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Making Peace;  
Psychological Origins of Violence, Warmongering and  
a New Democracy

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### **Temporary preface.**

This book is about psychological origins of violence-proneness between individuals, the psychological trait of warmongering, which has never before been scientifically measured and studied, and a new form of democracy. It is based primarily on a series of studies by myself, the author.

The table of contents of this book has been reviewed by four political psychologists, unknown to me. They read my proposal and table of contents to advise my first interested publisher. The first three critics were incredulous at my claims, citing various opinions and experts in the field with whose works they I assumed I was unfamiliar, as several of my findings, they claimed, were inconsistent with commonly accepted scientific knowledge in the field of political psychology. They recommended that the book not be published.

One of the first three paid a back-handed compliment: “Either McConochie is an unrecognized genius whose work will revolutionize politics everywhere - I mean that literally - or he is an advocate masquerading as a scientist.” One of my professional writing coaches, who knows I’m not a fake, thinks this book will deserve a Pulitzer prize. My fourth political psychology critic *did* recommend to the publisher that the book be published. The publisher declined, so I continue looking.

In several respects this book is not unlike the Charles Darwin’s book Origin of Species. It is primarily an account of a series of several studies by one author. They include discoveries that will change how we see the religious and political world. Like Darwin, I did not set out to discover what I did with the intention of dethroning any sitting leaders. I simply followed my curiosity and the questions raised by my research findings.

I have approached the topics from the perspective of an applied rather than academic psychologist, which may explain why some of my critics and I do not see eye to eye. As an applied psychologist I have helped customers solve immediate problems in the real world. These customers have included mental health patients, mental health workers, school districts, law firms, semiconductor manufacturers and trucking companies. To the extent that communities themselves are “customers”, with problems of violence in schools and wars between nations, I consider them in need of the services of applied psychologists.

Applied psychologists are always “advocates”, in that they accept and serve the stated needs of their clients. They advocate for mentally healthy adults, well-adjusted and civil school children, safe and productive workers and successful businesses. An applied psychologist working on problems of community violence and war is advocating for safe communities and a peaceful world. If I am an advocate, it is for the welfare of human kind. I see nothing unprofessional in that. Indeed, famously successful persons advocating for these goals win Nobel Peace Prizes, as has our ex-president Jimmy Carter.

One last similarity with Darwin, and in this I must plead your forgiveness and patience. I am writing for three audiences simultaneously. This is often considered a fatal flaw in the publishing industry. But Darwin got away with it, and maybe, with your indulgence, I can too.

Darwin and I both write with enough care, data and thoroughness to command the respect of scientifically sophisticated readers. Some of what I say will seem too simple to some scientists. Other scientists will want more detail, more discussion of competing findings and theory. But that can wait for professional journal articles.

I also write for upper division and graduate students of college and university classes in political science, political psychology, sociology, journalism and history, as my findings have important implications across all these fields. In particular, I explain the psychological makeup of warmongering political leaders and provide a rating scale by which their degree of this trait can be reliably measured, whether for a living current leader or a well-known historical one. For these student readers I provide enough introduction to the science of psychology to facilitate

appreciation of the data that documents my findings and upon which my arguments are built.

Finally, I write for the well-informed, intelligent and concerned lay reader. For some of you, the statistics may become a bit tedious. Skip over them. Read the text. I explain the statistics as I go, so you won't have to appreciate the implication of every number to follow the story.

And for all of you, keep an open mind. Galileo invented a new way of looking at things and discovered that the sun rather than the earth was the center of our solar system. This conflicted with Aristotle's teachings and accepted religious dogma. Galileo was ordered to keep his mouth shut and placed under house arrest. Some people were too threatened by what they might see to look through his telescope.

Based on my studies, 19 out of 20 of you will have the courage to look through my telescope. The one who won't is the one the rest of us must be wary of. That last one can be very dangerous.

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I have felt concerned about violence and war perhaps since high school when I chose psychology as my profession to help make the world a better place. I have felt a persistent urge to find practical answers to the biggest questions about how to create peaceful and constructive communities. It has seemed to me that there *was* an answer, a complex thing, perhaps like a 1,000-piece jigsaw puzzle but for which there was no clear picture to work from. I felt like a sculptor with a vision of a beautiful form that would emerge from a block of marble if I worked with enough skill and persistence.

I majored in psychology in college and tried graduate school for the first time in a program that I disliked and quit after one semester in the winter of 1962. This made me vulnerable to the military draft. I was told by the recruiter that because I had a college degree I could get officer training, but only in infantry, armor or artillery. I had read that the life expectancy of second lieutenants in combat in World War II was 20 minutes. The Cuban missile crisis was still in memory. Things could get hot at any time.

So, I enlisted for a safe job, personnel administration specialist. I was taught to shoot human torso targets with a rifle and stab with a bayonet but then I served safely in personnel behind a desk, at ordinance battalion headquarters. But our units guarded ammo dumps of nuclear weapons. If there was a hot war, we would be a prime target.

I served first in Korea. On weekends, for recreation, I hiked the hills, void of trees. The war had destroyed them. What was left had been burned for firewood by the peasants living in nearby red clay brick houses around rice paddies.

At the end of my 11-month tour I finagled a transfer to Germany to see Europe. On leave I learned to ski, and delighted in the pristine Alpine scenery and quaint architecture. I bought beautiful inlaid wood artwork in Germany and a life-like etching of a brown squirrel in Paris. But there were repeated reminders of death and danger.

As I drove through Europe, I ran into war memorials and museums even in small towns. I stumbled upon the World War I battlefield memorial in Verdun, France, where the cratered landscape is still marked “off-limits” because of unexploded bombs and shells. I visited the concentration camp in Dachau, Germany, with its rusted crematorium ovens and hills of ashes of tens of thousands of victims. I was drawn to big city museums with the paraphernalia of war: vintage planes and tanks, oil paintings suggestive of psychotic hallucinations and of warriors from centuries past in armor atop horses in battlefields strewn with bodies. The artists seemed to be saying war is hell and to be prevented if at all possible.

On one of my leaves I took a tour of Oslo. We stopped at the city hall and visited the room in which Nobel Peace Prizes are awarded. It seemed to me like a cathedral.

Just as I got out of the Army in 1965, the Viet Nam War was heating up. I felt relieved that I was out, but my brother, serving in intelligence, had to go. He spent his first night sleeping beneath his desk under mortar attack.

I returned to the safety of the States, but Korea and Europe had etched my soul with a disturbing reality: war is a constant threat looming just over the international horizon.

I completed graduate studies and worked as a clinical psychologist. I taught at a university in the Midwest for one year but found bureaucratic issues stifling. I wanted to be working with people, helping them solve emotional problems. I decided to move out west, as I liked skiing, fishing and hunting. I chose Eugene, Oregon to be near a university so I could have access to a good library for research.

In my spare time over the years I kept up my interest in the psychology and politics of peace. I read professional journals, making notes. From our local paper I clipped articles about politics and related topics, bits and pieces of the puzzle. I filled boxes over the years, much to my tidy wife’s growing dismay. I wrote notes, essays, articles, letters to the editor. I took classes at the university.

I had an underlying faith in humankind and a conviction that improved government was possible, a government truly in touch with and serving the better side of human nature, a government promoting peace and good will more than war...government based on carefully assessed public opinion and serving the best interests of the public, not self-centered special interest groups which profit in the short term by putting the nation in long-term debt and risk. Government of, by and for the people, as Lincoln had said.

Occasionally I shared my thoughts with friends, fellow professionals from private practice like myself, local politicians, lawyers, judges, professors at the University of Oregon and research scientists at Oregon Research Institute, a premier psychology organization in our town. But I didn’t receive much support. I was a dreamer, they said.

As the years turned to decades I wondered if they might be right. But I could not stop. Wars had continued unabated: Cambodia, Rwanda, the Persian Gulf, Afghanistan, Serbia, Sudan,



Iraq. Northern Ireland and Israel.

I was invited to join a local Rotary International club. The weekly meetings, with interesting guest speakers, helped me keep hope. A geography professor from the university spoke to us about Croatia, offering the opinion that conflict in that region was not due to different religions and ethnic groups but had been instigated again and again by warmongering leaders from adjacent regions. Werner Fornos, head of Worldwatch, spoke to us about the threats posed to mankind by unchecked population growth.

I learned that Rotarians around the world promote peace, exchanging students and doing local and international service projects to reduce hunger, disease, child abuse and other serious problems. Rotarians are relatively few in number, but they have clubs in more countries than are in the United Nations. They're the primary force in the fight against polio worldwide.

I honed my professional skills. I had learned computer programming in graduate school. With personal computers I created questionnaires and tests for measuring a variety of human traits. I used them in my clinical practice and to help employers hire job applicants and reduce accidents.

In 1997, when my daughter was in high school, a teenage boy in Springfield, Oregon, just a few miles away, murdered his parents and killed two students and wounded 15 others, causing a national stir. If he'd been in my daughter's school, she could have been killed. The newspaper reported that this boy had been in counseling. I spoke with psychologists who had counseled such boys who told me they couldn't see the homicidal behavior coming.

I thought if a psychologist counseling such a boy can't see this coming, who can? I built a questionnaire measuring violence-proneness to give therapists and school counselors a tool that would detect these tendencies ahead of time. The first section of this book describes this instrument and what it teaches us about violence-proneness and how to prevent it.

In 2003 I read a journal article that proposed traits that might explain conflict between nations. I built another questionnaire that measures these and found they were related to a measure of warmongering attitudes which I developed, as none existed previously. Furthermore, warmongering correlated strongly with the violence-proneness measure.

The second section of this book provides details about warmongering and its numerous facets. I offer a theory of how warmongering leads to violence between nations. Only a few persons are bent on war. Somehow, these few occasionally gain control of nations and wage war to the severe detriment of the majority of peace-loving citizens. Warmongers are easily identified by many related traits. Warmongers can be identified with a rating scale I designed to spot them early and keep them out of government, a technique that might have protected Europe from Hitler.

You yourself can use this scale to rate politicians of your choice to see their levels of warmongering-proneness.

The third section of my book presents a model for a new form of democracy. During my research on warmongering I discovered that only about 20 percent of the public endorse our

present form of democracy serving special interest groups. About 90 percent endorse a system of government that would serve the best interests of the community overall. I present a design for a new political party promoting the best interests of the community overall. I present research data that suggests how strongly the public would support it.

Several of my friends and colleagues have read the manuscript for this book. Some were generous with praise. One said “The scope of your project is simply breath-taking. You’re envisioning nothing less than a monumental transformation of our political system for the purpose of building a sane and peaceful world.”

But there were criticisms. One said warmongering was a grisly concept, implying that it was too nasty to be discussed as such. Some said my data on public school budgeting was a distraction and should be omitted, perhaps because they thought it was a hot potato. One person said that readers would see me as so far “left” that they wouldn’t read the book, but he immediately added that as a school board member in his community he has seen first hand some of the problems my research addresses. He also asked if my office had been bugged yet.

I have decided to leave in all the content. It is up to you to decide what to agree or disagree with or ignore. I have tried to be objective in my research and reporting it to you.

William A. McConochie  
April, 2006

### **Acknowledgments.**

Many persons have helped me with this project, too many to list, but a few deserve special thanks for their assistance with the research related to warmongering and public democracy. I thank Lew Goldberg, , of Oregon Research Institute for his years of friendship, interest and technical guidance in conducting psychological research. Professor David Leung, psychology professor at Lane Community College, has provided student questionnaire subjects semester after semester. Professor Sunday Samson Babalola of the University of Ibadan, Nigeria provided data on several hundred Nigerians. Quaker churches of Eugene and the northwest region, and several

other churches in Eugene, Oregon provided dozens of questionnaire subjects. Students at the University of Oregon and business managers from the Eugene Executives Association served as questionnaire subjects. Many friends read the manuscript and provided comments and suggestions. In particular I am grateful to Joachim Schultz, a native of Germany, and Dr. Warren Griffith, O.D., and John Wolf, mathematician and attorney, and Phil Barnhart, Ph.D., psychologist, attorney and state representative (Oregon) for their perceptive and detailed responses. I thank writing specialists Jessica Maxwell and her group and Elizabeth Lyon for professional guidance in preparing and modifying the manuscript and seeking publication sources. I am grateful to my children, Heather and Richard, and my wife, Jennifer, for their suggestions, support, patience and encouragement. May our efforts bear peaceful fruit.

### **Chapter 1. Big Bad Wolf Hunting:**

#### **Data that may change how we see the world.**

*Where is our country? Where is the world? What could it be?*

*What are the little things we can do that could actually move things in a good way?*

- Yo-yo Ma, Cellist

I have made discoveries that may change how we see the world. As was true for Charles Darwin, my insights come from years of careful research. Darwin explained biological evolution. My research reveals a key psychological explanation of human warfare.

I present information on three insidious threats to our towns, nations and the world community: seemingly normal children who kill, political leaders who present themselves as wise and powerful but who lead their nations into destructive wars, and political parties whose platforms and agenda appear for decades to be in the best interests of their nations but which, like an unseen cancer, actually are inadvertently destroying nations from within by failing to appeal to our more egalitarian, cooperative natures.

These three can arouse our deepest fears, for the dangers they present are from sources which seem innocent and harmless or in which we have placed our greatest trust. It is like being betrayed with physical abuse by a parent or sexual abuse by a priest. They disorient us with fear of nightmarish proportion. They strike in us the deepest of terror, threatening the very fabric of civilized society. These fears are reminiscent of childhood fears symbolized by the Big Bad Wolf, who threatens to blow down the pigs' houses, and the wolf prowling in Russian forests.

Peter and the Wolf is a delightful children's story and symphony by Prokofiev. Young Peter is warned by his grandfather not to play in the forest for fear of the dangerous wolf. Defying his grandfather, Peter ventures out armed with only his toy wooden rifle and playmates: a duck, a cat and a songbird. Encountering the wolf, they outsmart and capture him.

Peter's toy gun seemed a flimsy weapon against real wolves. But with confidence, determination and help from his friends, he succeeded. As a psychologist, my weapon has been simply questionnaires. My "Big Bad Wolves" are normal-appearing children who kill, warmongering political leaders and nation-destroying political parties.

Perhaps I shouldn't refer to my research weapon as "simply" questionnaires, for in the opinion of some, such measuring devices, as tests, are "the single most socially significant psychological invention", filling for psychologists the role of "the telescope to astronomers and the microscope to biologists."<sup>1</sup> And, the correlation coefficient, which is my primary measure of the relationship between psychological traits, has been described by these same editors as perhaps even superior to measures of causation, stating "much of scientific psychology's contribution to everyday life results from correlational psychology."

My studies have revealed that these three problem areas are intimately related. A complex psychological disposition underlies violent behavior in children, teens and adults. This disposition is closely related to the warmongering trait, found in some political leaders. Warmongering attitudes are associated with preference for government that discourages citizen participation and promotes selfishness, competition, military spending and war. The general public prefers a different, new form of government.

My book is divided into three sections dealing with the above topics in turn. The violence-prone trait can be measured with a 10-minute questionnaire. Similarly, warmongering is a psychological trait that can be measured. This trait is associated with literally dozens of other traits and attitudes, including violence-proneness. These associated traits form the basis of a 50-item rating form that enables one to accurately measure the warmongering-proneness of any well-known political or military figure. Finally, I share a model for a new political party that would promote a form of democratic government that is strongly preferred by the general public over our current form of democracy but that is not supported by persons prone to warmongering.

I write this book for college students and for the general public. I write for college students because they have the intelligence and persistence to understand the science of psychology and the idealism and energy to tackle big social problems. My research demonstrates for students how an individual professional with a laptop computer, good statistical software (SPSS) and sufficient social and professional resources (libraries and research psychologists serving as consultants) can conduct worthwhile studies.

Course curricula in peace studies programs around the United States have students take classes in several different departments. Often, the only psychology course listed is social psychology. Seldom, if at all, is a class on the individual psychology of violence or warmongering required or even available to students of peace studies. The present book addresses this topic, the individual psychology of warmongering.

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1     Assessing Individual Differences in Human Behavior: New Concepts, Methods and Findings, Lubinski, David and Dawis, Rene V., (Eds), Davies-Black Publishing, Palo Alto, CA, 1995.

I also write this book for a well-educated and concerned general public for several reasons. In terms of violence-proneness and protecting children in schools, I have found that local school politics stand in the way of many effective violence-prevention programs. Budgets are currently tightly restricted and structured by union contracts. Unless the general public understands the need for violence-prevention programs and pressures local governments and bureaucracies to change public school budgeting processes, no effective violence-prevention budgets can be created or maintained.

In terms of warmongering, what I have discovered will be threatening to many current politicians. Politicians have deliberately condemned research that threatens their views. They can condemn my research findings.

A few years ago a study by psychologists yielded some unexpected findings. Reviewing many studies, the authors showed that there is virtually no evidence that child abuse causes mental illness in those victims as adults. Without carefully studying the issue, the United States Congress formally condemned the study. Rather than change their views on the topic of child abuse or ask their voters to, they shot the messenger. This was viewed by psychologists as a dangerous threat to freedom of speech and open scientific inquiry, as the study had been conducted carefully and properly. An entire issue of the *American Psychologist*, the flagship journal of the profession, was devoted to discussion of the problem.<sup>2</sup>

One article urged psychologists to take direct individual responsibility for carefully and effectively communicating important scientific findings directly to the public. It urges psychologists to do this without dumbing down and without presenting too much technical detail. It encourages psychologists to become “civic scientists”, not leaving the popularization of psychology to the media and “pop” radio talk-show personalities. Psychologists should assume this civic responsibility especially when their research findings may threaten conventional beliefs or special interest groups. I believe that my findings will.

### **The Politics of Political Psychology.**

A recent textbook on political psychology reveals a dearth of studies specifically on the human behavior of war.<sup>3</sup> While this book opens with a brief discussion of horrors of war, specifically as waged by Nazi Germany, only two references to the word “war” appear in the following 475-page text. The discussions on these pages are historical in essence and reveal little of scientific interest. The findings reviewed are summarized by the text authors as ambiguous.

Could it be that academic scientists have deliberately avoided getting too close to the

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2 Scott O. Lilienfeld, When Worlds Collide: Social Science, Politics, and the Rind et al. (1998) Child Sexual Abuse Meta-Analysis, *American Psychologist*, March, 2002, Vol 57. No.3, 176-188.

3 *Political Psychology*, Ed. John T. Jost and Jim Sidanius, Psychology Press, New York and Hove, 2004.

subject of war? After all, hundreds of professors are supported by research grants from the Department of Defense. If professors expose embarrassing things about political leadership as it leads to war, they could expect their grants to be pulled. The administration has threatened to pull grant money from law schools who interfere with Army recruiters on campus.

War is a dangerous business. Knowledge is power. Knowledge about warmongers empowers the knower. Warmongers persecute the intelligentsia. Read on at your own risk.

## Chapter 2. The Science of Psychology.

### **About science: Observe, Measure, Guess and Learn.**

How does science improve on informal knowledge?

Why is measurement important?

How do we know when we can trust scientific findings?

This chapter is for readers who lack introductory courses in psychology, statistics and the scientific method. If you have such courses, you can skim or skip this chapter and go to the next. In this chapter I explain basic elements of the science of psychology so you can understand and trust my data in following chapters.

I will provide the basic concepts necessary to understand the remaining chapters. To help keep it interesting, I've tucked in some interesting facts and references to some tests you can take over the Internet at my web site. In fact, let me start with a carrot.

My web address is [Testmasterinc.com](http://Testmasterinc.com). There you will find many tests you can take. There's one that measures violence-proneness, which we'll explore in detail in the next few chapters. There's an intelligence test that children can take. There's a lengthy personality test that provides 50 scores and indicates which of over 300 careers your personality best suits you. There are measures of depression, anxiety and worry in adults. There is a measure of Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder that is helpful in understanding children. There is a measure of PTSD (Posttraumatic Stress Disorder) that can help combat veterans. For each of these tests there is a technical manual that explains how the test was designed and how reliable and valid it is.

Let me explain about scientific measurement in psychology. What do we mean by "reliable", "valid" and related concepts?

### **How tall is tall?**

Science begins with careful observation and description. The initial goal is to develop systems for observing and recording that are so clear and consistent that different persons following the same procedures will report the same observations. For example, we can observe people informally, describing some as tall and some as short. But, what one person thinks is "short" may differ from what another person thinks. If we introduce a measuring tool in the form of a tape measure, we gain greater precision, describing one person as 6 feet, 2 inches tall another a 4 feet, 11 inches tall. Two persons using the tape measure will report the same height, e.g. 6 feet 2 inches.

For physical size we use tape measures and scales. For many psychological traits, our measuring instruments are tests. To measure factual knowledge, teachers in public schools measure knowledge of arithmetic with number problems. They measure knowledge of spelling with words to spell. For a driver's license, the state presents 30 or so questions in a written Driver's Exam. An intelligence test may consist of several dozen questions and problems to solve.

These problems and questions must be neither too easy nor too difficult. In a good measure or test a few people will pass only a few items. Some will pass a moderate number. Some will pass most of them. As a result, we get scores for people that range from low to high and we can tell who knows more, or has more of a trait.

Another type of psychological information is attitudes, feelings and opinions. To measure this information psychologists typically ask people how strongly they agree or disagree with statements that reflect what we wish to measure. For example, we could give persons a 5-point scale to indicate how strongly they endorse statements, such as these three, which measure symptoms of depression:

“Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with the items below by circling one number for each, using this code:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree.	Disagree.	Neutral.	Agree.	Strongly agree.

- 1 2 3 4 5      1. I often feel depressed.  
 1 2 3 4 5      2. I have difficulty enjoying almost anything.  
 1 2 3 4 5      3. I worry almost every day.”

This type of scale is called a Likert scale, after the man who developed it.

**Frequency Distributions; 6 percent can be a big deal.**

Once we have a measuring tool, we can administer it to a group of people. We can look at the distribution of scores, how many scores fall at each level. For example, consider this distribution of scores for 116 normal teenagers to an item from my violence-proneness questionnaire.

57. “I know someone right now that I would like to kill if I was sure I would get away with it.”

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Number	94	15	4	3
Percent	81	12.9	3.4	2.6

94 of the 116 teenagers strongly disagreed with this statement. 15 disagreed with it. 4 agreed and 3 strongly agreed with it. 4 plus 3 is 7. 7 of 116 is 6 percent. We should be concerned for the 6 % of children in this sample who agree or strongly agree with this item, as the item reflects an attitude of importance to civil behavior.

By 6 percent (6%) we mean the equivalent of 6 out of 100. 6 cents is 6 percent of 100 cents, one dollar. 6% of \$100 is \$6. 6 percent of \$200 is \$12. We compute the percentage equivalent of a ratio or proportion by dividing the part by the whole. In the above example we



divide 7 by 116 and get .06, which is 6 100ths or 6 percent. 7 is 6% of 116.

In political behavior we also take frequency distributions very seriously. In elections, if 51% want a budget measure passed and 49% do not, the measure passes. In a Congressional resolution to go to or stop a war, one vote can make a very important difference.

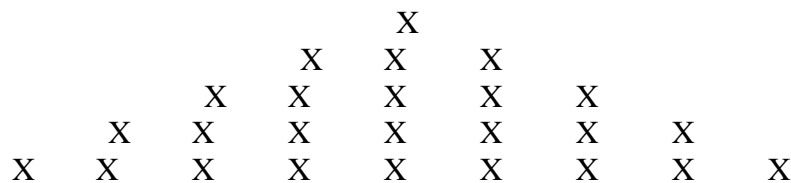
If we create a bar chart or graph showing the number of scores that fall at each level of a distribution of scores and connect the top of each bar with a continuous line, we will see the shape of the distribution of scores. In the case of the violence-proneness questionnaire item above, the scores are skewed to the left, most falling in the Disagree direction and fewer in the Agree direction. Many of the items in my violence questionnaire are distributed in this manner. Most children and adults are quite civil.

Bar Graph of Scores for Item #57 (Know someone I'd like to kill.)



When scores for persons are summed across the 58 items in the violence questionnaire, the total scores on the test fall in a distribution that is high in the middle and low on both ends, like this:

Frequency Distribution of Total Scores







1 2 3 4 5      5. I stick to tasks and get them done on time without reminders from others.

Notice that two of the items, 2 and 4, are worded inversely from the other three. When scoring a person's responses, these items would be reverse-scored, with a 5 answer becoming a 1, a 4 becoming a 2, etc. Then, we would add the item scores to get a total score for that person.

If we administer these items to a group of 40 people, we may find scores ranging from 1 to five across each item and from 8 or so up to 20 or 25 as total scores. For this group of 40 persons the range might be  $25 - 8 = 17$ . If two-thirds of their scores fell within 4 points of a mean of, say, 15, the standard deviation would be 4. If the scores were very tightly clustered around the mean, with two-thirds falling within only two points of 15, the test would be less reliable, not spreading people as well. But, with a standard deviation of 4 on this little test the reliability would be fairly good.

We could then explore the relationship between this trait and school grades. Indeed, we could have included in our questionnaire a question about high school grade-point-average. This grade point average would also be a fairly reliable measure, as it is based on many classes over four or more years of study.

We could then compute a statistic to learn how strongly scores on the Conscientiousness scale relate to school grades.

### The Correlation Coefficient.

The statistic which measures this degree of relationship is called a correlation coefficient, "Co" meaning *with* and "relation" meaning *how the scores tend to vary*. The correlation coefficient is a number that can range from -1 to +1. If the value is negative, higher scores on one measure is related to *lower* scores on the other.

For example, the personality trait Agreeableness tends to be negatively correlated with criminal behavior. Persons who have committed crimes are more likely than non-criminals to have *low* scores on Agreeableness. In a study I did on 80 male prison inmates the correlation between Agreeableness and total crimes committed was  $-.38$ . The lower the Agreeableness, the more crimes an inmate had committed.

If the correlation is positive, then higher scores on one measure are related to higher scores on the other. Higher scores on a 60-item verbal intelligence test I created correlate with school grades  $+ .55$ .

### Can we trust our test scores?

Scientists use the correlation statistic in many ways. One way we use it is to measure how reliable a measure is. Imagine that we measured each of 40 people twice with a tape measure, to see how tall they were. If we were careful, the pairs of measurements for each person would be very close, probably varying less than an inch from each other. If we computed the correlation between the first and second measurements, we would probably get a figure of  $.95$  or even higher.

This would be a significantly high figure and we could conclude that our measuring device, the tape measure was a reliable device. We would say it has high reliability.

We could also have a group of 40 persons take a personality test twice and compare the two scores for each person. We could compute the correlation coefficient between the two scores to see how reliable the personality test was. Typically, good personality tests have reliability of .80 or higher. Intelligence tests can have reliability as high as .95, or even higher. This enables schools to have confidence in intelligence tests as tools for deciding which children qualify for special education classes in primary grades and which high school graduates should be selected to enter college.

There are three basic ways to make sure a psychological measure, such as a test or questionnaire, will be reliable. The first is to write items for it that are of similar content. If we know that Conscientiousness involves being organized, neat, persistent and thorough, then items that are phrased in terms of this content will help assure reliability.

The second way to assure reliability is to include enough items to create a spread of scores. Items that spread people across 20 or 30 points will often suffice. By including more items we can increase the reliability. One reason intelligence tests are very reliable is that they often include several dozen items, spreading people across as many as 100 or more points. My Internet intelligence test for children has 200 items, potentially spreading children across as many points.

A third way to assure reliability is to include in our test or questionnaire only items that have significant correlations with a total score made up of scores on all of the items. We compute a correlation coefficient between scores on each item and the total score. We can also compute the correlations between the items themselves. The best items will correlate only modestly with each other but highly with the total score. If we retain enough good items to spread people across 20 or 30 points, we will have a reliable measure, one that we can trust.

There are several different formulas we can use to compute the exact reliability coefficient of our measure. The one that is most often used is called the alpha coefficient. Our little five-item conscientiousness test described above would have an alpha reliability coefficient of about .79. This isn't bad, but could be improved. If we added another 10 good items to the questionnaire, so that scores ranged from 14 to 45, with a mean of 30 and standard deviation of 6, the reliability coefficient would rise to about .92, which would be very good.

Validity and Significance. Does our measuring instrument actually measure what we intend it to?

Having a reliable measure of something doesn't guarantee that it is measuring what we intend it to. Before we use it to measure things and study relationships between things, it behooves us to confirm the validity of our measures of those things.

One way to assure validity is to write test items that reflect the trait we hope to measure. This helps assure content validity.

For example, if we want to measure basic arithmetic skills, we would include items for addition, subtraction, division and multiplication, for these skills are the *content* of arithmetic. For violence-proneness, we would study what prior researchers think puts persons at risk for this trait and include items that sample each of these content categories. If we want to measure attitudes about sustainable public policies and programs, we would include items with content about global warming, fossil fuel and alternative fuel use, protective forest management, fresh water management, ocean fisheries, agricultural programs, population control and any other issues which informed persons study and discuss as central aspects of this concept.

We can check the content validity by running correlations between each item and a total score on all the items. We expect each item to correlate well with this total score. If it does, we know it is reflecting the concept we wish to measure. If it doesn't, we discard it.

If the content is clearly measuring what almost everyone, even non-scientists, agree "looks" right, we refer to the questionnaire as having face validity. Almost everybody would consider a test of arithmetic to have face validity if it included subtraction, addition, division and multiplication items of the sort that is taught in arithmetic classes.

We can further explore the validity by comparing our test scores with other measures of the same or related concepts. For example, we could compare our score on basic arithmetic with public school grades in arithmetic classes. We would expect a positive correlation. We can compare our violence-proneness measure with how many juvenile or adult crimes persons have committed, especially aggressive crimes involving physical force. If we find a positive correlation we have evidence of what is called concurrent and convergent validity. Concurrent refers to information obtained simultaneously. Convergent refers to two measures of the same concept (criminal thinking and attitudes on the one hand and criminal behavior on the other).

We can use our measure to assess two groups of people known to vary on the trait we are trying to measure. For example, using a test purporting to measure violence-proneness, we could compare the scores of non-criminal teenagers with teens who have been incarcerated for committing crimes. Doing this we are looking for known groups validity. If we get the expected result, we have greater confidence that our measure is measuring what we intend it to.

We can look for predictive validity by using scores on our measure to predict future behavior. We can use scores on our math test to select students for an advanced math class for which there are more applicants than class spaces. We would expect students with higher scores on the math test to be more successful in the advanced class. We can use our violence-prone measure to screen applicants for the job of policeman or woman and predict that those with lower scores would be less likely to misuse their authority abusively.

We might be concerned about the environment and want to predict which candidates for public office would vote for legislation that protects water resources, endorses international global warming prevention policies and supports research on solar and wind power. We might be able to develop a valid rating scale of sustainability endorsement, scoring politicians on their past legislative votes, public statements and responses to interview questions. If studies showed the

scale was valid, that scores on it correlated significantly with subsequent behavior of legislators, we could use scores on this scale to decide for whom we wanted to vote.

If we had a correlation between two measures of 1.00, we could predict perfectly one score from the other. We never do have such high correlations in reality, but even improving our predictions from one level to a better level can be valuable. For example, if we can predict that trucking accidents are less likely in one group of applicants than another and reduce accidents by half, we may save millions of dollars in accident losses. If a basketball coach can increase his player performance to 80 percent wins from 50 percent by predicting which players are more likely to excel, his reputation will increase significantly. He may not be able to predict perfectly which player will score how many points but perfect prediction isn't necessary to improve overall team performance.

### Significance. How to tell if a correlation coefficient high enough to mean something.

Computers are used by scientists to compute correlation coefficients. Computers also calculate whether a correlation of a given size could have occurred simply by chance. Generally, in psychology research, we assume that if a correlation coefficient could have occurred only 5 percent of the time by chance, there is a real relationship between the two variables. We say that a correlation coefficient is "significant at the .05 level". If the correlation is high enough to have occurred only 1 percent of the time by chance, we say it is "significant at the .01 level". It is not uncommon to get correlation coefficients so high that they could have occurred only one in a thousand times by chance, significant at the .001 level. Sometimes our results are significant at the .000 level, likely to have occurred by chance only once in 10,000 studies. When reporting statistics, we use a single asterisk to indicate "significant at the .05 level" and a double asterisk to indicate "significant at the .01 level or higher", e.g. .25\*, .71\*\*.

### Sample size and Correlation coefficient significance.

The larger the sample of persons included in our study, the smaller a correlation coefficient can be and still be statistically significant. For example, a correlation coefficient of .14 won't be significant in a sample of 40 persons but will be in a sample of 400.

### Confounding Variables, Replication of Studies.

A confounding variable is one that we aren't considering initially but which influences our research results.

Consider a hypothetical example. If we study the relationship between unwanted and frightening sexual experiences in childhood and mental illness in adulthood, we may find that there is a significant correlation between the two. However, we may suspect that persons who have unwanted and frightening sexual experiences in childhood may come from dysfunctional families, families in which they also experience many other traumatic events, such as physical abuse, domestic violence between parents, poor diet and poorly modeled emotional communication skills. One or more of these other variables could be assumed to contribute to adult mental illness also. We would have to "partial out" the effects of these other variables to see if unwanted and

frightening childhood sexual experiences themselves contribute to adult mental illness.

Fortunately, computers can also compute a partial correlation coefficient. If we have reliable measures of the confounding variables, this correlation will tell us what the relationship between sexual experiences and adult mental illness is if all the other confounding variable information is partialled out or controlled for. Indeed, when such research has been done, much less relationship has been found between these childhood sexual experiences and adult mental illness than had been suspected, strange as this seemed to some researchers and Congresspersons who learned of these results.

Strange Results; My mind is made up, don't confuse me with the facts.

Sometimes we get striking, unexpected results in our research studies. For example, as clinicians we may have suspected a clear relationship between sex abuse and adult mental illness. Many adults who come for counseling and have symptoms of anxiety and depression which help confirm their mental illness, tell us in interview that they were abused sexually as children. They recall these experiences as unpleasant. We assume a causal connection between those experiences and current adult tears, depression and related symptoms of mental illness.

So, when we conduct a formal study that includes both clinical patients and non-clinical adults and find no strong, clear correlation between frequency of childhood sexual experiences and adult mental illness, we are puzzled. What should we do? We may repeat our study, suspecting there might be something peculiar about the particular sample of persons included in our first one. We call this a replication. It is common practice in psychological research to repeat studies with several different samples of subjects to guard against results that are caused by variables we haven't anticipated or controlled for. Another precaution is to do our studies on large samples of persons.

If we still get these same results, in spite of replications and partialling out confounding variables when computing correlation coefficients, we are left with the challenge as scientists to make educated guesses about what could be going on to account for our unexpected results. If we are responsible scientists, we will make these guesses, which we call hypotheses, and do further studies to try to understand the issues at hand.

For example, we may hypothesize (guess) that persons who are low on the basic personality trait of Emotional Stability have more difficulty handling the stress of an unwanted childhood sexual experiences. They may not be able to discuss it, stick up for themselves, ask for protection and help and as a result make a constructive adjustment in childhood and adolescence so that they do not have symptoms of mental illness as adults. Similarly, persons with lower intelligence may have more difficulty making successful adjustments to traumatic childhood experiences. So, we could include in a future study measures of both Emotional Stability and intelligence.

Let's assume for the sake of discussion that our subsequent studies showed that this hypothesis was correct, that persons with average or above verbal intelligence and average or above Emotional Stability very rarely have mental illness in adulthood, even if they have



experienced unwanted, frightening sexual experiences as children. Conversely, assume that we find that those in adulthood who *do* have mental illness after such experiences are usually lower on Emotional Stability and verbal intelligence.

We can use this information to explain our earlier failures to find the expected correlation between childhood sexual experiences and adult mental illness and also to guide our counseling efforts and our mental illness prevention programs.

An irresponsible behavior as scientists would have been to suppress or “condemn” our initial, unexpected findings, or fail to do follow-up research to find an explanation for the puzzling initial data. Even worse, it would have been inappropriate for us to criticize ourselves for having done the initial studies simply because we discovered something that didn’t fit our expectations. Even worse than this would have been a decision to never do any further research on any topic, punishing ourselves irrationally because we discovered something that confused us.

This sort of self-condemnation might be expected of a psychologist who was mentally ill himself, or driven by non-scientific pressures, such as fear of ostracism from authorities or sources upon whom he/she depends for his job or research grants. This might motivate a researcher working for a religiously affiliated university, the religion of which strongly condemned childhood sexual behavior on the grounds that it always causes mental illness and trauma. The courageous and confident researcher would continue his research and try to explain to university administrators the details of his findings and help advise religious leaders on how they might modify their doctrines to take into consideration the new scientific findings.

For example, he could help clarify the appropriate separation of religious thinking and scientific thinking and explain that unwanted and fearful childhood sexual experiences could still be disapproved of by the church on the scientific grounds that for some persons this can lead to adult mental illness, if research had shown this. The church could disapprove of childhood sexual experiences also simply on moral grounds, because members of the church think they are inappropriate and inconsistent with the teachings of religious writings basic to the faith. Thus, a slight modification of religious doctrine could enable the religious doctrine to remain consistent with the new research findings.

From this example we can see that science can slowly inform religious doctrine, at least for religions open to change and comfortable with scientific fact. But science should not dictate religious doctrine, for religion is based on beliefs taken to a large extent on faith, and religious faith is appropriately based on much in addition to scientific fact.

We might also hope that religious doctrine will not dictate the behavior of scientists, remembering the unfortunate way in which the Italian astronomer Galileo was condemned by the church of his day for teaching as truth, not just hypothesis, that the earth was not the center of the universe but revolved around the sun. The church had taught that the truth of the matter was Aristotle’s centuries-old assumption that the sun revolved around the earth.

The church at that time was not flexible enough to admit that it’s scientific authority, Aristotle, had been wrong and that the church needed to explain doctrine with more flexible

sources of information, sources that could be modified as scientific discovery enlightened our understanding of the world. What had been advocated by Aristotle in his time as fact, turned out in Galileo's time to be myth.

Asking interesting questions.

Once we have reliable and valid measures of psychological traits, we can begin asking interesting questions. We can ask which personality traits are the most basic ones, appearing across all peoples in all cultures. Research by Dr. Lewis Goldberg, a psychologist at Oregon Research Institute, has helped clarify that there are five very basic personality traits:

Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Intellect or Openness, Extroversion and Emotional Stability. These have been dubbed the "Big Five".

Conscientious persons tend to be well organized, persistent, dutiful and thorough. Agreeable persons tend to be helpful, kind and willing to compromise. Open persons are interested in new experiences, learning, discovering. Extroverts like to interact with other people, talk, lead, persuade. Emotionally stable persons tend not to get anxious or depressed easily under stress. Persons low on these traits tend to be lazy, argumentative, incurious, introverted, and anxious and depressed.

We can ask how these traits correlate with other traits, such as criminality, clinical problems and worker behavior on the job. We use logic and curiosity to generate our research questions.

For example, regarding the "Big Five", we can reason that if these particular five personality traits are fundamental ones, somehow more prevalent or characteristic of human beings than any of the other scores of personality traits, then they may have had some important survival value for individuals or groups of individuals over millions of years of human evolution. Humans in our time work to survive, earning money to buy food, housing and clothing. We can reason that if these five traits have had survival value, then they should correlate positively with how comfortable people are doing various basic work behaviors.

I have done a study of this, asking people to indicate how comfortable they are with each of several workplace tasks. I had them complete three questionnaires that each measure all of the Big Five traits. I found the three questionnaires were about equal in validity. Consider a sample of the results for my own questionnaire, below. The statistics are all significant at the .05 level or better, so I won't bother to include the asterisks.

Workplace behaviors:

1. Talking with customers.
2. Working under pressure.
3. Working with numbers.
4. Doing many different things each day.
5. Managing and supervising other workers.
6. Working in a clean suit with hood, mask, gloves, etc.

Workplace Behaviors.	Openness	Conscientiousness	Extroversion	Agree-ableness	Emotional stability
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1. Talk.	.29	.34	.40	.31	
2. Press.	.26	.41	.31	.38	.34
3. Numb.	.31	.28	.35	.36	
4. Diff.	.39	.31	.28	.42	
5. Manag.	.32		.43		.35
6. Clean.	.37	.32	.35	.48	

Thus, we see evidence that these five traits are positively related to various general and specific work behaviors, as we guessed they might be. For example, the .29 correlation in the top left corner means that persons with higher scores on Openness report feeling more comfortable talking with customers than persons with lower scores on openness.

We can then use logic to predict that if we hire workers who are relatively higher on these personality traits, they will be better on jobs requiring these work behaviors than workers with lower scores. We could run correlations between current workers' scores and independent measures of their work behavior, such as supervisor ratings, accidents, turnover, customer relations and productivity. If we got positive correlations, we could then use the tests with confidence to screen worker applicants and expect their job behavior to be better than that of prior, unscreened workers.

A large Fortune 100 grocery retailer considered using my battery of tests for screening drivers of heavy trucks. They did a pilot study and found positive correlations between test scores and several independent measures of current driver work behavior. They decided to use the battery to screen new job applicants. If you own a trucking company, you can use this battery too. You can check it out at my web site.

We can ask how stressful personal experiences relate to subsequent mental illness or other personal problems. For example, I have done a study to explore the relationship between a variety of personal problems and the clinical symptoms of mental illness, specifically anxiety, worry and depression. I had community college students complete measures of the clinical symptoms and items asking how strongly they agreed or disagreed with having experienced 13 types of personal problems. The correlations below show the relationship between the personal problem items and scores on the clinical symptom measures. The sample sizes were 38 persons for the depression data and 108 for the anxiety and worry data. Almost all of the correlations are significant at the .01 level, as indicated by the double asterisks.

Personal problem area.	Score on depression.	Score on anxiety.	Score on worry.
1. Mourning deaths.	.49**	.32**	.26**
2. Childhood abuse/neglect.	.45**	.41**	.43**
3. Unable to work.	.48**	.47**	.38**
4. Specific social	.60**	.36**	.43**

rejection.			
5. General social rejection.	.75**	.56**	.53**
6. Friendless.	.63**	.39**	.37**
7. Chronic pain.	.42**	.53**	.41**
8. Relationship problems.	.50**	.54**	.61**
9. Feel unneeded.	.73**	.51**	.31**
10. Unresolved anger.	.56**	.50**	.45**
11. Severe losses (money,etc.).	.51**	.55**	.55**
12. Post partum.	.34*	.46**	.36**
13. Unknown problems.	.80**	.58**	.46**
Multiple Correlation, using all 13 Causes to predict:	.73**	.63**	.64**

From the above correlations we can see that having each of the 13 personal problems listed in the left-hand column is strongly related to reports of worry, depression and anxiety, which at high levels are basic symptoms of mental illness. Some personal problems appear to more powerfully relate to emotional distress. Consider the correlations between depression and specific social rejection (.60), general social rejection (.75), being without friends (.63) and feeling unneeded (.73). This cluster of high correlations between depression and meaningful relationships with other people suggests that the quality of ones relationships with other people is critically important for avoiding clinical depression.

