

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE

The 1968 AAPOR Conference was held May 8 to 11 at the Miramar Hotel, Santa Barbara, California. It was the twenty-third annual conference on public opinion but the twenty-second since the organization was formally named the American Association for Public Opinion Research at Williams College in 1947 and elected Clyde Hart as its first president.

The conference program was a joint effort of AAPOR and the World Association for Public Opinion Research. In contrast to previous years, there was rather extensive press coverage of the conference proceedings. Thirteen formal sessions and twenty luncheon roundtable discussions comprised the exceptional program planned by Herbert I. Abelson for AAPOR and Martin J. Brouwer for WAPOR. In addition, business meetings were held by AAPOR, PAAPOR, and WAPOR.

SECOND ANNUAL STUDENT PAPER COMPETITION

Chairman: William J. Paisley, *Stanford University*

HONORABLE MENTION: THE DIMENSIONS OF POLITICS

Jonathan Kelley, *University of California, Berkeley*

Political issues and ideologies fall along not one liberal-conservative dimension but along two distinct dimensions, one economic and one cultural. Attitudes toward the proper distribution of wealth underlie the economic dimension and find their expression in attitudes toward business and labor, taxes, private ownership, and socialism. Commitment to parochial small town traditions underlies the cultural dimension. Cultural conservatives emphathize only within a narrow range; people and norms coming from a different class, religion, language, or culture are rejected and met with hostility or outright violence. The specific issues involved in cultural conservatism vary from society to society. In India language, Moslems, and cows are important while in the United States religious traditions, Jews, Negroes, and foreigners are salient.

This theory is supported by a factor analysis of thirty-five political attitude scales. In these data, kindly loaned by Herbert McClosky, two major and three minor factors emerge. Cultural liberalism-conservatism explains more of the common variance than any other dimension, closely followed by economic liberalism-conservatism. Economic conservatism follows expected class lines while cultural conservatism decreases with increasing education. Cultural conservatism is strongly associated with a feeling that the world is cruel and hostile and with psychological rigidity, perhaps because traditional culture is in fact threatened and a certain rigidity helps to withstand these threats.

This theory suggests that the current student radicalism may arise from different resolutions of a conflict between cultural liberalism and economic conservatism. The culturally liberal but economically conservative fathers of this generation of students should experience conflict over many welfare and humanitarian issues, favoring the goals but deploring the means. They resolved the conflict largely in

the direction of their economic conservatism. The sons, more secure economically, resolve the conflict largely in favor of their dominant cultural liberalism. A similar conflict, prevalent in the lower class and exploited by conservative politicians, seems to exist between cultural conservatism and economic liberalism.