in the analyses. The psychic distance between subjects
and party varied more with the Social Credit Party than with any other
party. The standard deviation of the perceived position of the Social
Credit party on the scale of left-right orientation was almost twice
as large as that of the other parties (S.D. = 2.5). This indicates
a great difference of opinion about the location of this party in relation to the other parties. A number of people who perceived the party
quite differently were probably put into the same psychic category during the analyses.

In retrospect, a more precise measuring instrument probably would have increased the accuracy of the study. When differences are quite small it is very difficult to measure them accurately. The use of the Social Credit and Communist parties and their leaders to test general non-political oriented hypotheses is not recommended. They represent atypical political parties; there is a lack of general agreement upon their position or philosophy; and they are not well known to some individuals.

Implications

The positive findings on the relationship between psychic distance and credibility warrant some discussion. A consistent relationship was found between psychic distance and the "trustworthiness" dimension of credibility. This finding is consistent with those of Brehm and Lipsher (1959), who also studied the "trustworthiness" of a source. The hypothesis concerning the relationship between psychic distance and the

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competence dimension of credibility was only partially supported. No relationship was found between psychic distance and the dynamism dimension.

Had a larger sample of persons been studied, it is possible that a consistent relationship between psychic distance and competence would have been found. However, even if this were the case, evidence in this study suggests that the relationship would have been less consistent than that found for psychic distance and trustworthiness. Therefore, it seems that when a person compares his own party's leader and the leader of another party he sees them as more different in trustworthiness than in competence. Furthermore, there is no evidence in this study that he sees any difference between them in terms of dynamism.

Why did the subjects studied rate leaders of other parties less trustworthy? One possibility would be post-decision dissonance. If a person is already committed to a political candidate and he finds other candidates similar to the candidate he is committed to, he is likely to experience dissonance. In order to reduce the dissonance, he may perceive the other candidate as less trustworthy.

One might question why a person is more likely to utilize trustworthiness as the dissonance-reducing mechanism than competence or
dynamism. There seems to be one very plausible explanation. It stems
from the evaluative, connotative nature of trustworthiness. A person's
competence can usually be estimated more objectively than his trustworthiness because the amount of education, training, experience, and
information he has is more public than how objective, honest, safe or
openminded he is. Therefore, a person is less likely to be contradicted
if he changes his trustworthiness perceptions than if he changes those
concerning competence.

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These findings would seem to have applicability in applied politics. A political leader, wanting to convert adherents to another political leader, apparently should concentrate on increasing his perceived trustworthiness to a level at least equal that of his opponents. The findings of this study suggest that he should be more concerned about his perceived trustworthiness than his perceived competence and that he need not be greatly concerned about his perceived dynamism.

The data imply that there is no difference in the way high and low dogmatics rate sources. This finding may indicate that either the methodology was inadequate or no difference actually exists. Until further study has been carried out, no further conclusions about this hypothesis are justified.

The findings on the differentiation hypotheses imply that further study of this area is also necessary. There appears to be a similarity in the way individuals rate a party and its leader. There may be an overriding party image which subsumes the leader. In such a case there would be a tendency for individuals to rate the party and the leader quite similarly. Such a rating would produce small differentiation scores. Of course, it can be argued just as rationally that the image of the leader is more important than that of the party and that an individual's perception of a party is a function of his perception of the leader.