We can combine all 13 Personal Problem items to predict each of the symptom scores, getting the figures in the last row, which are called “Multiple Correlations”.

Thus, we have evidence that such personal problems are related to these symptoms. Note that this data suggests an important relationship between “abuse and neglect” and clinical problems. The item is not specific to sexual abuse per se, however, so we cannot cite this as evidence of a relationship between sexual abuse and adult mental illness.

You can take my tests for anxiety, worry and depression by going to my web site (Testmasterinc.com).

Cause and effect. Which came first, the chicken or the egg?

We don’t have proof that these personal problems cause the symptoms. Correlation does not prove cause. It is possible that the symptoms cause some of the personal problems. Perhaps

depressed people manage their money poorly, and have money problems as a result. Perhaps anxious people have trouble developing and maintaining friendships, the anxiety causing poor social experiences. However, it is impossible for adult depression, anxiety or worry to have caused a person to be abused in childhood and unlikely to have caused unresolved anger.

Also, it is possible that some other factor causes both the personal problems and the symptoms. For example, it is possible that for some persons underlying chemical imbalances in the brain cause people to see themselves as having more problems than others and also to feel more vividly the unpleasant feelings of anxiety, worry and depression.

We can do further studies to explore these possibilities. The more answers we find, the more effectively we can plan practical action, such as recommendations for counseling and/or medications for anxiety, worry and depression.

It is also worth noting that the *absence* of a significant correlation does not prove that no relationship exists between two variables. For example, when I tried to find validity between my truck driver test battery and safety data on drivers, I initially found no significant correlations.

Perhaps our accident data was too unreliable, for a number of reasons. If one of our measures has low reliability, that will set a limit on how much validity we can see. For example, the initial study did not include drivers who had had serious accidents because they were either dead or had been fired. If none of the drivers in our study have any accidents, we won't be able to see a relationship between test scores and accidents. Reliability sets an upper limit on detected validity. If a measure is of low reliability, validity cannot be detected, even if there is a significant relationship between the variables in question.

Though I saw no significant correlations between test scores and accident data initially, when using the test battery to carefully screen drivers for jobs, accidents in the company dropped dramatically. The company saved millions in reduced insurance and accident costs and won first place awards for safety at the state and national level. Other companies experienced the same results.

### Theory, hypothesis and scientific fact.

Psychology, like other scientific disciplines, has many expressions. It is an academic system of teaching. It is a toolbox of applied techniques. It is a body of hypotheses and facts. Psychologists work in applied aspects of psychology, such as business consulting and coaching, personnel selection, test development and diagnosis and counseling. In this work, they are vulnerable to confusing hypothesis with fact.

For example, seeing clients in counseling who talk of childhood abuse, such as beatings by parents, can lead a clinical psychologist to assume that abusive childhood experiences always cause psychological problems in adulthood. But without a careful research study of this assumption, the clinician would be well-advised to hold his belief only as a tentative hunch or hypothesis. If asked by a television commentator to appear on a talk show and comment on this

topic, the clinician may be tempted as an “authority” to state firmly that childhood beatings cause mental illness. If asked by Congress to testify on the issue, with funding for research or treatment programs hanging in the balance, the temptation might be even greater to state as fact what is only hypothesis.

It is possible that childhood abuse, such as beatings, unpleasant though they are, do not cause mental illness. This is not to condone childhood beatings. The point is that it is quite possible that they do not cause mental illness, in spite of the clinician’s repeated observations that persons who come for counseling consistently talk of childhood beatings as a troubling memory.

Research could reveal that for every person who comes for counseling reporting childhood beatings there is another person of the same age and gender who was beaten in childhood and is not troubled by it and needs no counseling.

It is important to realize that some professional psychologists may make public statements that are taken by the layman as “fact”, whereas the statements may only reflect a hypothesis. Bureaucracies that base their policies, programs and doctrine on assumed facts would be wise to realize that one decade’s scientific fact by prove to be the next decade’s erroneous hypothesis. Some scientists and professionals are too careless, and propound as fact what in reality can only be justified as hypothesis.

This may help explain the Congressional condemnation as poor science the study mentioned in Chapter 1.5. (Cite Reference). The study reviewed 59 prior studies of childhood sexual abuse and subsequent presence or absence of symptoms of mental illness as measured by questionnaires filled out by college students. One factor complicating research on this topic, explained the authors, is the many different types of childhood sexual experiences, many of which are not “abusive”. If a study does not carefully clarify the definition, research conclusions can get clouded.

What the survey study found was that there was no well-documented, consistent evidence for a relationship between childhood sexual experiences and subsequent symptoms of mental illness in college students. For childhood sexual experiences, including several that are considered by religious groups and community laws to be amoral or illegal, there is not yet an established relationship to adult mental illness symptoms.

There may be relationships to symptoms not included or measured in any of the studies reviewed, such as consequences for success in marriage. But, until such studies are done, one cannot assume that relationships exist between childhood sexual experiences and adult symptoms of mental or emotional problems.

Perhaps politicians and church authorities have based some of their laws, policies, programs and doctrines on prior hypotheses offered by mental health authorities (not necessarily scientists) that childhood sexual abuse causes mental and emotional problems. They may have heard as fact what was only hypothesis. Then, the review study, summarizing the findings of many studies and finding very limited support for the hypothesis, was confusing and embarrassing to politicians and religious authorities.

How to respond? Condemn the new evidence? Condemn the psychologists who revealed it? Or carefully reassess the whole situation to learn that the problem may in part be one of psychologists and other mental health authorities having misrepresented hypothesis as fact in the past. New scientific data bearing on the hypothesis now has clarified that the specific facts are more complex and less dramatically present than implied in the initial general hypothesis that all childhood sexual experiences always cause mental illness. Health authorities once claimed that masturbation caused mental illness, which is not at all true.

Science can inform politics, but should not dictate politics. Political decisions rightfully take into consideration and reflect citizen concerns of many types, such as economic interests, religious beliefs, scientific facts, ethnic traditions and health care needs. No one of these areas of concern, or groups of citizens representing them, should dominate decisions. Behavioral scientists can report findings regarding the relationship between children being raised by gay parents and subsequent mental health, but it is not for behavioral scientists to dictate government law or religious policy about gay marriage.

Religion can advise politicians but should not dictate politics. History teaches reasons for separation of church and state. Religion can argue for including the phrase “under God” in our national pledge and for printing “In God we trust” on our money, but whether our government does this should be a decision that reflects a broader range of concerns than religion.

Politicians and governments can advise scientists or fund scientists selectively, as by soliciting research on voter opinions or proposals on various topics of government concern, such as weapons systems for the military. But government should not dictate research procedure to scientists. Politics should not condemn or endorse one topic of research investigation over another or condemn research findings that happen to be unexpected or threatening to current beliefs.

The world is more complex when viewed in scientific detail than some persons would prefer it to be. Complexity does not go over well in brief political statements or Sunday sermons. Maintaining a public image as a dependable, easily understood and reliable leader is of considerable importance to politicians and religious leaders. Complex facts that conflict with current opinion or policy can be a challenge for such leaders to address.

It is a shame that Congress resolved the controversy by asking the public to simply ignore the facts in the study cited above as “poor science”. According to one Congressman, who is also a psychologist, only 6 of 323 Congress persons read the study they condemned.

This tendency for political leaders to condemn certain facts is most dangerous in the case of dictators. Dictators oversimplify their views of the world. They oppress intelligent, educated views and persons holding them. Intelligent, educated interpretation of facts does not support their simplistic and self-serving worldviews.

We need government. We need politicians to lead government. But equally important we need systems to reduce the danger of politicians gone haywire and maximize political decisions sensitive to the best interests of the nation. We need government that is carefully are of current

scientific fact and deeply respectful of the needs of the public. We need government which, at a minimum, protects us from violence among ourselves and between our nation and other individuals and nations. We do not need government which escalates violence.

I'll help you understand the most dangerous sort of politician later in this book. First, and by way of introduction to this leadership topic, let me share with you scientific data about the nature of violence between individuals. Why do individual people kill each other?

### **Chapter 3**

#### **Why do Normal People Kill?**

#### **Looking into the killer mind.**

What did the newspapers report about what made one killer tick?

Can we know what is in the minds of people who kill?

Can we identify persons at risk for violence?

In May, 1998, Kip Kinkel in the town next to mine killed both his parents at home then went to his high school with three guns and 1,100 rounds of ammunition. He killed two classmates and wounded 15 others. I felt shocked, concerned and puzzled. My daughter was in highschool just miles away. If Kip had been in her school, she could have been killed. Kip had been in counseling a year before. He'd been treated with medicine. Those who had provided treatment must have been terribly upset and dismayed that their patient had gone over the edge.

Was there anything I could do to help prevent this sort of tragedy? Why had this happened? The local newspaper, the Register Guard, covered the story in detail. Everybody seemed to have ideas. Teachers, peers, neighbors and professionals testified at the trial.

- While seen by his teachers as talented in math and science, Kip had difficulty with writing, spelling and reading.
- He had difficulty telling right from wrong, carving on school desks.



- He was close to a small group of friends but was mean and ridiculed others, taunting overweight children relentlessly and sometimes starting fights.
- He had injuring kids by striking them with a metal bar in one instance and chasing them with a knife and golf club in another.
- He'd threatened to kill peers who had bullied him.
- He owned three guns and had much ammunition in his home.
- He had pointed his guns at neighbor families.
- He'd exploded home-made bombs and told others he wanted to be the next Unabomber.

His mother had expressed anxious concern to a psychologist in 1997 about her son's fascination with knives, guns and explosives. She said he had a hot temper, kicking holes in walls. He had conflicts with his father over school problems.

Kip had conflicted with his father especially a few days before the murders when he was expelled from his high school for bringing a gun to school. His father had not supported the earlier counseling, never participating in sessions, apparently. He had bought Kip a pistol while Kip was in counseling.

What did this information reveal? I had expertise in making questionnaires that had been helpful in reducing trucking accidents. By avoiding hiring drivers low on any of 10 traits that define good drivers, companies enjoyed significant reductions in accidents. Perhaps there were traits that combine to push kids to kill. In the case of truck drivers, we measure desirable traits, such as mental skills, map reading, memory, loyalty, safety habits and load-handling skills. Low scores on these traits are associated with accidents.

Were there traits that put teenagers at risk for violence? Could I figure out a way to measure these with a questionnaire? Would teenagers be willing to reveal on a questionnaire information that relates to violent behavior? I thought they might, for job applicants had revealed counterproductive work habits on some of my other questionnaires.

The first step was deciding what traits to measure. In addition to what peers and teachers had reported about Kip, I was curious about professional opinions. Perhaps they would reveal traits that explained Kip's behavior.

Psychologist Orin Bolstad, , who treated young killers in Oregon juvenile prisons, was hired by the defense to evaluate Kip. Bolstad testified that he had a history of hearing voices which told him to kill. It wasn't clear to me from the newspaper accounts whether these were true hallucinations indicative of psychosis or just some form of Kip's own inner thoughts, explained by Kip after the killings as hallucinations to distance himself from responsibility. I heard this same psychologist speak at the University of Oregon and still wasn't convinced by his comments of a mental illness diagnosis. Maybe Kip had lied to the psychologist, blaming his "voices" instead of his own homicidal thoughts.

However, at Kip's murder trial, a neurologist Dr. Richard Konkol, who had examined Kip's head, testified that there were several defects in his brain, including the frontal lobe, which controls "basic personality and decision making". Other defects were in areas of the brain related

to spelling, reading, emotions, impulse control, concentration and memory. The doctor said the defects could have been caused by oxygen deprivation at birth. Whatever the source, Kip had brain defects that helped explain difficulties that apparently showed up in his behavior.

A Portland child psychiatrist, Dr. William Sack, testified that Kip had classic symptoms of paranoid schizophrenia and that this illness can leave a person appearing normal on the outside but very mentally disturbed on the inside. Such a person can have delusions, such as one of Kip's that the Disney Corporation would take over the government. Mental illness apparently accounted for some of Kip's fearful thoughts.

An article in the American Psychological Association monthly newspaper, the Monitor, reported that psychologists who had interviewed high profile school shooters had noted a variety of traits common to many, including rigid, black and white thinking, impulsiveness and social rejection. Mental illness and a prior history of overt violence were not consistently present. While killing may seem crazy to the layman and while Kip clearly met the definition of mental illness, many who kill are not technically crazy.

Many high school students kill each year and don't make the headlines, but the mass killings, 5 of which occurred in one year in the United States culminating in Kip's act, were particularly disturbing because these boys seemed normal. All of these 5 incidents were committed by Caucasian boys. Often they did not have histories of past delinquency or serious academic problems. Often they were from apparently normal, middle-class families. They were not deprived, persecuted, grossly mistreated. They were not disadvantaged minority group children.

Why would these "normal" boys kill? Which other normal boys in our communities might kill unexpectedly next month or next year? Was there anything going on in their minds that was different from other kids and that might warn us in advance to prevent homicides? I sought information from another expert.

A Portland psychologist, Eric Johnson, who specializes in assessing kids for violence-proneness, explained at a workshop for professionals that people who kill rarely kill again, though in prison people can kill other inmates and persons on parole certainly can. Regarding early signs that might warn us ahead of time, he said that it is impossible to predict exactly which person who has killed once will kill again, let alone which of several apparently normal kids will kill. The one exception of repeat killers is a very small sub-group of killers who are termed "psychopaths".

In spite of the fact that it is impossible to predict future killers, I thought there might be a way a psychologist could help to detect persons at risk for violence. Medical doctors can't predict which specific person will have a heart attack, but by research they know conditions that contribute to heart attacks. They can advise patients to lose weight, exercise and quit smoking. If psychologists could detect traits that put persons at risk for violence, we could help them make adjustments to reduce their risk for going over the edge and hurting or killing others.

### **Building a an "At Risk for Violence" questionnaire.**

To reduce one's "at-riskness" for homicide, a psychologist could try to detect feelings and attitudes that underlie thoughts of killing. A convenient way to study these traits is with

questionnaires. This form of research is especially practical for several reasons. It can be done with normal persons, who can serve as subjects of study. The researcher does not have to gain access to violent persons, such as prison inmates, which can require lengthy and complex applications and approvals.

Questionnaires can be inexpensively and quickly administered to many persons. They can provide information on many traits, yielding much information. They can provide relatively quick and economical answers to many research questions.

Research on child violence using a questionnaire also would be valuable because it might lead directly to a useful tool. If successful in measuring troubling behavior, the questionnaire itself could be used in diagnosis. It could be administered inexpensively to all children in a school to identify those few who are at greatest risk for violence, who could then be provided counseling and other services.

For these many reasons, I thought questionnaire research would be practical. I knew how to write items and had the computers and software needed to process data. I listed several traits that might be involved, including feelings of academic failure, rigid thinking, impulsiveness, social rejection, low guilt when doing wrong, unresolved anger, hostile pleasure (enjoying hostility), having gun skill and access, and endorsing homicide as a way to solve personal problems.

I reasoned that the more violence-related traits on which a person had high scores, the more that person would be at risk for committing a violent act. Public killings, such as those in school buildings, are almost sure to result in capture or death for the shooter. To commit such a violent and risky act a person probably would be desperate, with elevations on many contributing traits.

### **Thought Experiment.**

I did a thought experiment, following a method used by nuclear physicist Enrico Fermi of the Fermilab nuclear research facility in Batavia, Illinois. He had encouraged his students to use logic to estimate answers to questions before doing research. He showed them how to guess the number of piano tuners in Chicago by estimating the number of pianos per neighborhood, the number of neighborhoods, the frequency with which a typical piano is tuned, how many pianos a tuner can tune per week, etc. He'd walk the students through these steps then have them count the number of piano tuners in the yellow pages of the phone book. They were often quite close.

This technique can be applied to estimating the number of dramatic school shootings that would result if such shooters have high scores on each of many traits related to homicide.

Start with an estimated population of children in the U.S. of 28 million between grades 6 and 12 in 1998. Half of that is 14 million boys. Choose a cut-off score, such as the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile to define the critical, "high" level of each of 9 remaining traits. This selects the top 20 percent as being at greatest risk for violence. Multiply each figure times the next, as follows.

50% of 28 million = 14 million boys.

80% of 14 million boys = 11.2 million Caucasian boys.

1. 20% of 11.2 = 2.24 million Caucasian boys high on Rigid Thinking.
2. 20% of 2.24 million = 448,000 who also have Feelings of Academic Failure.
3. 20% of 448,000 = 89,600 also with Indifference to Guilt.
4. 20% of 89,600 = 17,920 also with Impulsiveness.
5. 20% of 17,920 = 3,584 also with Unresolved Anger.
6. 20% of 3,584 = 717 also with Hostile Pleasure.
7. 20% of 717 = 143 also with Gun Skill and Access.
8. 20% of 143 = 28.6 also who feel Socially Rejected
9. 20% 28.6 = 5.72 also who Endorse Homicide to solve personal problems.

Thus, by this method one would expect 5 or 6 mass school shootings per year by Caucasian boys. The number of such shootings in the United States for the 12 months ending with Kip Kinkel's in May of 1998 was 5. I felt encouraged; the model looked promising.

For this explanation to be valid mathematically, the traits must be statistically independent of each other, which, as we will see, they are not. Boys high on one trait tend to be high on the others. With traits that are not independent, we would get a predicted frequency *higher* than 5. However, if we increased the number of traits or raised our critical score from the 80<sup>th</sup> percentile to a higher one, our final figure would be *less* than five. So, the obtained predicted frequency of 5.9 is close enough to the actual frequency to encourage tentative faith in the model that a certain small percentage of persons who have high levels of several traits simultaneously might be likely to commit mass murder.

### **Questionnaire Items.**

After selecting traits to measure, the next step was writing questionnaire items. I like writing questionnaire items, because they can include almost anything you can imagine might be going on in a person's mind. An effective format for such items is a statement to which a person can indicate a degree of agreement or disagreement, such as this one to measure feelings of academic failure:

"The grades I have been getting in school the past year are much lower than I could have gotten."

The person responding is given a simple code, such as this:  
Strongly Disagree = 1, Disagree = 2, Agree = 3, Strongly agree = 4.

The questionnaire instructs the person to mark one of these four numbers for each item to indicate degree of agreement or disagreement. Adding the scores together provides a score for each trait. Adding the scores for all the traits provides a total score.

### **Measuring Attitudes about Killing.**

There are several ways to determine whether persons who have high levels of a given trait, such as unresolved anger, are prone to violence. One is to compare the responses on the items by two groups of persons, one group who has never committed a violent act and another, such as incarcerated teens or adults, who have committed violent crimes. If violent persons agree to the item more often than non-violent persons, the item is more likely to be useful for identifying violence-prone persons.

Another much simpler way is to include a questionnaire section that measures thoughts which persons prone to assault or murder might have. I wrote 8 items to directly measure thoughts about killing, the sorts of thoughts I imagined a person who was serious about killing might have. The three most poignant of these items are:

“I would enjoy making a plan to kill someone.”

“I can think of at least one person I know that I would like to kill if I was sure I would get away with it.”

“I think I would enjoy shooting someone I feel angry with.”

I had reason to think persons would respond differently to these items. Some persons, though perhaps only a few, would agree with them. A friend of mine, Dr. Lew Goldberg at Oregon Research Institute in Eugene, had told me that people are remarkably open in admitting to antisocial thoughts and traits. He was commissioned several years ago by the American Psychological Association to review the validity of tests which employers use to screen job applicants. They detect job problem behaviors like stealing from one's employer, substance abuse problems, quick turnover (leaving the job after only a short time) and anger management difficulties.

He found that the tests were valid. Almost all people think they are normal. So, they will report on such tests whether they think “most people steal from their employers” or if they “tell people off when they are pushed too far”. Such test items correlate with problem behavior on the job; persons who agree or strongly agree with them are more likely to be problematic.

Even job applicants, whom we might expect would try not to reveal wayward tendencies, will give different responses to such potentially self-incriminating items. Some will reveal that they think like trouble-makers. Knowing this, I expected that people also would reveal their homicidal thoughts.

To cover all the traits I wrote a total of 75 items. For each item the person taking the test is asked to circle a number, 1 through 4, to indicate degree of agreement or disagreement. A scale of 5 items could thus generate possible scores ranging from 5 to 20 for that trait. This can be enough to create a reliable measure of the trait, if the items are good ones. Bad items can be detected by research and discarded. I wrote enough items to be able to discard as many as one third of them, if they were bad.

### **Good Questionnaire items; Correlations, Reliability and Validity in a Nutshell.**

Good items for a given trait, such as homicide endorsement or feelings of social rejection, have a variety of characteristics. A good item clearly reflects the content of the trait measured, as “I think I would enjoy shooting someone” measures homicidal thinking. The item will correlate modestly with other items for the trait, which will mean each item is different from the others but not too different. The item will correlate lowly with items measuring other traits. It will correlate highly with a total score made up of scores for all the items in its trait. For example, we'd expect homicide endorsement items to correlate perhaps .30 with each other, .50 to .85 with the total homicide endorsement score and .20 or lower with items measuring another trait, such as feelings of social rejection.

A correlation is a statistic that measures how closely two measures are related. It can range from - 1.00 to + 1.00. The correlation statistic is used for many purposes in psychological research. One is to check items in questionnaires to find the best items. A scale made up of several good items will spread people apart, with some getting low scores, some average, some high. The wider this spread, the more reliable the scale is. Reliability of .70 is sometimes adequate. Reliability in the .80's is good. .90 and above is excellent. The more reliable a measure is, the more likely a person's score on it will be the same if the person takes the test again at another time. And, the more confidence we have that a given person's score accurately indicates how much of the trait he or she has.

Reliability is important because without it one cannot detect validity. Validity is measured by calculating a correlation between a scale or measure of a trait and some other related trait or behavior. For example, intelligence tests are "valid" predictors of school success because intelligence test scores correlate about .60 with school grades. The higher one's intelligence, the higher his/her school grades tend to be. A validity coefficient can't be higher than the approximate average of the reliabilities of the two trait measures upon which it is based. If an intelligence test has a reliability of .80 and a measure of school grades has a reliability of .50, the highest validity this intelligence test could show with these school grades would be about  $.80 + .50 = 1.30 / 2 = .65$ .

I kept these principles in mind as I wrote the questionnaire items. Would I get reliable measures of the many traits? Would they correlate significantly with the Homicide Endorsement trait? I looked forward to administering them to a group of people to see.

### **Chapter Summary:**

#### **What did the newspapers report about what made one killer tick?**

The papers reported much information revealed by expert witnesses and others who knew Kip Kinkel. Kip had a history of conflict with other persons. He was hostile toward peers. He had guns and ammunition and knew how to load and shoot weapons. He had severe mental illness and a physiologically abnormal brain that persisted in spite of counseling and medications.

#### **Can we know what is in the minds of people who kill?**

We can try to understand what is inside the minds of people who think about killing others by building questionnaires that ask about thoughts of killing and about other traits we suspected are related to these thoughts.

#### **Can we identify persons at risk for violence?**

A questionnaire that is reliable and valid could be used to quickly and economically screen all school children once a year. Persons with high scores would be more prone to violence. Questionnaire items must be administered to a group of people to determine if they are good ones.

### **Discussion Questions:**

If you are a student in a class or a member of a book club, or if you just want to discuss your reactions to this chapter with friends, here are some ideas you may consider as discussion topics.

1. Do you think all persons who are violent reveal clues to their violent behavior ahead of time?
2. Are violent persons entirely different from other persons or do they just behave more extremely than others when angry?
3. Do you know someone whose behavior seems to include signs of potential violent behavior? If so, what can you do about it?

**Great Expectations:**  
**Gathering data to check the violence questionnaire.**  
*Anger is never without a reason, but seldom a good one.*

- Benjamin Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac, 1753.

Do some normal people everywhere think about killing?  
What psychological traits are related to thoughts of killing?  
What might Kip Kinkel's questionnaire profile have looked like?

Just as I was looking for a group of persons to take the violence questionnaire, I got a call from an industrial employer who had been using a battery of my tests to screen job applicants. They wondered if I happened to have a test to screen out persons prone to anger problems, as they had employees who were threatening to kill each other. I said I had a draft of one that might prove helpful. They agreed to add it to our next batch of applicants. I changed a few items from school issues (e.g. feelings of academic failure) to work (career failure).

**Testing adults.**

The questionnaire was completed by 134 adult job applicants ranging in age from eighteen to sixty. I ran the statistics, finding good ones for each of the traits. I kept a total of fifty-eight items. Reliabilities were computed and found to be adequate, ranging from .51 on Rigid Thinking to .76 on Unresolved Anger. For the Homicide Endorsement trait, consisting of eight items, it was .64. For the total score made up of all fifty-eight items the reliability was excellent, .90. I felt encouraged; even job applicants were giving a range of responses to all the questionnaire items. The scales spread people apart, yielding reliable measures of traits.

To test the assumption that these several traits might underlie thoughts of killing, I ran correlations between the traits and the Homicide Endorsement scale and with each of the three poignant items in this scale.

All of the traits correlated significantly with one or more of these four critical scores. I was delighted. I had evidence that the traits I'd chosen were all related to thoughts of killing.

The highest correlations with traits were for Rigid Thinking (.36), Impulsivity (.38), Unresolved Anger (.37) and Hostile Pleasure (.37). The correlation with Gun Skill and Access was .29. Job applicants who endorsed homicide as a way to solve personal problems had a tendency to describe themselves especially as rigid thinkers, impulsive, having unresolved anger, enjoying being hostile and having gun skill and access. I wondered what members of the National Rifle Association would think about the significant correlation between homicide endorsement and gun skill and access. I wondered if this was a fluke. Maybe the correlation wouldn't hold up in an other sample of people. Would this same correlation be found in another group?

The correlations with the poignant items were even higher. For example, the measure of Hostility Pleasure (enjoying hostile acts) correlated .61 with the poignant item "I think I would enjoy shooting someone I feel angry with." Persons who enjoy being hostile (e.g. hitting others) think they would enjoy shooting others.

As with any correlation coefficient, these numbers do not mean that every person who has



a higher score on one of these traits or items will be high on the other traits, only that there is an increased likelihood that they will. Some people who have unresolved anger will not have homicidal thoughts. Some who have guns and know how to use them will not have homicidal thoughts. But, there is the tendency for these things to go together.

Thus, this initial study appeared to confirm the hunches of clinicians who had interviewed school shooters and my guesses about which traits might underlie homicidal thinking. The traits they observed as common to these boys or seemed logically related to homicidal behavior were all positively related to the Homicide Endorsement scale, 8 questions asking directly about killing as a way to express anger.

This was only the first study. Another study, using the same scales but with a different group of people might yield different results. Psychologists repeat or “replicate” their studies to double check research results.

### Testing Teens.

The next group I located was teenager belonging to a church group. We arranged to do the testing during a weekend dance. Fifty-six girls and forty-nine boys took the test. Their mean age was sixteen with two thirds falling within 1.7 years of sixteen.

I ran the correlations. The results were essentially the same as for the adults. I felt very pleased. I seemed to have a reliable and valid questionnaire. Each of the scales correlated significantly with the Homicide Endorsement index and one or more of the poignant items, with one exception. The Closed to Help scale did not correlate very highly with the Homicide Endorsement index and did not correlate significantly with any of the three poignant items. This implied that teens are still open to help, even if they have angry, homicidal thoughts.

The results did not differ much between boys and girls, or between men and women, though males tended to have slightly higher scores. As measured by this test, girls and women can be prone to violence, just as boys and men can be.

To learn more about what this scale was measuring, more correlations were computed. In column 1, below, are correlations between each scale and the total score, which consists of all the scales added together. Most of the correlations are significant. For example, with the total score, column 1, they are significant at the .000 level (could have occurred by chance in only 1 of 1,000 studies):

Scale	1. Correlation with total score	2. Correlation with one of two factors	3. Correlation with second factor
Failure feelings	.57	.30	<b>.60</b>
Rigid thinking	.65	.28	.40
Impulsivity	.67	.42	.33
Social rejection	.66	-.03	<b>.82</b>
Low guilt	.59	<b>.76</b>	-.02

Unresolved anger	.75	.31	<b>.62</b>
Hostile pleasure	.70	<b>.78</b>	.19
Gun skill and acc.	.45	<b>.67</b>	.13
Homicide endors.	.64	<b>.72</b>	.16
Closed to help	.53	.27	.17
Not stop violence	.52		
Dishonesty		<b>.61</b>	.13

The figures in column 1 mean that all of the scales are closely related to the overall measure represented by the 58 items in the test. These numbers mean that all of the questionnaire traits are part of one overall psychological trait or disposition. These scales measure a tendency to think about homicide as an expression of anger, which might be termed “violent thinking proneness”.

The correlation between gun skill and access and the homicide endorsement scale was .45, much higher than the .29 figure for adults. Knowing how to shoot a gun is associated with homicidal thinking.

The figures in the second and third columns show how these scales cluster together. If we ask what two clusters these traits fall into, a statistical process called *factor analysis* gives the answer. The highest correlations in column 2 indicate the essence of the first cluster, a dimension characterized by low guilt, hostile pleasure, gun skill and access, homicide endorsement and dishonesty. The second cluster or dimension, represented by the correlations in column 3 is characterized by failure feelings, feelings of social rejection and unresolved anger. As measured by this questionnaire, violence-proneness appears to involve two main components, an aggressive, violent disposition and a failure/rejection/resentment one.

It was possible that there were more psychological traits that relate to feelings and thoughts of homicide, but the ones in this initial group had “face value”, they fit what other clinicians had observed in interviews with teen killers. The total score provides a very reliable measure of the overall trait: .90 for the first group of 134 adults and .93 for the 105 teens.

We can think of reliability as the correlation between a test or measure and itself, as if taken on two different occasions. Another way to think of a test’s reliability is this: high reliability means that a test reliably differentiates persons with different scores from each other on the trait measured by that test.

**What does this show about why kids kill? 6 percent can be a big deal.**

The research data obtained thus far provide evidence that the traits measured were directly related to thoughts of killing. For example, consider this distribution of scores for these teenagers to one of the poignant items of the questionnaire. The number of teens is 116, as I’d tested a few more that I added to the church group sample. Item 57 reads:

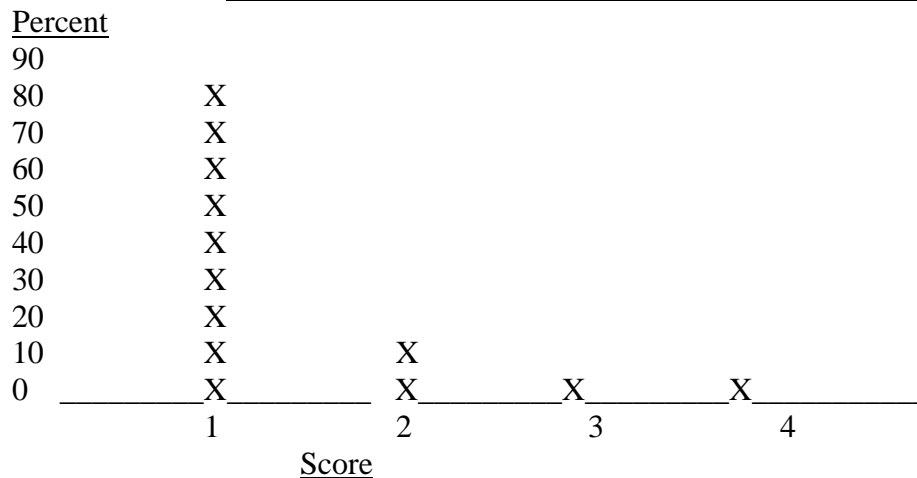
“I know someone right now that I would like to kill if I was sure I would get away with it.”

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
Number	94	15	4	3
Percent	81	12.9	3.4	2.6

94 of the 116 teenagers strongly disagreed with this statement. 15 disagreed with it. Seven children agreed or strongly agreed with it. We should be concerned for them, especially if they have high scores on the overall questionnaire.

The bar chart of these scores is skewed to the left, most children are quite civil.

Bar Chart of Scores for Item #57 (Know someone I'd like to kill.)



When scores for are summed across the 58 items, the total scores fall in a normal, bell-shaped distribution. We can choose any point on the distribution, say the highest 10 percent, to target as most at risk for homicidal thoughts. If we can afford to provide counseling for violence prevention to only 10 percent of students in a given school, this would be a logical group on which to focus.

If an employer wants to screen out 10 percent of his job applicants who might be most likely to threaten others, those with total scores above the 90<sup>th</sup> percentile would be a logical group.

### **Summary Implications of Initial Studies.**

The data suggested that the following problems underlie homicidal thinking:

#### **Failure feelings.**

The first trait in this “At Risk for Violence” questionnaire (ARFV) is feelings of failure, academic failure for teenagers and career failure for adults. For teens, these are two of the items “The grades I have been getting in school the past year are much lower than I could have gotten” and “I know one or more adults who care a lot about how I do in school”. For adults, these two items are phrased slightly differently but reflect a similar perception of oneself as not doing well career-wise and not supported by others who care about this. People who see themselves as not

doing well in school or at work, not performing up to their potential and not supported by caring adults in their efforts, are prone to homicidal thoughts against people. Notice that I say “thoughts” not acts. I did not yet have evidence for hostile acts.

### **Rigid thinking.**

The second trait is rigid thinking, reflected in test items such as “When I have a problem with another person, there is just one best way to solve it”, and “When I am in arguments with others, I try to have the last word and win.” People who think in black and white, simple concepts of right and wrong, “my way or the highway”, are more prone to homicidal thoughts toward others.

### **Impulsivity.**

“I tend to interrupt others, speaking when it is not my turn” and “I often make decisions so quickly that I get in trouble” are two of the items in this scale. The tendency to act without thinking, to act on impulse, also accompanies hostile thoughts.

### **Social rejection.**

Items include “I feel disowned (rejected) by most or all of my family and relatives” and “If someone rejects me, I feel like rejecting them totally.” Thus, persons who feel rejected and disconnected from other people are more likely to entertain thoughts of hostile acts.

### **Low guilt, not feeling guilt when doing things wrong.**

“I feel very ashamed if I lose my temper”, and “I feel very badly when I hurt another person’s feelings” are items in this scale. Both items are reverse-scored; violence-prone persons disagree with them. Persons who lack a conscience about doing wrong, harming others, are more prone to hostile thinking. By reverse scoring I mean that before one’s score is computed the values are inverted. On a scale range from 1 to 4, a 4 becomes a 1, a 2 becomes a 3 and vice versa.

### **Unresolved anger.**

“I often fall asleep thinking about getting even with someone I’m mad at”. A reservoir of pent up negative feelings also underlies hostile, homicidal feelings and thoughts.

### **Hostile pleasure, enjoying hostile acts.**

“I like to play video games where I get to shoot at people, planes, etc.”, and “I have enjoyed slapping or punching other people when mad at them” are two of the items in this scale. Persons who enjoy being hostile are more likely to entertain thoughts and feelings of homicide.

### **Gun skill and access.**

Persons who report that they have access to and know how to use guns are more likely to have thoughts of homicide. Members of the National Rifle Association defend our Constitutional right to bear arms by arguing that people kill people, guns don’t kill people. But guns don’t kill without a person pulling the trigger. We see in this data an association between people who entertain homicidal thoughts and people who have access to and skill in using guns. Not all gun owners have homicidal thoughts, but they are more likely than non gun owners to have such thoughts. Not all overweight people will have a heart attack but they are more prone to having one.

**Homicide endorsement.**

The ninth facet is homicide endorsement itself, reflected in items such as the three poignant ones presented above.

**Closed to help.**

Being closed to help with personal problems: “If I felt like hurting other people at school, I think I would want to talk to a school counselor about it.” (reverse scored). Persons who have homicidal thoughts are unlikely to want counseling. This is more true for adults than for teens.

**Not stop violence.**

The eleventh facet is not being willing to help stop violence in school or one’s work place.

**Lying.**

The last scale or facet is a tendency to report lying or dishonesty in completing the test. This scale also correlates with the rest of the scales, apparently reflecting an antisocial, uncooperative disposition.

**Kip’s At Risk for Violence Test Profile.**

We can speculate about what Kip’s ARFV questionnaire scores might have been. Perhaps like these:

<b>Trait</b>	<b>Low</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>High</b>
<b>Feelings of School Failure.</b>		<b>X</b>	
<b>Rigid Thinking</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Impulsiveness</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Social Rejection</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Low Guilt</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Unresolved Anger</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Hostile Pleasure</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Gun Skill and Access</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Homicide Endorsement</b>			<b>X</b>
<b>Closed to Help</b>		<b>X</b>	
<b>Not Stop Violence in School</b>		<b>X</b>	
<b>Test Honesty</b>		<b>X</b>	

Kip had special difficulties with spelling, writing and reading, but excelled in math and science. He seemed to think rigidly, being very upset when peers broke rules. He was impulsive, repeatedly behaved in antisocial ways, carving on school desks, fighting with other children, making fun of peers. He seemed to feel rejected socially, as he was bullied and made threats to kill bullies. He imagined that his parents would reject him for being expelled from school and could not tolerate this event. He seemed to lack guilt, repeatedly hurting others. He often seemed angry,

as reflected in fighting, arming himself to be aggressive, making threats and hurting other children. He seemed to enjoy angry, aggressive activities, making bombs, accumulating guns and ammunition, aiming guns at others. He owned three guns and took them and 1,100 rounds of ammunition with him to school the day of the shootings. He seemed to endorse homicide as a way to solve his problems, killing his parents and two classmates and wounding 15 others for which he was convicted of murder and attempted murder. He did not seem closed to help. He attended 9 counseling sessions a year before his homicides. We might expect that he would have cooperated with school efforts to reduce violence, perhaps seeking some relief from being bullied. We have no reason to believe that he was a liar or dishonest. He might very well have openly shared his attitudes on this questionnaire, yielding scores like the ones depicted.

### **Chapter Summary:**

The initial studies of the At Risk for Violence questionnaire showed that several traits relate to homicidal thinking. How would basic personality traits such as agreeableness, extroversion and emotional stability relate to homicidal thinking? I could seek answers by doing more studies to answer this question.

### **Do some normal people everywhere think about killing?**

Probably, inasmuch as some did among 134 adult job applicants, whom one would think would be on guard about revealing such anti-social behavior. And, a group of teenagers attending a dance included some with high scores on violence-proneness.

### **What psychological traits are related to thoughts of killing?**

There are many, including feelings of career failure, impulsiveness and having access to and skill in using guns.

### **How might Kip Kinkel's test profile look like?**

Based on what was revealed in testimony by many expert witnesses, victims, teachers and classmates, we can imagine that Kip would have had elevations on many traits, including social rejection, unresolved anger and homicide endorsement

### **Discussion Questions:**

1. Have you ever thought about killing someone, or heard a friend or relative talk about such urges?
2. How do you suppose persons who have infrequent, momentary thoughts of killing control them so that they never actually kill?
3. What traits in addition to the ones revealed in this chapter do you think might be related to thoughts of killing?

## Chapter 5

### Disagreeable, Lazy and a Little Bit Crazy:

#### Personality and other traits that relate to violence-proneness.

Are violence-prone persons less agreeable and less emotionally stable than others?

Do they view their family experiences differently than others?

Do they see themselves and inadequate in handling basic life tasks?

#### A Nasty Lady.

I started using the ARFV test in my clinical practice to see if scores on the test would correspond with violent behavior. I did diagnostic evaluations for public agencies. When I had a client with criminal record, I'd have him or her complete the ARFV. The results usually fit the picture. Consider this profile on a middle-aged woman who had been jailed 13 times for up to 8 days for fighting when drunk. She had put some victims in the hospital:

Trait	Bottom 20% Low	Mid 60% Average	Upper 20% High	Top 5%	Top 1%
Feelings of Career Failure				x	
Rigid Thinking					x
Impulsiveness					x
Social Rejection					x
Low Guilt				x	
Unresolved Anger					x
Hostile Pleasure			x		
Gun Skill and Access		x			
Homicide Endorsement				x	
Closed to Help			x		
Not Stop Violence in School		x			
Total Score					x

<b>Test Honesty</b>			<b>x</b>			
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This lady's scores are higher than 99% of the initial sample of women job applicants on many scales, including the total score. She's one mean person. Her scores fit her history of violent behavior.

But one case does not prove a point. I needed more data. I was curious about what traits might relate to and help explain violent thinking.

### The Big Five help explain Big Problems.

I wondered how basic personality traits would relate to the ARFV scores. Were the ARFV traits expressions of low agreeableness? Was violence-proneness related to laziness, low openness and introversion? Were violence-prone persons more prone to depression and anxiety? Dr. Goldberg had told me to always include a measure of the "Big Five" in any research studies I did. Through years of study at Oregon Research Institute he had helped refine the power of these traits to explain human behavior.

The Big Five are fundamental personality traits of humans. While there are literally scores of personality traits, these five are the most central ways people describe themselves.

The Big Five are these:

**Conscientiousness.** The tendency to be organized, thorough, careful, detail oriented, hard-working, etc. This trait correlates positively with school grades. It can help a person get better grades. Persons low on this trait tend to be lazy, disorganized, careless, sloppy, etc.

**Agreeableness.** The tendency to be cooperative, nice, friendly, apologetic, helpful and kind. Persons low on this trait are oppositional, unpleasant, argumentative, irritable and nasty.

**Openness or Intellect.** The tendency to be curious, interested in learning, interested in new experiences, trying new foods, thinking new ideas, traveling to new places, being creative.

**Extroversion.** The tendency to be social, talkative, leading, directing, persuasive, etc. Introverts tend to be shy, quiet, retiring, submissive.

**Emotional Stability.** The tendency to not feel anxious and depressed, but instead to be calm, level-headed, confident and poised under routine pressure and stress.

