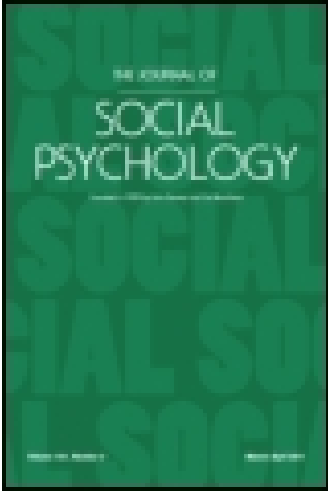


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PERSONALITY AND SOCIAL ATTITUDES*

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A. INTRODUCTION

In *The Psychology of Politics* (8) the writer put forward the hypothesis "that 'tough-mindedness' is a projection onto the field of social attitudes of the *extraverted* personality type, while 'tender-mindedness' is a projection of the *introverted* personality type." The personality dimension of extraversion-introversion referred to in this hypothesis had been given an operational definition in previous publications, (4, 6, 7, 10). The social attitude continuum labelled tough-mindedness versus tender-mindedness had been discovered on the basis of factor-analytic studies (2, 3), and was found to be orthogonal to the radical-conservative continuum. A special scale for the measurement of the T factor was developed (3) and was later improved by Melvin (16) in a large scale investigation involving item analysis and factor analysis of a variety of different social attitude statements; the final scale developed by him is given on pages 277 and 279 of *The Psychology of Politics*.

Two studies have been carried out to supply evidence regarding the hypothetical relationship between extraversion and tough-mindedness. In the first of these E. I. George (13) applied the T scale as well as the Radicalism scale, the Allport-Vernon Study of Values scale and the Guilford questionnaires of personality factors S, T, D, C, and R to 500 middle-class male and female conservatives, liberals, and socialists. Using the R scale as a measure of extraversion and the S scale as a measure of introversion, a procedure which was justified by the empirical findings of Hildebrand (14), he found correlations between R and tough-mindedness of between .22 and .56 for the various groups; for the S scale he found correlations ranging from $-.03$ to $-.38$. He also carried out a factor analysis in which the R scale was found to have a loading of .41 on the tough-mindedness factor; the S scale had a correlation of $-.24$. All these correlations were in the predicted direction.

* Received in the Editorial Office on February 26, 1959.

¹ I am indebted to Attwood Statistics, Ltd., for permission to use data collected by them, and to Miss S. Kurlender for help with the analysis of the data.

Along rather different lines was the study by Coulter (1), who applied the T scale as well as an abbreviated Thematic Apperception Test to groups of communist, fascist, and neutral subjects. She derived an extraversion score from the TAT and found correlations with tough-mindedness in all three groups, the correlations being .301 for the communists, .297 for the fascists, and .307 for the neutral group.

While these two studies lend support to the hypothesis, it seemed desirable to submit it to yet another test in order to improve on certain features of the earlier studies. In the first place, the populations used by George and Coulter were far from being representative samples of the whole population; indeed, much of the interest of these two studies centered on the comparison of rather unusual groups, such as fascists and communists, with each other. The fact that the predicted results were achieved with all the divergent groups used in these studies must certainly be regarded as strong support for the hypothesis, but nevertheless it is obviously desirable to test the hypothesis on a somewhat less highly selected sample. In the second place the measures of extraversion used in these two studies were not specifically developed for the purpose, or validated sufficiently, so that the interpretation of the results is not quite rigorous. Since then a new measure of extraversion has been developed by the writer and appropriately standardized and validated (9, 10, 11, 12). It seemed desirable to apply this new E scale, as well as its companion measure, the neuroticism or N scale, to a random sample of the population who had also been given the T scale, in order to test the hypothesis in question still further.

B. METHOD

1. *Subjects*

A total of 944 subjects took part in the experiments. These were all members of a panel used by one of the major market research organizations in England for a variety of purposes; this panel had been selected in such a way as to be reasonably representative of the general population.² All members of the panel were sent the personality inventory, which was filled in and returned; several months later they were sent the T scale,—606 members of the panel returned usable copies of the scale, while 338 members of the panel failed to do so. (Of these 606, a few had not properly completed either the E or the N scale, so that not all comparisons and correlations could

² The original sample, as mailed, was selected randomly with substitution for refusals; the universe being individuals over the age of 15 living in private households.

be run on the full number. The N involved did not, however, drop below 600 in any case).

2. Selection Bias

The first question that arises therefore is that of selection bias; in other words, it is possible that the more neurotic or more extraverted members of the panel might return more T scales, thus biasing the sample. The figures do not bear out this hypothesis; the mean neuroticism and extraversion scores of respondents are 22.67 ± 11.19 and 22.74 ± 9.48 ; those of non-respondents are 22.57 ± 10.72 and 23.94 ± 9.38 . The differences between respondents and non-respondents are not statistically significant on either the neuroticism or the extraversion score; in addition, the scores are close to the population means as determined in the standardisation sample (12). We may conclude therefore that as far as the measures of personality features of respondents and non-respondents are concerned, they do not differ in any material respect and are unlikely to have biased the results of the study. It is still possible, of course, that the two groups might have differed along other personality dimensions, but as our experimental design calls for correlations with extraversion and neuroticism, it is the failure of the two groups to be differentiated in terms of these two variables that is important for our analysis.