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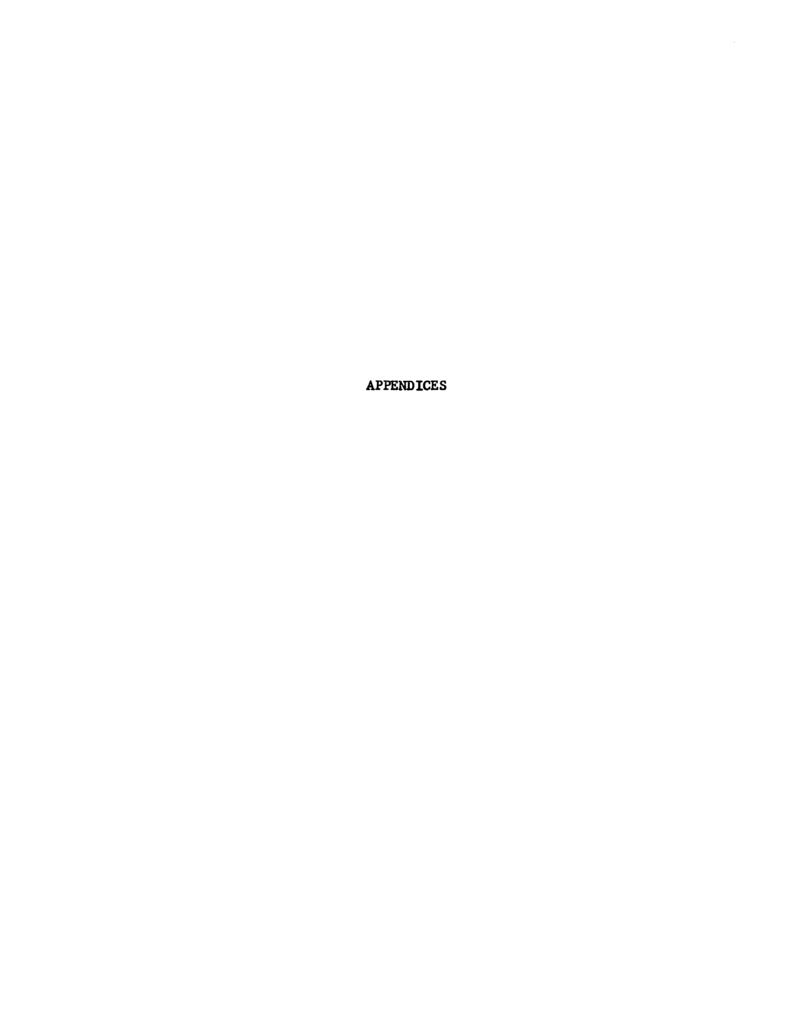
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Appendix 1

Abridged Dogmatism Scale

Items used in Abridged Dogmatism scale

- It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.
- 2. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.
- It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.
- 4. Even though freedom of speech is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.
- 5. There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth.
- 6. The <u>present</u> is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the <u>future</u> that counts.
- 7. The highest form of government is a democracy, and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.
- 8. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.
- 9. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.
- 10. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong.

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- 11. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.
- 12. In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.
- 13. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.
- 14. A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long.
- 15. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to betrayal of our own side.
- 16. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.
- 17. Most people just don't know what's good for them.
- 18. When it comes to <u>differences</u> of opinion in <u>religion</u>, we must be careful <u>not</u> to compromise with those who believe <u>differently</u> from the way we do.
- 19. Of all the different philosophies which exist in the world, there is probably only one which is correct.
- 20. In a discussion, I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.

Appendix 2

Political Dimensions Questionnaire

Political Dimensions Questionnaire

We are interested in getting your reactions toward the national political parties and their leaders. The purpose of this survey is to collect data for a thesis and is in no way connected to any political organization. It is hoped that you will give your frankest evaluation of each of the parties and leaders in terms of the characteristics mentioned in the questionnaire. Do not spend much time thinking over each answer because it is your first impression which is important. Please complete all pages and all items because meaningful comparisons will not be possible if the entire questionnaire is not completed. Please do not put any personal identification on the questionnaire. We want it to remain completely anonymous.

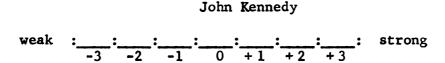
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We are interested in finding out how people think of the five national political parties: New Democratic; Social Credit; Liberal; Communist; and Progressive Conservative, in terms of left-right wing political orientation. Please put a check mark in the space which you feel best represents the relative position of each of the parties on the five scales and place yourself on the final scale in terms of your own political preference or leaning. Place your check marks in the middle of the spaces, not on the boundaries. Be sure to check the scale for every item. Do not omit any. If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask.

| Progressive Conservative | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|-----|-----|------|------|-----|----------|----|---------|
| left _ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | _:_ | _:_ | : | _ right |
| Liberal | | | | | | | | | |
| left _ | :_ | _:_ | _: | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | _ right |
| Social Credit | | | | | | | | | |
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| | | | | Comm | mist | | | | |
| left _ | : | _:_ | : | _: | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | _ right |
| New Democratic | | | | | | | | | |
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| Yourself | | | | | | | | | |
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We are interested in the way in which people describe the various political parties and their leaders in terms of a number of common concepts. At the top of each of the following pages will be either the name of one of the five national political parties or the name of one of the national party leaders. Below each name will be a number of seven-point scales with a word or concept at each end. We would like you to score each of the parties or party leaders in terms of the concept or word at the end of each scale.