I had seen the power of the Big Five in prior studies that I had done with workers. For example, the Big Five correlate significantly with how comfortable workers feel doing a variety of job duties, some basic and common to many jobs and some quite specific to only a few jobs. Consider the correlations below. Each number in the table means there is a relationship between the personality trait listed at the top and the job behavior listed on the left.

Work Behavior.	Openness	Conscientiousness	Extroversion	Agreeable-ness	Emotional stability
Talking with customers.	.29	.34	.40	.31	
Working under pressure.	.26	.41	.31	.38	.34
Working with numbers.	.31	.28	.35	.36	



Doing many different things each day.	.39	.31	.28	.42	
Managing other workers.	.32		.43		.35
Working in a clean suit with hood, mask, gloves.	.37	.32	.35	.48	

Persons with higher scores on the personality traits say they are more comfortable talking with customers, working under pressure, etc. Such persons tend to make better employees.

Because working at a job is the way most humans survive in human society, we might guess that the Big Five personality traits have evolved over millions of years because they have helped humans survive as a species. Other animals have different traits that have helped them survive in other ways. For example, sloths move very, very slowly, living in trees and eating leaves. Moving slowly may protect them from being noticed by jaguars. They do not seem “conscientious” or “extroverted”. They are cautious and shy. Beavers are very hard-working and “conscientious”, not unlike successful humans. Geese live in groups and mate for life. Therefore, geese that are high on gregariousness and loyalty would seem more likely to survive in that species.

If for humans the Big Five personality traits have evolved because they have survival value, we might suspect that humans who are misfits, who end up in jails and prisons, might be low on these traits. Thoughts of killing are certainly viewed as antisocial and counterproductive behaviors. Therefore, I thought that teenagers in detention and adults in prison might have lower scores on the ARFV and that ARFV traits might be negatively related to the Big Five personality traits.

I called the local penitentiary and told them about my initial research findings and need for more data. The administrators were skeptical that prisoners would be forthright in revealing themselves honestly, because prisoners don’t trust authorities. They were particularly doubtful that prisoners would report how many crimes they had committed. But, I said they wouldn’t have to put their names on any of my forms, everything would be totally confidential. They agreed to my plan.

I sent them the At Risk for Violence test (ARFV), the Big Five Inventory<sup>4</sup> and a questionnaire asking prisoners how many crimes they had committed. Prison staff administered the questionnaires and sent me data for 80 men. For some reason I can’t now recall they weren’t able to include women.

First I ran correlations between scores on the Big Five personality traits and each of the ARFV scales. I expected to find negative correlations which would support my hunch that the Big Five are positively related to constructive, survival behavior and negatively related to antisocial

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4 Benet-Martinez, V., & John, O.P., (1998). Los Cinco Grandes across cultures and ethnic groups: Multitrait multimethod analyses of the Big Five in Spanish and English. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 729-750.

behavior. The results were as expected. In the numbers below, a double asterisk means the correlation is significant at the .01 level or higher. It could have occurred only one in 100 times just by chance.

ARFV scale	Big Five Extroversion	Agreeable-ness	Conscientiousness	Emotional Stability	Openness
Failure	-.35**	-.31**	-.55**	-.45**	-
Rigid Thkg	-	-.59**	-.30**	-.28**	-
Impulsive	-	-.40**	-.48**	-	-
Rejected	-	-.31**	-.55**	-.48**	-
Guilt	-	-.55**	-	-	-
Unresolved anger	-.37**	-.63**	-.43**	-.40**	-
Hostile pleasure	-	-.62**	-	-	-
Gun Skill & access	-	-.31**	-	-	-
Homicide endorsemt.	-	-.63**	-	-	-
Closed to help	-	-.35**	-	-	-
Not stop violence	-	-.41**	-	-	-
Total score	-	-.73**	-.36**	-	-

We can see in the above correlations a slight negative relationship between the trait of Extroversion and feelings of career failure and unresolved anger. Because the correlation is negative, Introverted prisoners are more likely to report feelings of career failure and unresolved anger.

In the second column, there is a consistent negative relationship between all of the facets of violence-proneness and Agreeableness. The less agreeable an inmate is the more he reports having all of the traits of persons who have violent thoughts.

There is a moderate negative relationship between Conscientiousness and several facets of violence-proneness. Persons who are lazy, careless, not thorough, not organized and not tidy tend to report more feelings of career failure, rigid thinking, impulsivity, social rejection and unresolved anger.

Persons who are low on Emotional Stability are more likely to report feelings of career failure, rigid thinking, social rejection and unresolved anger. The final Big Five trait, Openness, is unrelated to violence-related traits.

From this I concluded that the traits which define violence-proneness as measured by the ARFV instrument are partially a product of low scores on basic personality traits, especially the trait of Agreeableness, but also Conscientiousness and Emotional Stability. Adult criminals with higher ARFV scores, who are prone to violent thinking, tend to be disagreeable, lazy, depressed and anxious (a little bit crazy). Some psychologists have estimated that the Big Five traits as measured in adulthood are about 50% genetically based and 50% environmentally shaped.

I imagined what this data implied for reducing crime. To the extent that the Big Five personality traits are shaped by experience, it would seem appropriate to help citizens learn to be agreeable, conscientious and skillful at reducing feelings of anxiety, worry and depression. To the extent that there is a causal relationship between these and violence thinking, we could expect a reduction in violence.

### **High school students.**

I also located a particularly open-minded high school principal who arranged for me to do a study. All of his freshmen and sophomores (226 students) completed the ARFV and an 18-item measure of skills for handling three emotions: anger, depression and guilt. The correlations between the total ARFV score and the emotion-handling skills were all significant at the .000 level, meaning they could have occurred only once in 1000 studies just by chance. The correlation between the total ARFV score and anger was -.56. For depression it was -.49, and for guilt -.61. Teens who are prone to violent thoughts lack skill in handling these three emotions. To the extent that we can teach children good skills for resolving these feelings, we might expect a reduction in violent behavior.

Here are some good ways to handle these three emotions, based on the content of the items that make up the scales:

**Anger:** Ask others for ideas about how to handle the situation. Think about how you can handle the situation kindly and tactfully. Talk nicely to the person with whom you feel angry and work it out. Don't: Just think about it for several days, think evil thoughts about how you can get even, or say something mean to the person.

**Depression:** Find someone you trust to talk with, do something you enjoy to help yourself feel better, and do something physical, like take a walk. Don't go off by yourself for a long time, mope or cry in private where no one can see you, or think about whether it might be better if you were dead.

**Guilt:** Apologize right away to the person you have hurt or offended, talk about your guilty feelings with someone you trust, and think about how you can be more considerate and careful in the future. Don't just forget about it, knowing we all make mistakes, or think of a reason the person you hurt deserved it, or pretend that you didn't really do anything about which you should feel guilty.

I studied a group of 77 problem students in an alternative high school in Ohio, 36 girls and 41 boys with a mean age of 16.8 and most between ages 15 and 18. They completed the ARFV and the Big Five Inventory, which is a 44-item measure of the Big Five. The correlations between the ARFV facets and BFI personality traits were similar to those for the prison inmates. All of the correlations below are significant at the .05 level or better except those in parentheses, which aren't quite high enough to be significant at the .05 level:

ARFV scale	Big Five Extroversion	Agreeable-ness	Conscientiousness	Emotional Stability	Openness
Failure	-.28	-.32	-	-	-.43
Rigid Thkg	-	-.26	-	-	-
Impulsive	-	-.36	-	-	-
Rejected	-	-.40	-	-	-.26
Guilt	-	-.42	-	-	-
Unresolved anger	-	-.49	-.27	(-.20)	-.24
Hostile pleasure	-	-.47	-	-	-
Gun Skill & access	.25	-	-	(-.21)	-
Homicide endorsemt.	-	-.31	-	-	-
Closed to help	-	-.33	-	-.26	-
Not stop violence	-	-.40	-	-.29	-
Total score	-	-.47	-	-.36	-

For these teens, low agreeableness is again clearly associated with violence-prone traits; those low on agreeableness tend to be higher on violence-proneness. Low emotional stability is also associated with violence-proneness in this group of teens. For this group, low openness is also associated three aspects of violence-proneness, in contrast to the prison inmates, for whom it was not related.

In another study of teenagers, all of the 224 middle and high school students in a small town complete the ARFV and the BFI. The school administrators did not want the students to take the homicide endorsement index, for political reasons, so that scale was omitted. There were some differences by gender, so I present the correlations separately for boys and girls below. All these correlations are significant at the .05 level or better:

Arfv	ExtroG irls	Extro Boys	Agree Girls	Agree Boys	Consc Girls	Cons Boys	Em.St Girls	Em St Boys	Open Girls	Open Boys
Fail.	-	-	-.23	-.52	-.38	-.39	-	-.35	-	-
Rigid	-	-	-.47	-.31	-.39	-	-.25	-.29	-	-
Impul	-	-	-.38	-.43	-.46	-.34	-.32	-.57	.21	-.20
Reject	-.18	-	-	-.37	-	-.27	-.20	-.48	-	-

Guilt	-	-	-.33	-.38	-	-	-	-	-	-.29
Unr A	-	-	-.40	-.61	-.29	-.30	-.47	-.58	-	-
Host	-	-	-.34	-.46	-.37	-.26	-.20	-.35	-	-.20
Gun	-	-	-	-	-	.20	-	.25	-	-
Close	-	-	-.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NSV	-	-	-.29	-.28	-	-	-.21	-	-	-
Total	-	-.19	-.47	-.55	-.32	-	-.34	-.29	-	-

Thus, we again see a clear relationship between low basic personality traits and violence-proneness. In particular, low agreeableness, low conscientiousness and low emotional stability are again prominent, as they were for the prison inmates.

An exception worth noting is the positive relationship between Conscientiousness and Emotional Stability on the one hand and gun skill and access on the other for boys in this study. This is a rural community where many citizens have and use guns for hunting game animals and wildfowl. So, it is not unexpected that the boys might have been carefully trained in gun use. Gun skill and access is more frequent among conscientious (.20) and emotionally stable (.25) boys in this sample.

### Teens behind bars.

Another opportunity to explore possible childhood experiences that might underlie violence-proneness presented itself when I asked personnel at a local detention facility for teenagers if I could have a group of their inmates take my test to see if their scores would be higher than scores of non-incarcerated children, as expected. They agreed, but asked me in return to develop a test that would measure all of the experiences that prior researchers had proposed were underpinnings of juvenile delinquency in general.

At first I balked, as the list they presented included a great many dimensions. To get a reliable measure of just one dimension usually takes many test items. To get reliable measures of dozens of dimensions might require a test instrument too long to be practical.

I simplified by combining many dimensions in two scales “Family Risk Factors” and “Personal Risk Factors”. Other dimensions I clustered as self-perceived social skills and self-perceived self-care skills. I included the 58 ARFV items. The final test was 288 items long, the “Helping Adolescents Plan Inventory” (HAPI). The report provides information that can be used to help teens understand why they are at risk for delinquent behavior and what they can work on to improve their situation.

The report provides scores on 60 dimensions, 13 of which were the ARFV test scores. The Family Risk Factors scale includes 11 items such as “I have had to wear second hand clothes to school” and “Adults with whom I live don’t praise me very often”. The personal risk factors scale consists of 15 items, such as “I have been in special classes at school because I needed extra help to learn” and “I have been in trouble with the police before I was 15 years old”.

The Social Skills scale, has 5 items, such as “Making friends”, “Being polite to unpleasant adults” and “Baby-sitting younger children.” The Self-Care Skills scale also has 5 items, such as “Keeping a cheerful attitude”, “Eating a balanced diet”, and “Brushing my teeth after every meal”.

I tested 33 teens with this test, including 10 non-incarcerated youth, 9 incarcerated for non-violent crimes and 14 incarcerated for violent crimes. There were 11 girls and 22 boys, ranging in age from 11 to 17. They also took the BFI. While this was a rather small sample, the statistics generated were interesting.

Consider the correlations between many of these scales and the total ARFV score. All are significant at the .05 level or better. They indicate relationships between violence-proneness as measured by the ARFV and many other childhood experiences, self-images and views of the community:

Measured dimension.	Correlation with ARFV Total score.
Family risk factors	.53
Personal risk factors	.41
Big Five Agreeableness	-.44
Big Five Emotional Stability	-.37
Anger management skills	-.71
Depression management skills	-.58
Fear management skills	-.44
Guilt management skills	-.69
Total negative feeling mgt. skills	-.75
Self-perceived social skills	-.34
Self-perceived self-care skills	-.50
Self-perceived law abidingness skills	-.51
Satisfaction with childhood family	-.49

For this group, teens at risk for violence have poor skills for managing anger, depression, fear and guilt. They are low on agreeableness and emotional stability. They have poor social and self-care skills. They aren’t good at obeying laws. They are dissatisfied with their families.

To get a more detailed view of the specific childhood experiences that are related to violence-proneness, we can look at the correlations between individual scale items and the total ARFV score for the Family Risk Factors scale and the Personal Risk Factors scale. The correlation is given in the first column below, the significance level in the second and the item content in the third. Kids with higher AQFV scores tended to agree with these statements:

.35     .05     No one seems to care very much how I do in school.

.43	.01	I rarely get to do anything fun with an adult in my family.
.52	.00	The adults in my family don't seem to know where I go or what I do with my friends.
.45	.01	I have gotten drunk on alcohol before I was 15 years old.
.44	.01	I have drunk alcohol to feel better sometime during the past year.
.38	.03	I have used street drugs to feel better sometime during the past year.
.48	.01	Some of my friends are in gangs or have been in trouble with the police.
.42	.02	I have been in trouble with the police.
.39	.02	I have been suspended from school for fighting or breaking other school rules.
.41	.02	I get picked on a lot by other kids at school.
.49	.00	I have been in trouble for skipping school.
.37	.04	I feel very nervous or afraid on most days.

We see clusters of items that reflect parental neglect, involvement with drugs and alcohol, trouble with the police, school conflicts and fear or nervousness.

### **Chapter Summary:**

The underpinnings of violence-proneness seem to include low agreeableness and emotional stability, which are partially inherited dispositions. Add to this feelings of parental neglect and poor training in handling negative emotions, self-care and social skills. Poor school experiences contribute. Having difficulty finding acceptance by well-adjusted peers, it seems that violence-prone children turn to delinquent peers for company. They may turn to street drugs and alcohol to reduce feelings of depression and anxiety.

### **Are violence prone persons less agreeable and less emotionally stable than others?**

Yes. Persons who have higher scores on the many traits that are related to violent thoughts tend to be disagreeable, low on conscientiousness and prone to anxiety and depression. They have poor skills for handling emotional problems, including feelings of anger and guilt.

In this respect, they are “a little bit crazy”. Research has shown that there are two major kinds of emotional problems that make people feel crazy or seem crazy to others. On type is a variety of problems that involve a degree of anxiety, worry and /or depression but no very crazy thinking. This type accounts for the vast majority of emotional problems. The other type involves crazy thinking, such as schizophrenia. Evidence suggests that in this type there are definite brain abnormalities. Remember that Kip Kinkel’s brain was found to be abnormal. Most persons who have emotional problems are of the first type. They are only “a little bit crazy” compared to those with abnormal brains. Most persons who are prone to violent thinking, I believe, are only “a little bit crazy”, struggling with feelings of anxiety, worry and depression or other problems but who are not hampered by abnormal brains.

### **Do they view their family experiences differently than others?**

Yes. They report a variety of unfortunate childhood and family problems which imply poor parent models, drug and alcohol abuse, problems with the law and other difficulties.

### **Do they see themselves and inadequate in handling basic life tasks?**

Yes. They tend to see themselves as lacking in a wide variety of life skills, including

feeling management and self-care and social skills.

Thus far I had evidence that the ARFV traits correlated with violent thoughts. I had evidence for many issues that underlie the ARFV traits. I needed evidence that the traits also correlated with criminal behavior.

Would incarcerated teens and adults have higher scores than non-incarcerated persons?

Would scores correlate with thinking or planning to commit crimes?

Would they correlate with crimes already committed?

**Discussion questions:**

1. Why do you suppose some people are so poorly suited for survival that they end up in jail as teenagers or adults? Why haven't such poorly suited persons been "weeded out" by natural selection? Is it because much or most of their adjustment problems are caused by upbringing and environment rather than genetics?

2. Do you know members of your family or extended family who seemed to come from the same genetic and family experiences but are very different on one or more of the Big Five personality traits? Or on intelligence, height, weight or other traits that point to genetic variation? Have you tended to explain these differences in terms of genetics or of different choices the persons have made?

3. What should society do to help persons who happen to have very stressful childhoods and low amounts of agreeableness, conscientiousness and emotional stability through social and genetic fate?



**Chapter 6.**  
**Bad People Behaving Badly:**  
**Correlates with Criminal Behavior.**

Are At Risk for Violence test scores associated with commit violent crimes?  
Are persons with high scores more likely to think like terrorists?  
Do they like popular music with violent lyrics?

**Just do it.**

Whether persons with higher violence test scores act in more hostile ways can be studied by obtaining scores on persons locked up for criminal and violent behavior. Are their scores higher than those of normal teens and adults?

The HAPI questionnaire, which includes the ARFV scale within it, presented in the previous chapter was initially administered to 33 teenagers. Some were incarcerated for crimes, including aggressive crimes. A section of the HAPI measures criminal tendencies with this introduction:

“Some people think it is important to follow rules, other people don’t. Some people like to take chances, other people don’t. How often do you think you would do each of the following acts if you knew that your chance of getting caught was only 1 in 20? Use this code:

1. Zero times per year.
2. Once a year.
3. 2 to 4 times a year.
4. 5 or more times a year.”

Then 30 crime items are listed representing six types of crimes. Here’s a sample. The crime types in parentheses don’t appear on the questionnaire.

91. Skip school for an afternoon. (Avoidance crime)
92. Shop lift candy from a store. (Acquisitive crime)
93. Get drunk. (Over self-indulgence crime)
94. Sell street drugs (Dealing)
95. Spray paint a building wall (Destructive)
96. Beat up another kid with my fists (Aggressive)

Scores for each of the six crime types were calculated by adding the scores for the five items in that group. Then correlations were run between the total ARFV score and these scores. All were significant at the .05 level or higher.

Correlations between ARFV total and  
Willingness to commit crimes.

Willingness to commit avoidance crimes (e.g. runaway)	.60
Willingness to commit: Acquisitive crimes (theft, robbery)	.57
Overindulgence crimes (drug and alcohol abuse)	.49
Middleman, dealing, fencing crimes	.58
Destructive crimes	.46
Assaultive crimes	.61
Overall crime avoidance	.61
Self-perceived law abidingness skills	-.51
Respect for laws	-.54

The last two correlations are negative because they reflect constructive behavior, whereas the others reflect antisocial behavior. These correlations reveal a clear relationship: the higher one's ARFV scores, the more willing he is to commit crimes and the less willing he is to abide by and respect laws. This is evidence of a relationship between test scores and willingness to act in a criminal manner.

**Do it and you'll get locked up.**

In another study, ARFV scores for 41 incarcerated teens were compared with 105 normal teenagers. The incarcerated teens were higher than the normal teens on all of the scales of the ARFV except the Closed to Help scale. This meant that the incarcerated teens were still as open to help as normal teens. The scores below show the average standard score for the incarcerated teens. By comparison, the mean standard score for normal teens is 50 on each scale. For example, the incarcerated teens as a group had a score of 76 on Feelings of School Failure. Normal teens have a score of 50.

ARFV Scale	Mean Standard score for incarcerated teens	Significantly higher than normal teens at this level:
Feelings of school failure	76	.01
Rigid thinking	79	.01
Impulsivity	77	.01
Social Rejection	58	.05
Indifference to Guilt	98	.01
Unresolved anger	87	.01
Hostile pleasure	111	.01
Gun skill and access	69	.01

Homicide endorsement	122	.01
Closed to help	56	Not significantly different
Not stop violence	83	.01
Total ARFV score	103	.01

Note in particular the very high scores on Hostile Pleasure and Homicide Endorsement for the incarcerated teens. This data supports the expectation that the ARFV scale measures tendencies to commit criminal acts.

**Violent people have violent profiles.**

Another test of the assumption that persons who have acted in a hostile manner will have higher scores than non-hostile people was conducted by examining the ARFV scores of 23 adults (and a few teens) who were applying for welfare benefits and who had histories of violent behavior. One of them was the lady whose profile was presented in the previous chapter; she beat up people, putting them in the hospital. Below is a table of their scores. By comparison, the mean standard score for normal persons is 50:

ARFV Total scores for 28 Persons with Histories of Violent Behavior.

ARFV Scale	Mean Standard score for adults with histories of violent behavior.	Significantly higher than normal adults at this level:
Feelings of career failure	91	.01
Rigid thinking	91	.01
Impulsivity	104	.01
Social Rejection	107	.01
Indifference to Guilt	71	Not significantly different
Unresolved anger	115	.01
Hostile pleasure	90	.01
Gun skill and access	59	Not significantly different
Homicide endorsement	117	.01
Closed to help	74	.01
Not stop violence	78	.01
Total ARFV score	116	.01

Thus, we see again elevated ARFV scores for persons who have been violent. The only exceptions are on the Indifference to Guilt and Gun Skill and Access scales, on which they are higher than normals but not enough higher to be clearly different from normals in this study. Note that they are higher than normal adults on Closed to Help, in contrast to the teen study, above. These violent adults are no longer open to help.

**Prison People have Problematic Profiles.**

A study of 80 male prison inmates revealed similar results, with the inmates being higher than normal adults on all ARFV scales and the total score. On the Homicide Endorsement scale their mean standard score was 100. The total ARFV score for this group was 93.

These inmates reported on a separate questionnaire how many crimes of each type they had committed. Correlations were run between their crime scores and ARFV scores, as follow:

Correlations between ARFV Total  
Score and Frequency of Crimes Committed

ARFV	General crimes	Property crimes	Drug crimes	Destructive	Sex crimes	Assault crimes	Total crimes
Failure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rigid thinking	-	-	-	.23*	.23*	(.21)	.23*
Impuls.	.27*	.21*	.25*	(.22)	-	.34**	.32**
Rejection	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Low guilt	-	-	-	.46**	-	(.22)	.31**
Unresol. anger	-	.24*	-	.31**	-	.25*	.30**
Hostile pleasure	.42**	.42**	.35**	.60**	.23*	.49**	.62**
Gun skill & access	.28*	.34**	.27*	.27*	-	-	.32**
Homicide endorse.	.37**	.23*	(.22)	.53**	.24*	.36**	.47**
Closed to help	-	-	-	.25*	-	-	-
Not stop violence	-	-	-	.28**	.28*	-	(.22)
Total ARFV	.29**	.24*	-	.46**	-	.36**	.42**

Every number followed by one or two asterisks indicates a significant relationship between the ARFV and criminal behavior. The ARFV traits which most strongly put these men at risk for criminal behavior are Impulsivity, Unresolved Anger, Hostile Pleasure, Gun Skill and Access and Homicide Endorsement. As might be expected from a measure of violence-proneness, the ARFV test shows its highest correlations with destructive and assaultive crimes (.46 and .36 between the Total score and these categories, in the last row).

**Potential terrorists in our midst.**

Strange and scary as it may seem, there are Americans who are of terrorist disposition.



Failure	-	-	(.31)	-	-	-	-	-
Rigid tkg.	.40	.46	-	.55	.43	-	(.32)	.41
Impulsiv.	-	.36	-	.44	.40	-	-	.49
Social rejection	-	(.32)	-	(.33)	-	-	.38	(.34)
Low guilt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unresolv. Anger	-	-	(.31)	-	-	-	-	-
Hostile pleasure	.66	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gun skill & access	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Homicide endorsmt	.44	.54	.48	.44	.37	.46	-	<b>(.32)</b>
Closed to help	.54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Not stop violence	.54	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Honesty	.64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total ARFV	.63	.40	-	(.33)	-	(.31)	-	.37

Thus, we see rather robust relationships between three ARFV scales in particular (Rigid Thinking, Impulsivity and Homicide Endorsement) and the two measures of antisocial behavior tendencies (the Terrorism Endorsement measure and the Job Problem Behaviors measure). Six of the ARFV scales correlate substantially with the Terrorism Endorsement Scale. There is a substantial correlation of .63 between the ARFV total score and the Terrorism Endorsement scale. The higher one's ARFV score, the more likely he is to endorse terrorism.

From this data we begin to see the hints of the psychological makeup of persons who endorse terrorism:

Psychological Habits of Persons who Endorse Terrorism.

- Think rigidly.
- Get pleasure from hostile activities.
- Endorse killing as a way to solve problems.
- Are closed to help with personal problems.
- Are not willing to help stop violence in the workplace.
- Tend to be dishonest.

I did a related study of 43 community college students (mean age 21, 42% men). They completed the ARFV and the Employee Reliability Inventory, which is an 81-item measure of the

same job problem behaviors measured by the JPB scale. The ERI, created by a Harvard psychologist, has proven through a number of studies to be an effective predictor of employee job problems.

The results were similar. The ARFV total score correlated .52 with the total ERI scale. The most robust correlations with the ERI total score were again with the ARFV scales for Rigid Thinking (.55), Impulsivity (.49) and Homicide Endorsement (.48). We again see confirmation of the ARFV as a measure of traits related to job problem behaviors.

### **Murderous Music.**

In the summer of 2003 a high school senior who was the daughter of my business attorney called. She wanted assistance in designing and conducting her senior research project. She wanted to study the relationship between interest in violent song lyrics and violent behavior. With my help, she wrote a 14-item, 5-option scale measuring interest in popular music with violent lyrics. The items included these:

“I enjoy listening to violent and aggressive music.”

“Songs with violent lyrics send a message that I can relate to.”

“Music is ‘cooler’ when it has lots of cuss words and violent lyrics.”

“I like to listen to songs about guns and shooting people.”

She had 38 classmates complete this scale and the ARFV. They ranged in age from 17 to 18. 26 percent were males. The music scale was reliable (.86) and correlated .66 with the total ARFV score, significant at the .01 level. Persons with higher ARFV scores tended to like music with violent lyrics.

The music scale correlated with the following poignant item and scales of the ARFV:

<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Item or scale.</u>
.36*	Item 57. “I can think of at least one person I know that I would like to kill if I was sure I would get away with it.”
.46**	School failure feelings scale.
.57**	Impulsivity.
.48**	Unresolved anger.
.65**	Hostile pleasure.
.47**	Gun skill and access.
.32*	Not help stop violence in school.

Thus, we have specific evidence that teens who like music with violent lyrics tend to have homicidal ideas, feel like school failures, are impulsive, have unresolved anger, enjoy hostile activities, have access to and skill in using guns and are not willing to help stop violence in their schools.

The only item among the 14 in the violent music scale that did not correlate significantly with the total music scale score was “Songs about violent actions make me want to be violent”. For this group of students, this item did not correspond with interest in violent music overall. However, it did have poignant meaning for one girl, who wrote on her answer sheet “Yes, they do, so I won’t

listen to them.”

### **A burning interest.**

While I was writing this book in the Fall of 2004, a local television station called me to ask for ideas about a string of fires that had been committed in a nearby town. I offered some general speculations about what traits an arsonist might have. Then a few weeks later they called again to report that a person had been arrested and admitted to 17 of the fires. He was 29 years old, Caucasian, and had been arrested 91 times in the past 10 years for burglaries, car theft, possession of controlled substances (drugs) and methamphetamine abuse. He had been seen hanging around the arson locations both shortly before and the day after several of the fires. He was a loner and homeless.

The reporter asked me what I thought about all this. I said I wasn't surprised at his long record of various crimes because my data showed that criminal acts of several sorts are often associated; a person that is prone to one type of act is prone to many. I knew that delinquent teens had trouble handling feelings such as loneliness and friendliness. I said the fact that the arsonist hung around the fire areas the day after setting them suggested low intelligence, as this seemed a stupid thing to do, increasing the likelihood of apprehension.

I told her that one of the items in my ARFV test was “I have enjoyed starting dangerous fires” and that I could run some statistics to see how this specific item correlates with other data. This might throw further light on the profile of an arsonist, I suggested. Arson is not unlike terrorism, in a sense, in that it arouses fear in a community, which may undermine public confidence in local government. This is a primary goal of terrorism. While it may not be a goal of arsonists, their acts are dangerous to property and lives, as terrorist acts are. She asked me to run the data.

I ran the statistics on the group of 33 teens who took the HAPI test, as this data happened to be handy and the sample included normal teens and also many incarcerated for criminal acts, increasing the likelihood of seeing relationships between variables.

The arson item correlated significantly with many of the other variables, suggesting possible psychological traits of arsonists. I called the reporter and gave her the information.

#### **Psychological Traits of Arsonists**

- Low verbal intelligence (poor with word problems, thinking to understand things).
- Low agreeableness.
- Poor skills for managing feelings of:
  - Anger
  - Loneliness
  - Fear
  - Guilt
  - Friendliness
  - Gratitude
  - Attraction to others
  - Poor social skills.
  - Poor school work skills.



- Poor self-care skills.
- Low life satisfaction.
- Willing to commit all sorts of crimes.
- Unresolved anger.
- Enjoy being hostile.
- Have gun skill and access.
- Endorse homicide as an expression of personal anger.
- Unwilling to help stop violence in schools or at work places.

The next morning the local newspaper ran a front page story on the arsonist. It confirmed what the reporter had said. The offender's prior 91 charges included parole violations and failing to appear for court hearings. He had been jailed but released again 26 times due to overcrowding. He'd been placed on felony probation six times. He had been arrested for arson 9 years prior, involved in a series of fires at that time that burned a car and office building, among other things. He had used methamphetamine for years.

The mayor used the arsonist's case to urge voters to approve an upcoming 28 million dollar bond measure for more jail space. It costs that city \$165,000 for five spots in the county jail, \$33,000 per inmate per year. I wondered how much the community had invested in efforts to understand and provide psychological help to this arsonist. They'd had years of opportunities.

### **Problem Pot Pourri.**

I have noticed in my data a few trends worth noting. As teens get older, starting at age 12, their ARFV test scores get higher. It's as if they are slowly becoming more less civil with age. The scores of adults are lower than those of older teenagers, suggesting one of two things: either teenagers mellow out and become more civil as they enter adulthood, or the younger generation is less civil than the older one and may remain less civil in adulthood.

This latter possibility is a disturbing one. It corresponds with trends toward increasing violence worldwide, as reported by Dave Grossman in his book on killing in combat.<sup>5</sup> He cites a dramatic increase in violent crimes in many countries around the world over the past several decades and speculates that the widespread depiction of violence in movies and television programs may be an important contributor to this increase.

I have also noticed that teen girls tend to have ARFV raw scores slightly lower than boys. However, all the correlations between variables hold up for girls as well as boys, indicating that girls can be prone to violence and antisocial behavior, just as boys can. Indeed, a few days after drafting this paragraph the headline in the City/Region section of our local paper read: "Teen girls arrested in boy's death". Two fifteen-year-old girls in a small nearby community had been arrested. The 14 year old boy's house had been ransacked and several hundred dollars taken from a locked safe in the bedroom. The boy had been shot in the head.

I had an opportunity to compute ARFV scores on a group of community college students in New England. Their scores were much higher than for a similar group of community college

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5 On Killing, Dave Grossman, Back Bay Books, Boston, 1995.

students on the West Coast, in Oregon. Indeed, the East Coast boys had scores not dissimilar from West Coast male prison inmates.

These data raise interesting questions. Are younger generations of Americans somehow being trained to be more violence-prone, less civil, more prone to antisocial and criminal behavior? What effect do violent video games, television programs, movies, music and news events, such as terrorist acts and on-going wars, have on the minds of youngsters? Are we grooming our youth to be antisocial, pro-war? Do congested cities create more antisocial attitudes than more rural, less congested communities?

### **Summary.**

#### **Are At Risk for Violence test scores associated with commit violent crimes?**

Yes. ARFV traits put persons at risk not only for violent crimes but for all sorts of crimes and job problem behaviors.

**Are persons with high scores more likely to think like terrorists? Yes.**

**Do they like popular music with violent lyrics? Yes.**

Our challenge as a community, a state, a nation, is great. But we can see details of the psychological makeup of antisocial citizens. We can use this information to raise our children, educate our teens and provide services and opportunities for our adults that we can expect will reduce the crime, violence and terror they cause in our communities.

### **Discussion Questions:**

1. Is \$33,000 per year better spent providing counseling, social skills training and job-finding skills to first time law-breakers or for another spot in your county jail for one inmate for one year? \$33,000 would probably pay for 15 counseling sessions for each of 100 persons.
2. Should the Federal government put all its antiterrorism money into military actions in foreign countries and in airport and seaport security efforts? Or should some of it be spent studying and addressing the causes of terrorism endorsement in our own citizens? How much should be put into each area?
3. What can parents and public schools do to reduce violence among children?

## **Chapter 7.**

### **An Ounce of Prevention:**

**What we can do to prevent crime and violence.**

Why is it important to know a person's specific risk factors before offering counseling?  
Why do school systems lack services for violence-prone children?  
What can communities and the nation do to control violent media and guns?

### **How can we reduce crime in particular and uncivil behavior in general?**

The data on violence-proneness gives clear direction for reducing not only violent crimes, such as homicides, but criminal behavior in general. Indeed, the data indicates that the causes of criminal behavior also underlie some job problem behaviors such as absenteeism, laziness, substance abuse and even accident-proneness.

### **Summary of causes of violent, criminal and job problem behaviors.**

The studies reported above clarify numerous psychological experiences related to and underlying antisocial behaviors of many types, including feelings of school or career failure, rigid thinking, low guilt, social rejection, unresolved anger, enjoying hostile activities, gun skill and access, and unwillingness to seek help for hostile impulses or to help reduce violence in public places. Low basic personality traits, especially low agreeableness, emotional stability and conscientiousness contribute. Difficult social environments as a child, lack of trust of adults, associating with delinquent peers as a child and other factors are part of this picture.

### **Prevention strategies.**

#### **Provide focused, personalized counseling to persons at risk.**

One implication of the above findings is that it would be prudent to provide effective counseling and related services for first-time delinquents and criminals.

A local psychologist worked with court-mandated men. He taught anger management skills in 12 weekly group therapy sessions. The men had been ordered by the courts to participate in this treatment in lieu of jail time for domestic violence and other aggressive crimes.

6 men took the ARFV test both before and after their 12-weekly group therapy sessions. The effects of the treatment on test scores was interesting. Overall, there was no change for the better. The mean total ARFV score was 87 to begin and 91 at the end of treatment. The mean score for Impulsivity went up from 79 to 92, indicating that these six men saw themselves as *more* impulsive after treatment than before, or at least more willing to admit that their impulsivity tended to get them in trouble.

Even more striking was an increase in the Low Guilt Feelings score, which went up from 49 before treatment to 91 after treatment; these men felt much *less* guilty about their aggressive behavior after treatment. This result reminded me of what I had heard about how persons who are sent to jail or prison come out with *more* skills for committing crimes, skills learned from fellow inmates. General anger-management skills training in a group setting had no positive effect on the traits measured by the ARFV instrument. The therapists defended their treatment by sharing anecdotal statements by prior clients who reported benefits from treatment.

My advice to the two therapists was to use the ARFV test or similar measures at the

beginning of treatment to identify the specific traits that put each individual patient or client at risk for antisocial and criminal behavior and then carefully tailor their treatment efforts to help each person understand and master skills for reducing his unique pattern of deficiencies. I was disappointed that they didn't seem interested in doing this, as I heard no more from them.

Perhaps, instead of sentencing violent men to treatment groups with other violent men, our judges should sentence violent men to spend 12 weeks relating to well-adjusted adults, joining a church or club or athletic team of persons who know how to handle anger skillfully and resolve differences with tact and kindness.

Promote and maintain adequate school counseling and private counseling.

Another thing communities can do is provide counseling services to children and teenagers who manifest troubled behavior in school and in the community. We can see in the above data information that can provide clues as to the specific problems likely to underlie such behavior.

I was once referred a freshman boy for an evaluation of his violence-proneness after he mentioned to a classmate that he was interested in getting chemicals from his high school chemistry lab in order to build a bomb. I had both him and his father take the teen and adult versions of the ARFV. Then I interviewed each of them separately. The boy had moderately elevated scores on a few scales. Interviewing clarified that his parents were separated. His mother had run over his father with her car in their driveway and then tried to force her way into the house to further assault him after he'd gotten in. The boy had kept her out. The boy and his sister still had to visit the mother periodically, as ordered by the divorce judge. The boy was mad at the judge about this, because he had to protect his little sister from the mother's continuing abuse. To make matters worse, the boy was doing poorly in algebra and felt rejected by three boyfriends he'd known since first grade. He had seen no connection between his personal problems and his interest in making a bomb.

The father didn't have any elevated scores, as I recall. He was a gentle, passive, pleasant blue-collar worker who had participated in general counseling with his son over the past year to help with the family problems. He wanted his son to succeed in algebra so he could go to college and do better than himself. I had also tested the boy's intelligence, which was in the mid-average range. College would be a challenge for him. The boy told me in interview that he wanted to be a blue-collar worker like his dad, rather than go to college.

My advice to them was to continue their private counseling but focus on the specific issues clarified by the test scores, talk with the high school counselor about finding a simpler mathematics class, put a restraining order on the abusive mother to protect the children and help the boy make some new friends to replace the ones he had lost.

I called them a few months later. They had taken my advice and been successful on all the specific points recommended. The boy was back in school and doing well.

I had sent my initial written report to the referring school. They called, upset with the findings, which apparently told them more than they wanted to hear. They said the mother would

have a right to read the report. They didn't want to face her hostile responses. They didn't refer any more children to me for evaluations.

A careful and detailed evaluation of each such case is important, especially when unique issues underlie and contribute to violent attitudes. In the case of Kip Kinkel, when counseling didn't eliminate troubling behavior, a brain scan could have detected his abnormalities. This could have signaled the importance of no access to guns and the need for extra patience with spelling and reading and medications to control delusional thinking.

Another case referred to me also demonstrates the importance of careful diagnosis of violence-prone children. A 15-year-old boy had made repeated threats to kill teachers and even his mother. He was expelled from school pending a psychological evaluation of his violence potential. I received background information from the school and noticed a history of unusual anxieties dating back many years. I had the boy complete my tests for depression, anxiety and violence-proneness. His ARFV scores were all in the normal range. He had some elevations on parts of the depression test. On the anxiety test he had many very high elevations. That seemed to be the problem - irrational fears. He had very poor insight and very limited skills for talking about his feelings. He became frightened and then violent in his thinking in response to even routine stresses. I recommended in-patient treatment to find the appropriate specific medications and counseling for his unique problems.

I faxed my report to the school psychologist the same day I saw the boy and his mother. The psychologist called to thank me very much.. Even though this was another family of divorced parents and the father would have a right to see my report, the district was not concerned about details of my report. They were grateful for a specific treatment recommendation and relieved that the problem was being addressed in a manner that protected teachers and other school children.

#### General prevention programs.

In addition to focused counseling, public schools should have programs to promote civil behavior among all school children.

Drs. Hill Walker and Jeff Sprague head a program at the Violence and Destructive Behavior Institute, Department of Education, University of Oregon, in my town. They provide comprehensive, research-based programs to primary schools for reducing violence among children. Funding can be a challenge in promoting such programs, but the programs work if done well. However, these programs address children in general. They do not address the specific children at greatest risk and who need detailed diagnosis and counseling specific to their unique risk factors.

A lady who recently moved into our neighborhood told me that she teaches a primary grade and spends an hour each week in a circle activity teaching her children about civil behavior, anger management in school and related matters. She believes that she has a responsibility to teach these skills, not only to make the children more manageable for teaching them academic material but to reduce all of their risk for harm from each other.

### **Addressing specific issues.**

For guidance in what we can do, we can consider each of the several sections of the ARFV instrument.

### **Minimizing academic and career failure.**

To help all children feel successful in school we can do many things. To assure academic success we can provide learning opportunities for children of all aptitude levels, from mentally retarded through borderline and low average ability to average, high average, superior and very superior levels. In addition, we can make sure that we know each child's aptitude levels for both verbal and spatial intelligence.

Verbal aptitude is the ability to learn, remember and solve problems using words, numbers, other abstract symbols and reasoning that uses these. This aptitude underlies skill in learning reading, arithmetic and subjects dependent on them, such as English, social studies and science. Spatial aptitude is the ability to learn, remember and solve problems using eyes and hands to perceive and manipulate objects in two and three-dimensional space. This aptitude is needed for art, typing, sewing, carpentry, metal working, mechanics, landscaping, architecture and such activities.

At the high school level, we need to counsel children in career planning. In addition to intelligence, basic personality traits contribute directly to which occupations in which a person is most likely to find satisfaction and success. Dr. Goldberg has done at Oregon Research Institute has studied over 800 local adults who complete personality questionnaires periodically over many years. He has run correlations between fifty personality dimensions (9 for each of the Big Five plus total scores) and scores on the Campbell Interest and Skills survey, which measures interest and self-perceived skill in 36 career areas.

There were many significant correlations. So many, in fact, that I developed a computer program to predict career areas from the 50-trait personality profile. It works well, predicting scores on 341 careers. And so, effective career counseling can also capitalize on personality traits to help persons consider the careers in which they are most likely to be satisfied and successful.

We should prepare children for work that capitalizes on their unique personality profile and strongest aptitudes and that is realistic for their aptitude levels. We should help each child know his or her unique aptitudes and provide training and education that will best prepare the student for employment and recreational success appropriate to those aptitudes. Aptitude testing, counseling and a rich variety of academic, trades and extracurricular activities will characterize school systems which are most successful in meeting such goals.

At the adult level, communities must strive to provide a variety of jobs that capitalize fully on the aptitudes, personalities and training of its citizens. Having too many citizens in a community that can provide only a few jobs is an invitation to antisocial behavior. Outsourcing jobs to other communities and nations must be weighed carefully against the consequences of underemployed or unemployed citizens in one's own community or nation.

College graduates who can only find employment as retail sales clerks or wait persons will

not feel as successful in their careers as if they were employed in jobs fully utilizing their intelligence, personality and education. Persons whose interesting and satisfying jobs are outsourced to low-paid workers in impoverished nations will feel a sense of failure in less meaningful employment as stock boys, truck drivers or call center operators.

Laborers with low or average range intelligence that qualifies them for simple laboring jobs will not be able to retrain in jobs requiring high intelligence, such as computer programming.