C. RESULTS

For our total group of 606 subjects responding to the tender-mindedness questionnaire a correlation was obtained between tender-mindedness and extraversion of $-.2479$. This is in the predicted direction and fully significant beyond the $P = .01$ level. The result therefore bears out the studies previously quoted. There is also a correlation between tender-mindedness and neuroticism of $.2502$; this also is fully significant statistically, but was not predicted. Speculation regarding the meaning of this relationship would probably be premature at the present stage of the research. A correlation was also run between tender-mindedness and age; this was completely non-significant, ($r = -.0104$), and it is clear that age differences need not concern us in our consideration of the relationships between personality and social attitudes.

The possibility has to be considered that the observed relationships might have been produced by class differences affecting both social attitudes and temperament. Accordingly the means and standard deviations of the neuroticism and extraversion scores were determined for the three social classes (1 = Upper and upper middle class, 2 = lower middle class,

3 = working class) used by the organization concerned.³ The mean neuroticism scores for Classes 1, 2, and 3 were 19.41, 21.77, and 23.51. With a mean standard deviation of 11.03 these means are not statistically significant. As regards extraversion the means for Classes 1, 2, and 3 are 24.10, 23.22, and 23.01; with the mean standard deviation of 9.46 these differences also are not significant. It may be noted that in a previous study with a short form of the personality inventory and a rather larger number of subjects (11), it had also been found that there were no class differences in extraversion. For neuroticism a significant difference had been found in the sense that the lower-class group was more unstable emotionally by $\frac{1}{3}$ SD, i.e., by about the same amount as in this study. The failure of the difference to be significant here is presumably due to the smaller number of cases.

The question still remains as to whether tender-mindedness itself is related to social class. It is part of the writer's hypothesis that working class groups should be more tough-minded (8), and some support has been found for this hypothesis (5). To investigate this matter further mean T scores were calculated for the members of Class 1, 2, and 3 respectively; these turned out to be 15.02, 15.55, and 14.09, with a mean standard deviation of 4.95. As predicted, the Class 3 mean is the lowest, and it is significantly lower than the Class 2 mean. Its differences from the Class 1 mean just fall short of statistical significance. Classes 1 and 2 are not significantly differentiated. The results therefore give support to the hypothesis, suggesting that in England at least the tough-mindedness attitude is found in the working class, rather than in the upper, upper middle, and lower middle class groups.

D. DISCUSSION

The results of this study on the whole are in line with previous work in supporting the hypothesis that tough-mindedness is linked with extraversion, and also that tough-mindedness (but not extraversion) is found more frequently among working class groups. While both findings are significant,

³ Examples of the kind of occupations which fall into each group are as follows:

Upper and Upper Middle Class: All major professions such as surgeons, solicitors, architects, school masters at grammar and public schools, business owners, managers and senior executives and administrative grades in the Civil Service, bank managers, retired people formerly in this class.

Lower Middle Class: Owners and managers of small business firms, teachers at elementary schools, librarians, Civil Service clerical officers, bank or other senior clerks, supervisors and foremen supervising a substantial number of persons, master craftsmen with own small business.

Working Class: Toolmakers, engine drivers, bricklayers, fitters, lorry drivers, policemen, window cleaners, bus conductors, labourers, old age pensioners.

the relationships are not as clearly marked as one might have expected on the basis of the theory. There are several reasons why this may be so. In the first place the questionnaires used are far from perfectly reliable, and the observed correlations would undoubtedly be raised if a correction for attenuation were attempted. In the second place the questionnaires are far from being perfectly valid measures of the personality features they are assumed to measure. As the writer has pointed out elsewhere (10), the proper measurement of a personality dimension such as extraversion would require objective performance tests, physiological measures, ratings and projective assessments, in addition to questionnaire answers; a single short questionnaire does not have a loading on a factor determined by all these measures of more than .6 or thereabouts. It is clear, therefore, that considerable attenuation is introduced into the measurement of the relationship between the complex variables with which we are dealing by the limited validity of the measuring instruments. In the third place, while the hypothesis specifies the influence of certain personality and background factors on social attitudes, it does not maintain by any means that these are the *only* factors relevant. A highly complex resultant like a tough-minded or tender-minded attitude is obviously the product of a large number of different influences, none of which by itself could be expected to show very high correlations with the final attitude; it is the task of social psychology to tease out all the relevant influences and put them into a prediction formula in which extraversion and social class are only two terms.

E. SUMMARY

A random sample of the population constituting the panel of a market research organization filled in questionnaires of social attitudes and personality. Two hypotheses were tested, namely that *extraverts would have more tough-minded attitudes than introverts*, and that *working class groups would have more tough-minded attitudes than middle class groups*. Both hypotheses were supported by the results. It was also found that neuroticism correlated significantly with tender-mindedness; this finding had not been predicted, and no explanation for it is offered.

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