Below is a sample scale:



If you feel that John Kennedy is strong, place a check mark in space + 3. If you feel that he is slightly weak, place the check in -1. If you feel that he is neither weak nor strong or the concept does not apply to John Kennedy, place your check mark in space 0. You may find it helpful to think of 1 as slightly, 2 as mostly, 3 as completely and 0 as neutral, undecided, or not applicable to the man at the top of the page.

Important:

- 1. Place your check marks in the middle of the spaces, not on the boundaries.
- 2. Be sure to check the scale for every concept. Do not omit any items.
- 3. Never put more than one check mark in a single scale.
- 4. Do not look back and forth through the items. Make each item a separate and independent judgment.
- 5. Your first impression, the immediate "feeling" about each item, is what we want.

The national Liberal Party

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|---------------------------|----------|----------|--------------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | objective |
| frank | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _: | trained |
| honest | :_ | _:_ | _ : _ | _: _ | _:_ | : | dishonest |
| introverted | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | extroverted |
| safe | :_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: _ | : | dangerous |
| informed | | : | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | : | : | experienced |
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| closedminded | : | : | | : | : | : | openminded |

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The national Social Credit Party

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| subjective | :_ | _:_ | : | : | _:_ | _: | objective |
| frank | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _ : | _:_ | : | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | trained |
| honest | | ; | _:_ | : | : | : | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | | extroverted |
| safe | :_ | _:_ | : | : | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: _ | _: | experienced |
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The national New Democratic Party

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|-------------------|----------|-----|-------------|----------|-----|----|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | objective |
| fr a nk | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | trained |
| honest | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | extroverted |
| safe | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | :_ | _:_ | : | : | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | _:_ | _: | _:_ | _:_ | _: | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _:_ | _: _ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | experienced |
| colorful | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dull |
| closedminded | : | : | : | | : | | openminded |

...

The national Progressive Conservative Party

| educated | :_ | : | :_ | _:_ | : | : | uneducated |
|---------------|----------|----------|-------------|-----|-----|----------|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | objective |
| frank | :_ | : | _: _ | : | _:_ | : | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | trained |
| honest | :- | ; | : | :_ | _:_ | : | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | : | extroverted |
| safe | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | dangerous |
| informed | | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | :_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | ; | experienced |
| colorful | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | dul1 |
| closedminded | : | : | : | : | : | : | openminded |

and the second control of the second control

The national Communist Party

| educated | : | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | uneducated |
|---------------|----|-------------|----------|-----|-----|----|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | objective |
| frank | :- | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | trained |
| honest | | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | : | : | : | : | : | extroverted |
| safe | | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | bold |
| unexperienced | | _: _ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _; | experienced |
| colorful | :_ | _: | _; | : | _:_ | _: | dull |
| closedminded | • | • | • | • | • | • | openminded |

Lester Pearson

| educated | : | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uneducated |
|---------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-----------|----|-------------|
| subjective | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | objective |
| frank | :_ | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | trained |
| honest | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _: | dishonest |
| introverted | | _:_ | _:_ | : | : | | extroverted |
| safe | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | : | : | dangerous |
| informed | :_ | : | : | : | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | : | : | : | _:_ | _: | bold |
| unexperienced | : | _:_ | _: | _: | _:_ | : | experienced |
| colorful | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | _:_ | _: | dul1 |
| closedminded | | : | : | : | _: | _: | openminded |

Robert Thompson

| educated | : | : | : | _:_ | : | : | uneducated |
|---------------|----|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|----|-------------|
| subjective | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | objective |
| frank | | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | reserved |
| untrained | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | trained |
| honest | | _: _ | _:_ | : | _:_ | | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | extroverted |
| safe | : | _:_ | _:_ | :_ | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | : | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | _: <u>_</u> | _: | experienced |
| colorful | | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | | dul1 |
| closedminded | : | : | : | : | : | : | openminded |