### **Train flexible thinking.**

Rigid thinking puts persons at risk for antisocial behavior. We can teach in our schools the differences between rigid, simplistic thinking and flexible, sophisticated thinking. We can teach the dangers of thinking limited by rigid adherence to a prescribed and inflexible set of rules, codes or beliefs. We can teach the techniques and advantages of flexible thinking, open-mindedness, tolerance for complexity and differences of opinion, mores, ethical systems, ethnic backgrounds and religions. We can honor basic and traditional ethical and moral beliefs but encourage flexible application of them. We can teach the difference between superstition and reason, fantasy and reality, hypothesis and scientific fact, sales hype and informed choices, political propaganda and well-informed opinion.

### **Discourage impulsive behavior.**

Impulsiveness is another trait that underlies antisocial behavior. We can teach school children the difference between impulsive decisions and behavior and more cautious action. We can teach them to “count to ten”, talk with others about their feelings and emotions, clarify different response options and the probable consequences of each. We can teach them the wisdom of philosophies such as “turn the other cheek” versus “an eye for an eye”, understanding and forgiveness versus retaliation.

### **Guard against social rejection.**

Social rejection is another important factor in antisocial behavior, inspiring retaliation and other desperate social acts. We can teach different options for responding to rejection, such as discussing one’s feelings with others, talking with the rejecting person and checking our assumptions about whether we are indeed being rejected or perhaps imagining more rejection than is intended. We can teach skills for building friendships to compensate for lost friends and for broadening one’s base of friends so the loss of any one is not so painful.

### **Guilty conscience.**

We can teach people to have a conscience, to care about the feelings of others, to sympathize and empathize, to feel guilt when we hurt others’ feelings or do them wrong. We can teach children to say “I’m sorry” and offer to make amends.

### **Anger management.**

Anger management skills can be taught, hopefully before children develop hostile habits. I built a little test that measures skills for handling 5 positive emotions and 5 negative ones, including anger. The items in the instrument all correlate in such a manner as to indicate that they each reflect a degree of emotional maturity. Persons who use these skills are less anxious, worried and depressed:

When angry with someone:

1. Talk nicely to them and work it out.
2. Don't ...think about it for several days.
3. Ask someone else for ideas on how to handle your anger.
4. Don't ...think evil thoughts about how you can get even.
5. Think about how you can handle it kindly and tactfully.
6. Don't ...say something mean to the person.

This isn't an exhaustive list of anger management skills, but it does provide a sample of skills that can be taught.

### **Discourage enjoyment of hostile behavior.**

We can teach children not to take pleasure in hostile activities. We can teach them the difference between being assertive and being aggressive. We can teach them the principles of fair play and sportsmanship. We can teach them socially acceptable ways to compete, as in athletics rather than gang wars, debate rather than name-calling, drama rather than back-biting. We can discourage them from watching movies and videos or playing video games involving shooting, fighting and killing. We can discourage them from listening to music with violent lyrics.

We can define appropriate standards for limiting sale of such media to children and adults. We can promote national policies of cooperation, understanding, discussion and compromise rather than military action to assert our political will. We can adjust national budgets to reflect less militarism. We might even consider changing our national anthem to a peaceful theme from our current military battle theme ... "the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air". Would the public support such changes? We could easily find out with an opinion poll.

### **Discourage homicide endorsement.**

Endorsing homicide as a way to express personal enmity can be discouraged. We can teach alternatives to aggression and hostility.

### **Review our gun culture.**

We can review our attitudes about civilian access to guns and ammunition. We can set limits on what sorts of guns and ammunition are legal, who can have access to them and under what conditions. We can advise people as to the facts of homicides, the dangers of having guns in the home, the importance of keeping them under lock and key. We can review our constitutional right to bear arms. Is it as necessary now as it was in the 1700's? How other nations manage without citizen ownership of guns?

### **Openness to counseling.**

We can encourage children and adults to be open to help and make counseling services readily available and affordable to all citizens, children and adults alike.

### **Violence prevention programs in schools and workplaces.**

We can have active violence-prevention programs in schools, workplaces and entertainment centers and involve all citizens in direct participation. We can honor, reward and



praise participants, giving more media attention to kind, thoughtful and helpful persons, businesses and organizations than to antisocial and threatening law-breakers and trouble-makers. We can restrict and discourage commercial marketing of products to the violent and depraved side of human nature and solicit, encourage and reward appeals to our more noble potentials. We can carefully screen applicants for police officer jobs to reduce inappropriate use of weapons in police work.

### **Other things we can do.**

The research data discussed thus far includes clear relationships between three basic personality traits and antisocial behavior: Agreeableness, Conscientiousness and Emotional Stability. We can understand that some children are simply born with low levels of these traits and will need extra support and encouragement to compensate for them. Some children will be irritable, argumentative and oppositional. Some will be lazy, disorganized and sloppy. Some will be quick to feel anxious, worried and depressed. These children are at greater risk for antisocial behavior. Helping them work around these personality issues will help them avoid antisocial behavior.

Children at risk for antisocial behavior have difficulty with a variety of negative emotions, including depression, fear and guilt, as well as anger. Providing help in handling these emotions skillfully will help reduce their tendencies toward antisocial behavior.

Children at greater risk for antisocial behavior appear to have weaker social skills, such as making and keeping friends, being polite to unpleasant adults, apologizing for hurting another person's feelings, helping someone who is feeling sad or upset and not teasing others. They also report weaker self-care skills, such as getting to bed on time, avoiding tobacco and alcohol, keeping a cheerful attitude, brushing teeth and doing chores. Helping our children develop and maintain these skills can help them avoid antisocial behavior problems. In particular it would seem prudent to help our children develop and maintain successful friendships with well-adjusted peers, rather than antisocial peers.

The data also suggests dividends from helping children enjoy their family experiences and relationships and to respect and obey social mores and laws. Spending quality time with family members, understanding and obeying school rules and community laws, keeping one's word and not discarding trash in public are examples.

Finally, developing and maintaining relations of trust in adults is important to avoid antisocial behavior. Having adults with whom to spend quality time, share personal problems, ask for advice and express gratitude can be expected to serve this goal.

### **Further research.**

In addition to the above recommendations, it is wise to support continuing research to clarify issues underlying antisocial and violent behavior and the techniques which most effectively prevent it.

Why do East Coast community college students have much higher ARFV scores than West Coast students? Why do prison inmates from rural communities have higher Conscientiousness

scores and less feelings of career failure that inmates from urban areas? Why do scores on the ARFV test rise gradually for teen girls from age 14 to 15 while scores for boys drop in the same school? Many teens have difficult childhoods but do not become antisocial. Does feeling loved by at least one close adult make the difference?

### **Efforts to serve.**

Several years ago I participated in a “schools of the future” project in my community, to help plan the next several years for our public school system. Among dozens of participants, I was the only one interested in the psychological and sociological aspects of violence prevention efforts. The organizers wanted me to join a committee concerned with school buildings. This committee believed violence could be prevented by designing school entrances so administrators could keep an eye on who was coming and going in the building and by having armed guards at the doors. I pointed out that a killer could simply shoot the guard first, then walk into the building. Years later, in early 2005 a high school boy in Minnesota did just that.

I told the committee I had other ideas. They let me be a separate committee of one. I read some literature. I learned that there is zero correlation between what a teacher is paid and how much students learn. I found out that there were few counselors left in our schools, due to budget cuts that leave only tenured teachers’ salaries and benefits unscathed. I gave a brief talk to one of the other committees and submitted my recommendations to the work group in a written report. I recommended that the school board create a budget for violence prevention programs in the schools, a budget that was protected from special interest group erosion. I recommended that staff be hired and trained, that rapport be established and maintained between the school system and organizations like the University center for violence prevention and local mental health clinics and juvenile courts. I recommended that counselor positions be reinstated to make sure there are adequate counseling services.

I went to the vice principal of the high school from which my daughter had graduated, showing him the ARFV and related research data. I explained how I thought it could help. He said they could not use my test if it cost anything. Nor could they refer troubled children to me for an evaluation or even recommend to parents that they do so, for policy required that the school would have to pay for my services if they recommended them. The school system was “broke”, he said; there was no protected budget for such services. Their way of handling children manifesting signs of violence was to warn them once then permanently expel them. I don’t recall if I mentioned to him that social rejection is often a precipitant of mass school shootings.

### **Chapter Summary:**

Our challenge for preventing violence is building good citizens, persons who understand what it is to be civil, successful and caring members of society. Specific persons who are at high risk for violence must be carefully assessed and diagnosed and provided treatment tailored to their specific, individual risk factors.

If communities want to accomplish these goals, their school and community budgets must be structured to fund them. Communities must be prepared to change priorities and budgets to

reduce violence.

Otherwise, we will continue to experience school shootings crime and other crimes.

### **Why is it important to know a person's specific risk factors before offering counseling?**

Because research suggests that general counseling that is not focused on the specific factors that put a given person at risk for violence is not very effective. Many factors contribute to violent behavior. Only a few are of central importance for any given person. Those few are the ones on which help must be focused to give that person control.

### **Why do school systems lack services for violence-prone children?**

Schools have sacrificed many essential programs under pressures to honor teacher union pressures and budget restrictions. Diagnostic and counseling services for children are among the cuts. Without detailed diagnostic efforts and sufficient counseling personnel, adequate violence prevention for specific children at greatest risk will remain unavailable.

### **What can communities and the nation do to control violent media and guns?**

This chapter doesn't answer this question. I just clarifies that it is important for reducing violence. Concerned citizens must decide.

### **Discussion questions:**

1. What programs do your public schools have for reducing violence? Are they adequate? If not, what should be added or changed?
2. What can you do to reduce factors that put you at risk for violence? Get rid of your guns? Improve your skills for handling guilt, fear or anger? Improve your skills for making friends? Reducing your exposure to violent movies or television programs?
3. How does your community deal with violence? Do you have an adequate police force? Do you have adequate jail space? Do you have mental health services for persons who commit crimes because they are mentally ill and need treatment rather than incarceration? Who is responsible for addressing these issues? What are they doing about them?

## **Introduction Section II.**

Violence-proneness is a concept for understanding individual persons who commit violent acts against each other. The underpinnings of individual violence are many. Communities can build prevention programs based on an understanding of these many causes. While I felt encouraged and enlightened by my research on violence-proneness, I realized that conflict between nations had to be understood and addressed on another level. Violence between nations is related to violence between individuals but is different in an important aspect.

My studies strongly suggest that violence between nations is to an important degree caused by individuals of a certain sort, “warmongers”. Violence between nations will never be prevented by trying to make all individuals in all nations civil and kind. As pointed out in the preceding section, effective diagnosis and counseling of violence-prone individuals is an expensive, detailed clinical process. In my opinion this is an impractical approach for preventing international conflict. Much more practical is preventing warmongers from getting control of governments. Warmongering is related to violence-proneness but is a different psychological trait.

Violence between nations has only increased with advancing civilization, as noted by historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. “The twentieth century was no doubt the most terrible century in Western history”, with over 160 million people killed.<sup>6</sup>

Many books have been written on the origins of war, a topic that has interested historians and others for centuries. One of the better ones is the 2002 reprint of the 1992 work by Lawrence LeShan, The Psychology of War; Comprehending Its Mistique and Madness, Allworth Press. It provides a careful review of prior thoughts about human motives for war and asks why humans are willing to follow warmongering leaders. However, it provides no research data. It is a book of theory. LeShan offers his own theory, suggesting that people engage in “mystical” thinking more when at war than in “sensory” thinking when not. He does not provide any research data to explain how or why people shift in their thinking from sensory to mystical or whether these modes of thinking can be reliably measured at all. This is the only answer he offers to why people follow

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6 Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr., War and the American Presidency, W. W. Norton & Co., N.Y., 2004.

warmongering leaders. His review of various theories does not explain why warmongering leaders exist or how they are motivated or can be detected before they rise to power.

Political scientists study the origins of war. 16 political science theories were tested by Bennett and Stam.<sup>7</sup> They conducted a thorough statistical analysis of the theories to see whether they were supported by empirical data. Most of the theories helped explain phenomena related to war. However, the title of their book is a bit misleading, for behavior of individual persons or even groups of persons is not the level of the theories. The theories are in terms of nation relationships, such as geographical proximity, level of trade, change in economic conditions and types of government. For example, democratic governments were found to be less likely to be involved with conflicts, including wars. The book provided no overarching theory to explain why humans as a species are so bellicose. It did not discuss the apparent contradiction that the United States, a clearly “democratic” nation, has had such an extensive involvement in war and militarism over the past 60 years since World War II.

My studies revealed that one way to understand the massive killing among humans is to explore the psychology of destructive political leaders, beginning with their worldviews. My next series of studies took me into the mind of the warmonger.

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7 The Behavioral Origins of War, Scott D. Bennett and Allan C. Stam, U of Michigan Press, 2004.

**Chapter 8**  
**Worldviews and World Wars:**  
**Testing the Eidelson conflict hypothesis.**

What general worldviews underlie human conflict?

Do personality traits predispose people to negative worldviews?

Do socially disenfranchised persons want to improve the world or grab what they can get?

Violence between individual citizens does not appear to explain the mass violence between groups of persons in civil and international wars and genocides. One might speculate that to assure world peace we must teach all citizens to be kind and peaceful toward persons in other groups and nations. This seems impractical for two reasons: assuring a quality education to all citizens in all nations is a very expensive ideal, and education does not make persons immune from being hostile.

For example, studies by psychologists Stanley Milgram at Yale in the 1960's and Philip Zimbardo at Stanford more recently have demonstrated that virtually all normal, law-abiding citizens, including intelligent, well-educated university students, can be rather easily led into very hostile behavior toward fellow citizens, even torturing them as in military prisons.<sup>8</sup> The efficiency with which the Nazi party, headed by Adolf Hitler in the 1930's and '40's, induced millions of normal Germans to participate in war, genocide and inhumane atrocities is a dramatic historical example of this same phenomenon. Therefore, it would seem absolutely critical for assuring world peace that political leaders be carefully selected to exclude ones likely to lead citizens, including otherwise well-educated ones, into warlike behavior. My next series of studies led to insights that point to two practical ways to accomplish this end.

To get into the mind of warmongers, those who instigate wars as national leaders, one must use an indirect approach. Warmongering leaders are rarely accessible for psychological examination. The rare exception is captured leaders prosecuted for war crimes, as in the Nuremberg Trials after WW II and as in the case of Slobodan Milosovek recently. However, evaluating a handful of such leaders does not provide the large sample size that one normally relies upon to form reliable and valid scientifically sound conclusions.

As in the case of studying violent individuals, a way into the mind of the wayward individual is through measures of traits that clearly define the essence of their wayward behavior. In the case of violent individuals, a measure of violence-proneness permitted studies of hundreds of persons, some incarcerated for various crimes, including violent ones, some with no histories of wayward behavior. Specifically, the At Risk for Violence test proved a valid and reliable measure of traits related to thoughts of homicide, crime tendencies and crimes committed.

Similarly, one can develop measures of traits that provide a window into the minds of persons who endorse warmongering. And, as you will see, these measures can lead to a reliable and valid measure of the warmongering-proneness of past and current political and military leaders.

I had felt concerned about violence and war for many decades. In the March, 2003 issue of the American Psychologist journal, Pennsylvania psychologists Roy and Judy Eidelson proposed five basic psychological worldviews that underlie human conflict between groups and nations, as in civil, international and world wars.<sup>9</sup> They based their theory not on psychological research but on a review of literature from many fields.

They proposed that these worldviews operate in both individual persons and in groups of people. They had not yet attempted to measure these worldviews to see if their theory was correct but they had described them in enough detail that I thought I could develop a questionnaire to measure them.

### **Five Worldviews which might underlie human conflict: Building a measuring instrument.**

If I could develop reliable measures of these traits, I might be able to check whether they underlie human conflict, as theorized.

If I could understand human conflict at a fundamental level, perhaps I would gain clues to understanding its opposite, what might foster the kind of comprehensive cooperation that I have envisioned would characterize a functioning popular democracy.

Here are the five worldviews, a few descriptions of them by the Eidelsons and one each of eight questionnaire items I wrote to measure them at the individual and group levels. The items are written in Likert scale format. The person is instructed to circle one number to indicate his or her degree of agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Helplessness. The belief that nothing one does will make a difference, that even carefully planned and executed actions will fail to produce desired outcomes.

Individual level: “No matter what I do, my life isn’t going to improve.”

Group level: “I am in a group which has little hope of ever improving its fortune.”

Distrust. The expectation that others will hurt, abuse, humiliate, cheat, lie, manipulate, or take advantage.

“I know that other people are deliberately trying to hinder or hurt me.”

“Many people of other nations are deliberately trying to harm our nation.”

Vulnerability. The belief that one is perpetually living in harm’s way, that one’s dire fate has

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9 Eidelson, Roy J. & Judy I. (2003). Dangerous Ideas: Five Beliefs That Propel Groups Toward Conflict, American Psychologist, Vol. 58, 182-192.

already been sealed.

“I often feel threatened by something dangerous or unfortunate.”

“I belong to at least one group that is often very threatened by other groups.”

Injustice. A tendency to identify as unfair that which is merely unfortunate and to hold grievances toward those by whom one feels disappointed, betrayed or mistreated.

“I have often been badly mistreated by other people during my lifetime.”

“I have belonged to a group which has been dominated by another stronger group.”

Superiority. The enduring conviction that one is better than other people in important ways and a tendency to see many societal rules as personally irrelevant because one’s own thoughts, feelings and experiences are deemed to merit privileged status.

“I am more special and important than other people are.”

“I prefer to be a member of a group, religion or nation chosen by fate or other powers to get special treatment.”

I wrote 80 questionnaire items, 8 for each of these worldviews at the individual level and 8 at the group level. On a 5-point Likert scale, this provides a possible range of scores from 8 to 40 on each of the 10 scales, a range of 33 points, which I expected would be enough to assure adequate reliability if the items were good ones. By summing the items for the individual scales I would have a possible range of 40 to 200, or 161 points for the total individual level and 161 for the total group level. Thus, I hoped for adequate reliability of the measures. With adequate reliability I would have a chance to see validity.

### **Measuring constructive government, “sustainability endorsement”.**

In my first research questionnaire, I followed these 80 worldview items with 12 items measuring attitudes about government policies and programs reflecting a constructive national outlook and a cooperative international spirit, such as:

“My government should support:

“...local community rights to restrict the broadcasting or marketing of products that have been shown by research to promote violent thinking and behavior.”

“... replacement of gasoline and diesel fuels with non-polluting fuels.”

“...international treaties and efforts to reduce nuclear weapons and missiles that deliver them”, and

“... the United Nations with money and cooperation.”

I tentatively called this a measure of sustainability endorsement, as the items reflect programs likely to promote stable communities that can last for several generations.

### **Public school funding options.**

Remembering my frustrations with trying to sell my violence prone testing services to school districts, I was curious to see if the worldviews would predict attitudes about public school funding mechanisms.



I described two forms of public school budgeting and asked three questions about supporting these two. The first form is contract driven, where teacher salaries and benefits take precedence over all other budget items, leading to cutting of programs when budgets get tight. The second form, proportional budgeting, would require retention of all programs regardless of budget levels, with teacher salaries and benefits subject to adjustment as necessary to keep class sizes to 22 students each.

### **Special interest groups.**

I next included ten items about whose interests our national government should primarily support and our overall international posture, e.g.:

“...business owners more than workers.”

“...taxpayers more than public employees.”

“... all the citizens of our nation considered together more than any one special interest group (business, labor, the elderly, etc.).”

“...out nation’s interests at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary”

and

“ Our nation should be guided by the principle: ‘Might makes right; survival of the fittest.’”

### **Government types.**

I added five more items asking persons to rate the desirability of five forms of government, ranging from anarchy through our current democracy, which I define as “tribal democracy”, serving special interest groups or economic tribes. The fifth form was public democracy, serving the best interests of the community overall.

The last five of the 115 items in this first questionnaire measured the Big Five personality traits via a seven-option Likert scale. You will recall the Big Five: Conscientiousness, Agreeableness, Emotional Stability, Openness and Extroversion.

My initial study focused on whether it was possible to reliably measure the Eidelson worldviews and how they might relate to a variety of items reflecting a range of politically relevant issues, some directly related to international conflict and military matters and some reflecting my pet concerns about direct or public democracy and public school funding.

My initial research subjects were twenty-four community college students taking a class with a professor friend of mine. He has had students complete my questionnaires on a variety of primarily clinical matters to help me with my research and for extra credit. They do them in a testing center at the college on their own time. I always provide the students written feedback on the nature of the research project and the results of their participation. I sometimes lecture in his classes also.

### **Gathering data and running statistics...reliability and the Big Five.**

The students of this study ranged in age from 19 to 53, mean 27, standard deviation 11. 23 % were males. I didn’t ask for their ethnic status, but the majority of our community are Caucasians. While this initial group was rather small, I ran statistics to see what I would find.

I computed statistics for the five individual scales and five group scales and found a good spread of scores on each of them. The reliabilities ranged from .74 to .87. For the Individual Total score, made up of 40 items the reliability was very good, .96. For the Group Total it was also good, at .94, as it was for a Grand Total score, .97. I had a good spread of scores, even on this group of “normal” persons, whom we would not expect to represent a particularly wide range of scores on traits such as these.

**Social disenfranchisement.**

Thus, I had a reliably measured trait. I called it “social disenfranchisement”, a view of the world characterized by feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, injustice, distrust and superiority.

Based on correlations between the traits and the total scores to which they contribute, this “social disenfranchisement” at the individual person level seems to have at its core feelings of vulnerability, helplessness and distrust. At the group level the core seems to be egocentric superiority, injustice, distrust and helplessness. Persons with high scores on these traits endorse questionnaire items describing themselves as at a significant disadvantage in relationship to other people and to society in general. They describe themselves as “socially disenfranchised”.

Four of the traits seem likely to reflect or involve negative feelings:  
 Anger over injustices,  
 Fear and vulnerability,  
 Distrustfulness and  
 Suspicion and helplessness.

The last trait seems to reflect compensatory positive feelings to make up for the negative ones, a sense of superiority and related hopes for power and favored status, perhaps to help the person feel special, strong and competent in the face of his negative feelings.

The vulnerability trait does not correlate very strongly with the group total score (.34), perhaps because as group members persons feel a sense of security in numbers.

**Personality problems.**

The ARFV test correlates negatively with three of the Big Five traits: Agreeableness, Conscientiousness and Emotional Stability. I expected that social disenfranchisement scales would also. It did.

<u>Social disenfranchisement score.</u>	<u>Associated personality trait.</u>
Individual level:	
High on vulnerability, distrust and helplessness.	Low extroversion (introverts).
High on vulnerability and helplessness.	Low conscientiousness.
High on vulnerability and injustice.	Low emotional stability.
Group level:	
High superiority and injustice.	Low agreeableness.

Total group score.

Low extroversion.

Social disenfranchisement appears to have partial roots in low basic personality traits, as does violence-proneness.

Being low on Extroversion, Conscientiousness and Emotional stability, persons high on social disenfranchisement might be expected to have difficulty in their personal and vocational lives, as these Big Five traits are important for success in social interaction and jobs.

### **Socially disenfranchised persons do not endorse sustainability.**

I next ran correlations between the ten social disenfranchisement scales and the twelve-item measure of sustainability endorsement, the items about respecting international disarmament treaties, reducing pollution, protecting farmland, controlling population, etc. I used all the individual scales to compute a multiple correlation, which was  $-.79$ , significant at the  $.00$  level. The group scale multiple correlation was  $-.70$ , also significant at the  $.01$  level. These correlations meant that persons in this study who were high on social disenfranchisement tended not to endorse sustainable policies and programs. They seemed indifferent to the long term welfare of their nation.

### **Socially disenfranchised persons endorse warmongering.**

Three items in the questionnaire seemed to reflect a bellicose, warlike attitude:

20. I feel like getting even with or retaliating against people who have mistreated me.

102. My national government should do what best serves our nation's interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.

103. Our nation should be guided by the principle: "Might makes right, survival of the fittest."

Combining these three items creates a scale with a possible range from 3 to 15, a brief "warmongering" scale. Using the five individual social disenfranchisement scales to predict the warmongering score yielded a multiple correlation of  $.73$ , significant at the  $.01$  level. The group scale multiple correlation was  $.74$ , also significant at the  $.01$  level. This indicated that in this study persons high on social disenfranchisement tended to endorse warlike, bellicose attitudes. This seemed to clearly support the Eidelson hypothesis.

### **The inner mind of the socially disenfranchised. Trouble-makers.**

To get a more detailed picture of the attitudes of socially disenfranchised persons, I examined the significant correlations between the individual social disenfranchisement total score and other questionnaire items. They are listed below. The text is an interpretation of the implication of each item, not the exact content of the item itself:

As individuals, persons high on social disenfranchisement:

93. ( $-.51$ ). Would prefer, as teachers in a public school, to work in a setting where budget decisions put the interests of tenured teachers above all other interests.

95. ( $-.50$ ) As taxpayers, they would prefer to support this contract-driven form of public school budgeting over a system that would support and maintain a variety of balanced school programs.

101. ( $-.44$ ) They do not believe that the interests of all citizens of our nation should be considered

together more than those of any one special interest group.

103. (.43) They think our nation should be guided by the principle “Might makes right; survival of the fittest.”

104. (-.55) They do not think our nation should be guided by the principle: “Co-operate, compromise and help others; survival of the kindest.”

106. (.46) They tend to endorse a country with no government at all, a state of anarchy, with just roving bands of armed bandits who rob, kill and do whatever they want.

110. (-.43) They do not endorse a government of popular democracy, serving all citizens versus special interest groups.

These items seem to reflect attitudes that are more likely to foment conflict between groups and nations than cooperation and peace.

As members of groups, persons high on social disenfranchisement:

84. (-.56) They do not endorse replacement of gasoline and diesel fuels with non-polluting fuels.

86. (-.40) They do not endorse restriction of harvesting from forests and fisheries to sustainable levels.

87. (-.46) They do not endorse restriction of prime agricultural land for agricultural use only.

88. (-.44). They do not endorse restriction of fresh water resources to sustainable levels.

93. (-.62). As public school teachers, they would prefer a system favoring tenured teachers above all other school budget interests.

95. (-.40). As taxpayers, they would prefer to support this school budget system (item 93) over an alternative, balanced program.

They think government should do what best serves the interests of...

99. (.58) ...taxpayers more than public employees.

102. (.54)...our nation's interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.

103. (.41). They endorse a national policy of “Might makes right; survival of the fittest.”

104. (-.61). They do not think our national policy should be “Cooperate, compromise and help others; survival of the kindest.”

105. (-.46). They would not be willing to reduce their consumption of gasoline by 10 percent to help fight global warming, if asked by their government to do so.

Again, the content reflects attitudes likely to foment conflict rather than cooperation, short-term self-interest rather than the long-term best interest of the community overall.

Persons low on social disenfranchisement are likely to hold views opposite to those above.

### **Public endorsement levels of sustainable programs.**

To estimate the level of public support for sustainable policies and programs, the percent of persons agreeing with scale items can be computed. Consider the data for the three items about public school budgeting. A proportional budget system is defined in the questionnaire as one in which a fixed proportion of each school dollar always goes for each of several necessary components of a good school program, with class size fixed and teacher salaries adjusted up or down as necessary as overall budget amounts vary.

Responses of twenty-four Community College Students.

	1. Strongly agree.	2. Agree	3. Neither agree or dis	4. Agree.	5. Strongly disagree.	Agree & strongly agree. Percent.
93. As a teacher.	5	3	3	7	6	54%
94. As a parent.	1	0	3	11	9	83%
95. As a taxpayer.	1	0	5	8	10	75%

Thus, in the last three columns on the right we see overall strong support for the proportional budgeting system.

The majority of the adults in this study also endorse a wide range of pro-social government policies and programs and do not support a range of anti-social policies, such as self-serving militarism. The details are presented in a later chapter.

In this study, total individual and total group scores on social disenfranchisement did not correlate significantly with age, gender or years of education.

This study was based on only a small sample of adults. Replication on other groups was necessary. Would business managers and students in training to become teachers differ from community college students?

### **Summary.**

As proposed by the Eidelson hypothesis, persons who view the world feeling helpless, vulnerable, distrustful and with a sense of injustice tend also to develop a feeling of superiority. Instead of developing a hopeful, constructive outlook that might encourage them to try to make the world a better place, they tend to have selfish and even combative attitudes toward people, government and other nations.

In contrast, the majority of citizens seem to have constructive outlooks that can be expected to promote improvements both at home and abroad.

### **What general worldviews underlie human conflict?**

There appear to be at least five: helplessness, vulnerability, distrust, injustice and superiority. Persons who view the world from such a perspective tend not to endorse sustainable programs, cooperation and peace. Instead, they are selfish, short-term oriented and bellicose in foreign policy toward other nations.

### **Do personality traits predispose people to negative worldviews?**

Yes. Just as is true for violence-proneness, persons who are low on agreeableness, conscientiousness and emotional stability are more prone to have worldviews of social

disenfranchisement.

**Do socially disenfranchised persons want to improve the world or grab what they can get?**

From this initial study, it appears that they want to grab what they can get.

**Discussion Questions:**

1. In addition to low personality traits, what other conditions do you think might predispose some persons to develop negative, resentful and combative worldviews? What sort of research study could be done to test your hunches?
2. This study used only three questionnaire items to measure warmongering. What other items could be added to measure this combative, trouble-making tendency?
3. Why do you suppose persons who feel socially disenfranchised take a short-term, selfish attitude toward the world rather than wanting to improve it for themselves, their children and future generations?

**Chapter 9**  
**Warmongering in Business and Education:**  
**Measuring the warmongering trait.**

Are warmongers more or less intelligent and educated than others?

Are warmongers more likely to hold right wing authoritarian and social dominance attitudes?

Do teachers in training and business managers differ in their public school funding preferences?

For my second study of the Eidelson worldviews I added more items to get a more robust, more reliable measure of warmongering. I wrote my own items, as a review of the professional literature revealed no prior efforts to measure warmongering as a psychological trait.

The closest I found was a brief suggestion by David Campbell in a chapter reporting his personality study of 160 U.S. army brigadier generals<sup>10</sup>. These generals tended to be dominant, competitive, action-oriented, and patriotic and interested in physically adventuresome, militaristic activities. They dislike artistic, literary, musical, and nurturing activities. They are strong on social responsibility and personal integrity, as measured by scales called Responsibility and Socialization. Campbell suggests that a military leader who happened to be *low* on these last two traits might be termed a “warmonger”. However, he provides no research data to support this idea.

To double-check the findings from the first study I added the BFI test, a 44-item well-normed measure of the Big Five personality traits. I also included a 60-item measure of verbal intelligence, my Quick Verbal Quotient test, which is modeled after the Wechsler Adult Intelligence scale and correlates highly with it (.87).

I was curious also how business managers would look on these measures. I expected managers might reflect attitudes typically associated with Republican party opinions and preferences. I have been a member of a business executive association for 24 years. Members of this organization helped by completing questionnaires. A few had their fellow employees or family members participate.

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10 Campbell, David P., “The Psychological Test Profiles of Brigadier Generals, Warmongers or Decisive Warriors?”, in *Assessing Individual Differences in Human Behavior, New Concepts, Methods, and Findings*, Lubinski, David, and Dawis, Rene V., (Eds.), Davies-Black Publishing, Palo Alto, CA, 1995.

To assure confidentiality, I asked them not to put their names on the questionnaires. The group totaled 30 persons ranging in age from 22 to 72, mean 50, standard deviation 12.3. Their years of education ranged from 12 to 21, mean 16.2, standard deviation 2.4. Their I.Q. scores on my QVQ test ranged from 86 to 125, mean 104, standard deviation 10.3. Thus, they were similar on intelligence to adults in general, as Average I.Q. scores range from 90 to 110, including the range between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles. My subjects were all Caucasians, I expect. 73% percent were males.

I studied the statistics of the warmongering items and chose 9 of them which correlated significantly with a total score consisting of all of them, including the follow:  
 “President Bush was justified in attacking Iraq and tracking down Saddam Hussein.”  
 “If I were President I would want to have a good supply of nuclear weapons and powerful military forces that could deliver them at my command.”  
 “Ethnic cleansing, to rid the world of undesirable types of people, is a justified aspect of wars.”  
 “Military battles are a noble and glorious activity.”

People in this sample of 30 gave differing responses to these nine items. If they hadn’t, the items could not have correlated with their total score. Some people endorsed these items, some did not.

In five-point Likert scale format, the nine warmongering items created a scale with a range of 22 points and an alpha reliability of .83.

The measure of sustainability endorsement consisted of the same items as in the first study and had a range of 32 points and a reliability of .85.

Correlations revealed significant relationships between age, education level and intelligence on the one hand and social disenfranchisement, sustainability endorsement and warmongering disposition on the other:

	Soc. Dis., Individual	Soc. Dis., Group	Sustainability endorsement	Warmonger. disposition.
Age	-.37*	-.41*	-.10	.08
Education	-.44*	-.52*	.17	-.47*
Intelligence	-.60**	-.72**	.37*	-.41*
Warmonger.	.30	.59**	-.52**	1.00
Warmonger. multiple correlations using all 5 Soc. Dis. scales.	.66**	.75**		

For this group of 30 adults, these correlations have the following meanings. I put the correlations in at the end of each statement so you can refer to the statistics in the chart. I’ll



work across each row, starting with age. Remember, if a correlation isn't followed by an asterisk or two it isn't large enough to be significant:

Younger adults tend to feel more socially disenfranchised than older adults (-.37\*, -.41\*). Age does not predict either sustainability endorsement (-.10) or warmongering disposition (.08).

Less educated persons are more likely than better educated adults to feel socially disenfranchised (-.47\*, -.52\*) and more likely to endorse warmongering (-.42\*). Or, conversely, the higher one's education, the less disenfranchised one is likely to feel and the less likely one is to endorse warmongering.

Less intelligent persons are more likely than more intelligent persons to feel socially disenfranchised (-.60\*\*, -.72\*\*) and to endorse warmongering (-.41\*). More intelligent persons are more likely than less intelligent persons to endorse sustainable policies and programs (+.37\*).

Persons who endorse warmongering are likely to see themselves as belonging to groups that are socially disenfranchised (.59\*\*), and they are not likely to endorse sustainable policies and programs (-.52\*\*).

When using all five Social Disenfranchisement Individual scores to predict Warmongering, the correlation rises from .30 to .66\*\*. When using all five Social Disenfranchisement Group scores to predict Warmongering, the correlation rises from .59\*\* to .75\*\*. This further confirms the important relationship between social disenfranchisement and the warmongering disposition. **Persons who are socially disenfranchised are more likely to endorse warmongering.**

For this group of adults, **warmongers are likely to be persons with less education and of less intelligence. They are likely to not endorse sustainable policies and programs.** They are likely to feel socially disenfranchised both as individuals and as group members.

Social disenfranchisement was negatively related to sustainability endorsement at both the individual level (-.40\*) and group level (-.45\*). **Persons who see themselves as socially disenfranchised tend not to support sustainable policies and programs.** This was true of the first study also.

In this study gender did not correlate significantly with any of the scales. Women can feel socially disenfranchised and be warmongers just as men can.

Thus, we again see what we saw in the first study, a general confirmation of the Eidelson hypothesis that social disenfranchisement is positively related to the antisocial trait "warmongering" and negatively related to the pro-social trait of sustainability endorsement. People who view the world from a position of helplessness, vulnerability, distrust, injustice and superiority are more likely than others to have attitudes which are likely to foster conflict with other people.

We may speculate as to why this is so. Does feeling socially disenfranchised make them feel insecure regarding meeting their personal needs for survival? Are socially disenfranchised

persons so concerned with their immediate needs for security, food, clothing, shelter and safety, that they cannot look beyond the present? Do persons who feel socially disenfranchised resent other people in general so much that they do not care about the welfare of other people, either in the present or in the future?

Not all socially disenfranchised persons are warmongers; the correlation between the two traits is not perfect. Only some persons who feel socially disenfranchised endorse warmongering.

With the more robust 9-item measure of warmongering introduced in this study we begin to see a trait that could pose a significant threat to peace, both within nations and between nations.

And we clearly see that this warmongering trait can appear among our most prominent citizens, business managers. Warmongering is not a trait that just surfaces in downtrodden lower classes. It is present in some business leaders, some of whom rise to positions of political office.

Could this personality trait help explain human conflict? The warmongering trait, when embodied in a powerful leader, might very well motivate such a leader to look for opportunities and excuses to urge groups to war. The leader might not know what drives him or her. The leader may see the urgency for war in terms of economic need or threat, or ethnic superiority, or a call by “destiny” to conquer other peoples or nations. But the internal driver may simply be a psychological trait, warmongering, that the leader happens to manifest in extreme degree and which urgently seeks expression in overt behavior.

Such a person might seek power as a military leader or political leader, for both such positions enable one to conduct war.

The Big Five personality traits measured by the BFI test were again negatively related to social disenfranchisement at the group level (multiple correlation of .60\*, significant at the .04 level). Lower personality scores were associated with higher social disenfranchisement. **Persons with low levels of basic personality traits tend to see themselves as belonging to groups that have negative worldviews.**

The BFI scores were not significantly related to sustainability endorsement or warmongering directly. Low levels of basic personality traits did not predict these other two traits in this study.

The implication is that low personality traits alone do not predispose one to disdain sustainable programs or embrace warmongering. Other factors must contribute.

### **What other traits underlie Social Disenfranchisement, Sustainability Endorsement and Warmongering?**

My next two studies were designed to seek further clarification of psychological traits which I expected would be related to social disenfranchisement, sustainability endorsement and warmongering.

I was also interested in how strongly university students in training to be public school teachers would endorse each of the two public school budgeting options included in the research questionnaire; the general public seemed to endorse the proportional option over the contract-driven option.

The subjects for this study were 40 university students, 38 of whom were taking a class in the education department. Many were graduate students. 30 percent were men. They ranged in age from 20 to 47, mean 29.3, standard deviation 8.1. Their professor was a friend of mine.

The students completed the 137-item questionnaire used in the second worldview study discussed immediately above. They also completed the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale created by Bob Altemeyer and the Social Dominance Orientation scale created by Jim Sidanius and Felicia Pratto.

The Right Wing Authoritarianism scale (RWA) is interesting because it measures psychological attitudes typically associated with right wing political thinking in the United States with items such as “The situation in our country is getting so serious, the strongest methods would be justified if they eliminated troublemakers and got us back on our true path.”

The Social Dominance Orientation scale (SDO) is similar, with items such as “In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.”

The RWA scale reflects a self-righteous, politically controlling outlook; the SDO scale an attitude of dominating other people to meet one’s own needs.

I also had the subjects take my Terrorism Endorsement scale, which consists of 12 items such as “A good way to bring down a corrupt government is to kill its civilians in terrorist acts.”

Here are the results:

	RWA	SDO	Terr. Endorsemt.
Soc. Dis. Individ.	.42*	.35*	.08
Soc. Dis. Group	.51**	.41*	-.01
Sustainabil. Endor	-.22	-.11	-.14
Warmongering	.59**	.46**	.24

Social disenfranchisement at both the individual and group levels correlates significantly with Right Wing Authoritarianism and Social Dominance orientation. Persons who feel injustice, distrustful, helpless, vulnerable and superior tend to endorse self-righteous authoritarianism (.42\* and .51\*\*) and social dominance (.35\* and .41\*).

Persons who endorse warmongering even more strongly endorse right wing authoritarianism (.59\*\*) and social dominance orientation (.46\*\*). Persons of a warmongering

bent are comfortable feeling “right” in their attitudes and in their desire to dominate other people.

The correlation between Sustainability Endorsement and Warmongering was  $-.26$ , which was not quite high enough to be significant. At  $.31$  it would have been.

As can be seen in the last column of the above correlations, Terrorism Endorsement did not correlate significantly with any of the other measures. This may have been because these university students, majoring in education for the most part, are quite civil and pro-social. The reliability of the Terrorism Endorsement scale in this group of persons was modest,  $.75$ , indicating that these students didn't vary much on this scale. And, their mean item score was only  $1.1$ . A “1” means “Strongly disagree”, 2 means “Disagree”. Only two of the 36 persons who completed the Terrorism Endorsement scale had the highest mean score for this group, which was “2”. Thus, the average responses to the items in the Terrorism Endorsement scale were all at the very civil end for this group of university students. A sample of persons with a wider range of scores on Terrorism Endorsement might very well show a significant correlation with warmongering, as expected.

In this study, Social Disenfranchisement at the individual level was again significantly related to Warmongering in the expected direction. While the total score for the 40 items was not quite significant ( $.31$ ), the multiple correlation was  $.55$ , significant at the  $.03$  level. The more that persons saw themselves as socially disenfranchised individuals, the more they tended to endorse warmongering.

This was a rather civil group, as the person with the highest score on Warmongering had a mean item score of  $3.5$ , which is in the “Neutral” range, between “Disagree” (2) and “Agree” (3). In spite of this, their scores ranged widely on warmongering, from 17 to 59 points on a 17-item scale. In other departments of a typical university we might expect to find persons with even higher scores (the highest possible score on a 17-item, 5-point scale would be  $17 \times 5 = 85$ ).

### **What form of school budgeting system do teachers in training prefer?**

Items 93-95 of the research questionnaire used in these initial studies are prefaced with text that defines two different types of public school budgeting system. The second one, “proportional budgeting” is considered to be more “sustainable” than the first because the first tends over time to cause erosion of essential programs, staff levels, etc.

This issue was included in these research studies as an example of a sustainable, pro-social program, of the sort persons would not be expected to endorse if they are socially disenfranchised or warmongers. I also included it because I am concerned that public school budgeting seems to be of the contract driven sort, with dire consequences for our schools over the past 20 years.

The questionnaire text reads as follows:

**“For the next three questions, consider these two possible types of public school systems:**

**A. Contract-driven budgeting:** School budget allocations are dictated by contracts, such as between teacher unions and school boards, such that the salaries and benefits of tenured, long-term teachers take priority over all other aspects of the budget (supplies, utilities, buildings, ball fields, club and sport programs, etc.). If budgets are cut, tenured teachers' salaries and benefits are not

cut. All other programs are cut and classroom sizes go up. If budgets go up, the first priority is given to increasing teachers salaries and benefits. Then other budget items are considered.