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Tommy Douglas

| educated | :_ | :_ | : | : | _:_ | : | uneducated |
|---------------|----|----------|-----------|-------------|-----|-----------|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | : | objective |
| frank | :_ | : | _:_ | : | :_ | <u>-</u> | reserved |
| untrained | :- | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | trained |
| honest | :_ | : | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | dishonest |
| introverted | :- | :- | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | extroverted |
| safe | :_ | : | : | :_ _ | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | :_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | bold |
| unexperienced | :- | : | : | : | _:_ | | experienced |
| colorful | | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | : | dull |
| closedminded | :_ | : | : | : | : | : | openminded |

The state of the s

John Diefenbaker

| educated | :_ | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uneducated |
|---------------|----|--------------|----------|----------|--------------|----|-------------|
| subjective | :_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | objective |
| frank | :_ | _: _ | _:_ | _:_ | _ : _ | _: | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | trained |
| honest | :- | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dishonest |
| introverted | | _:_ | : | : | _:_ | _: | extroverted |
| sa fe | :_ | : | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | :- | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | : | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | bold |
| unexperienced | :_ | _ : _ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | experienced |
| colorful | :- | : | _:_ | : | _ : _ | _: | dul1 |
| closedminded | :- | : | : | : | _ : | : | openminded |

Leslie Morris

| educated | | _:_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _: | uneducated |
|---------------|----|-----|-------------|--------------|-----|----|-------------|
| subjective | | :_ | _: _ | : | : | _: | objective |
| frank | :_ | _:_ | : | : | _:_ | _: | reserved |
| untrained | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | trained |
| honest | :_ | _:_ | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dishonest |
| introverted | :_ | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | extroverted |
| safe | | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | dangerous |
| informed | :_ | _:_ | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | uninformed |
| timid | :_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _:_ | _: | bold |
| unexperienced | : | _:_ | _:_ | : | : | _: | experienced |
| colorful | :_ | _:_ | : | _ : _ | _:_ | : | dul1 |
| closedminded | | _:_ | : | _:_ | _:_ | _: | openminded |

.. .

We want to get a measure of how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Please score each statement in the blank at the left hand side of the statement. Use the following scoring key:

- +3 I agree very much
- +2 I agree on the whole
- +1 I agree a little
- -1 I disagree a little
- -2 I disagree on the whole
- -3 I disagree very much

| It is better | r to be a | dead | hero t | han a | 1 ive | coward |
|--------------|-----------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|

Example:

If you agree very much, write a 3 at the left of the statement; if you mostly agree on the whole, write a 2; if you disagree slightly, a -1, etc. Remember, write not only the number but also its sign every time. Work quickly, giving your first impression.

| cime. | HOLK 4 | dicary, giving your lifet implession. |
|-------------|------------------|---|
| | | If given a chance, I would do something of great benefit for the world. |
| | | It is only when a person devotes himself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful. |
| | | Most people just don't give a "damn" for others. |
| | | It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future. |
| | **************** | Even though freedom of speech is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups. |
| | ************ | There are two kinds of people in this world: those who are for the truth and those who are against the truth. |
| | | The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts. |
| | | The highest form of government is a democracy, and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent. |
| | | Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on. |

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- + 3 I agree very much + 2 I agree on the whole + 1 I agree a little

- -1 I disagree a little
 -2 I disagree on the whole
 -3 I disagree very much

| | The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important. |
|---|--|
| | My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit he's wrong. |
| | In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own. |
| | In this complicated world of ours, the only way we can know what's going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted. |
| | In times like these it is often necessary to be <u>more</u> on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's <u>own</u> camp than by those in the <u>opposing</u> camp. |
| *************************************** | A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for long. |
| - | To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to betrayal of our own side. |
| | Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on. |
| | Most people just don't know what's good for them. |
| | When it comes to <u>differences</u> of opinion in <u>religion</u> , we must be careful <u>not</u> to compromise with those who believe <u>differently</u> from the way we do. |
| | Of all the different philosophies which exist in the world, there is probably only one which is correct. |
| | In a discussion, I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood. |

| Just a few more questions: | |
|--|--|
| Do you intend to vote in the April 8 election: | YesNo |
| How interested are you in politics: Which political party do you feel closest to: | Very Much A Good Deal A Little None at All Social Credit |
| | New Democratic Progressive Conservative Liberal Communist |
| Sex: Male Female | |
| Your father's occupation (Be specific): | |

Thank you for your cooperation.

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