**B. Proportional budgeting:** A proportion of each school dollar is always protected and used only for a specific portion of the budget. Classroom sizes are constantly at 22 students. Teacher salaries are determined by a formula involving the amount of money available for salaries divided by the number of classes (22 students per class), etc. When budgets decrease, all aspects of the budget are cut proportionally, but no teachers or programs are cut. Classroom sizes stay the same. When budget increase, all portions of the budget increase proportionally. All programs get money.

Answer these questions using this code:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5      93. If I were a public school teacher, I would prefer to work under system B rather than system A.

1 2 3 4 5      94. If I were a parent, I would prefer to have my child educated under system B rather than system A.

1 2 3 4 5      95. If I were a taxpayer, I would prefer to support system B rather than system A.”

Here are the frequency distributions for the first three study groups. The numbers in each of the five middle columns indicates the number of persons who answered the questionnaire item with that response.

Responses of 24 Community College Students.

	1. Strongly disagree.	2. Disagree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Agree.	5. Strongly agree.	Agree & strongly agree. Percent.
93. As a teacher.	5	3	3	7	6	54%
94. As a parent.	1	0	3	11	9	83%
95. As a taxpayer.	1	0	5	8	10	75%

Thus, for the 24 community college students a majority (more than 51%, more than half) agree or strongly agree that they would prefer the proportional budgeting system over the contract-driven system, as a teacher, parent of a child in the schools or taxpayer supporting the schools. If these 24 adults were give an community ballot option to choose a proportional budgeting system, the ballot measure would pass. Now, consider the choices of the business manager group:

Responses of 30 Business Managers and Others.

	1. Strongly disagree.	2. Disagree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Agree.	5. Strongly agree.	Agree & strongly agree.

						Percent.
93. As a teacher.	5	9	3	9	4	37%
94. As a parent.	0	0	2	14	14	93%
95. As a taxpayer.	0	1	3	12	14	87%

The managers would prefer the contract-driven option if they were teachers, but as parents and taxpayers they strongly prefer the proportional system. Overall, it appears that they too would vote for a community ballot measure for a proportional system. I expected that the university students in training to be teachers in a public school system might think differently from managers, being more self-interested in teacher wages and benefits. Here are the university student responses:

Responses of 40 University Education Class Students.

	1. Strongly disagree.	2. Disagree	3. Neither agree nor disagree	4. Agree.	5. Strongly agree.	Agree & strongly agree. Percent.
93. As a teacher.	4	4	6	20	6	65%
94. As a parent.	3	1	2	20	14	85%
95. As a taxpayer.	4	1	7	19	9	70%

The students are strongly for the proportional budgeting option, even as teachers in the system. If given a ballot measure promoting the proportional system over the contract-driven one, these teachers in training would vote for the proportional system.

These results suggest that our public school budgeting system has been skewed in favor of a very small minority of the community, special interest group members and their union leaders. Tenured teachers, or a portion of teachers strongly interested in special privilege as tenured teachers, have managed to control public school budgeting processes in their personal favor. The contract-driven school budgeting system dominates, causing gradual but significant erosion of teacher positions (those lowest on seniority) and other programs, such as athletic and other recreational programs, supplies, counselors and school building maintenance.

Such a school budgeting system would not seem sustainable over the long haul. Eventually, the system must collapse when all budget moneys go exclusively for tenured teacher salaries and budgets and nothing is left for other essential aspects of a viable school system.

To further explore the psychological traits that may underlie the special interest group activities that have led to the contract-driven system we can run correlations between items 93 - 95

and scores on Social Disenfranchisement, Warmongering, Sustainability Endorsement and the other variables.

To do this, I first created a total score for items 93, 94 and 95 added together. This would provide a more reliable measure of “proportional budget school system endorsement”, or “proportional budget system” (PBS). Indeed, for the 40 university students, the reliability was .89 (alpha coefficient). But, for the students, there were no significant correlations between this and the other variables.

For the 30 business managers, the PBS alpha reliability was only .48, but nevertheless, PBS correlated significantly with the measure of sustainability endorsement .49\*\*. A similar result was found for the 24 community college students. The alpha was .90. The correlation with the 10-item measure of sustainability endorsement was .53\*\*. PBS for them also correlated significantly with the individual and group measures of social disenfranchisement, -.58\*\* and -.57\*\*.

Thus, we have evidence to support the view that a proportional budgeting system for public schools is indeed a reflection of sustainable public programs, as viewed by the general public. We have initial evidence too that the public would support an effort to replace the traditional contract-driven budget system with a proportional one.

### **Summary.**

Warmongering is a measurable trait, just as social disenfranchisement is. These two traits tend to go together. Other traits also tend to go with these two. Persons higher on warmongering and social disenfranchisement tend to be lower on sustainability endorsement, lower on education and verbal intelligence, higher on right wing authoritarianism and higher on social dominance orientation. For the most part, adults from different groups all prefer a budgeting system for public schools that protects a wide range of desirable programs and does not give teacher salaries preference .

Like persons who are more at risk for violence, persons who are higher on warmongering tend to be lower on agreeableness and other personality traits. Criminals tend to be higher on the ARFV violence-proneness scale. How would criminals and persons high on the ARFV scale look on the warmongering scale? The next studies provide answers.

### **Are warmongers more or less intelligent and educated than others?**

While some warmongers can be quite intelligent, warmongers as a group tend to be lower in both verbal intelligence and education than others.

### **Are warmongers more likely to hold right wing authoritarian and social dominance attitudes?**

Yes. They tend to actively dislike and criticize persons different from themselves and want to dominate and dictate to others.

### **Do teachers in training and business managers differ in their public school funding preferences?**

Generally, no. And they're similar to community college students. They all tend to prefer a

proportional over a contract driven system. They want a balance of programs protected and not eroded by giving preference to teacher salaries.

**Discussion questions.**

1. How do you think your local school district could change from a contract-driven budget system? Would state laws about union rights have to be changed? If so, how could this be done?
2. How do you account for the fact that even school teachers in training at a university prefer the proportional budgeting system over the contract-driven system? What advantaged might they see over a system that guarantees high salaries and benefits for themselves?
3. Why do you suppose social dominance orientation and right wing authoritarianism are positively correlated with warmongering? How do these three traits compliment each other? What function for society might they serve as a cluster?



**Chapter 10.**  
**The Mind of the Warmonger;**  
**More Criminal than Quaker.**

Are warmongers prone to violence?

Does a rough childhood predispose one to the warmongering disposition?

Do criminals and Quakers have high and low warmongering scores, as expected?

Details about the psychology of warmongering can be gained by studies involving measures of warmongering and other traits and by testing different groups, such as Quakers, known to vary on attitudes toward war.

**Warmongering and Violence-Proneness.**

Warmongering seems similar to violence-proneness, as both are antisocial attitudes. Whether these traits are similar can be determined by having people take measures of both the at risk for violence scale and the warmongering scale.

My next study explored the relationship between the primary variables and two measures of problems that underlie violence, the At Risk for Violence test (ARFV) and a measure of causes of antisocial behavior.

The subjects were 48 community college students taking psychology classes and earning extra credit for participating in the research. They ranged in age from 17 to 60. 24 percent were males. They ranged in education from 11 to 15 years.

They completed the 137-item questionnaire discussed in preceding chapters and the 58-item ARFV measure of violence-proneness.

They also completed a 25-item questionnaire measuring content known from prior research to be related to delinquent behavior in teenagers. It includes items in Likert scale format such as these:

- “As a child, our family sometimes didn’t have enough money for food”
- “One or more people in my childhood family meanly hit others in our family”
- “I got drunk on alcohol before I was 15 years old”
- “I have been in trouble with the police.”

For this group of adult students, 21 of these 25 items correlated significantly with a total score comprised of all of them. This 21-item “Causes” scale had an alpha reliability of .90.

**Replicating and confirming prior findings.**

I first ran correlations between the variables studied previously, to replicate prior studies to see if the previously observed relationships would be seen again. They were.

	Sustainability.	Warmongering.
Soc.dis.ind	-.40**	.46**
Soc.dis.gp	-.44**	.70**
Soc.dis.tot	-.48**	.65**
Sustain.		-.64**

By rows, Social Disenfranchisement at the individual level correlates negatively with Sustainability Endorsement (-.40\*\*) and positively with Warmongering (.46\*\*). Persons who, as individuals, feel helpless, vulnerable, injustice, distrust and superior tend to disavow sustainable policies and programs and tend to endorse warmongering.

Persons who feel socially disenfranchised at the group level do too (-.44\*\* and .70\*\*).

The total scores for social disenfranchisement also reflect disavowal of sustainable policies (-.48\*\*) and endorsement of warmongering (.65\*\*).

Warmongering and Sustainability Endorsement are negatively correlated (-.64\*\*). Persons high on warmongering tend to disavow sustainable policies and programs. The reverse is true: persons high on sustainable policies tend to be low on warmongering.

Two of the Big Five personality traits as measured by the 7-point single item scales (items 111-115 of the questionnaire) correlated significantly with Social Disenfranchisement at the individual level only:

	Extrovers.	Agreeabl.	Consc.	Emot.Stab.	Openness
Soc.Dis.In.	-.57**	-.31	.09	-.52**	-.30

Higher levels of social disenfranchisement (feeling helpless, injustice, distrustful, vulnerable and superior) are more likely in persons who are low on extroversion (-.57\*\*) and prone to anxiety and

depression (-.52\*\*).

### Warmongers are Violence-prone.

The many scales in the At Risk for Violence test tended to be correlated with the primary variables in the directions expected. I present all the correlations below for those who easily understand and comprehend statistics. For the rest of you, just focus on the figures in row 12, which show the correlations between the Total At Risk for Violence test score and the other variables:

ARFV scale.	Soc.Dis., Individ.	Soc.Dis., Group.	Soc.Dis. Total	Sustainab. endorsmt.	Warmon-gering.
1. Failure	.39**	.04	.26	-.21	.11
2. Rigid.	.47**	.50**	.55**	-.29*	.62**
3.Impuls.	.48**	.34*	.48**	-.15	.29*
4.Rejection	.43**	.15	.34*	-.22	.22
5.Low guilt	.69**	.41**	.63**	-.36*	.39**
6.Unresolv. anger	.74**	.54**	.73**	-.26	.40**
7.Hostility pleasure	.53**	.34*	.50**	-.16	.44**
8.Gun skill & access	.12	.16	.15	-.18	.42**
9.Homicide endorsmt.	.52**	.46**	.56**	-.37*	.52**
10.Closed to help	.22	.38**	.33*	-.30*	.38**
11.Not stop violence.	.45**	.36*	.46**	-.56**	.49**
12.Total ARFV score	.69**	.55**	.71**	-.46**	.67**
13. Fake bad.	.27	.50**	.43**	-.20	.40**

In row 12 are the correlations between the total ARFV score and the other variables, which show that:

Persons high on At Risk for Violence, which is made up of the scales in rows 1-11, tend to be:

High on social disenfranchisement at the individual level (.69\*\*)

High on social disenfranchisement at the group level (.55\*\*)

High on a total score for social disenfranchisement (.71\*\*)

Low on Sustainability endorsement (-.46\*\*)

High on warmongering (.67\*\*).

The other correlations in this table show the specific relationships between the individual scales of the ARFV measure and the other variables. Note in particular the high values for the Rigid Thinking and Homicide Endorsement scales.

These figures imply that social disenfranchisement as measured by the present scale is very similar, psychologically speaking, to the many traits that have been demonstrated to underlie antisocial behavior, particularly in the form of delinquent and criminal behavior. The figures also show that warmongering itself is very closely related to these underpinnings of criminality measured by the ARFV.

### **Inside the warmonger's mind.**

Thus, we don't have to study a group of persons known to be warmongers to understand what goes on inside their minds. From studies of the warmongering trait we get a view inside the head of the warmonger. We can see what traits are associated with warmongering. This knowledge can help us identify potentially dangerous political and military leaders.

In essence, warmongering appears to be an extension of criminality. It is not a "noble and glorious activity", but an expression of antisocial behavior. It is not a psychological disposition that promotes sustainable communities but is antithetical to sustainable communities and nations. Warmongers tend to see the world as socially disenfranchised individuals and group members.

The warmongering personality is characterized by low agreeableness, rigid thinking, low guilt for wrongdoing, unresolved angry feelings, enjoyment of hostile activities, interest in deadly weapons (having gun skill and access), endorsing homicide as a way to express personal anger, being closed to help for personal problems, not being willing to help stop violence in the workplace and perhaps a tendency to lie (fake bad).

### **Not all military leaders are warmongers.**

As an aside, it is the author's opinion that one can be a military leader, such as an army general, without being a warmonger. Warmongering appears to be a specific attitude about starting destructive military activity and waging destructive wars, not to protect and promote sustainable communities and human welfare but simply to aggress, oppress and destroy. Military and political leaders who seem to fit this definition of warmongering include Hitler, Stalin and Yugoslavian President Slobodon Milosovic. Another might have been U.S. General George Patton of WorldWar II.

Leaders who have overseen war but who did not seem bent on simply oppressing and destroying civil society include Winston Churchill, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Dwight Eisenhower. For example, as President, Eisenhower warned the public about the "military-industrial complex", a wedding between U.S. arms manufacturers, the military and elected politicians to maintain an excessively costly peacetime military establishment. Eisenhower thought that military strength should be a means to an end (peaceful society), not an end in itself.

Many other notable military leaders have expressed loathing for war as a human activity:<sup>11</sup>  
*It is well that war is so terrible – we should grow too fond of it.* Gen. Robert E. Lee, 1862.  
*I know war as few other men now living know it, and nothing to me is more revolting.* Gen. Douglas MacArthur. 1951.  
*I hate war as only a soldier who has lived it can, only as one who has seen its brutality, its futility, its stupidity.* Gen. and President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1952.

### **A rough childhood does not a warmonger make.**

The Causes scale described at the beginning of this chapter did not correlate with any of the other major variables in this study with the exception of Sustainability Endorsement (.31\*). For this group of research subjects, having a rough childhood, perhaps even involving some minor delinquency of one's own, does not necessarily lead to at-riskness for violence (ARFV Total .19), Social Disenfranchisement at the Individual level (.02) or Group level (-.17), or Warmongering (-.13).

The correlation between Causes and Sustainability Endorsement (.31\*) suggests that for this group of 48 adults, at least, having a rough childhood tends to foster a pro-social attitude of hope for a better world. Perhaps of critical importance is whether there is at least one parent or parent surrogate by whom the child feels loved and supported. There are many stories of persons who became model citizens in spite of difficult early childhoods. Future research can clarify this issue.

### **Warmongering and Emotional Immaturity.**

My next study explored several issues. 41 more community college students participated. They completed a 14-item measure of interest in popular music with violent lyrics, a 60-item measure of emotion-handling skills and an expanded 34-item measure of warmongering.

The 14-item music interest scale was the one described in the first section of this book. It correlates positively with violence-proneness. In the present study it had an alpha reliability of .85. The best 32 warmongering items made a fine scale, with an alpha of .95. However these two scales did not correlate significantly with each other (.28), though the correlation was in the expected direction. If it had been just a little higher, at .31, it would have been significant at the .05 level. All we can say from this study is that warmongers don't necessarily like music with violent lyrics, but may.

The 60-item scale of emotion-handling skills measures skill for handling each of 5 positive emotions and 5 negative emotions. The 32-item warmongering scale correlated significantly with two of these: Anger (-.57\*\*) and Guilt (-.61\*\*). Persons with poor skills for handling these two emotions have higher warmonger scores. These findings are consistent with our earlier findings of significant correlations between the Big Five measures of Emotional Stability and Warmongering, which showed that persons who are prone to anxiety and depression are more likely to have

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11 Oxford Dictionary of Political Quotations Ed by Antony Jay Oxford U. Press, 1996, Oxford, New York.

elevated warmongering scores. Thus, warmongers appear to be emotionally immature, specifically in terms of poor skills for handling anger and guilt in addition to anxiety and depression.

Poor skills for handling negative emotions as measured by this 60-item scale (the McConochie Emotion Handling Skills test) have been shown in prior studies to be associated with clinical levels of depression, anxiety and worry. By “clinical” I mean high enough to prompt professional help.

### **A Highly Reliable Measure of Warmongering; Its Several Dimensions.**

To get a clearer idea of the trait of warmongering, we can examine a few of the items that make up the 32-item warmongering scale used in this study. These 32 items are ones used in prior studies, augmented with about 10 additional ones. They are presented in the questionnaire in Likert scale format. The respondent indicates his/her degree of agreement or disagreement for with each item along a 5-point scale. Warmongers tend to agree with each of these statements unless the statement is reverse scored (as indicated by an asterisk, \*). Warmongers disagree with reverse-scored items. This scale is highly reliable (alpha of .95). Here are the 32 items:

1. I feel like getting even with or retaliating against people who have mistreated me.
2. My national government should do whatever best serves the interests of our nation's interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.
3. Our nation should be guided by the principle: “Might makes right; survival of the fittest.”
4. \* Our nation should be guided by the principle: “Cooperate, compromise and help others; survival of the kindest.”
5. \* If my government asked me to, I would be willing to reduce my consumption of gasoline or other transportation budget by 10 percent to help reduce greenhouse gasses and global warming.
7. I would like to fly a military jet fighter plane and shoot its cannons.
8. President Bush was justified in attacking Iraq and tracking down Saddam Hussein.
9. I admire Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany during World War II.
11. If I were President, I would want to have a good supply of nuclear weapons and powerful military forces that could deliver them at my command.
12. If I were the leader of a nation, I would be willing to take strong measures to repress persons in my country who opposed my leadership.
13. Nazi Germany was justified in invading other countries in World War II.
14. \* Our country should avoid going to war at all costs.
15. Our country should go to war whenever we think our access to resources in other countries is threatened.
16. I like to watch war movies.
17. \* I would resent being drafted to fight in almost any kind of war for my nation.
18. \* Military leaders who start wars that kill many civilians indiscriminately should be tried as war criminals.
19. Ethnic cleansing, to rid the world of undesirable types of people, is a justified aspect of wars.
20. \* If questionnaires like the one I have just taken could reliably identify persons who are interested in starting wars, then candidates for national political office in my country should have to pass them to make sure they do not get elected.
21. Military battles are a noble and glorious activity.

22. I would rather have an ex-military general for President of our nation than a non-military person.
23. In war, it is reasonable to kill many enemy civilians by bombing cities to lower morale.
24. It is reasonable to let prisoners of war starve if food is scarce.
25. It is more reasonable to spend money for a stronger military force than for a national health care program.
26. It is wiser to spend more money for a strong military than for non-military peace-promoting foreign aid, trade, student exchanges and tourism.
27. It is reasonable to use prisoners of war as slave laborers during time of war.
28. If a nation has problems due to a growing population it is more reasonable for them to conquer other nations by war for more space and resources than to control the size of their population.
29. If a citizen refuses to fight in his nation's war because he is a pacifist, he should be considered a traitor.
30. It is more honorable to serve one's nation as a warrior in combat than as an anti-war protester.
31. The United States should have stuck it out in South Viet Nam until it won the war.
32. The United States was justified in killing off Native American Indians and taking control of their land.
33. Centuries ago, the Spaniards were justified in killing natives in Central and South America to get their silver and gold.
34. Centuries ago, the Romans were justified in invading and conquering Europe and Great Britain to expand the Roman Empire.

All of the items in this scale correlate significantly with the total score made up of all of them. This is evidence that they all tend to "hang together". They're all part of the same trait. A given person may endorse most of these items but not some of them and still get a high score compared to most people.

You will notice that the items span a range of topics related to war, including interest in weaponry, a mean and aggressive attitude toward other nations, a self-centered attitude about indulging one's own needs at the expense of others, a cruel attitude toward prisoners and persons resisting war activities, endorsement of past military warmongers, endorsement of a melding of military and political leadership and an endorsement of war itself as a good activity. Warmongering is a psychological trait with several facets or dimensions. Warmongering can be very reliably measured with questionnaire items spanning a variety of topics.

### **Pacifists and Criminals, extremes on the Warmongering Continuum.**

One excellent way to validate a measure of a psychological trait is to see if it differentiates as expected between different groups of people known to vary on the trait. For example, the ARFV test validation was supported by showing that incarcerated teens and adults have higher scores on the test than non-incarcerated persons not in trouble with the law.

The first of two known groups studies of the social disenfranchisement, sustainability endorsement and warmongering traits was conducted by comparing the scores of 35 Quakers with a new sample of 61 community college students.

Quakers were expected to get lower scores, especially on warmongering, because they espouse as a basic belief or “Testimony” of their religion that war is to be entirely avoided. In addition, they were expected to get higher scores on sustainability endorsement because they promote unity in decision-making within their organization and have actively promoted social and political improvements, such as prison reform and humane treatment of the mentally ill. They have strongly promoted world peace, winning a Nobel Peace Prize in 1947. I expected they might get lower scores on social disenfranchisement because they are united and supportive of one another as members of the same socially active church.

The 35 Quakers were administered the 137-item research questionnaire while attending a regional church conference. They ranged in age from 13 to 86. 25 were women. They ranged in education from 8 to 25 years. In return for participating they were simply offered a description of the research findings, provided after the study.

The 61 students ranged in age from 18 to 60 and in education from 10 to 17 years. 21 of the 61 were males. Their reward for participation was extra credit in a psychology class they were taking and a detailed writeup of the study findings.

To see if the two groups differed significantly on the traits in question, the students were assigned a “group status” of 1, the Quakers a 0. By running correlations between the trait scores and this group status identifier, one can determine if the groups differ significantly. Here are the results:

Trait	Correlation with group identifier.	Meaning of correlation.
Social disenfranchisement individual total score.	.50**	Community college students are higher on social disenfranchisement than Quakers, as expected.
Social disenfranchisement group level total score.	.57**	Community college students are higher on social disenfranchisement than Quakers, as expected.
Sustainability endorsement.	-.25**	Quakers are higher on sustainability endorsement than college students, as expected.
Warmongering (23-item scale).	.34**	Community college students are higher on warmongering than Quakers, as expected.
Peripheral “warmongering” (24 items from the Social Disenfranchisement scales that correlate with the 23-item	.53**	Community college students are higher on peripheral warmongering than Quakers, as expected.



warmongering scale.		
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Thus, we see confirmation of the expectations: Quakers are lower on measures of warmongering and social disenfranchisement and higher on the pro-social trait of sustainability endorsement.

**Peripheral warmongering: a fearful, negative foreign policy.**

The 24 items from the Social Disenfranchisement scale making up the peripheral warmongering scale give a broader idea of the mind of a person who is high on the warmongering trait. The warmonger tends to agree with items that are not marked with an asterisk and disagree with those that are.

- 29. \* It is better to combat terrorism with foreign aid and student exchanges than with military action.
- 31. \* Patience and peaceful efforts are better than military action to stop strong countries from victimizing weak ones.
- 42. A group I'm in must be prepared to fight other groups before they fight us.
- 46. \* I belong to a group or organization that actively works to promote world peace between nations.
- 47. \* I think powerful nations should each adopt a weak nation to befriend and help.
- 48. \* I think that weak and unusual peoples, ethnic groups and languages should be protected and cherished.
- 49. It is wise to assume that strangers are more dangerous than safe.
- 50. I trust hardly anyone.
- 51. Most people will take unfair advantage of you if they can.
- 52. Very few persons are capable of truly cooperating with others.
- 53. \* We should teach children to be kind and helpful to all people and animals.
- 54. \* Almost everyone is good and kind inside.
- 55. \* People turn out badly only if they are mistreated.
- 57. Many people of other nations are deliberately trying to harm our nation.
- 58. Many leaders of foreign countries cannot be trusted to keep their promises.
- 59. Several other nations are making trouble for us around the world.
- 60. There are nations which are evil to the core and dangerous to our welfare.
- 61. \* Almost all common people in all nations are friendly and kind to foreigners.
- 63. Our nation is wise not to trust most of the nations in the United Nations.
- 64. I am a member of a group that has good reason to distrust other groups.
- 77. \* I prefer to be in groups that help weaker groups to succeed.
- 78. \* I believe all nations should be helped to have power and respect.
- 79. \* Powerful nations should not boast and dominate weaker nations.
- 80. \* Powerful countries should be willing to give up some of their power so weaker nations can survive.

Thus, we see a foreign policy attitude of warmongers that views other nations as undeserving, untrustworthy and to be dominated, with military might if necessary.

This combined group of 96 Quakers and students provides a good opportunity to look at the

relationships between the primary variables, because the two groups are clearly different from each other in the expected direction. Consider the correlations:

Scale	Sustainability	Warmonger (23 items)	Peripheral warmong. (24 items)	Total warmonger. (47 items)
Soc. Dis. Ind.	-.34**	.44**	.71**	.63**
Soc. Dis. Grp.	-.51**	.69**	.87**	.84**
Sustainability		.65**	-.65**	-.69**

Here we see again a rather clear confirmation of the Eidelson hypothesis. Social disenfranchisement is negatively related to the pro-social trait of sustainability endorsement (-.34\*\*) and (-.51\*\*) and positively related to the anti-social trait of warmongering (.44\*\* and .69\*\*). Sustainability endorsement is negatively related to warmongering (-.65\*\* and -.69\*\*), confirming that they are polar opposites (one is pro-social, the other is anti-social).

The Big Five personality traits as measured by the single-item scales included in the questionnaire were again correlated with the scores for the 96 persons in these two groups combined (Quakers and community college students). The resulting correlations are presented below and are similar to those from prior studies. Only the statistically significant correlations are presented:

Scale	Extro-version	Agreeable-ness	Conscientiousness	Emotional stability	Openness
Sustainab. Warmong (23 items)		-.27**			.26**
Soc.Dis. Individual	-.24*	-.24*		-.47**	
Soc.Dis. Group		-.25*		-.27**	

These correlations mean that persons lower on the basic personality trait of extroversion tend to endorse social disenfranchisement. Persons lower on Agreeableness tend to endorse warmongering and social disenfranchisement. Persons lower on Emotional Stability tend to endorse social disenfranchisement. Persons higher on Openness tend to endorse sustainable programs and policies.

### **Comparing Nigerian Criminals to U.S. Community College Students.**

An opportunity to do a similar known groups study for the warmongering trait presented itself when psychology professor Sunday Samson Babalola of the University of Ibadan, Ibadan,

Nigeria contacted the author. He was interested in using the ARFV test to study Nigerian criminals. Professor Babalola agreed to test his samples of criminal teenagers and adults on the 137-item worldview questionnaire in addition to the ARFV questionnaire. Two studies were conducted.

The first group of 169 Nigerians was compared to the 61 community college group. The Nigerians were a random sample of criminals ranging in age from 13 to 52. 55% were males. Data analysis indicated the Nigerian criminals were higher on warmongering and social disenfranchisement and lower on sustainability than the U.S. college group, as might be expected of persons under arrest for antisocial behavior. Furthermore, the Nigerian teen group was higher than the Nigerian adult group, again reflecting the tendency for younger persons to be more prone to warmongering than older persons.

The Nigerian ARFV scores again correlated as expected with the other scales. Consider these data on the total ARFV score:

	SocDisInd.	SocDisGrp	SocDisTot	Sustainab.	Warmong 23-items
ARFV total	.30**	.54**	.49**	-.34**	.28**

Persons with higher At Risk For Violence scores tended to have higher scores on social disenfranchisement and warmongering and lower scores on sustainability endorsement.

**Summary:**

Thus, we have known groups validity which shows that anti-social, criminal persons differ from peaceful, civil persons in the expected directions on social disenfranchisement, sustainability endorsement and warmongering. We can have added confidence that our scales are measuring the traits they purport to measure.

We have seen that warmongering is related to traits that underlie criminal behavior. Next I discuss the concept of warmongering in greater detail.

**Are warmongers prone to violence?**

Yes. Warmongering is strongly correlated with the At Risk for Violence test.

**Does a rough childhood predispose one to the warmongering disposition?**

No. Indeed, a rough childhood seems more likely to nurture endorsement of sustainable policies and programs.

**Do criminals and Quakers have high and low warmongering scores, as expected?**

Yes.

**Discussion questions.**

1. A rough childhood is not correlated with violence proneness in this study. It is correlated with intelligence and personality traits. Do you think it could be genetically based, in part? What studies

might clarify this?

2. Quakers are low on warmongering. What other groups do you think would be?

3. Some leaders, such as Yasser Arafat and Henry Kissinger, have won Nobel Peace Prizes at one point in their careers but manifested apparent warmongering attitudes at another point. How can we explain this? Does this reflect an environmental or social effect on the manifestation of the warmongering disposition?

## **Chapter 11**

### **Warmongering by Any Other Name: Definitions, defensive warriors and pacifists.**

What is the definition of “warmongering”?

What is the psychological difference between preemptive war, defensive war and pacifism and how many people represent these three stances?

#### **Definite definition.**

As I was writing this book I had friends read the drafts. Not infrequently they made comments about the concept of warmongering, asking what I meant by it. When I explained what I meant, they expressed concern about its grisly nature. One questioned whether such a trait really exists, even after reading the manuscript.

This concept and trait is so central to much of my research that it bears discussion.

The Eidelsons postulate that five worldviews underlie major conflicts between peoples. When my initial study of these worldviews yielded results that implied a positive relationship between these worldviews and war-like attitudes, it seemed natural to develop a measure of “endorsement of war” to explore how the worldviews relate to this.

I looked up the definition of “warmonger” in Webster’s dictionary, and found:  
“One who stirs up or advocates war”.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the act of doing this is “warmongering.”

This seemed to be “endorsement of war”, so it is the term I used to describe my questionnaire measure of this trait. One of my friends complained that warmongering was an

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<sup>12</sup> Ref. Webster’s II New College Dictionary, Houghton Mifflin Co, Boston, New York, 1999.

outdated, archaic term. However, war is still very much with us. My friend could come up with no better term for the act of stirring up or advocating war.

Another observer who was uncomfortable with the term “warmongering” asked me to provide a synonym for it. I offered “aggressive self-interest”, which the observer liked. But I pointed out that this term really didn’t do justice to warmongering, for successful professional athletes and business tycoons can be said to have achieved fame and fortune by “aggressive self-interest”. Such fame and fortune is pro-social, not antisocial. Warmongering is the epitome of antisocial behavior.

Regarding warmongering’s grisly nature, I pointed out that war *is* a grisly business. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a more grisly human behavior. To paraphrase Shakespeare (“a rose by any other name would smell as sweet”), warmongering by any other name would still be grisly and gruesome behavior. If this was my topic, then I should call a spade a spade.

As to the question whether warmongering exists as a psychological human trait, if one can develop a reliable questionnaire measure consisting of statements that directly and vividly speak to the essence of warmongering and demonstrate that this measure relates as expected to other measures, the trait must exist. The reader who raised this question was a retired minister. Perhaps he has difficulty acknowledging the darker side of human behavior.

To validate the violence-proneness questionnaire (the At Risk for Violence test) 8 items were included that directly and vividly reflect endorsement of homicide as a way to solve personal problems. This proved to be a productive initial validation scale for the concept of violence-proneness.

A researcher will not have ready access to a large group of actual warmongers, such as Hitler, Pol Pot and Slobodan Milosovek, to study warmongering behavior directly. Therefore, other methods must be employed. Developing a reliable and valid questionnaire measure of the trait of warmongering seems a practical approach.

A related question some readers might ask is “How can you know that you are measuring warmongering when you haven’t studied any warmongers directly?”

If you have a reliable and valid measure of the trait of warmongering and it has room at the top of its range for scores higher than those obtained on persons of antisocial disposition but not actually warmongers, then the room at the top is available for warmongers. Insights gained by studying the relationship between this measure and other behaviors are very likely to reveal the mechanisms or dynamics of warmongering in actual warmongers, whom we can expect would have the highest scores.

To paraphrase, if we have a reliable and valid measure of intelligence and find that higher scores on this measure are positively related to success in school studies and careers, then it would be reasonable to expect that geniuses, defined as persons with extremely high intelligence, would have the highest scores on the measure of intelligence and have very high school grades and exceptional performance in careers. We could reasonably assume this even without having

included any geniuses in our initial studies.

### **Operational definition.**

In psychology, we go beyond dictionary definitions. We speak of “operational” definitions. By this we mean a concept is defined by the operations by which one measures it. In the case of a concept measured by questionnaire, the questionnaire items themselves constitute the definition. In the case of my definition of warmongering, the questionnaire items can be studied to gain an understanding of what the concept “warmongering” means.

Here are the items in one of my longest measures of warmongering. It has a reliability of .95. All of the items correlate significantly at the .01 level or better with the total score for this scale. The 10 asterisked items constitute a short measure of warmongering with a reliability of .93. The item numbers are as they appear in a research instrument that includes other measures. Item 133 is the first of the warmongering items.

- 133. I feel like getting even with or retaliating against people who have mistreated me.
- \*134. My national government should do what best serves our nation’s interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.
- 135. Our nation should be governed by the principle: “Might makes right; survival of the fittest.”
- 137. I would like to fly a military jet fighter plane and shoot its cannons.
- \*138. President Bush was justified in attacking Iraq and tracking down Saddam Hussein.
- 139. If I were President, I would want to have a good supply of nuclear weapons and powerful military forces that could deliver them at my command.
- 140. If I were the leader of a nation, I would be willing to take strong measures to repress persons in my country who opposed my leadership.
- 141. Nazi Germany was justified in invading other countries in World War II.
- 142. Our country should avoid going to war at all costs. (Reverse scored.)
- 143. Our country should go to war whenever we think our access to resources in other countries is threatened.
- 145. I like to play combat video games.
- 146. I would resent being drafted to fight in almost any kind of war for my nation. (Reverse scored.)
- 147. Military leaders who start wars that kill many civilians indiscriminately should be tried as war criminals. (Reverse scored.)
- 148. If questionnaires like the one I have just taken could reliably identify persons who are interested in starting wars, then candidates for national political office in my country should have to pass them to make sure they do not get elected. (Reverse scored.)
- 149. Ethnic cleansing, to rid the world of undesirable types of people, is a justified aspect of wars.
- 150. Military battles are a noble and glorious activity.
- 151. I would rather have an ex-military general for President of our nation than a non-military person.
- 152. In war, it is reasonable to kill many enemy civilians by bombing cities to lower morale.
- 153. It is reasonable to let prisoners of war starve if food is scarce.
- \*154. It is more reasonable to spend money for a stronger military force than for a national health care program.
- \*155. It is wiser to spend more money for a strong military than for non-military peace-promoting

foreign aid, trade, student exchanges and tourism.

156. It is reasonable to use prisoners of war as slave laborers during time of war.

157. If a nation has problems due to a growing population it is more reasonable for them to conquer other nations by war for more space and resources than to control the size of their population.

158. If a citizen refuses to fight in his nation's war because he is a pacifist, he should be considered a traitor.

\*159. It is more honorable to serve one's nation as a warrior in combat than as an anti-war protester.

\*160. The United States should have stuck it out in South Viet Nam until it won the war.

\*161. The United States was justified in killing off Native American Indians and taking control of their land.

\*162. Centuries ago, the Spaniards were justified in killing natives in Central and South America to get their silver and gold.

163. Centuries ago, the Romans were justified in invading and conquering Europe and Great Britain to expand the Roman Empire.

A good reason for our nation going to war is to...

164. ...defeat the military forces of another nation.

\*165. ...kill enemy soldiers and civilians in order to reduce population numbers so there are more resources for the people of our nation.

\*167. ...assure access to whatever raw materials, such as oil, we need from other nations.

These items reveal the meaning of "warmongering" as a psychological trait. One could argue that there are other statements that might reflect warmongering. This is true, but this does not invalidate the present items. We don't have to have all possible items to have a reliable and valid measure of something. No single intelligence test includes all possible intelligence measuring items. No driver's exam includes all possible driver skill test questions. If a test includes an appropriate array of items, broadly sampling what is understood to be the concept in question, and if the items are of sufficient number and content to provide a reliable and valid measure, then the instrument is sound.

### **Defending warmongering from attack.**

One could argue that the items in my questionnaire are written by me and therefore not necessarily representative of the "true" meaning of warmongering. A career soldier who has fought in many wars might write different items. A professor at a war college, such as the West Point Military Academy, might write different items.

This may be so, but via established techniques for item selection, we can assure a reliable instrument, regardless of who writes the original items. The writer should have a reasonably good understanding of the concept. I served in the Army for three years and have read many books and articles about wars, seen movies about them and talked to soldiers who have killed and seen others killed in combat. My items reflect this experience.

Once items are written, the best ones can be identified by research. The items are administered to a sample of persons. Their responses are analyzed statistically, as by looking at the

correlations between each item, other items and the total concept score on the items. Items that correlate highly with the total score but only modestly with other items are good ones and are kept. Bad ones are discarded. The reliability of the instrument will be high if a sufficient number of good items is retained. The reliability is measured by a statistic, usually the alpha coefficient. If it is high, the instrument is reliable.

If a warmongering questionnaire of good items correlates as expected with other measures, such as the violence-proneness scale, and shows expected differences between peace-advocating Quakers versus criminals, then it has a reasonable degree of validity.

One can point out that there is a difference between a questionnaire measure of a psychological trait, the actual thinking of the person filling out the questionnaire and the actual daily behavior of that person. There may not be a direct correspondence between these three. How can one be confident that the questionnaire score accurately reflects what is in the mind and what will occur as behavior?

Research psychologists answer these questions by validity studies. We do not have to have perfect correspondence between these three different manifestations of a trait to have a valid and valuable measuring tool. Not all men 7 feet tall have the same skill as basketball players. But by studying the relationship between height and rebounding we can learn valuable information that can help us choose candidates for a basketball team.

We don't have to be able to predict the exact thoughts and behaviors of a specific person to learn about the tendencies toward certain behaviors. If we know a person has elevated scores on a valid measure of violence-proneness, we can decide more intelligently if that person should be hired as a prison guard, police officer or airport baggage handler.

If we know a politician has tendencies toward warmongering, we can make more intelligent decisions about selecting that person for office.

Once we have a reliable and valid measure of warmongering, we can ask research questions:

1. Do persons who read or write war novels have elevated scores on warmongering?
2. Do persons who enjoy and watching war movies and playing combat video games have elevated scores on warmongering?
3. Will persons engaged in war-related activities have elevated scores? E.g. defense contractors, fighter pilots, infantrymen and arms-manufacturers.
4. Do politicians who vote for war-related activities have higher scores?
5. Do warmongers prefer autocratic forms of government over democratic forms?
6. Do warmongers have political foreign policies different from non-warmongers?
7. Do warmongers have human rights attitudes different from non-warmongers?
8. Do warmongers differ from non-warmongers in attitudes about arms treaties, the United Nations, global warming and sustainable programs?
9. Do warmongers differ from others in intelligence, age and gender?
10. Do warmongers differ from non-warmongers in their preferred religious beliefs?



As you will see in the chapters ahead, my studies have provided answers to several of these questions. Indeed, here is a partial answer to question number 2, about whether persons higher on warmongering enjoy playing combat video games. In the questionnaire discussed above item 145 is “I like to play combat video games”. This item correlates .49 with the total score for this scale, significant at the .000 level. This implies that the answer to question 2 is “Yes”.

A doubter might offer a challenge: “I know a teenager who likes to play combat video games and I’m sure he isn’t a warmonger. Therefore, why should I think a person high on your warmongering scale is really any different than anyone else?”

There are persons who endorse a few items in the above scale but not most of them. They would get a low overall score on warmongering. But a person who endorses most of the items is different from one who endorses only a few.

What sort of score do you imagine a suicide bomber in Iraq would get? What score would Osama Bin Laden get? If Bin Laden was trying to recruit U.S. baggage handlers or airline pilots to commit another terrorist act, like the one at the World Trade Center, would he seek persons with high or low scores on such a questionnaire?

If there was one commercial airline pilot who endorsed most of the items in the above scale and another who did not and you had a choice to fly across the country with one or the other pilot at the controls of your plane, would you choose one over the other? If you knew that one airline screened all its baggage handlers with a questionnaire measuring warmongering attitudes and another that used no warmongering or other such screen for employees, would that influence which airline you chose to fly on?

### **Three Attitudes toward War; warriors by two other names.**

I have shared my findings with various lay and professional friends and colleagues. A professor at the University of Oregon, Holly Arrow, is particularly interested in and teaches classes on the psychology of war. Reviewing my findings, she suggested there might be another type of willingness to fight in wars, a type separate from “warmongering”.

To test her hypothesis, we collaborated on a study. She wrote 20 questionnaire items in Likert scale format to measure various war attitudes. I wrote 9 items in three clusters of three to measure warmongering, defensive war fighting and pacifism respectively. My tenth item asked persons which type of person they were most like, based on the 9 items they had just responded to (preemptive warring, defensive warring and pacifism).

We administered these items to 238 university students enrolled in psychology classes in the Winter term, 2005. They ranged in age from 17 to 52 with a mean of 20.4 and a standard deviation of 4.3 years. 46% were freshmen, 24% sophomores, 20% juniors, 9% seniors and 1.3 percent others. Ethnically, 81% were Caucasian, 6.7% Asian/Pacific Islanders, 4.2% Hispanic and 8% mixed or unknown.

When I did a factor analysis of all 29 items, looking for how the items clustered together psychologically, the main factor, accounting for 27 percent of the variance (information), appeared

to be a defensive or protective war fighting factor of the sort Holly had hypothesized. This factor had strongest positive correlations with these four items:

If innocent people are being killed, going to war may be necessary.  
Military force is unfortunately necessary to combat some threats.  
War is necessary to combat evil.  
War can make the world a better place.

The factor had strongest negative correlations with these items, with which the person of this type would tend to disagree:

I would refuse to fight in any wars, as I think peaceful means should always be used to resolve conflicts.  
It is better to endure oppression than to fight.  
War is never a legitimate activity of civilized people.

This factor appears to embody an attitude of willingness to fight wars to protect people from being ravaged or threatened by warmongers. It appears to be the attitude that motivated most Americans to fight in World Wars I and II. It appears to be a “defensive war” factor, as proposed by Dr. Arrow.

The second factor, accounting for 10 percent of variance appeared to be my warmongering factor, a preemptive warring attitude. Its highest positive items were:

Military battles are a noble and glorious activity.  
War is a reasonable way to assure access to resources needed for a nation.  
We need to kill our enemies before they attack us.  
Killing enemy noncombatants is okay if it keeps our soldiers safe.

Its highest negative items, with which this type of person would disagree, were:

There is nothing heroic about war.  
The costs of war are very high, and the benefits uncertain.

This factor appears to reflect the attitude that motivated Hitler and has motivated other hostile leaders who have instigated preemptive war for self-aggrandizement.

To study the three clusters of three items each, I did another factor analysis of just them and found a preemptive warring factor, an “acquisitive/survival of the fittest/ assure access to resources factor” and an “avoidance, let the U.N. handle problems” factor.

I was curious about how many of these students would fall in different categories of this sort. My tenth questionnaire item asked them to indicate which of three types of person they were, the types described by these three clusters of items:

Preemptive warring:

21. Military battles are a noble and glorious activity.
22. War is nature’s way to assure survival of the fittest members of the human race.
23. War is a reasonable way to assure access to resources needed for a nation.

Defensive warring:

24. While I do not like war, I would be willing to support defensive military action to protect our country if attacked.

25. War is reasonable if necessary to protect trade routes for commerce between nations, for the benefit of all nations.

26. While war may be necessary occasionally to restore peace, nations should strive for a war-free world in the future.

War avoidance/pacifist:

27. Wars should never be initiated by individual nations but only by the United Nations to keep the peace.

28. I would refuse to support any wars, as I think peaceful means should always be used to resolve conflicts.

29. War is never a legitimate activity of civilized peoples.

The students chose which of these three types they were most like, with these results:

A. Preemptive warring type: 5.2 percent

B. Defensive warring type: 69.4 percent

C. War avoidance/pacifist type: 25.5 percent

To double check this, I ran correlations between their answers to this question and their responses to the items in these three clusters. I totaled their scores for the three items in each cluster to create three scores: representing preemptive, defensive and pacifist types.

Correlations between scores and self-descriptions. 238 University Students.

	Said "Type A"	Said "Type B"	Said "Type C"
A. Item 21-23 score, "Preemptive warring".	.17*	.24**	-.34**
B. Item 24-26 score, "Defensive warring."	-.15*	.53**	-.49**
C. Item 27-29 score, "Pacifist"	-.26**	-.39**	.55**

I expected to see a strong correspondence between the scores and the self statements. In the Said "Type A" column, we see the expected *positive* and significant correlation between the self-categorization and the score on items 21-23 (.17) and corresponding *negative* correlations with the other types, B (-.15) and C (-.26). Persons who said they were type A got higher scores on the corresponding type A score than on the scores for types B and C.

We see roughly similar results for types B and C, with the highest positive correlation for Said B with the Type B score (.53) and the highest positive correlation for Said C with the Type C score (.55).

It interesting that the correlation for Said A with Type A was rather low (.17) compared to the other two: Said B (.53) and Said C (.55). Could it be that type A persons are prone to covering up their true identity when asked directly if they are preemptive warring types, “warmongers”? Or are some persons prone to warmongering simply unaware of this fact?

To look for an answer, I computed the mean item score for each person on each of the 3-item scores (21-23, 24-26 and 27-28). Then I calculated the percent of persons with scores of 3.5 or higher on each of these three types and compared them to the percentage who “Said” they were that type in item 29. 3.5 is the upper end of the Neutral range (which spans from 2.5 to 3.5 when averaging scores over several items).

	Percent who said they were this type	Number who had mean item scores of 3.5 or higher and percent of total for that group.
Type A. Preemptive warring.	5.2	4.7, percent = 5.8
Type B. Defensive warring.	69.4	57.2, percent = 70.0
Type C. Pacifist.	25.5	19.4, percent = 23.9

Thus, we see a very close correspondence between the scores on the three clusters of items, A, B and C, and the self-categorizations as to which of these three categories people fell in. This doesn’t help explain the relatively low correlation of .17 for category A but does provide two separate and compatible measures of how many people fall in each of these three general categories of attitudes toward war.

5 percent of these persons think of themselves as warmongers, 70 percent as only defensive warriors and 25 percent as pacifists. Warmongers are a distinct minority.

Dr. Arrow did factor analyses too, using different techniques, but arrived at essentially similar factors.

We’ll revisit this issue in a later chapter.

### **Summary.**

Warmongering appears from research data to be well-defined by questionnaires used in the studies cited. A reliable measure of this trait permits further research to explore what warmongering is related to, how it is formed and how it can be changed.

Warmongers appear to be in a minority, representing only 5% of the young adult population. Most Americans do not advocate preemptive war.

**How well-defined is the concept “warmongering”?**

By standard procedures used by researchers to define psychological concepts, warmongering is well defined. It can be measured with questionnaires of high reliability which correlate as expected with other measures.

**What is the psychological difference between preemptive war, defensive war and pacifism and how many people represent these three stances?**

Preemptive war is war for imposing one’s will on others for selfish ends. About 5% of the population of warrior age (early adulthood) sees themselves as of this type. Defensive war is for protecting oneself against preemptively warring nations or groups. About 70% of the population sees themselves as of this type. Pacifism is the preference for no war under any circumstances. 25% of the studied young adults in this study see themselves of this disposition.

**Discussion questions:**

1. Do you agree that warmongering is adequately defined by questionnaires? If not, what other techniques could be used to define it?
2. On which persons would you most like to see scores on the warmongering trait? How could you get them to take a questionnaire? Or would this be impossible?
3. Is there another way their trait could be measured?

**Chapter 12.**  
**Two Types of World Religious Beliefs;**  
**How warmongers worship.**

How many types of basic religious orientations are there?  
Is warmongering associated with one of these?  
Do warmongers endorse human rights?

**Religion under the microscope.**

Wars are often fought in the name of God. Human rights are intimately related to religious beliefs, as human rights are often grossly violated during wars. How can wars be justified as holy acts when human rights are violated? Is the warmongering trait related to religious beliefs and attitudes about human rights? These questions can be answered by research. .

I wrote questionnaire items to measure religious beliefs taken from the world religions and human rights taken from three charters. I including them along with my measure of warmongering and items measuring several additional dimensions. This questionnaire was lengthy, having 185 items measuring the following traits:

<u>Number of items</u>	<u>Topic</u>
2	General world views.
24	Religious beliefs from the major world religions
3	Characteristics of an ideal god/God.
3	Aspects of definition of god/God.
11	Human rights from the United Nations Charter of Human Rights.
13	Human rights from the World Religions Charter.
16	Human rights from the Earth Charter.
4	Ethical principles of Rotary International, the “Four-Way Test”.
5	Types of government (as in prior questionnaires).
15	Characteristics of political leaders.
6	Trust in political leaders.
5	Citizen participation in government.

9	National budget preferences.
4	Political party types.
12	Foreign policy preferences.
36	Warmongering attitudes.
5	The Big Five personality traits.
12	A verbal intelligence measure.

This chapter will focus primarily on the study findings about religion, human rights and warmongering. The rest will be presented in later chapters.

A sample of 47 community college students complete this questionnaire in return for extra credit and a written summary of study findings. The students ranged in age from 18 to 55, mean 27, standard deviation 10 years. 37% were males. They averaged 14 years of education.

### **Two basic religious types.**

I first studied the data for the two worldview items, 24 religion items and 6 items defining aspects of the concept god/God. I did what is called a “factor analysis”, studying these items to see if they tended to group together. There were two groups. From these I was able to create two scales. One had 17 items, the other 13. By studying the content of the items, I named them the Fundamentalist and Kindly Religious Beliefs scales. They measure two basic orientations humans have toward religious beliefs. As you will see in subsequent chapters, I repeated this study with many other groups, finding essentially the same results. The implication of the same results occurring over many groups is that these two religious types appear to be deeply ingrained human traits.

### **The Fundamentalist type.**

Persons with high scores on the fundamentalist scale tend to agree with these statements, most of which are paraphrased beliefs taken from the major religions of the world:  
 The peoples of all nations should compete with each other in business, trade and, if necessary, war, to let the ‘best nation win’.  
 There is only one true god (or God) which all people of the world should worship.  
 All religions which do not ascribe to the statement immediately above are wrong.  
 One should submit to the will of god (or God).  
 One should submit to the will of religious or political leaders who say they know what god (or God) wants.  
 Unquestioning loyalty to superiors, including political leaders, is appropriate.  
 Honoring and respecting parents and elders is appropriate.  
 God (or god) is vengeful and punishes wrongdoers.  
 God is the creator of the universe and everything in it, including people.

Persons with high scores on the fundamentalist scale tend to disagree with these statements:  
 Meditating on feelings of personal inner serenity is appropriate.  
 Any specific personal religious beliefs are appropriate and acceptable as long as they respect human dignity and welfare.  
 One should help others who are less fortunate or are suffering.  
 Experiencing life as a good person is more important than practicing rituals or believing certain

ideas or obeying any codes of fixed rules, “dos” and “don’ts”.

One cannot and should not own the land.

God is an abstract concept, a creation of humans to help them live constructively with each other.

God can be well-defined simply as the spirit of human kindness and love.

God takes many forms that guide the religious lives of many different peoples around the world.

### **Altemeyer and Hunsaker’s Religious Fundamentalism.**

This concept of fundamentalist religious thinking is similar to that of Altemeyer and Hunsaker, who define their concept, Religious Fundamentalism, from study of religious beliefs other than by factor analysis.<sup>13</sup> They define religious fundamentalism as “the belief that there is one set of religious teachings that clearly contains the fundamental, basic, intrinsic, essential, inerrant truth about humanity and deity; that this truth is fundamentally opposed by the forces of evil which must be vigorously fought; that this truth must be followed today according to the fundamental, unchangeable practices of the past; and that those who believe and follow these fundamental teachings have a special relationship with the deity.”

The items in Altemeyer’s Religious Fundamentalism (RF) scale reflect this content. The RF scale has been found to correlate positively with Right Wing Authoritarianism (between .66 to .75), a measure of prejudice (.30) and rejection of homosexuals (.41). This scale correlates negatively with years of education (-.20), as does the Right Wing Authoritarianism scale (-.28). Persons who endorse Religious Fundamentalism and Right Wing Authoritarianism tend to have less education than those who don’t.

To compare my Religious Fundamentalism scale with Altemeyer’s, I included Altemeyer’s in a subsequent study, which I will report in a later chapter.

### **The Kindly Religious Type.**

The second type of religious orientation I termed the Kindly Religious (KR) type. Persons with high scores on the Kindly Religion scale tend to agree with these items:

The peoples of all nations should learn to live peacefully together, resolving differences not by economic or military might but by discussion, working together, increasing understanding of one another and compromising.

Violence toward one’s fellow humans is not appropriate.

Stealing from one’s fellow humans is not appropriate.

Lying, slander and tattling are not appropriate.

Killing other people is not appropriate.

One should love his neighbor as himself and treat others as he would like to be treated.

One should not treat others they way he would not want to be treated.

Using a god’s name as an excuse for or justification of evil against one’s fellow man is

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13 Religious Fundamentalism, Right-Wing Authoritarianism, and Hostility Toward Homosexuals in Non-Christian Religious Groups, Bruce Hunsberger, *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 6(1), 39-49, 1996.)



inappropriate.

One should forgive rather than retaliate against wrongdoers.

One should help others who are less fortunate or are suffering.

Feeling envy or jealousy is inappropriate.

Experiencing life as a good person is more important than practicing rituals or believing certain ideas or obeying any code of fixed rules, “dos” and “dons”.

One cannot and should not own the land.

There are no items in the present batch that the Kindly religion person tends to strongly disagree with.

### **Eric Fromm’s Authoritarian and Humanistic Religion Types:**

These two types of religious beliefs parallel two primary ones proposed by psychiatrist Eric Fromm.<sup>14</sup> He used the ideas in his book for lectures at Yale University. Fromm’s thinking is not based on empirical research but on readings in psychoanalysis, philosophy, anthropology and religion. Nevertheless, his two types of religion are strikingly similar to the empirically based ones that I found.

Fromm describes what he terms the authoritarian and humanistic types of religion. In the authoritarian type, Fromm says God is seen as an authoritative, controlling force and power to be obeyed by humans in complete subservience. Secular forms of this religion, such as embodied in the politics of Nazi Germany, reflect this same blind obedience of and subservience to authority, the “Führer”, the Father of the people. Alleged ends justify every means.

In contrast, Fromm’s humanistic type of religion supposes that man must think for himself, developing his own power of reason. Reference to facts and to one’s own reason and feelings leads to truth for each individual person. Virtue is not blind subservience to the dictates of authority but self-realization. Virtue is also found in love of self, one’s fellow humans and all life forms.

Fromm’s ideas and my empirically derived religious factors suggest that there are two fundamentally different types of religious belief systems. These appear to be represented in different specific religious sects throughout the world. Hunsberger, for example, has found that religious fundamentalism can be reliably measured in several major religious faiths: Muslim, Hindu, Jewish and Christian. Presumably the AKindly Religious@ dimension is also present throughout the world.

### **Gerard Saucier’s Spiritual Beliefs Types.**

A sophisticated scientific research into human belief systems was conducted by professor Gerard Saucier at the University of Oregon in my town.<sup>15</sup> I showed him my two religious types and he shared his findings with me. He studied words in the dictionary ending in “-ism”, such as materialism, deism, Marxism and authoritarianism. He had over 800 persons complete

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14 Fromm, Eric, *Psychoanalysis and Religion*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1950, p. 26 ff.

15 Saucier, G. (2000). Isms and the structure of social attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78, 366-385.

questionnaires and did factor analyses to see if there were clusters of beliefs. His approach was similar to Dr. Goldberg’s approach for finding the Big Five personality traits starting with adjectives from dictionaries.

Gerard found four basic spiritual beliefs types. I did a study of 92 community college students to compare Gerard’s four belief types with my two.<sup>16</sup> He labeled his factors Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta. In the writeup of my study, I describe Gerard’s types as follow, based on the content of the items in his scales:

Alpha: Religious fundamentalism. Characterized by strict and literal code of religion and morality, organized religious practices, belief in an all powerful god, belief that religion and politics should be melded, and disbelief in biological evolution.

Beta: Selfish materialism. Includes endorsement of these beliefs: Physical well-being and worldly possessions are the greatest good and highest value of life, Everything can be explained simply in terms of physical matter and phenomena, and that one’s own ethnic group is superior.

Gamma: Rational/Scientific Humanism. Includes beliefs that emphasize reason, scientific inquiry, facts and truth based on observable data, concern with economic growth combined with social justice, and devotion to country.

Delta: Eclectic spirituality: Belief in supreme beings of many forms, vital forces, spiritual realities beyond the senses, conscious life in natural objects such as stones and trees, anthropomorphic views and the ability of the dead to communicate with living beings through mediums.

I ran correlations between scores for the six belief types, with the following results:

Correlations between Saucier and McConochie Belief Types. N = 78

	<u>Rel. Fun.</u>	<u>Kindly</u>	<u>Alpha</u>	<u>Beta</u>	<u>Gamma</u>	<u>Delta</u>
Rel. Fun.	1.00	-.26*	.70**	-.03	.19	-.34**
Kindly		1.00	-.10	-.40**	-.12	.19
Alpha			1.00	-.11	-.01	-.26*
Beta				1.00	.18	.14
Gamma					1.00	.09

Thus, my Religious Fundamentalism type appears as Gerard’s Alpha belief type. His Beta type (Selfish Materialism) is somewhat the antithesis of my Kindly Religious type.

I then ran correlations between the belief types and Warmongering, Human Rights endorsement and other variables included in my study. 78 of the 92 persons had completed all measures.

Correlations between Spiritual Belief Types and Other Variables. N = 78.

<u>Trait</u>	<u>I.Q.</u>	<u>Warmonger-ing</u>	<u>Positive foreign policy</u>	<u>Sustainable programs</u>	<u>Human Rights</u>

16 McConochie, Wm. A., Comparing a Two-Factor Theory of Religious Beliefs to a Four-Factor Theory of Isms, February, 2006, unpublished research paper.

Religious Fundamental.	-.10	.61**	-.42**	-.55**	-.55**
Alpha	-.22	.39**	-.32**	-.18	-.14
Kindly Religious	.36**	-.55**	.41**	.40**	.49**
Beta	-.28*	.30**	-.29*	-.19	-.15
Gamma	.13	.19	-.04	-.16	-.08
Delta	.08	-.24*	.27*	.30**	.25*

Five of the six religious and spiritual beliefs traits correlated significantly with the four politically relevant traits. The Religious Fundamentalism and Alpha traits had correlations that are roughly similar, implying that these two traits are similar.

The Kindly Religious trait and the Beta traits had correlations in the opposite direction of each other, implying that Saucier's Beta trait, Selfish Materialism, may be to some degree the inverse of my Kindly Religious trait.

The Gamma trait (Rational/Scientific Humanism) had no significant correlations with the politically relevant traits.

The Delta trait (Eclectic spirituality) correlations were similar to those of the Kindly trait, but less strong.

Both of my traits correlated substantially with the four politically relevant traits while three of Gerard's traits did. The mean absolute correlation for my two traits was .57. For the 4 Saucier attitudes it was .22.

The correlations between the 6 beliefs traits most notably showed my Religious Fundamentalism correlating .70\*\* with Alpha, and Kindly Beliefs -.40\*\* with Beta. Thus, we again see evidence for the central importance of religious fundamentalism as one basic religious tendency for humans. The other one appears to be the Kindly Beliefs trait. Note the frequency with which these two traits were held by the 78 persons in this study.

Frequency of Beliefs Held. N = 78.

Belief type	Percent holding Beliefs
Alpha	9.0
Beta	2.6
Gamma	42.9
Delta	21.8
Religious Fund.	11.2
Kindly Beliefs	87.5
Religiosity	19.5

The belief systems held most prominently by this sample of 78 persons were Kindly Beliefs (88%) and Gamma beliefs (Rational/Scientific Humanism) (43%), with Delta (“Eclectic spirituality”) a distant third (22%). Fundamentalism and Alpha were held by 11% and 9% respectively. Beta beliefs (Selfish materialism) were held by only 3%. The percentages of 88 and 11 for Kindly and Fundamentalist beliefs respectively are similar in this study to those in other studies I did.

I checked the political significance of these traits in different ways. Note for example how using clusters of these traits and other traits enables one to predict warmongering and human rights.

Multiple Correlations between Clusters of Traits and Political/Social Traits

<u>War- mong.</u>	<u>Human Rights.</u>	<u>Traits used to predict.</u>
.48 (.001)	.35 (.054)	Alpha, Beta, Gamma and Delta
.73 (.000)	.60 (.000)	Religious Fundamentalism and Kindly Beliefs
.36 (.084)	.30 (.260)	Big 5 personality traits.
.60 (.001)	.54 (.006)	All 10 Emotion-handling skills.
.80 (.000)	.68 (.000)	Verbal I.Q., Big 5, Religious Fundamentalism, Kindly Religious, Positive Feeling Skill Total, Negative Feeling Skill Total.

Thus, in this study, my two religious beliefs were a more powerful basis for predicting politically and socially relevant traits (.60 and .73) than were the four Saucier spiritual beliefs (.34 and .48).

I concluded from this study that my Religious Fundamentalism and Kindly Beliefs types are of central importance in understanding human behavior, especially in terms of politically and socially relevant attitudes.

### **Incompatibility of Fundamentalist and Kindly religion types.**

We can expect persons strongly oriented to these two types of religion will not see eye to eye, in part because several key items in the two scales measuring them are directly opposed. For example, Fundamentalists think nations should compete, by war if necessary, while Kindly types think nations should live peacefully together, resolving conflicts by non-military means. Fundamentalists believe God is vengeful and punishes wrongdoers. Kindly types think one should forgive rather than retaliate against wrongdoers. Thus, political administrations populated heavily with Fundamentalists are likely to have foreign policies very different from administrations populated with Kindly types.

We can imagine that persons strongly oriented to these two religious types are likely to see those of the opposite type to be wrong and have difficulty changing their viewpoint to embrace or understand the other. Each type has its own religious values, but the values differ. Each will see its actions, including wars it might support, as justifiable under its religious principles.

We can imagine that the worldviews of these two orientations are likely to be rather stubbornly predictable, regardless of objective reality. Fundamentalists are likely to always see

danger and justification for military spending and preparation for war, if not an immediate need for preemptive war. Kindly types, in contrast, are likely to always see the peaceful, cooperative activities of nations and the need for nurturing and encouraging these and for sharing wealth in helpful programs for other nations. For them, war is probably only to be fought as a way to defend human rights and political freedoms, not to impose political will.

For the sake of nation stability and world peace, however, some constructive understanding between these two basic religious types would be very important. It appears that both these orientations will be preferred by some people in all nations at all times. Therefore, some form of accommodation between them would be important within each nation. For example, a nation could decide to have its foreign policy to be aligned primarily with the Kindly orientation and only under extreme threat permit a switch it to the Fundamental one.

**Checking assumptions about the relationship between religious beliefs types and warmongering.**

Next I explored the relationships between traits. I computed the reliability coefficients for all three scales. 33 of the 36 warmongering items correlated well with the total score for these items and were used for the Warmongering measure in this study. The reliability of this scale was .95, very high. The reliability of the Fundamental religion scale was .83 and of the Kindly scale .81, which are good.

My verbal intelligence measure was a 12-item Information scale modeled after the Information scale of the Wechsler Intelligence test. It correlates .87 with the Wechsler Verbal I.Q. score. It's reliability was .68, for this group, which is not high but proved sufficient.

I ran the correlations between these scales and Age, Gender, Education and Intelligence.

Only the statistically significant correlations are included in the table below:

Correlations between Measures of Religious Types with other Measures. N = 47 adults.

Scale	Age	Gender	Educa-tion.	Intelli-gence.	Funda-mental Religion	Kindly Religion.
Warmon-gering.	-.32*			-.36*	.71**	-.40**
Fund. Religion.				-.36*		
Kindly Religion.		-.31*				

By row, these correlations have the following meanings:

Higher warmongering scores are associated with lower age, lower intelligence, higher

Fundamental religion beliefs (quite strongly) and lower Kindly religion beliefs.

Higher Fundamental religion beliefs are associated with lower intelligence.

Higher Kindly religion beliefs are more likely to be found in women than in men.

The religious beliefs items used in this questionnaire were gleaned from a variety of world religions. The above data suggests that world religions have developed two basic belief clusters, one to appeal to younger, less intelligent persons who are interested in warmongering. This is the Fundamental religion type measured by the present Fundamental Religion scale. The other type is more likely to appeal to women and to persons not interested in warmongering. This is the Kindly Religion type.

If the above findings are confirmed in samples of more diverse and larger populations, they provide additional clues to guide citizens in selecting persons for political office. If citizens are interested in avoiding war, they would be wise to avoid electing to public office persons who are young, not intelligent and of the Fundamentalist religious type as defined by the items in the scale measuring this type. Candidates of the Kindly religious type would be a plus. Females would seem more likely to be pro-social politicians than males.

### **A measure of human rights endorsement.**

All of the 44 human rights items included in this study correlated significantly with a total score for all the human rights items. All 44 items were used as a measure of human rights endorsement, which had a reliability of .93. Correlations between this scale and the others are presented below. Human rights endorsement did not correlate significantly with age, gender, education or intelligence.

	Fundamentalist religion.	Kindly religion.	Warmongering.
Human rights endorsement.	-.27 (not statistically significant.)	.38**	-.50**

These figures suggest that persons who endorse human rights tend to hold Kindly religion beliefs and tend not to endorse warmongering. There is a not quite statistically significant hint that persons who endorse human rights tend not to hold Fundamentalist religious beliefs.

To give you an idea of what human rights endorsement means in this context, here are the five items of the 44 in this scale which correlate highest with the total score for the scale. They may be considered “core” items, reflecting the essence of this trait.

EC6 .71 We should carefully conserve and manage our extraction and use of nonrenewable resources, such as fossil fuels and minerals.

WR4 .65 Everyone has the right *not* to have one’s religion denigrated by public media

or education professionals.

- WR1 .64 Everyone has the right to food, clothing and shelter.
- WR9 .63 Everyone has the right to join or not join a trade union for the protection of worker interests.
- EC11 .62 We should promote local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organizations in decision making at the local, regional and global level.

It may be of interest that 3 of the top 5 items are from the World Religion Charter (WR). Two are from the Earth Charter (EC). None are from the U.N. Charter. All of the 44 items from all three charters and the 4 items from Rotary International were meaningful contributors to this scale; all correlate significantly with the total Human Rights Endorsement score.

This group of 47 adults rather strongly supports human rights. Their average score on all four groups of human rights items from the U.N. Charter, the World Religion and Earth Charters and the Rotary International principles was about 4.4. A “4” means “Agree”, a 5 means “Strongly Agree”. Thus, overall, these adults agree with human rights principles from a variety of authorities on the subject. We can tentatively assume this will be true of adults in general, as there is no reason to think this particular sample is not typical.

**Basic Personality Traits.**

The Big 5 personality traits had a good spread of scores from 1 or 2 up to 7, providing enough reliability to show relationships with the other variables. Only the statistically significant ones are presented:

	Extroverts.	Agreeable.	Conscient.	Stability	Openness
FundamentReligion	.42**				
Kindly Rel.					
Human Rights Warmong.					-.39**

Thus, the Kindly religious belief measure seems unrelated to basic personality traits, as does the Human Rights measure. Fundamental religious beliefs are associated with extroversion in this sample of persons. It will be interesting to see if this holds up in larger samples of persons. If it does, it may help explain the apparent tendency for persons of the Fundamentalist type to try to prosletize. Higher warmongering is associated with low openness in this sample, suggesting that warmongers tend to be close-minded.

**Summary.**

This chapter presents initial data suggesting that there are two types of religious belief systems that are found throughout the world, are relatively incompatible with each other and are related differently to warmongering, human rights, intelligence and gender. In the next chapter,

we'll explore attitudes about foreign policy, political leadership and public participation in government. Will warmongers and persons of the two religious types have government preferences different from those of the general public?

**How many types of basic religious orientations are there?**

Two. A fundamentalist one and a kindly one.

**Is warmongering associated with one of these?**

Yes, warmongering is strongly associated with the fundamentalist type of religious beliefs.

**Do warmongers endorse human rights?**

No, they tend to disavow human rights. Thus, warmongers are likely to use fundamentalist religious beliefs to justify warring in which they disregard human rights.

**Discussion questions:**

1. Do you personally know people who seem to be of the fundamentalist and kindly religious types? Do you know of churches in your community of these two types? How many people in any given community or nation do you suppose are of these two types? Which are there more of?
2. What dangers do you see in a political leader claiming to be inspired by religion to lead his community or nation? Would you prefer a political leader to not be inspired by religion in the exercise of his or her political duties?
3. Do you suppose that the majority of persons in your nation endorse human rights as strongly as this sample of community college students? Does it surprise you that warmongers do not endorse human rights? Does it surprise you that persons of the kindly religious beliefs type of religion do endorse human rights?



**Chapter 13.**  
**Warmongers versus the Majority:**  
**Conflicting attitudes about foreign policy, leadership and**  
**public participation in government.**

How do warmongers and the general public view foreign policy, government types and government leadership?

Are warmongers and fundamentalists more or less trusting of government leaders than others?

Do warmongers agree with the general public on citizen participation in decision-making and the federal budget?

**Foreign Policy Attitudes.**

Eight of the twelve Foreign Policy attitudes items in the study of forty-seven community college students correlated with a total score for them and formed a reliable scale of foreign policy attitudes. The alpha reliability coefficient was .88. This scale assesses attitudes about relating to foreign nation. The questionnaire asks how strongly persons agree or disagree that our nation should:

- Set limits on our consumption of natural resources.
- Help other countries with peaceful means rather than military ones.
- Promote student and cultural exchanges and tourism.
- Help other countries with medical aid.
- Support the United Nations.
- Help other countries provide jobs, education, etc. to fight local civil war.
- Help other countries develop sustainable communities.
- Agree to international arms and pollution control treaties.

Agreement with these items reflects a positive, helpful, non-domineering and kind attitude toward other nations.

This Positive Foreign Policy Scale correlated with the other scales as follows:

	Warmonger.	Human Rights	Fundamental religion.	Kindly religion.
Pos. Foreign pol.	-.45**	.65**	-.41**	.36*

Thus, persons higher on Warmongering and Fundamentalist religious beliefs tend to disavow a positive foreign policy. Persons higher on the Human Rights Endorsement scale and on the on the Kindly Religious Beliefs scale tend to endorse a positive foreign policy.

If these results hold up on replication of this study with additional samples of persons, the implication is that to promote a positive foreign policy as defined by the items in the present foreign policy scale, one would be wise to elect persons to public office at the national level who are higher on Human Rights and Kindly religion beliefs and lower on Fundamental religious beliefs.

The Foreign Policy scale did not correlate significantly with intelligence, age, gender, education or any of the Big Five personality trait measures.

### Government Type Preferences:

What types of government do the general public endorse most strongly? The questionnaire asks persons how strongly they agree that each of five types of national government are desirable. The levels of support for each of these five types of government were as follow:

Percent who consider it Desirable or very

<u>Desirable.</u>	<u>Government Type</u>
6	Anarchy.
2	Military dictatorship.
17	Monarchy.
32	Tribal democracy.
83	Public democracy.

Several prior studies also included these items. The results for those studies are similar to the results of this study. The details will be presented in a later chapter. In all the studies, by far the greatest support is for “Public democracy”, defined as government serving the best interests of the community overall, including sustainable programs, rather than special interest groups. 83% of the 47 community college students in the present study preferred the public democracy option.

Correlations between these government support items and the other scales in this study were as follow:

	Anarchy	Dictatorshp	Monarchy	Tribal democracy	Public democracy
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Fund Rel		.46**	.53**		
Kindly Rel					
Hum Rts	-.44**	-.37**			.47**
For. Policy					
Warmong.		.48**	.34*	.32*	

By row, these correlations mean:

Persons higher on Fundamental Religious Beliefs tend to endorse both dictatorship and monarchy forms of government. This is perhaps not surprising, as the Fundamental Religious Beliefs scale includes items about submitting without question to religious and political authorities.

Scores on the Kindly Religious Beliefs scale or the Foreign Policy Scale do not predict government type preferences.

Persons higher on Human Rights Endorsement tend to disavow Anarchy and Dictatorship but endorse Public Democracy.

Persons higher on warmongering tend to endorse dictatorship, monarchy and tribal democracy.

### **Leadership Qualities Preferred by Warmongers and by the Public.**

The questionnaire asks for levels of endorsement of 15 qualifications of national political leaders. The warmongering and fundamentalist religious beliefs scales correlated similarly with several items. High scores on these scales were associated with endorsement of these preferred leadership qualities. Warmongers and fundamentalists tend to think this about government leaders: They should be of a certain religion that I prefer.

They should be of a certain ethnic background that I prefer.

They should be willing to support legislation that will do what their major campaign money contributors want them to do, whether that is in the best interest of the nation as a whole or not.

High scores on warmongering and fundamentalist religious beliefs are associated with *disagreement* with these leadership qualities:

They should not have personality traits that would make them likely to start wars.

They should have a reputation for not letting their specific personal religious beliefs color their professional thinking and decisions.

In other words, persons high on warmongering and fundamentalist religious beliefs think it is alright for political leaders to be willing to start wars and make political decisions colored by religious beliefs.

In addition, warmongering is associated with the opinion that political leaders should be trained as lawyers and that they should “be of a certain gender that I prefer”.

In contrast to the preferences of persons high on warmongering and fundamentalist

religious beliefs, persons with higher Kindly Religion Beliefs disavow leadership “of a certain ethnic background that I prefer” and “of a certain gender that I prefer”.

Thus, we can see that the traits of warmongering and religious belief types tend to underlie certain preferences in national leadership characteristics.

To get a flavor of general public opinion on these items, the percent of persons in this sample of forty-seven adults who agree or strongly agree with each of the fifteen preference items in this study are given below:

<u>Percent endorsing.</u>	<u>Item.</u>
13	1. They should be trained as lawyers.
64	2. They should have several years of outstanding employment in a major leadership job.
79	3. They should have at least a 4 year college or university degree.
77	4. They should have taken at least three college level classes in American and world history.
85	5. They should have taken at least 3 courses in government and political science.
81	6. They should have taken at least 2 courses in economics.
79	7. They should have taken at least 5 courses in psychology, sociology, international cultures and world religions.
83	8. They should have taken at least 3 courses in group problem-solving, conflict resolution and mediation.
64	9. They should have at least 5 years of experience in public office at the state government level.
13	10. They should be of a certain religion that I prefer.
4	11. They should be of a certain ethnic background that I prefer.
21	12. They should be of a certain gender that I prefer.
62	13. They should <u>not</u> have personality traits that would make them likely to start wars.
13	14. They should be willing to support legislation that will do what their major campaign money contributors want them to do.
71	15. They should have a reputation for <u>not</u> letting their specific personal religious beliefs color their professional thinking and decisions.

Thus, we can see that the majority of these adults have preferences that contrast sharply with those of persons high on either warmongering or fundamentalist religious belief tendencies. The majority of adults appears to endorse rather high leadership qualification standards. It would be interesting to know how many current U.S. Congresspersons meet these qualifications.

### **Trust in Government Leaders and their Supporters.**

Six questionnaire items ask how much trust one has in government leaders. The answers to each of these six items ranged widely, from 1 to 4 or five, providing reliable measures of each. Thus, significant correlations could be expected if these items relate significantly with other traits or variables. The correlations were as follow:

Item.	Fund Rel	Kindly Rel	Human Rts	Foreign Policy	Warmong.
President	.47**	-	-	-	.56**

Representatives in Congress	.34**	-	-	-	.39**
Senators	.31*	-	-	-	.34*
Lobbyists	.38**	-	-	-	.51**
Cabinet	.52**	-	-	-	.55**
Special interest groups	.28 (not quite sig.)	-	-	-	.44**

Thus, we see an interesting pattern. Higher Fundamental Religious Beliefs and higher Warmongering are associated with trust of all government leaders, and lobbyists and special interest groups that finance their campaigns. Persons higher on Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights and Positive Foreign policy do not necessarily trust or distrust government leaders.

We must keep in mind that this study was done in the Spring of 2004, when President Bush and his administration was in power. He has been described by some as of a somewhat fundamentalist religious orientation and interested in waging war. The above correlations might reflect support of this president and administration because of these perceived traits of this President.

However, we have seen that part of what makes up the Fundamental Religious Belief trait is unquestioning obedience to religious and political leaders who think they know what god/God wants. Therefore, the above statistics may represent a pattern that is independent of any specific political administration and would be present under any administration.

These statistics suggest a dynamic that may help explain the power of warmongering political leaders. They may appeal to citizens of a fundamentalist religious orientation and citizens that tend toward warmongering themselves. Such persons tend to follow leadership obediently, without question. Thus, warmongering political leaders can count on a base of support from citizens of these orientations. We have seen in earlier chapters that younger men with less education and lower verbal intelligence are more likely to endorse warmongering. Therefore, such persons are good candidates for following warmongering leadership.

**Citizen Participation in Government.**

Next, the questionnaire asks persons how strongly they support citizen participation in government. After each item number is the percentage of the 47 adults in this sample that agree or strongly agree with it:

- 103. 85% The government should encourage citizens to be informed, thinking and participating in government decision-making by voting on policies and issues, such as how the national budget is spent and whether gay marriages are legal.
- 104. 19% We as citizens should leave policy decisions up to the President and Congress.
- 105. 4% I personally am not intelligent enough to learn about basic government decisions and vote on policy issues.

106. 9% If our citizens were allowed to vote on Federal government issues, then the votes of persons who have graduated from college should count more than the votes of persons who have not.

107. 17% If our citizens were allowed to vote on Federal government issues, then the votes of persons who have graduate from high school should count more than the votes of persons who have not.

The general public seems to strongly endorse citizen education about and participation in government decision-making, thinks they are intelligent enough to do this and do not think we should trust the President and Congress to do it for us. We do not think such public decision participation should be restricted to just those with a certain level of education.

How do you suppose persons high on the main traits in this study view these issues? The correlations below give us the answer:

<b>Item.</b>	<b>Fund Rel</b>	<b>Kindly Rel</b>	<b>Human Rts</b>	<b>Foreign Policy</b>	<b>Warmong.</b>
103.	-	.32*	.65**	.60**	-.42**
104.	.47**	-.32*	-.44**	-.46**	.61**
105.	-	-	-.34*	-.48**	-
106.	.35*	-.31*	-.36*	-.30*	.51**
107.	-	-.52**	-.33*	-.41**	.32*

There is much information in these figures. Notice first that Fundamental Religious Beliefs and Warmongering tend to have the same pattern on most of the 5 questionnaire items. Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy tend to go together and tend to contrast with the Fundamental Religious and Warmongering pattern.

Then, by questionnaire item, the figures mean:

103. Persons with higher Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy tend to believe that the government should encourage citizens to be informed, thinking, and participating in government decision-making. Warmongers do not.

104. Persons with higher Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy beliefs do not think we should leave policy decisions up to the President and Congress. Persons high on Fundamental Religious Beliefs and Warmongering beliefs do.

105. Of these five types of persons, only those high on Human Rights Beliefs and Positive Foreign Policy beliefs think they are intelligent enough to learn about and vote on government policies.

106. Persons with higher Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy beliefs do not think citizen voting on policies should be restricted to college graduates. Persons high on Fundamental Religious Beliefs and Warmonger beliefs do.

107. Persons with higher Kindly Religious Beliefs, Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy beliefs do not think citizen voting on policies should be restricted to high school graduates. Persons high on Warmonger beliefs do.

Thus, we see a pattern of persons for and against citizen participation in government policy decision-making. Persons who endorse kindly religious beliefs, human rights and a positive foreign policy tend to support citizen participation. Persons high on fundamental religious beliefs and warmongering tend not to support citizen participation. We could expect political leaders of the first type to be more sensitive to public opinion than political leaders of the second type, who are likely to discount public opinion, thinking that they themselves, as leaders, know best.

Next, the questionnaire items ask persons how strongly they support citizen participation in government. The percentages of adults agreeing or strongly agreeing with each of these three items are not in the questionnaire, of course, but are presented for your examination:

108. 92% I would be interested in learning more about the Federal budget issues and casting my vote on how government money should be spent.

109. 47% I would trust the judgment of the voting public more than the judgment of past politicians on deciding how the budget should be spent.

110. 62% I believe the budget votes of the public would more closely indicate the best interests of the nation overall than the budget decisions typically made by politicians in the national government in the past.

Here are the correlations between these items and the major variables:

Item.	Fund Rel	Kindly Rel	Human Rts	Foreign Policy	Warmong..
108.	-	-	.41**	.30*	-.29*
109.	-	-	-	-	-.31*
110.	-.29*	-	-	-	-

Persons higher on Human Rights Endorsement and Positive Foreign Policy tend to support item 108, learning about and casting one's vote as a private citizen on government spending. Warmongers tend not to support this item. 92% of the public appears to.

Nor do warmongers trust the judgment of the public in doing this (item 109). 47% of the public appears to.

Persons higher on Fundamental Religious Beliefs tend not to believe in budget votes by the general public (item 110). 62% of the public does.

### **Citizen Budget Preferences.**

The questionnaire next asks for six opinions about how the national budget should be allocated. The first five of these ask whether the budget in each of five major categories should be increased, decreased or left as is. Here are figures that show the majority preference on each of these categories for this sample of 47 adults:

111. Current military spending:

75% think it should be decreased 5 or 10% or more.

112. Past military spending (for veterans, and interest on borrowed money):

45% think it should be decreased 5 or 10% or more. 40% say "Leave the same".

113. Human resources (health, education, welfare social security, etc.):

62% think it should be increased 5 or 10% or more.

114. General government services (legislative, justice, state department, etc.):

43% think it should be decreased 5 or 10% or more. 43% say "Leave the same".

115. Physical resources (agriculture, commerce, interior dept, national forests, federal communications commission, etc.):

74% think it should be increased 5 or 10% or more.

There was some influence of age and gender on these preferences, with younger males tending to support increased current military spending and younger persons tending to support human resource spending increases.

These data are interesting in that they show a preference for decreased military spending even in a time of war (Iraq), perhaps reflecting an anti-war sentiment. These persons are also interesting in the support of agriculture, commerce, etc. What this reflects is hard to see. It could reflect a concern for a poor job market or a concern for the environment.

### **How warmongers want the national budget handled.**

In rather stark contrast to majority public opinion, here are the correlations that show how warmongers want money spent:

Correlation

between

warmongering

and budget

item

What this means.

- |      |          |  |
|------|----------|--|
| 111. | .75**    | Warmongers want current military spending to be increased.   |
| 112. | .29*     | Warmongers want past military debt spending to be increased. |
| 113. | -.51**   | Warmongers want human services spending to be reduced.       |
| 114. | Not sig. | No meaning.  |
| 115. | -.53**   | Warmongers want physical resources spending to be decreased. |

### **Overall Government Spending Preferences of the Public.**

The next questionnaire item asks for an opinion on overall government spending, after a brief explanation that overspending means debt and higher interest payments.

116. Spend less or more than we take in?

62% think we should spend 5 to 10% less than we take in and pay off the national debt. Younger, less intelligent persons think we should spend more than we take in.

The majority opinion seems to reflect a fiscally wise attitude about how the public wants government money managed.

### **How Warmongers want the Overall Budget Handled.**

116. .32\* Warmongers tend to be comfortable with spending more than we take in, increasing the national debt.

### **Citizen Political Party Preferences.**



Four items in the questionnaire ask how strongly persons would support a political party representing the interests of each of four groups, with these percentage results:

<b>Party type:</b>	<b>Not at all</b>	<b>A little</b>	<b>Some</b>	<b>Much</b>	<b>Very much</b>
Business, etc.	36%	26%	32%	4%	2%
Unions, labor, elderly, etc	6%	4%	38%	34%	17%
Pro-Environment	6%	13%	40%	30%	11%
Best interests of the community overall.	2%	0%	21%	34%	43%

This group of adults do not seem to be “business-oriented” based on their low support for the first party option. However, while 51% clearly support the labor party option, these persons much more strongly support the “Best interests of the community overall” option (74%), consistent with the results reported earlier in this chapter and in prior chapters which have shown strong support for government serving the best interests of the community overall.

What are the political party preferences of persons high on our major traits? To answer this question, I ran correlations between the trait scores and party preference items, with these results:

<b>Party type:</b>	<b>Fundamen religious.</b>	<b>Kindly religious</b>	<b>Human rights end.</b>	<b>Pos. foreign pol.</b>	<b>Warmon-gering.</b>
Pro-business.	.40**	-	-	-	.42**
Pro-labor & needy	-	-	-	-	-.31*
Pro-environment.	-	-	-	-	-.44**
Pro-community overall.	-	-	-	-	-.30*

We see that persons high on fundamental religious beliefs tend to endorse a political party that is pro-business. Warmongers do too, and also are likely to actively oppose political parties that are pro-labor/needy, pro-the environment or pro-the community overall.

### **Summary.**

The results of this chapter are replicated with two additional groups, with similar findings. Therefore, we can be fairly confident in the conclusions we can draw from the findings in this chapter. National government policy seems to reflect some underlying fundamental human

dispositions. Government policy manifest at a given time in a given country is likely to depend to an important degree on which human dispositions are most prominent in the politicians who are currently in office. The dispositions are warmongering and two religious orientations, a fundamentalist one and a kindly one.

Warmongers differ from the majority of the public on many issues. They tend not to support a national foreign policy that is positive, constructive and helpful. The majority of the public does. Warmongers tend to endorse dictatorships, monarchies and tribal democracy. The general public prefers public democracy representing the best interests of the community overall.

Warmongers and fundamentalists tend to trust U.S. government leadership and the lobbyists and special interest groups that support them financially and seek their favor. In contrast persons who endorse human rights, kindly religious beliefs and a positive foreign policy may, but may not.

Warmongers do not endorse citizen participation in government policy decision-making, preferring to depend on government leaders to make such decisions. In contrast, persons who endorse kindly religious beliefs, human rights and a positive foreign policy do endorse such citizen participation and do not think policy decisions should be left up to political leaders. The general public appears to be quite interested in more direct participation in government decision-making.

Similarly, warmongers are not interested in making national budget decisions or trusting the public to do so. Warmongers differ clearly from the general public, wanting military spending increased and being willing to increase the national debt to do so. They oppose increased spending in areas the public supports, such as human services and physical resources.

Finally, warmongers, in contrast to the general public, are supportive of a pro-business political party but opposed to parties the public more strongly supports, especially a pro-community overall party.

How can we make use of all that we have learned about the warmongering trait to protect communities? This will be explored in the next chapter.

### **How do warmongers and the general public view foreign policy, government types and government leadership?**

Warmongers do not endorse a positive foreign policy. They endorse government that permits a minority to dominate the majority of citizens. Persons who endorse human rights and the kindly religious disposition do tend to endorse a positive, supportive foreign policy.

### **Are warmongers and fundamentalists more or less trusting of government leaders than others?**

Yes. They appear to trust leaders blindly. Others tend to base their judgments of leadership on the policies and quality of leadership.

### **Do warmongers agree with the general public on citizen participation in decision-making**

**and the federal budget?**

No, they differ from majority opinion on many details, apparently wanting to minimize public input, centralize power in a few leaders and let the leaders emphasize military spending over all other interests.

**Discussion Questions.**

1. Why do you suppose persons of the warmongering and fundamentalist religious orientations hold views about foreign policy, government types and leadership that are so dramatically different from the views of others? What value might such a group of people have for society, making it a prominent aspect of the human species?
2. Does it surprise you that the majority of persons appear to prefer a political party that does not represent any special interest groups over the best interests of the community overall? Does this imply that the majority of people are not selfish, but prefer to work for the common good rather than for their own special interests?
3. Which of these two dispositions rings the loudest bell for you? Do you find yourself identifying more with one camp or the other? How should these two camps relate to each other in a given nation?

**Chapter 14.**  
**Warmongers in Your Church and Mine:**  
**The kindly mind of a moral majority.**

Are churchgoers much different from community college students on religious dispositions?

Does Religious Fundamentalism appear in some members of any given church?

How do these two religious orientations color national politics?

My initial study of values and ethics was of 47 community college students. The results I found fascinating, so I wanted to replicate the study to see if the same findings would occur in other samples of adults. But, my professor friend at the community college was on sabbatical leave during the following year. I had to find subjects elsewhere.

The Quakers had been helpful. I knew a couple of pastors and a Christian college president from my Rotary club. I called them and the leaders of several local churches. Several were willing to help me. I obtained data from two churches. To protect these churches in terms of confidentiality, I would rather not name them. Let me just say they are from these sects: Methodists, Congregationalists, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Episcopalians or Catholics.

I had a few misgivings about using churchgoers. I feared that they might be so similar in their religious and ethical values that they wouldn't vary much on questionnaires measuring these traits. And, as upstanding citizens, they might not vary much on the trait of warmongering, all being very low on this.

If they didn't vary enough, I wouldn't be able to see any relationship between their different traits, even if significant relationships existed. I also had trepidations about the length of my questionnaires. By the time I had made the arrangements, about 8 months after the initial ethics study at the community college, I had developed many additional ideas I wanted to explore, including endorsement of political party concepts. I had also developed a 50-item scale for rating politicians on traits related to warmongering. I thought it might be too difficult for persons to make the decisions and judgments necessary to do this rating.

So, I had questionnaires that would take over two hours for many persons to complete and

one questionnaire that persons might not be able to do at all. As it turned out, the churchgoers found all the questionnaires doable, interesting and of social importance. Not only were they willing and able to complete all of the questionnaires, but several of them thanked me for doing the research when they turned in their answer sheets, even before I returned to share the data results with them.

I was eager to analyze the data to see if churchgoers differed much from the college sample. The results were remarkably similar. And, these churchgoers did vary sufficiently widely on all the traits measured.

My first question was whether the two religious belief factors discovered in the study of community college students would again emerge among churchgoers. With the first group of 35 adults from one of the above churches I did a factor analysis and found essentially the same two factors, religious fundamentalism and kindly religious beliefs. These two factors accounted for about the same amount of variance (information) as in the first study. I created scores for these two scales by selecting items that correlated highest with each of these two factors. Then I computed the scores using the items chosen in the same manner for the first study. The scores correlated highly, .90 for the two religious fundamentalism scores and .91 for the two kindly religious belief scores.

That these two factors appeared again in virtually identical form in this second group of persons suggests that these religious belief factors are ubiquitous, are likely to be found in any sizable group of people. Remember that religious fundamentalism as measured by Altemeyer's scale has been found in each of several major world religions.

Here are the correlations on the basic traits measured for the first group of 35 churchgoers. They include a second, 20-item measure of religious fundamentalism, the one developed by Bob Altemeyer discussed in the previous chapter (ref), labeled in my tables as "RFAlt". I include my religious fundamentalism and kindly religious belief scales computed using the formula for the community college students, as this formula yielded the highest correlations with other traits.

I hadn't included my original sustainability endorsement items, so, for "sustainability endorsement" I created a scale of 8 items from the human rights scale which are specific to sustainable programs. The items included these:

Everyone has the duty to prevent environmental harm.

We should carefully conserve and manage our extraction and use of non-renewable resources, such as fossil fuels and minerals.

We should adopt at all levels sustainable development plans and regulations that take into consideration environmental conservation and rehabilitation.

Correlations between traits for 35 Churchgoers.

Age: range 12-91, mean 59, s.d. 20.

29 percent men. Education: range 6 to 22 years, mean 17, s.d. 3.2

	War-mong	Relig. Fun	RF Alt.	Kindly Rel.	Human Rights End.	Sustian. Endors.	Pos. Foreign Policy
1							

		2	3	4	5	6	7
Rel. Fun.	.66**						
RF Alt.	.63**	.72**					
Kindly R.	-.70**	-.54**	-.54**				
Hum Rts	-.71**	-.52**	-.47**	.76**			
Sust.End.	-.74**	-.65**	-.62**	.68**	.92**		
P.ForPo	-.43*	-.38*	-.38*	.54**	.68**	.63**	
Age	-.29	-.06	.07	.44**	.36*	.28	.14
Gender	.12	.13	.11	-.06	-.02	-.04	.15
Educat	-.05	.24	.22	-.02	-.03	-.07	-.15
I.Q.	.10	.30	.01	-.16	-.04	-.14	-.11

In essence, the numbers in this table are similar to those for the original study of 47 community college students. As you can see from the lack of asterisks in the last four rows, scores on these measures do not vary by age, education, intelligence or gender, except that kindly religious beliefs and human rights endorsement in this group of persons was found more often in older persons.

By columns, these numbers mean:

Persons who are higher on warmongering tend to be:

Higher on religious fundamentalism as measured by both my scale (.66) and the Altemeyer scale (.63).

Lower on kindly religious beliefs (-.70), human rights endorsement (-.71), sustainability endorsement (-.74) and positive foreign policy endorsement (-.43).

Persons higher on religious fundamentalism as measured by either my scale (column 2) or Altemeyer's scale (column 3) tend to be:

Lower on Kindly religious beliefs (-.54 and -.54), human rights beliefs (-.52 and -.57), sustainability endorsement (-.65, -.62) and positive foreign policy endorsement (-.38 and -.38).

Persons higher on Kindly religious beliefs tend to be:

Higher on Human rights endorsement (.76), sustainability endorsement (.68) and positive foreign policy endorsement (.54).

Persons higher on human rights endorsement tend to be:

higher on sustainability endorsement (.92) and positive foreign policy endorsement (.68).

The .92 figure is inflated some because the 8 sustainability endorsement items are part of the 44-item human rights endorsement scale.

Persons higher on sustainability endorsement tend to be higher on positive foreign policy endorsement (.63).

Thus, we have a replication of the results found with college students. Basically, we see the same relationships between the traits, increasing our confidence in them as possibly ubiquitous, likely to be found in all groups of people.

These results are especially interesting because we might have expected churchgoers to be so similar to each other that they wouldn't vary much on traits such as human rights endorsement and warmongering. But they do vary on these traits. And, they vary on all the other traits as well. If they didn't vary on these traits, we wouldn't have been able to see the strong correlations between them.

They varied widely on the 12-item intelligence measure too, with raw scores ranging from 1 to 12, with a mean of 8.2 and a standard deviation of 2.7. The alpha reliability was .82, high enough to show significant correlations with the other traits if there had been any. As you can see in the last row of the above table, the other measures are unrelated to intelligence. For example, some persons high on warmongering are intelligent, some are not. Some high on religious fundamentalism are intelligent, some are not.

I repeated this first church study with another one of 33 adults from another local church. The correlations were similar, confirming the prior findings:

Correlations between traits for 33 Churchgoers (Second Group).

Age: range 16-83, mean 65, s.d. 14.4.

30 percent men. Education: range 8 to 27 years, mean 18, s.d. 3.8

	War-mong 1	Relig. Fun 2	RF Alt. 3	Kindly Rel. 4	Human Rights End. 5	Sustian. Endors. 6	Pos. Foreign Policy 7
Rel. Fun.	.38*						
RF Alt.	.53**	.68**					
Kindly R.	-.49**	-.59**	-.42*				
Hum Rts	-.56**	-.37*	-.45**	.56**			
Sus. End.	-.59**	-.47**	-.49**	.53**	.90**		
P.ForPo	-.71**	-.36**	-.56**	.44**	.72**	.71	
Age	-.02	-.13	.04	.06	.24	.12	.20
Gender	.09	.14	.08	-.34	-.30	.16	.03
Educat	-.19	-.12	-.19	.02	.06	-.01	.24
I.Q.	-.24	-.44*	-.32	.33	-.07	.00	.23

The two samples had mostly women. However, because gender did not correlate significantly with any of the other variables, the above statistics apply to persons of both genders.

**Frequency of warmongers and religious fundamentalists among non-fundamentalist sects.**

There are about the same proportion of warmongers, religious fundamentalists and endorsers of human rights among these "non-fundamentalist" religious sect members as in the community college group.

To calculate these proportions, I combined the groups for a total of 68 persons. I then

computed for each person the mean or average item score for each of the scales. All of these scales were 5-point Likert scales ranging from Strongly Disagree (1) to Strongly Agree (5). A Neutral score was 3. Thus, 3.5 is the upper edge of the Neutral range when averaging across items in a scale. A mean item score of 3.5 or higher can be considered to identify a person who “has” the trait measured by the scale. The numbers and ratios of churchgoers above and below this point are given below, with the corresponding proportions. I provide data for the 47 college students for comparison:

Trait	<u>Numbers</u> above and below mean item score of 3.5		<u>Proportions</u> of those with the trait to those without it:	
	68 church.	47 students	68 churchgoers. 47 college students.	
Warmongering	0/65	0/47	1/100?	1/100?
Rel.Fundament.	5/64	2/47	1 to 13	1 to 24
Rel.Fun.Aletmey	2/65	n/a	1 to 33	n/a
Kindly Relig.	60/65	41/47	13 to 1	8 to 1
Hum.Rights.End.	64/66	46/47	33 to 1	46 to 1
Sustain.Endors.	65/67	46/47	33 to 1	46 to 1
Pos.Foreign Pol.	64/65	37/47	64 to 1	2 to 1

I’ll discuss these proportions in detail in a later chapter, but for now, note that persons with the kindly religious orientation and who endorse human rights tend to outnumber those of a warmongering and fundamentalist disposition by a wide margin in both of these groups of college students and churchgoers.

In these churchgoer groups none of the Big Five personality traits correlated significantly with any of the other traits except with intelligence (Agreeableness  $-.38^*$  and Openness  $.43^*$ ). The meanings of these correlations are unclear. The positive correlation between Extroversion and warmongering found in the community college sample was not seen in this study of churchgoers.

### **The kindly mind of a moral majority.**

Thus, the majority of the public are kindly in both religious disposition and foreign policy. They support human rights and sustainable programs very strongly. They disavow warmongering. In this sense, the majority are “moral”. Fundamentalists are in a very small minority. Though they may claim to be as moral as those of the Kindly religious orientation, or *more* moral, this claim alone would not seem to compensate for their endorsement of warmongering and their disavowal of a positive foreign policy, sustainable programs, and human rights.

### **Summary.**

The data of this chapter add support to the findings reported and reviewed in the preceding chapter that persons of the fundamentalist religious disposition appear to be present within all of the major religious faiths in the world. This suggests that religious fundamentalism is a basic human trait found in all cultures. It is a tendency to embrace religion characterized by rigid adherence to values, ethics and beliefs, unquestioning subservience to authority, extreme loyalty to



the in-group and prejudice against out-groups. It appears to be present in about 1 of every 10 or 15 persons.

We also see evidence that this fundamentalist worldview is strongly and positively associated with warmongering and negatively with endorsement of human rights, including, specifically, endorsement of sustainable programs and positive foreign policy.

**Are churchgoers much different from community college students on religious dispositions?**

No. Roughly the same proportion of fundamentalist and kindly religious types appear in both groups, with the latter in the clear majority.

**Does Religious Fundamentalism appear in some members of any given church?**

Apparently. And, from research by others, in every major world religion.

**How do these religious orientations color national politics?**

These two religious orientations are associated with distinctly different political attitudes about foreign policy, sustainability and human rights. A given political administration's policies are likely to reflect the basic religious orientation, spoken or unspoken, of the politicians making up that government.

**Discussion questions.**

1. The fundamentalist religion disposition seems in a distinct minority compared to the kindly religious disposition. Why do you suppose this is? What would be the import for the human species if the proportions were reversed, with the fundamentalist orientation in the majority?
2. We have seen in the preceding chapter that the majority of the public wants a separation of church and state. They do not want government to favor one religious faith over another. Do you think fundamentalists might think differently from kindly religious types on this issue? What sort of research study could answer this question?
3. Given the apparent important relationships between religious orientation and political outlooks, do you think candidates running for political office should be asked to state their preference for one or the other of the two basic religious orientations? Why, or why not?
4. How might the characteristics of the religious fundamentalist orientation explain Christian fundamentalists' preference for a literal interpretation of the Bible, leading to the beliefs that the world is only a few thousand years old, that homosexuals are bad and that husbands should dominate wives?
5. Japan capitalized on certain religious traditions to indoctrinate military personnel in World War II. Which of the two basic religious orientations do you suppose they relied upon in this? What Internet search could you do to find information?
6. In Kansas, some persons have pressed state government to require that public schools teach a religious-based explanation of the creation of the world along with the evolutionary explanation

depicted by Darwin. If this fundamentalist religious request is granted, would it be reasonable to also require the state to put the broader issue in perspective by requiring schools to teach world religions? Would it be reasonable to require teaching about the two basic religious dispositions and their different attitudes about warmongering, preferred government types, foreign policy, sustainability and human rights? If so, why? If not, why not?

**Chapter 15.**  
**Oxymoronic Foreign Policy:**  
**The danger of exporting tribal democracy.**

By what logic can a nation export democratic government?  
 Is the majority opinion of the general public consistent with imposing democracy on other nations via preemptive war?

**Does exporting democracy make sense?**

In prior chapters we saw evidence of a relationship between religious orientations and a positive foreign policy, as measured by the Foreign Policy Scale:

	Warmonger.	Human Rights	Fundamental. Religion	Kindly Religion
Positive Foreign	-.45**	.65**	-.41**	.36*

Policy					
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Thus, persons who endorse fundamentalist religious beliefs tend *not* to endorse a positive foreign policy, as warmongers do not. Persons who endorse human rights and kindly religious beliefs *do* endorse a positive foreign policy.

In addition, we have seen that there are distinct types of government, including two types of democratic government, termed tribal democracy and public democracy, and that these types of government tend to be endorsed differently by persons who endorse the two religious orientations, human rights and warmongering:

	Anarchy	Dictatorshp	Monarchy	Tribal Democracy	Public Democracy
Fund. Rel.	-	.46**	.53**	-	-
Kindly Rel.	-	-	-	-	-
Hum.Rts.	-.44**	-.37**	-	-	.47**
Warmong.	-	.48**	.34*	.32*	-

Persons who endorse fundamentalist religious beliefs tend to endorse non-democratic, autocratic forms of government, such as dictatorship and monarchy. Fundamentalism is also strongly associated with the warmongering trait (.71\*\*), whereas the Kindly religious orientation is not (-.41\*\*). Warmongers tend to endorse autocratic forms of government, including tribal democracy serving special interest groups rather than the best interests of the community overall.

In the Iraq war the U.S. government executive branch, the “administration”, has justified war in part as an effort to promote democratic government in that country. The above data raises some interesting questions:

1. What sort of democracy is the administration referring to, tribal democracy or public democracy?

While it may be oxymoronic to imagine that one can forcefully impose by military action *any* form of democratic government on the people of another nation, it is not irrelevant to ask whether it is appropriate for the United States to even peacefully offer or recommend what appears to be our current form of democracy, tribal democracy, to another country. For, as we have seen, tribal democracy is endorsed by a small minority of persons and persons of a warmongering disposition, in contrast to public democracy, which is endorsed in concept by over 90% of the general public. Why promote a form of government in another nation that is likely to be endorsed primarily only by a minority in that nation and by a minority likely to have a warmongering disposition?

2. Is the administration secretly promoting war in Iraq as a struggle between two different fundamentalist religious worldviews, Christian fundamentalism versus Muslim fundamentalism?

3. Would promotion of tribal democracy versus public democracy in Iraq represent the majority opinion of the United States voting public? Would a war of fundamentalist religious orientations, Christian versus Muslim, represent majority opinion and intent of the United States voting public?

While it may be beyond the scope of science to answer the first two motivational questions, one can measure the opinions and intentions of the public via questionnaires. For example, we can ask how many people represent the two religious orientations and the human rights and foreign policy traits measured by the four scales used in the above studies.

**Estimating public support for imposing government via preemptive war.**

One way to do this is to compute the percentage of persons who agree or strongly agree with the items that make up the scales. A simple way to do this is to find the mean item score for each scale (all of which can range from 1 to 5 in Likert scale format) and then compute the percentage of persons with mean item scores of 3.5 or higher (3 = “Neutral”, 4 = “Agree”, 5 = “Strongly Agree”). Here are the numbers for the 47 community college students of the values study reported in a previous chapter:

Scale	Number of items in scale.	Number of persons with mean item score of 3.5 or higher.	Percent of persons.
Relig. Fund.	17	2 of 47	4%
Kindly Rel.	13	41 of 47	87%
Human Rights Endorsement	44	46 of 47	98%
Positive Foreign Policy	8	37 of 47	79%

Thus, in this sample only 4% endorse religious fundamentalism, compared to 87 percent who endorse a kindly religious orientation. A large majority endorse human rights (98%) and a positive foreign policy (79%).

These results are based on just one study of the general public. Replication on larger and more diverse samples would be appropriate. For example, we can also look at the data for the studies in two churches:

Scale	Number of items in scale.	Number of persons with mean item score of 3.5 or higher.	Percent of persons.
Relig. Fund.	17	5 of 64	8%
Kindly Rel.	13	60 of 65	92%
Human Rights Endorsement	44	64 of 66	97%
Positive Foreign Policy	8	40 of 65	62%

The results are quite similar to those from the community college sample. I expect they will be also in studies of other groups. Given these percentages, it would appear that war in the name of a fundamentalist religious mission would not be consistent with majority public opinion. Indeed,

any preemptive wars as a general policy to promote national interests would seem inconsistent with majority opinion, as majority opinion is of a kindly religious disposition and endorses human rights and a positive foreign policy.

It would appear from these studies that exporting democracy must be done very carefully if it is to respect majority public opinion and the best interests of other nations. It seems especially illogical to impose tribal democracy on other nations through preemptive war.

## **Summary.**

### **By what logic can a nation export democratic government?**

It may have made sense to promote democratic governments in Germany, Italy and Japan in the aftermath of World War II, for those nations were without trustworthy governments at that point in history. The United States and its Allies were responsible for post-war leadership and were successful in guiding those nations into forming democratic governments. Imposing democracy on other nations during peacetime raises serious questions.

### **Is the majority opinion of the general public consistent with imposing democracy on other nations via preemptive war?**

The present data clarifies two different forms of democracy with very different implicit agendas. One has a warmongering agenda, the other a peace-promoting one. It would not seem to make sense to impose a war-promoting form of democracy by preemptive war, especially considering that a large majority of the public seems to prefer the peace-promoting form of democracy.

## **Discussion questions.**

1. Considering the values espoused by the United Nations in its Charter of Human Rights, how should members of the United Nations assist other members to developing stronger governments of the public democratic type? By annual world conferences?
2. Should universities conduct research on how to promote government of the public democratic type? If so, which departments should lead the way?
3. What peaceful means can governments of the public democracy type use to promote this form of democracy in other countries? Should such efforts be done only on invitation from citizens in other countries? How about in countries controlled by dictatorial governments, such as in Iraq, North Korea and perhaps mainland China?

**Chapter 16.**  
**Counting Heads:**

**How warmongers think and what the public wants from government.**

- How many warmongers are there?
- How do they view the world?
- What does the public want?
- When must all good things come to an end?

**Confidence in numbers.**

By combining data across many groups, we can get statistics upon which we can put greater faith. We can ask how many warmongers there are, how warmongers think and the details of what sorts of government the general public wants.

I combined data across as many studies as practical, including one of the groups from Nigeria and most of the groups from the United States. The total was 383 persons. Forty-five percent were males. They ranged in age from thirteen to eighty-six, with a mean age of 29.7 and two thirds falling between ages fourteen and forty-four. They ranged in education from three to twenty-five years, mean 14.3 years. Two thirds had between eleven and seventeen years of education.

The main variables related to each other as expected, based on prior studies.

	Sustainability Endorsement	Warmongering.
SocDis-Individual	-.54**	.66**
SocDis-Group	-.61**	.70**
SocDis-Total	-.63**	.74**
Sustainability Endorsement.		-.69**

Persons who feel socially disenfranchised (helpless, vulnerable, distrustful, injustice and superior) tend to disavow sustainable programs and tend to endorse warmongering. This is

especially true if the persons identify with groups who have these worldviews of social disenfranchisement, as can be seen in the substantial correlations in the second row (-.61\*\* and .70\*\*).

Persons who disavow sustainable programs for their nations tend to advocate or endorse warmongering (-.69\*\*). Or, this could be phrased: Persons with a warmongering disposition tend to disavow sustainable programs.

Age, gender and education levels are related to warmongering in the same directions as seen in the separate, prior studies.

	Age	Gender	Education level
Warmongering	-.50**	.32**	-.27**

Warmongers tend to be younger persons, males, and persons with less education.

### Personality and the Major Variables...Warmongers are disagreeable.

With this large sample of 383 adults we can have greater confidence in our statistics about personality traits that underlie our variables. Here are the correlations. Only ones high enough to be significant are presented:

	Soc Dis Individual	Soc Dis Group	Soc Dis Total	Sustainability Endorsement	Proportional Budget System for Schools	Warmongering
Extroversion	-.22**		-.18**			
Agreeableness	-.33**	-.30**	-.34**	.35**	.21**	-.34**
Conscientiousness	-.12*				.13*	
Emotional Stability	-.35**	-.22**	-.32**	.23**	.16**	-.26**
Openness				.11*		

In large samples, even relatively small correlations can be significant. Some of the above correlations are rather small, but with this large sample of 383 persons, they are statistically significant and tell us something.

You should be familiar with the headings in the chart above except for the Proportional Budget System score, which has been discussed only once to this point. This score is the sum of responses to items 93, 94 and 95 of a questionnaire which asks in 5-point Likert format how strongly the person endorses a proportional budgeting system for public schools, as a teacher in the school, a parent of a child in the school and as a taxpayer supporting the school system. The proportional system earmarks a fixed percentage of each school dollar for a certain aspect of a well-rounded school program with counselors, art and music, athletic programs, buildings and supplies, etc. Class sizes are fixed at 22 students (plus or minus). Teacher salaries are a function of what is available, not what is defined by union contracts.

By row, the correlations mean that persons who are lower on Extroversion tend to have higher social disenfranchisement at the individual level (-.22) and on a total score made up of the individual and group levels (-.18). Put another way, introverted persons (shy, uncomfortable with people, loners) tend to feel more helpless, vulnerable, injustice, distrust and superior than extroverts.

Persons low on Agreeableness also tend to have higher social disenfranchisement as individuals (-.33), as group members (-.30) and at the total score level (-.34). Persons higher on Agreeableness are more likely to endorse sustainable policies and programs (.35), such as the proportional budgeting system for public schools (.21). Persons lower on Agreeableness are more likely to have warmongering attitudes (-.34).

Persons higher on Conscientiousness are more likely to endorse the proportional school budgeting option (.13). The other option, protecting tenured teacher salaries and benefits above other school program needs, is more likely to be preferred by less conscientious, more lazy, persons. Persons lower on Conscientiousness are more likely to feel socially disenfranchised as individuals (-.12).

Persons who are lower on Emotional Stability (i.e. are prone to depression, anxiety and worry) are more likely to feel socially disenfranchised both as individuals (-.35) and as group members (-.22). A total score for both individual and group levels reflects this same tendency (-.32). Persons higher on Emotional Stability are more likely to endorse Sustainable programs and policies (.23) and the proportional school budget option (.16). Persons low on Emotional Stability are more likely to have warmongering attitudes (-.26).

These results indicate that basic personality traits tend to have an influence in determining both antisocial and pro-social attitudes as measured by the scales in question. Persons higher on the basic personality traits tend to be pro-social; those lower on basic personality tend to be antisocial.

By columns, Sustainability tends to be supported by persons who are agreeable, emotionally stable and open-minded. The Proportional Budgeting System tends to be supported by agreeable, conscientious, emotionally stable persons. Warmongering tends to be supported by disagreeable, emotionally unstable persons.

### **What Makes a Warmonger?**

We can also ask how much of the warmongering trait is explained by the other traits we've measured. The answer depends on which traits we use to explain warmongering. The way we do this scientifically is to run a multiple correlation, which uses several measures on the one hand to predict only one on the other. The multiple correlation between warmongering and the ten scales measuring social disenfranchisement (five at the individual level and five at the group level) the multiple correlation is .81\*\*. If we add to these ten scales the sustainability endorsement scale, it rises to .84\*\*.

If instead we add to the 10 scales the scores for education, age and gender, the multiple correlation is slightly lower, .82\*\*. Age, gender and education alone correlate .59\*\* with warmongering. The Big Five personality traits alone correlate .38\*\*. Adding Agreeableness and Emotional Stability to age, gender and education yields a correlation of .62\*\*. Sustainability, gender, age, education, Agreeableness and Emotional stability correlate as a batch .76\*\* with warmongering.



Thus, we get a feel for how much of the warmongering trait is explained by the other traits. There are probably more factors or traits that we haven't measured that can contribute to a given person's warmongering attitude. For example, having an admired parent who has warmongering attitudes could be expected to raise one's score on this trait. Or, conversely, having lost a close friend or relative to military combat might lower one's score.

### How do Warmongers view the World?

We already have learned quite a bit about how warmongers view the world, in part by knowing the content of the items in the scales of different lengths that I have used to measure it. We also know something of their personality traits, age, gender, education and intelligence levels. We know these things as tendencies, not absolute facts about a given warmonger. We can know that basketball players as a group tend to be tall, strong, quick, well-coordinated and in good physical condition. From this we can't predict the exact, specific traits of a given person who is a basketball player. But we can use our knowledge to advantage, as when choosing persons to be on our team at the local gym for an informal game or when hiring persons for a professional team.

Similarly, the more we know about the mind of a warmonger, the better we can minimize their influence on our communities. For example, if Germans in the 1930's had known the traits of warmongers they might have successfully avoided electing Hitler to political office.

And so, to learn more about the mind of the warmonger, we can look at correlations between the warmongering trait and the specific items and scales in the other parts of a questionnaire.

Not every person with each of the attitudes of warmongers is a warmonger. But consider the following items, correlations with the warmongering scale and their meanings about how warmongers tend to view the world. The higher the correlation, the stronger the tendency. These items are from a questionnaire of 137 items.

#### Item. Correlation. Item content.

<u>Item.</u> <u>Correlation.</u> <u>Item content.</u>		
		Warmongers do <u>not</u> think their government should support...
81.	-.38**	international treaties and efforts to reduce greenhouse gasses and global warming,
82.	-.54**	or treaties to reduced nuclear weapons and missiles,
83.	-.41**	or the United Nations with money and cooperation,
84.	-.55**	or replacement of gasoline and diesel fuels with non-polluting fuels,
85.	-.25**	or replacement of gas and coal-fired generators with non-polluting nuclear and solar generators,
86.	-.48**	or restriction of harvesting from forests and fisheries to levels that are sustainable for generations,
87.	-.39**	or use of prime agricultural land for agricultural use only (forever),
88.	-.40**	or restriction of use of fresh water resources (rivers and wells) to sustainable levels forever,
89.	-.10*	or development of reasonable population limits and helping communities maintain them,
90.	-.44**	or a national health care system that provides basic, affordable care,
91.	-.20**	or local community rights to restrict the broadcasting or marketing of products that have been shown by research to promote violent thinking and behavior,

92. -.20\*\* or local community rights to restrict the marketing or broadcasting of products that have been shown by research to promote criminal sexual behavior.

They do not support a proportional budgeting system for public schools...

93. -.14\*\* as a teacher working in the schools, or

94. -.46\*\* as a parent of a child in the schools, or

95. -.39\*\* as a taxpayer supporting the schools.

They do not think their nation should do what best serves the interests of...

101. -.33\*\* all the citizens of their nation considered together more than any one special interest group (business, labor, the elderly, etc.), or

104. -.40\*\* that their nation should be guided by the principle “Cooperate, compromise and help others, survival of the kindest.”, or

If asked by their government, they would not be ...

105. -.34\*\* willing to reduce their consumption of gasoline or other transportation budget by 10 percent to help reduce greenhouse gasses and global warming.

They do think their government should do what best serves the interests of...

96. .48\*\* business owners more than workers,

98. .21\*\* public employees (teachers, policemen, caseworkers, military personnel, etc.) more than taxpayers,

100. .20\*\* welfare recipients more than taxpayers,

102. .46\*\* their nation’s interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.

They think their nation should be guided by the principle...

103. .62\*\* “Might makes right; survival of the fittest.”

They endorse as desirable the following four forms of national government:

106. .46\*\* Anarchy. No government at all, just roving bands of armed bandits who rob, kill and do whatever they want.

107. .57\*\* Military dictatorship, headed by a powerful military leader who controls everything and everyone in the country and prevents anyone else from replacing him.

108. .33\*\* Monarchy, headed by a king or queen, with a supportive parliament of elected representatives. They run the country as they “benevolently” see fit.

109. .37\*\* Tribal democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the short-term economic interests of the special interest groups (“economic tribes”) which helped them get elected.

They do not endorse as desirable government of this sort:

110. -.36\*\* Public democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the current and long-term best interests of the community overall, including sustainable programs such as conservation of resources and control of pollution and global warming. No one special interest group or groups are favored.

We can see in these views, attitudes and preferences a disturbing array of worldviews that

can be very counterproductive to nations. Of special concern is the endorsement of military dictatorship or no government at all over the other three more civil forms of government. We can see in these views reflections of the worldviews of notorious warmongers, such as Hitler.

### **What does the general public want from government?**

One way to protect nations from war is to keep warmongers out of leadership positions. Another way might be to clarify the model of government and society that the general public wants in times of peace and develop government that vigorously promotes and protects this model. One way we can see in the present data what the public wants is to look at the levels of endorsement of the many items just reviewed for warmongers. What percentage of adults in our present sample agree or strongly agree with or otherwise endorse these policy options?

For this analysis, I considered just the United States members of the above sample. This group totaled 214 persons ranging in age from thirteen to eighty-six, mean 35.8, standard deviation 16.8. Thirty-six percent were males. Their mean education level was 14.9, standard deviation 2.3. These persons are not technically a random sample, but they do come from a wide variety of sources, including business managers, churchgoers, and university and community college students. The fact that results for each of these groups were quite similar to each of the other groups further suggests that the statistics gleaned from the studies are likely to be similar to those that will be forthcoming from random samples.

The percentage of these persons who agreed or strongly agreed with the items below is given. The first number is the item number in the questionnaire. The second is the percentage. Notice how differently they think compared to warmongers:

Percentage of U.S. persons who think their government should support...	
81. 87%	international treaties and efforts to reduce greenhouse gasses and global warming.
82. 89%	treaties to reduce nuclear weapons and missiles.
83. 67%	the United Nations with money and cooperation.
84. 84%	replacement of gasoline and diesel fuels with non-polluting fuels.
85. 69%	replacement of gas and coal-fired generators with non-polluting nuclear and solar generators.
86. 85%	restriction of harvesting from forests and fisheries to levels that are sustainable for generations.
87. 70%	use of prime agricultural land for agricultural use only (forever).
88. 79%	restriction of use of fresh water resources (rivers and wells) to sustainable levels forever.
89. 60%	development of reasonable population limits and helping communities maintain them.
90. 91%	a national health care system that provides basic, affordable care.
91. 59%	local community rights to restrict the broadcasting or marketing of products that have been shown by research to promote violent thinking and behavior.
92. 71%	local community rights to restrict the marketing or broadcasting of products that have been shown by research to promote criminal sexual behavior.

Percentage of U.S. persons who support a proportional budgeting system for public schools...

- 93. 61% as a teacher working in the schools.
- 94. 85% as a parent of a child in the schools.
- 95. 77% as a taxpayer supporting the schools.

Percentage of U.S. adults who think their nation should...

- 101. 74% do what best serves the interests of all the citizens of their nation considered together more than any one special interest group (business, labor, the elderly, etc.).
- 104. 67% be guided by the principle "Cooperate, compromise and help others, survival of the kindest."

If asked by their government, they would be ...

- 105. 71% willing to reduce their consumption of gasoline or other transportation budget by 10 percent to help reduce greenhouse gasses and global warming.

Percent of U.S. persons who think their government should do what best serves the interests of...

- 96. 6% business owners more than workers,
- 98. 25% public employees (teachers, policemen, caseworkers, military personnel, etc.) more than taxpayers,
- 100. 8% welfare recipients more than taxpayers,
- 102. 19% their nation's interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.

Percent who think their nation should be guided by the principle...

- 103. 7% "Might makes right; survival of the fittest."

Percent of 214 U.S. adults who endorse as desirable the following five forms of national government:

- 106. 1% Anarchy. No government at all, just roving bands of armed bandits who rob, kill and do whatever they want.
- 107. ½% Military dictatorship, headed by a powerful military leader who controls everything and everyone in the country and prevents anyone else from replacing him.
- 108. 6% Monarchy, headed by a king or queen, with a supportive parliament of elected representatives. They run the country as they "benevolently" see fit.
- 109. 18% Tribal democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the short-term economic interests of the special interest groups ("economic tribes") which helped them get elected.
- 110. 91% Public democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the current and long-term best interests of the community overall, including sustainable programs such as conservation of resources and control of pollution and global warming. No one special interest group or groups are favored.

Thus, we see a general public desire for a government that is strongly supportive of

sustainable policies and programs (items 81 - 92), willing to make sacrifices to support sustainability (105), prefers a proportional to contract driven budget system for public schools (92-95), wants government with a benevolent and cooperative foreign policy rather than a domineering, militaristic one (102, 103) and government that serves the best interests of the community overall rather than government serving selfish national or special-interest-group interests (96, 98, 100 & 102).

The general public appears to abhor anarchy and military dictatorship (106 & 107), have little interest in monarchy (108), have slight interest in “tribal democracy” (109) and very strong interest in what is defined here as public democracy (110).

The public interest appears to be broader than simply a “green” party, protecting forests, agriculture, fisheries and fresh water resources. The interest is international in scope, concerns the welfare of all citizens, strongly supports local issues as specific as a new school budgeting system, concerns global warming and energy management and is peace-loving.

If these government policies and programs were put to a public vote, we can see that the majority opinion would support a number of changes from current (early 2000's) policies and practices, both at the local and national level. I am assuming that my sample of adults is relatively random and would not differ greatly from a truly random sample of voters.

### **How Many Warmongers Are There?**

In a sense, asking how many warmongers there are is like asking how many tall people there are. Warmongering is a normally distributed trait, like height. The distribution of the scores fall in a bell shaped curve. Here's the frequency distribution for the raw scores on a twenty-item measure of warmongering for 376 persons, Americans and Nigerians:

Enter graph.

:

The majority of the scores fall in the middle of the distribution, with fewer and fewer at each extreme. The highest four scores for this group of U.S. citizens were 66, 68, 71 and 72. These all fell above the ninety-eighth percentile. Ninety-eight percent of the group of 214 Americans persons had lower scores.

This twenty-item five-option Likert scale has a possible maximum score of  $5 \times 20 = 100$ . Thus, there is much room at the top of the possible range of scores for persons much higher on this trait than even our four highest persons in this group of students, church-goers and business

managers in the United States. Among our Nigerian sample of criminals, the highest scores were not much higher: 73, 74, 75 and 76, all above the ninety-eighth percentile for that group.

Another way to see that both our U.S. and Nigerian groups are not exceedingly high on warmongering is to consider their average item score across the twenty items in the warmongering scale. Each item can have a score ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree). The average or mean item score for the Americans was 2.0 (disagree). For the Nigerian sample it was 3.0 (neutral).

Thus, we may not have in our sample the most warmongering persons, even among our highest scorers and even among a group of Nigerian criminals. But we can have confidence that we have a measuring scale that has good reliability and validity characteristics. This is especially true of the expanded 32-item measure of warmongering described in chapter eight, which has a maximum total score of  $32 \times 5 = 160$  points.

We can measure the dangerous trait of warmongering directly. We can also estimate who is likely to be high on this trait from understanding the many attitudes and traits that correlate with it. For example, from a politician's voting record on various issues and from his or her campaign speeches we can glean clues that point toward or away from the warmongering disposition.

### **It only takes One Warmonger to Wreck a Nation.**

We have asked how many warmongers there are. We might also ask how many it takes to cause trouble for a nation. The answer is obvious. It only takes one warmonger to wreck a nation. The warmonger must have many accomplices, but we have seen that the warmongering trait is normally distributed; many people in any group will have more of this dangerous trait than others in the group. Those higher on the trait will be more willing to listen to and follow the urging of a warmongering leader. One warmongering leader, with enough political or military power and enough followers can wreak havoc.

We can imagine that a warmonger will get away with as much trouble as he or she is allowed to stir up. Unless other persons of more peaceful dispositions recognize and set limits on warmongers, communities and nations risk serious consequences. The more we understand about the warmongering disposition, the better we can protect ourselves from its destructive influence.

One question we can ask is why warmongering trait exists at all within the human species, explored in the next chapter.

### **Summary.**

The traits of warmongers are clearly defined by repeated studies. Warmongers have many identifiable characteristics by which they can be recognized from their public behavior.

Similarly, the details of what the general public wants from government can be determined by surveys. What they want and what warmongers endorse are in many respects 180 degrees apart. From the perspective of the majority of the public, warmongers are antisocial and dangerous. The public, in contrast, wants government that is pro-social, admirable, kind, sustainable, peaceful and

self-less.

**How many warmongers are there?**

In any group of people there are some who are higher on the warmongering trait. It takes only one person very high on this trait to make big trouble.

**How do they view the world?**

Warmongers view the world from a socially disenfranchised perspective. They look out for themselves and their close followers at the expense of everyone else and everything else.

**What does the public want?**

The general public, in contrast to warmongers, is remarkably kind-hearted, generous and cooperative. The majority wants government that promotes peace and good will rather than competition and war. The people want government that protects the environment promotes sustainable policies and programs. They want to participate actively in decision-making. They want the best of all worlds and for all peoples and generations. They want government “of, by and for the people.”

**When must all good things come to an end?**

When the majority of kindly, positive members of the public let a warmonger get control of their country. With a warmonger in control, all good things must come to an end.

**Discussion questions.**

1. What do you think of the proportional budgeting system as opposed to the contract driven system that favors teacher salaries and benefits? Do you think your community or state would be willing to try the proportional system? Who would support it? Who would oppose it?
2. How closely does current government in your state and nation fit the image of government desired by the majority of the general public? If there is a significant gap between the actual and ideal, why do you suppose that is? What can be done to narrow it?
3. Do you know any politicians who seem to think like warmongers, endorsing the policies and programs characteristic of them? Do you agree that the warmongering disposition is counterproductive to the welfare of a state or nation?

**Chapter 17.**  
**Why the Human Race Has Warmongers:**  
**A grisly role of species survival.**

Why does the human race have the warmongering trait?

Why is it so strongly associated with the fundamentalist religious orientation?

Why do frightened people embrace warmongering?

**Evolution revolution?**

We can briefly explore what the above research findings suggest regarding the value the warmongering trait might have had for the human species. At first glance it appears extremely undesirable and self-eliminating. But vicious warring has been a prominent aspect of human history for centuries and in virtually all inhabited continents. People have warred against their neighbors, killing, robbing and enslaving them. This major aspect of human behavior invites explanation.

Biologist Stephen Jay Gould describes a species of midge which lives on mushrooms<sup>17</sup>. As long as the food supply is ample, all its offspring are wingless. When the food supply dwindles, the offspring sprout wings which enable them to fly to other mushrooms for food. Perhaps the human species also has evolved to have two dramatically different dispositions which manifest themselves

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<sup>17</sup> Ever Since Darwin, Stephen Jay Gould, W.W. Norton, New York, London, 1977, p. 92.



alternately depending on resource abundance or scarcity, a cooperative disposition when resources are plentiful and a warmongering one when resources are strained.

Support for a species survival theory is suggested in several items in my measures of warmongering. Consider, for example, the items in the following ten-item scale which is brief but very reliable ( $\alpha = .93$ ). All of the items in this scale correlate .74 or higher with the total scale score. Thus, they are not just my personal definition of warmongering but a statistically coherent cluster of items that reflect a psychological trait of some depth and breadth:

1. My national government should do what best serves our nation=s interests, at the expense of other nations, enforced by military action if necessary.
2. President Bush was justified in attacking Iraq and tracking down Saddam Hussein.
3. It is more reasonable to spend money for a stronger military force than for a national health care program.
4. It is wiser to spend more money for a strong military than for non-military peace-promoting foreign aid, trade, student exchanges and tourism.
5. It is more honorable to serve one=s nation as a warrior in combat than as an anti-war protester.
6. The United States should have stuck it out in South Viet Nam until it won the war.
7. The United States was justified in killing off Native American Indians and taking control of their land.
8. Centuries ago, the Spaniards were justified in killing natives in Central and South America to get their silver and gold.
9. A good reason for our nation going to war is to kill enemy soldiers and civilians in order to reduce population numbers so there are more resources for the people of our nation.
10. A good reason for our nation going to war is to assure access to whatever raw materials, such as oil, we need from other nations.

Note in particular items 1, 9 and 10, which refer to a nation=s interests, reducing population numbers by war for resources and assuring access to needed raw materials.

Thus, while warmongers as individuals may be more likely than more timid persons to die in combat, the survival of the overall human species may have been aided with periodic war to reduce population numbers on a large scale to assure resources for the lesser number of survivors. This is not to argue that in all wars there is a clear connection between the war, reduction of numbers and increased resources for survivors. But it is to argue that over millions of years of human conflict this dynamic has probably been important.

In the insect world, bee colonies include a sub-type that stings intruders, such as bears who try to steal their honey. These stinging bees die in the process, as their stingers and attached organs remain in their victims. Similarly, driver and army ants have specialized sub-types who fight to the death to protect their colonies. In both cases members of the species sacrifice themselves in what may be termed, anthropomorphically, “military combat”. They sacrifice themselves in the service of their species, which survives more effectively for their efforts.<sup>18</sup>

It is not too difficult to postulate in turn that some types of humans may be biologically

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18 The Blind Watchmaker, Dawkins, Richard, p. 108, W.W. Norton, New York, 1987.

“programmed” to sacrifice themselves in military combat in the service of the species. It appears that the majority of the general public strongly favors government and foreign policy of a type that is kindly, serves the best interest of the community overall and is benevolent rather than bellicose. The warmongering disposition appears to represent a minority position.

### How can we make sense of the warmongering trait?

For whatever reason, warmongers as a personality type do exist, just as surely as tall people exist. We can measure the warmongering trait just as easily and objectively as we measure the height of people. Warmongers of the most dangerous sort are relatively rare, apparently. But they are always present, available when needed by nature, if you will, apparently to serve the primitive population reduction role. The trick for the majority of civilized society is to keep them on leash, to control population size by civil means and to control demand for resources.

We have initial evidence suggesting that there are two primary religious belief factors. I present data for the two churchgoer groups to refresh your memory. The fundamentalist religious factor is positively and strongly associated with warmongering and negatively associated with endorsement of human rights and positive foreign policy (first row, below). The kindly religious factor is negatively associated with warmongering and positively with human rights and positive foreign policy.

Correlations between Religious Factors and other Variables  
N = 68 adult churchgoers.

	Kindly Relig.	Warmonger.	Human Rights	Pos. Foreign Policy
Fundamental Religion	-.56**	.53**	-.44**	-.38**
Kindly Rel.		-.54**	.57**	.44*
Warmonger.			-.67**	-.71**
Human Rights				.72**

Perhaps these two spiritual belief systems have evolved in the human species to accompany two basic human states, a cooperative one which governs human groups when resources are plentiful and a warmongering one which surfaces when resources are strained, or perceived as strained.

The fundamentalist religious trait is characterized by revenge against wrongdoers and unquestioning respect for and obedience to authority. It fits the warmongering mode well in two respects. A warmonger leader often has a tendency to think of himself as the agent of a god or

even a god himself. By associating himself with a supernatural being, he can solicit followers in the name of this being. In addition, military activity requires both unswerving loyalty to leadership and a suspension of normal human emotion. Loyalty and obedience improve combat efficiency. Suspension of normal emotion helps soldiers deal with the fear, loathing, fatigue and sorrow that are so vividly and constantly present for warriors. The fundamentalist belief system can be used to explain why one has to endure the grisly business of killing and suffering. It is done in the service of some superior, external, all-knowing, all-powerful supernatural being.

As such, this form of religion may be the epitome of evil. The Bishop of Duram, England, was once asked what he thought was the worst religion. His reply: “Muslim fundamentalism. Jewish fundamentalism. The Christian ‘Moral Majority’ in America.”<sup>19</sup>

He might have included fundamentalism of every religious type, given our evidence that fundamentalism appears to be present in all major faiths and is strongly associated with the trait of warmongering.

In contrast to religious fundamentalism, the kindly religious trait is characterized by forgiveness, kindness, tolerance, helpfulness and respect for others. It serves the peaceful lifestyle well, underpinning cooperative trade and other constructive cultural exchanges between groups and nations. It does not require blind obedience to authority or political leadership. It assumes a helpful, responsible role in addressing community problems and promoting human rights, both at home and abroad and promoting a positive national foreign policy and sustainable programs.

**A Broader View of the Human Trait of Warmongering:  
Two Basic Human Dispositions in the Service of Species Survival.**

Another way to conceptualize warmongering is to see it in a broader context. We can speculate that there are two fundamental human dispositions which function alternately depending on the relative availability of resources. We can term these two dispositions the Cooperative/Conciliatory and the Competitive/Combative dispositions.

These dispositions are rather distinct from each other and have the following characteristics, based on the many studies reported above. Item g. is supported by research reported in a later chapter.

<b>Characteristic</b>	<b>Cooperative / Conciliatory Disposition</b>	<b>Competitive / Combative Disposition</b>
a. Basic worldview:	People should cooperate.	People should compete.
b. Warmongering attitude:	Low on warmongering trait.	High on warmongering trait.

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19 Character Parts, John Mortimer, 1987, Penguin, p. 32.

c. Religious orientation:	Kindly	Fundamentalist.
d. Human Rights Beliefs:	Pro human rights.	Con human rights.
e. Foreign policy stance:	Cooperative, helpful, sharing.	Selfish, stingy, acquisitive.
f. Preferred government:	Public democracy.	Dictatorship, monarchy, tribal democracy.
g. Attitude about lying, propaganda:	Endorse truth, trust, honesty.	Endorse propaganda, deceit, trickery, lying.
h. Sustainable program orientation:	Pro sustainable programs, long-term protection of the environment and resources	Against sustainable programs, against long-term concerns for environment.
i. Social stance:	Do not dominate or lord it over others. Treat others as equals. Teach adults to think, decide, vote for themselves.	Socially dominant, authoritarian. Don't trust the people to decide. Program them to blindly trust leaders to decide.
j. Gender tendency:	Slight female predominance.	Male predominance.
k. Age tendency:	Full range.	Younger adults.
l. Education tendency:	Full range.	Less educated.
m. Intelligence tendency:	Full range.	Average and below.
n. Big Five Personality traits:	Full range.	Tend to be low on Agreeableness and Emotional Stability.

The characteristics of the competitive/combatative disposition seem to make logical sense from a number of perspectives. As will be discussed below, the ratio of this disposition to the cooperative/conciliatory one may be in the neighborhood of one to thirteen. Also, this disposition appears to appeal to males, less educated persons, less intelligent persons, persons prone to

violence and persons who are disagreeable and emotionally unstable.

If warmongers outnumbered cooperative persons, they would overpower them in war and destroy the cooperative element in the species. Also, they would eliminate the more intelligent and better educated persons and persons with higher basic personality traits. All these traits are associated with vocational success and success in business leadership. Over successive generations, this would undermine rather than strengthen species characteristics. Because the human species seems to have survived by virtue of positive characteristics, it seems reasonable to postulate that the warmongering disposition will be in the minority. It is present in sufficient numbers or proportion to start nasty enough wars to significantly reduce population numbers periodically when demand outstrips supply of resources but weak enough that the majority of cooperative persons will bring the wars to an end before the entire species is wiped out.

Young adult males of lesser intelligence and less desirable personality traits will die in greater numbers than others because they have a greater tendency to embrace warmongering and the dangers of combat. Thus, in war the species loses more of its Aweaker@ members than its stronger ones. The stronger ones survive in greater numbers to contribute most constructively to the activities needed for the species to survive in peacetime. Thus, in spite of the fact that warmongers may persuade themselves with self-aggrandizing propaganda that they fight for Asurvival of the fittest@, they actually tend to eliminate themselves from the gene pool via combat.

As mentioned above, the fundamentalist religious philosophy seems well suited for the warmongering disposition for several reasons. Warmongering leaders must provide a rationale for combatants that has several features. It must explain why combat is necessary, using basically illogical arguments to obey some authority simply because the authority says so. Combatants must be persuaded to sacrifice themselves in combat, suspending normal human feelings of fear, etc. They can be promised a life after death, with extra benefits, e.g. a harem of virgins or eternal existence in a perfect place. The ultimate authority for killing can be ascribed to a supernatural being, whose existence and message are uncheckable. All these arguments are more easily swallowed by less educated, less intelligent persons. Thus, warmongering tends to recruit and be embraced by persons with these traits.

History teaches that warmongers often tend to despise educated persons, the Aintelligentsia@, who tend to be denounced, scape-goated, suppressed, imprisoned, etc. because the facts and logical arguments presented by such persons endanger the illogical propaganda necessary to promote hatred, conflict and war.

While cooperative/conciliatory persons endorse truth and honesty, which are necessary to promote trust and cooperation in peacetime activities, those of the competitive/combative disposition hold as their ultimate reference blind faith in rigid rules, beliefs and propaganda. They embrace a philosophy or religion that is rigid, uncheckable, unquestionable and immutable, for this serves them well in controlling and dominating the military personnel and others they must recruit to wage war. They will be impervious to fact, logic or reason, for this would endanger their mind-set, the one they need to sell and maintain their combative mission.

This resistance to fact and logic appears manifest in the resistance of the Christian fundamentalist religious orientation to the findings of science. Scientific findings over the past 200 years conflict with a literal interpretation of the Bible. Science documents the origin of the human species as descending from primitive ape-like ancestors rather than created directly by God. Science also documents the age of the Earth as more like five billion rather than a few thousand years old, as implied by the Bible.

This fundamentalist resistance to fact and logic may also help explain why religious fundamentalism in the United States has remained aloof from dialogue with students of religion, as noted by Eric J. Sharpe in his textbook.<sup>20</sup> He refers to “the remarkable rise to power and influence of conservative evangelical forms of Christianity in the last twenty years [1966-86]. The ‘Christian right’ has been very little studied from within the religious studies community, or vice versa. Neither is prepared to accept the credentials of the other,...”

In What’s the Matter with Kansas, Thomas Frank asks why lower and lower middle class people whose jobs are threatened by Republican agendas voted Republican in the 2004 election<sup>21</sup>.

Psychology teaches that when people feel threatened they are more suggestible. The present data suggest also that they will be more open to the combative/competitive mind set and more willing to fight and kill to get what they fear losing. If this is so, then they will also be more open to a political campaign based on persuasive propaganda that oversimplifies, offers authoritarian leadership and promises aggressive protection from threats, local or foreign, real or imagined.

The loss of jobs to outsourcing and the loss of earning power of working class people over the past few decades could be expected to create anxiety in American workers. This anxiety could be perceived by them as a reduction in resource availability. As such, this would be a condition that could make them more prone to warmongering and leadership of the sort that promotes it.

George<sup>22</sup> Lakoff, in his recent book Don’t Think of an Elephant asserts that people vote their values, even if these conflict with their self-interests. If a person values an oversimplified, authoritarian, competitive worldview by virtue of feeling resource-deprived and threatened, then he will be more vulnerable to persuasion via propaganda. One is reminded of the rise of Hitler in Germany under the severe economic pressures of WW I reparations obligations. Hitler’s political message was steeped in simplistic explanations of problems and simple, aggressive solutions. His message appealed to struggling labor class Germans.

The competitive/combatative disposition is very real and can be very dangerous. What is the ratio of this trait to the cooperative/conciliatory disposition? The next chapter offers an answer.

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20 Comparative Religion, A History, Eric J. Sharpe, Open Court Press, LaSalle, Ill.1986.

21 What’s the Matter with Kansas? How conservatives won the heart of America; Thomas Frank, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt, New York,2004.

22 Reference: Don’t Think of an Elephant, Lakoff, George, Chelsea Green Publishing, White River Junction, Vermont, 2004.

## **Summary.**

One can make an argument for an evolutionary origin of warmongering as one of nature's ways of controlling population numbers when people outrun available resources. Warmongers recruit followers. When times are tough, people are more desperate and more willing to follow a combative leader.

### **Why does the human race have the warmongering trait?**

Perhaps warmongering is a population control trait, leading war to reduce numbers.

### **Why is it so strongly associated with the fundamentalist religious orientation?**

Religious fundamentalism is a belief system that dovetails logically with the grisly business of killing.

### **Why do frightened people embrace warmongering?**

Desperate and frightened people are more suggestible, more willing to take extreme measures to find solutions. Thus, they are more open to propaganda that offers simple and extreme solutions.

## **Discussion Questions.**

1. Do you agree that warmongering is a trait that has evolved naturally as a population control feature of the human species? If you don't, how do you explain its presence? Why is it related to religious fundamentalism, basic personality traits, education, gender and intelligence in your alternative explanation?
2. Do you think all forms of competition are necessarily bad? What forms are not? What levels of economic and athletic competition are compatible with majority public desires? When does economic or athletic competition exceed proper guidelines?
3. Given the many traits that help identify the warmongering disposition, how do you think warmongers could be reliably noticed by journalists to inform voters during campaigns for public office? Would you want to know which candidates were prone to warmongering?
4. Judaism is a faith that postulates that Jews are God's chosen people, better than others. Their religious writings, such as Old Testament, holds God as vengeful against wrongdoers. In contrast, in the New Testament, Jesus' teaches that God is forgiving of wrongdoers and sinners. Is one of these orientations more characteristic of religious fundamentalism than the other? How might the persecution of Jews over centuries have led to a view of God as vengeful and Jews as a special, chosen people? How might this religious orientation have protected the Jews from annihilation as a group? Which of these two orientations, the Jewish or that preached by Jesus would best serve nations in time of peace? Why?

## Chapter 18.

### The ultimate conflict: Competitive versus cooperative humans.

How many “good guys” are there compared to “bad guys”?

Why has the United States been at war so much of the last century?

Why do humans turn on their friends?

### Choosing sides

If there are two fundamentally different types of humans who hold conflicting views of the world and how it should be managed, then it is of critical importance to know the relative sizes of the two groups. Which will win? Who has the largest team?

We can refer to statistics for each of the characteristics on which these two dispositions vary to form an estimate of the ratio between them:

The percentage of persons out of forty-seven community college students and sixty-eight churchgoers who agree or strongly agree with the two fundamental worldviews represented by two items in the values and ethics study discussed in chapter nine, above:

<b>a. Basic worldview:</b>	<b>People should cooperate.</b>	<b>People should compete.</b>
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Percent who agree

or strongly agree.

Item.

97.4 The peoples of all nations should learn to live peacefully together, resolving differences by discussion, etc.

Ratio: 97.4 to 2.6 or 37 to 1

13.9 The peoples of all nations should compete with each other in business, trade and, if necessary, in war, and let the Abest nation win@.

Ratio 13.9 to 86.1 or 1 to 6.

And from two similar questionnaire items in the initial studies, 214 American adults:



66.8 Our nation should be guided by the principle: A Cooperate, compromise and help others: survival of the kindest. @

Ratio 66.8 to 33.2 or 2 to 1.

7.4 Our nation should be guided by the principle: A Might makes right; survival of the fittest. @

Ratio: 7.4 to 92.6 or 1 to 12.5.

In contrast, 169 Nigerian criminals:

54.4 Our nation should be guided by the principle: A Cooperate, compromise and help others: survival of the kindest. @

Ratio 54.4 to 45.6 or 1.2 to 1.

49.7 Our nation should be guided by the principle: A Might makes right; survival of the fittest. @

Ratio: 49.7 to 50.3 or 1 to 1.

Thus, we see that non-criminal Americans are more peace-loving than Nigerian criminals, as we would expect. Most Americans appear to be inclined toward peaceful cooperation rather than competition and conflict. Even the Nigerian criminals appear to be more inclined toward an overall worldview of cooperation (54.4 percent) than competition (49.7 percent).

<b>b. Warmongering trait:</b>	<b>Low on warmongering trait.</b>	<b>High on warmongering trait.</b>
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The number of Americans who had a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on Warmongering was only two of 214. A score of 3 is Neutral, 4 is Agree, 5 is Strongly agree.

Ratio: two to 212 or one to 106.

And in a sample of forty-seven community college students and sixty-eight churchgoers: 3 of 112.

Ratio: three to 109 or one to 36.

<b>c. Religious orientation:</b>	<b>Kindly.</b>	<b>Fundamentalist.</b>
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For forty-seven community college students and sixty-eight churchgoers, the number who had a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on the seventeen-item Religious fundamentalism scale: seven of 111.

Ratio seven to 104, or one to 15.

For 47 community college students and 68 churchgoers, the number who had a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on the 3-item Kindly religion scale:

101 of 111.

Ratio 101 to 10, or 10 to 1.

<b>d. Human Rights Beliefs:</b>	<b>Pro human rights.</b>	<b>Con human rights.</b>
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For 47 community college students and 68 churchgoers, the number who had a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on the 44-item Human rights endorsement scale:

110 of 113.

Ratio: 110 to 3, or 37 to 1.

<b>e. Foreign policy stance:</b>	<b>Cooperative, helpful, sharing.</b>	<b>Selfish, stingy, acquisitive.</b>
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For 47 community college students and 68 churchgoers, the number who had a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on the 12-item Foreign policy endorsement scale:

99 of 112.

Ratio 99 to 13, or 8 to 1.

<b>f. Preferred government:</b>	<b>Public democracy.</b>	<b>Dictatorship, monarchy, tribal democracy.</b>
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For 214 American adults, percent who Agree or Strongly Agree with each:

Public democracy: 91.1 to 8.9 or 10.2 to 1.

Tribal democracy: 17.8 to 82.8 or 1 to 4.7.

Monarchy: 5.6 to 94.4 or 1 to 16.9.

Dictatorship: .5 to 99.5 or 1 to 199.

<b>g. Attitude about lying, propaganda:</b>	<b>Endorse truth, trust, honesty.</b>	<b>Endorse propaganda, deceit, trickery, lying.</b>
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Percent of 47 community college students and 68 churchgoers who Agree or Strongly Agree and 2 of those who are Neutral with the statement: ALying, slander and tattling are not appropriate@:

93 percent. Ratio 93 to 7 or 13.3 to 1.

Number of 68 churchgoers who have a mean item score of 3.5 or higher on a 12-item measure of political lying and conniving described in a later chapter:

0 of 58.

Ratio 1 of 100?

<b>h. Sustainable program orientation:</b>	<b>For sustainable programs, long-term protection of the environment and resources</b>	<b>Against sustainable programs, against long-term concerns for environment.</b>
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Number of 214 Americans who have a mean item score of 3.5 or greater on a 12-item measure of Sustainability endorsement:

Ratio: 183 to 31 or 5.9 to 1.

<b>i. Social stance:</b>	<b>Do not dominate or lord it over others. Treat others as</b>	<b>Socially dominant, authoritarian. Don=t trust</b>
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	<b>equals. Teach adults to think, decide, vote for themselves.</b>	<b>the people to decide. Program them to blindly trust leaders to decide.</b>
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Number of University students who had a mean item score of 4.5 or higher on Altemeyer's Right Wing Authoritarianism scale: 0 of 34. (7 point Likert format, 4 = Neutral, 1 = Very Strongly Disagree, 7 = Very Strongly Agree).

Ratio 0 of 34 or A 1 to 20?"

(These students appear to be very Aliberal@, coming from the education department. Presumably a sample more representative of the general population would include some persons with scores above 4.5.)

Number of University students who had a mean item score of 4.5 or higher on Pratto, et al's Social Dominance Orientation Scale (7-point Likert format): 0 of 35.

Ratio: 0 of 35 or A1 to 20?@

Another interesting source of information on this issue is data provided by Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, a psychologist who served in the Army, was trained to kill as a soldier and studied the subject of killing in combat. He has taught psychology at West Point. He cites a number of studies which reveal that traditionally only 15 to 20 percent of infantrymen shoot to kill in combat. The rest find other things to do, such as firing over the heads of the enemy, bringing ammunition to the soldiers who do shoot to kill, aiding the wounded or otherwise looking busy. This phenomenon holds up for the American Civil War, World War I and World War II. Only about 2% of infantry kill without remorse, some of whom may be psychopaths (p. 180). The remaining 98% do not enjoy killing.<sup>23</sup>

Grossman believes there is a "powerful, innate human resistance to killing one's own species" (p xxix). 15% is a ratio of 1 to 6.67, roughly 1 in 7 who actually shoot to kill, even though they have been thoroughly trained to kill. Without training, perhaps only 2 percent would kill with little incentive, only 1 in 50.

Summary of frequency data:

Thus, we can see a clear predominance of the Cooperative/Conciliatory type of person or disposition over the Competitive/Combative type. The median ratio of the seventeen or so ratios reported above, with ratios reversed for negatively correlating items, is 13 to 1. Thus, there appears to be only about 1 person of the Competitive/Combative disposition for every 13 persons of the Cooperative/Conciliatory disposition

**Going to War.**

Is this ratio likely to be reflected in the proportion of years a given nation is engaged in war?

What is the ratio of the number of years the United States has been engaged prominently in war versus peace during the last century? Here are some rough numbers:

<u>Years</u>	<u>War</u>
2	World War I

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23 On Killing, Dave Grossman, Back Bay Books, Boston, 1995

4	WW II
3	Korean Conflict
8	Viet Nam
1	Gulf War
2	Serbia/Croatia
3	Afghan and Iraq

23 total years of 100. Ratio: 1 in 4.3.

From these numbers, it would appear that the United States has been more warlike over the past 100 years than we might expect of a population which would appear to prefer peace to war by a ratio of 13 to 1. While we could argue that we did not start many of these wars, we found ourselves actively enmeshed in them and could be considered to have started some of them.

Was it because we have had greater power, than other nations to wage war, in terms of physical resources and technology? Or because we feel threatened more easily because we have a greater hunger for resources, such as for oil, due to our highly advanced technology and high standard of living based on that technology? Or because our government, and specifically our presidency, has been dominated more by persons of a competitive and combative worldview than a cooperative one?

Support for this last possibility is found in historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s discussion of what he terms the "imperial presidency", the tendency of some U.S. Presidents to exert kinglike authority.<sup>24</sup> This discussion is reviewed by Lincoln Caplan.<sup>25</sup> Caplan refers to several U.S. Presidents as stretching their Constitutional powers to wage war independently of Congress: Roosevelt in early World War II supporting Britain, Harry Truman in the Korean "police action", Lyndon Johnson in Viet Nam, and Richard Nixon in Cambodia. Caplan describes Nixon as believing he was above the law and President G. W. Bush's attitude as beyond even imperial. He describes Bush as "autocratic".

The next level might be "dictatorial". Dictators are notorious for warmongering.

### **We have met the enemy among us.**

It appears that humans can be quite social and cooperative with each other in times of plenty, sharing, helping, trading goods, and promoting tourism and cultural exchanges. But when they feel threatened because of real or imagined or propagandized threats to their safety and resources, they can quickly turn on each other.

Research reported in earlier chapters suggests that when people feel helpless, vulnerable, distrustful and a sense of injustice they are likely to develop a sense of superiority over others and have a warmongering disposition. To have war, one must have an identified enemy. Even prior

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24 Schlesinger, Arthur M. Jr., War and the American Presidency, W. W. Norton, New York, London, 2004.

25 Caplan, Lincoln, Bush Advances the Imperial Presidency, Eugene Register Guard, Eugene, Oregon, Sunday August 21, 2005, Section B, p.1.

friends and allies can be identified as enemies. We fight nation to nation as in the recent world wars, tribe to tribe as in Rwanda, and even brother to brother as in the United States Civil War. The United States happily employed thousands of Asians to build the first railroad across the nation and then interned U.S. Asian citizens during World War II. Hitler first made a pact with Stalin, then turned on him, invading Russia.

Some thinkers have gone so far as to describe war as a necessary and desirable activity. The 19<sup>th</sup> century German philosopher Nietzsche proposed "Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism."<sup>26</sup> He also observed that "morality is the best of all devices for leading mankind by the nose," perhaps referring to the relationship between fundamentalist religious morality and warmongering. This deadly duality is reflected in the correlation between fundamentalist religious thinking and warmongering cited in prior chapters.

Wells also quotes Count Moltke, a career German soldier and eventual military commander who became Chief Marshal of the German Empire beginning in 1871, who said "Perpetual peace is a dream, and it is not even a beautiful dream. War is an element in the order of the world ordained by God." In this, Moltke sounds like a warmonger himself, considering our evidence of the religious fundamentalism and blind subservience to authority that tend to characterize individuals with this trait.

On behalf of the ninety percent or more of Americans who have a cooperative, peaceful worldview, we might opine that war is neither inevitable nor desirable. Humans now understand the dangers of overpopulation and outstripping resources well enough to be able to design and manage nations to avoid starvation and other war-triggering stresses. We can hope that the technologically advanced and mechanized world's thirst for oil and other resources does not push it into preemptive wars to forcefully guarantee its access to resources from other nations. We can hope that nations will pursue resources only by peaceful trade.

While war has been a prominent characteristic of human existence for centuries, we could argue that it does not have to be for centuries to come. The stresses that precipitate war can be understood, controlled and resolved peacefully.

We can hope that the majority of peace-loving, wise and emotionally stable citizens and leaders will recognize and shun aspirants to leadership who use fear, paranoia and propaganda to instigate wars when no wars are necessary. We can hope that citizens will discourage extremist talk shows and political factions from seeing evil among other real or imagined political factions, narrowly and inappropriately blaming them for the complex problems that all societies always face. Such small-minded, petty infighting within a nation exacerbates social unrest that warmongers capitalize upon to incite hatred, gain widespread support and political power, and wage war.

Some persons are vibrantly inclined to instigate war. As world history is replete with wars in virtually all inhabited continents, we would expect people of all nations to manifest this trait. Are there warmongers all over the world? The next chapter presents data that bears on this

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26 The Outline of History, H.G. Wells, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1923, p 1005.

question.

### **Summary.**

Research data provides a basis for estimating the number of cooperative/conciliatory humans relative to the number of competitive/combative ones. The competitive/combative ones have leaders who think war is a desirable state and look for opportunities to wage it. The challenge for cooperative/conciliatory humans is to understand and outflank the dangerous minority. This challenge is an international one, as we shall see in the next chapter.

### **How many “good guys” are there compared to “bad guys”?**

Apparently about 13 to 1. The good guys should always win if they keep their wits about them and plan ahead.

### **Why has the United States been at war so much of the last century?**

Good question. Do we provoke conflict with our industrialized, mechanized, high-energy consumption model of living? Do we need and consume so much natural resources that we are pushed to control trade? Do we have so much power that we have fallen victim to the “power corrupts” adage?

### **Why do humans turn on their friends?**

When resources get scarce relative to demand, conflict seems almost inevitable, given human history and the frequency of wars. Conflict requires competing sides. We find some grounds for differentiating to identify competitors for the contest. Over the long run, survival of the species takes precedence over love.

### **Discussion questions:**

1. How does unchecked population growth jeopardize a nation or the world?
2. How does rampant thirst for resources, driven by modern technology, exacerbate the danger of war?
3. Who should be responsible for urging and teaching nations to control their populations and limit their demands for resources?
4. Should some nations have special responsibility in these roles?
5. Should some nations have special privilege?
6. Should the Catholic church control the discussion on population control methods? Why, or why not?
7. What role should the United Nations play in these issues?
8. Will warmongering nations try to support or subvert the United Nations?

**Chapter 19.**  
**Warmongers Internationale:**  
**Bad Guys Everywhere.**

I have proposed that warmongering is the core of a competitive and combative trait complex that has served the human species by reducing population numbers when resources are scarce. As such, I have implied that this trait is universal. If it is, it should show up around the world.

I checked this assumption by gathering data from two samples of citizens from other nations. My first sample included thirty-four international students at the University of Oregon and nine adults from Great Britain. The countries represented were Japan, South Korea, the Fiji Islands, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Liberia, Pakistan, India, Italy, a Middle East nation (student declined to reveal which one), Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and England. The International Student Association on campus meets late every Friday afternoon for coffee hour. Students who volunteered to participate completed a forty-one item questionnaire in return for a Powerbar and a written summary of the research findings. The Great Britain sample was a group of retired persons from a variety of professions.

The total sample ranged in age from sixteen to eighty-eight, mean 34.5, standard deviation 22.3. Forty-four percent were males. Their years of education ranged from senior in high school (currently in their freshman year of college) through one year of graduate school.

The second sample was harder to come by. I wanted a sample of Mainland Chinese. My first effort started with a conversation with a very bright, well-educated Mainland Chinese man whom I met while on vacation in the South Pacific. He said he had a friend in China who might be able to help and gave me his e-mail address after introducing me via e-mail. His friend was willing to help and sent a questionnaire out to several Chinese persons. However, my e-mail communications with him mysteriously ended shortly thereafter. I lost touch with my original Chinese vacation contact at the same time. I learned later that the Chinese government relies on local Chinese Internet service providers to monitor e-mail messages to and from their customers to stifle communications that might threaten government policies and controls. I suspect that this process ended my effort. I had sent the questionnaire as an e-mail attachment. It asked about political opinions that the Chinese government might have found potentially threatening.

About a year later I made another contact that resulted in data from 40 Chinese students at universities in the United States. I'd rather not say who I got this data through, to protect my source from possible Chinese government retaliation. The students were from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan. They ranged in age from 18 to 26, mean 20.6, standard deviation 2.1. They ranged in years of education from 16 to 19, mean 16.3, s.d. .82. 51 percent were males. Most had studied for years in the United States and were assumed to read and understand English well.

The questionnaires varied slightly between the groups but were essentially the same, including measures of warmongering and many items about features of an of a proposed ideal political party. All items were presented in five-option Likert scale format.

The 10-item warmongering scale used for the first international sample was quite reliable, with an alpha coefficient of .87. 24 of the 31 warmongering items used in the Chinese sample



provided a very reliable measure, with an alpha of .92.

This international groups were compared to a group of sixty-eight churchgoers in Eugene, Oregon who completed a 315-item questionnaire which included all of the items presented to the international samples.

The churchgoers were from two churches. They ranged in age from twelve to ninety-one, mean 62, standard deviation 17.4. Twenty-nine percent were males. They ranged in education from six to twenty-seven years.

The distribution of scores on the warmongering scales revealed some persons with elevated scores in all three both groups. One of sixty-eight churchgoers, or 1.5%, had a mean item score on this scale of 3.00 or higher. Nine of the first international group, or twenty-one percent, had scores of 3.00 or higher. 20 of the 40 Chinese students, or 50% had scores of 3.00 or higher. In the first two groups there was a minority of warmongers, defined as persons who tend to agree more than disagree with questionnaire items measuring the trait. This is consistent with all other samples of persons.

However, the very large percentage (50%) of Chinese students was very unusual. I have no reason to think these students were untypical of Chinese students in America. They may come from rather wealthy Chinese families, ones that can afford to send their children to America for years of university schooling.

Warmongering correlated significantly with many other items in the international group questionnaires and in the same directions as for Americans. Below are correlations for the three groups. Positive correlations mean warmongers agree with the item. Negative correlations mean they disagree, as reflected by the word “not”.

Correlations between Warmongering and Ideal Political Party Features

NI means item not included in that sample. Figures in parentheses are not statistically significant.

Correlations			Items with which warmongers tend to agree/disagree.
Internat . Gp.	Chinese students	Amer. Church	
.62**	.50**	NI	Persons with higher scores on warmongering tend to... Believe the peoples of the world should compete, in war if necessary.
.54**	.44**	.53**	Prefer a government in which elected officials run the government primarily to serve the short-term economic interests of the special interest groups which helped them get elected (special interest group government).
.50**	.51**	.59**	Would choose special interest group government over government serving the general public.
.36*	(.19)	(.13)	Prefer tax levels and who is taxed to be determined by government leaders without public input.

.40**	.25*	(.12)	Want their nation to strive in foreign policy to be the best and most powerful in all ways.
.48**	.33*	(.06)	Want a national foreign policy that helps preserve peace by military power...
-.47**	-.27*	(.05)	...and <u>not</u> by non-military power.
.54**	.47**	.36*	Want their nation to dominate world politics by having as powerful a military as possible.
.46**	(.23)	.45**	Want ideal political party planks to please those who contribute the most money to the party.
-.41**	-.31*	(.03)	They do <u>not</u> agree that in the ideal political party all party members' votes should count equally.
.53**	.59**	(.29)	They believe in the ideal party that leaders and candidates for national elected office should primarily represent the interests of big business, corporations, stockholders and wealthy persons, and ...
-.43**	-.32**	-.40*	<u>not</u> the best interests of the community overall, with no special interest groups favored over any others.

One notable difference between the international and American groups was the amount that they would be willing to pay per year in dues as members of an ideal political party. For the first international group the amount was about \$60, on average. For the Chinese students the amount was about \$125. For the American churchgoers, who were older, the average amount was about \$230. These differences may reflect both the greater earning power of older persons and the stronger economy of the United States. They may also support the hunch that Chinese students in particular may come from wealthy families.

Another interesting finding was a positive correlation (.43\*\*) between amount of education among the thirty-four students in the first international sample and how strongly they endorsed this item:

“The peoples of all nations should learn to live peacefully together, resolving differences not by economic or military might but by discussion, working together, increasing understanding of one another and compromising.”

This questionnaire item was not included in the Chinese sample.

This correlation was not present in the American churchgoer group, even though the American group ranged more widely in education than the students.

Thus, education appears to be promoting a peaceful worldview among at least some foreign student attending United States universities.

### Summary.

Comparison of international persons with Americans supports the hypothesis that

warmongering is a trait found universally among humans and with the same import everywhere. The trait of warmongering is consistently associated with a preference for government that favors the economically powerful and wealthy and favors domination of international politics with military power. Therefore, mechanisms to guard against warmongering political leadership would seem especially important in virtually all nations. The next chapter presents a tool that can be used to this end.

### **Discussion Questions.**

1. Can you think of one nation whose people might be lower on warmongering than other nations? Why do you think they would be lower? How could one get a sample of persons from that nation to test your hunch?
2. Can you think of one or more nations whose people might be higher on warmongering than other nations? Why would they be? How could you safely sample their warmongering level?
3. Warmongers by disposition are competitive and promote government that favors business and wealth. Does this mean that countries with greatest access to natural resources will inevitably have more powerful military forces and more dangerous warmongers than poorer nations? What special precautions will such nations have to take to guard against warmongering?

I have proposed that warmongering is the core of a competitive and combative trait complex that has served the human species by reducing population numbers when resources are scarce. As such, I have implied that this trait is universal. If it is, it should show up around the world.

I checked this assumption by gathering data from a sample of citizens from other nations. My sample included thirty-four international students at the University of Oregon and nine adults from Great Britain. The countries represented were Japan, South Korea, the Fiji Islands, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania, Liberia, Pakistan, India, Italy, a Middle East nation (student declined to reveal which one), Switzerland, Norway, Sweden and England. The International Student Association on campus meets late every Friday afternoon for coffee hour. Students who volunteered to participate completed a forty-one item questionnaire in return for a Powerbar and a written summary of the research findings. The Great Britain sample was a group of retired persons from a variety of professions.

The total sample ranged in age from sixteen to eighty-eight, mean 34.5, standard deviation 22.3. Forty-four percent were males. Their years of education ranged from senior in high school (currently in their freshman year of college) through one year of graduate school.

The questionnaire included my ten-item measure of warmongering and thirty-one items measuring endorsement levels of a proposed ideal political party. All items were presented in five-option Likert scale format.

The warmongering scale was quite reliable for this sample, with an alpha coefficient of .87.

This international group was compared to a group of sixty-eight churchgoers in Eugene, Oregon who completed a 315-item questionnaire which included all of the items presented to the international sample.

The churchgoers were from two churches. They ranged in age from twelve to ninety-one, mean 62, standard deviation 17.4. Twenty-nine percent were males. They ranged in education from six to twenty-seven years.

The distribution of scores on the warmongering scale revealed some persons with elevated scores in both groups. One of sixty-eight churchgoers, or 1.5%, had a mean item score on this scale of 3.00 or higher. Nine of the forty-three international group, or twenty-one percent, had scores of 3.00 or higher. In both groups there is a minority of warmongers, defined as persons who tend to agree more than disagree with questionnaire items measuring the trait. This is consistent with all other samples of persons.

Warmongering correlated significantly with many other items in the international group questionnaire and in the same directions as for Americans. Below are correlations for the two groups. Positive correlations mean warmongers agree with the item. Negative correlations mean they disagree, as reflected by the word “not”. Figures in parentheses are not statistically significant:

<u>Correlation</u>		<u>Item with which warmongers tend to agree/disagree</u>
<u>Internat.</u>	<u>Americans</u>	
		Persons with higher scores on warmongering tend to...
.62**	.50**	Believe the peoples of the world should compete, in war if necessary.
.54**	44**	Prefer a government in which elected officials run the government primarily to serve the short-term economic interests of the special interest groups which helped them get elected (special interest group government).
.50**	51**	Would choose special interest group government over government serving the general public.
.36*	(.19)	Prefer tax levels and who is taxed to be determined by government leaders without public input.
.40**	.25*	Want their nation to strive in foreign policy to be the best and most powerful in all ways.
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Thus, education appears to be promoting a peaceful worldview among these university students.

### **Summary.**

Comparison of international persons with Americans supports the hypothesis that warmongering is a trait found universally among humans and with the same import everywhere. The trait of warmongering is consistently associated with a preference for government that favors the economically powerful and wealthy and favors domination of international politics with military power. Therefore, mechanisms to guard against warmongering political leadership would seem especially important in virtually all nations. The next chapter presents a tool that can be used to this end.

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**Chapter 20.**  
**Spotting Warmongers:**  
**A rating scale you can use.**

*Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator...I am fighting for the work of the Lord.*

- Mystery Leader.

What traits provide a basis for determining if a person is prone to warmongering?  
Is a President or other top leader who says he is inspired by God in his political vision for a nation better for the country than one who does not?

**What we have learned about the warmongering trait.**

Who do you think our Mystery Leader is, the author of the quote above? Pope John Paul II? Mother Teresa? I'll tell you shortly.

The warmongering studies began with the goal of reliably measuring the five traits that psychologists Roy and Judy Eidelson postulated as ones underlying human conflict on the large scale. The traits are worldviews, perceptions of the world, which reflect feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, injustice, distrust and superiority. The studies clarified that these five traits, reflecting "social disenfranchisement", do indeed relate negatively to several measures of pro-social behavior.

Persons high on social disenfranchisement tend to be low on measures of pro-social beliefs, including endorsement of sustainable policies and programs, such as dealing with global warming and population control at the national level and having a sustainable, proportional, budget system for public schools.

Conversely, and providing further validation of the Eidelson proposition, social disenfranchisement is positively related to a measure of warmongering and to several related antisocial traits, including Social Dominance Orientation, Right Wing Authoritarianism and At-Riskness for Violence.

Warmongering itself became the primary focus of my studies. It was found to be very reliably measurable with questionnaires. Warmongering proved to be positively related to several measures of antisocial behavior and negatively related to measures of pro-social behavior. Warmongering is also negatively related to endorsement of human rights, endorsement of kindly religious beliefs and endorsement of positive foreign policy attitudes.

In summary of the major findings, persons higher on warmongering tend to be:  
Higher on social disenfranchisement, especially at the group level.  
Higher on at riskness for violence (the ARFV test).  
Higher on Social Dominance Orientation.  
Higher on Right Wing Authoritarianism.  
Higher on fundamental religious beliefs.  
Higher on endorsement of anarchy, dictatorship and tribal democracy forms of government.  
More likely to be male than female.

Persons higher on warmongering also tend to be:  
Lower on endorsement of proportional budgeting for public schools.  
Lower on endorsement of sustainable policies and programs.  
Lower on endorsement of public democracy.  
Lower on kindly religious beliefs.  
Lower on positive foreign policy beliefs.  
Lower on endorsement of human rights.  
Lower in education.  
Lower in age.  
Lower in verbal intelligence.  
Lower on basic personality traits, tending to be disagreeable, not conscientious and emotionally unstable.

### **How dangerous is the warmongering trait?**

We can discuss the causes of war in terms of national conflicts, needs for natural resources and trade routes, national pride, economic conflicts and aggressive human dispositions. We can discuss them in terms of ethnic and religious conflicts, citing examples in Northern Ireland and the Balkans. We can argue that people of different ethnic and religious beliefs cannot long live together without conflict. However, the peoples of the Balkans have lived together for centuries, with only relatively brief periods of war. And their wars can be described as instigated by outsiders or extremists who whipped the people into conflict which they would otherwise not have experienced.

The present studies suggest that we may do well to discuss many national conflicts in terms of the activities initiated by single individual leaders, leaders who probably have been especially

high on the warmongering trait.

In retrospect, we can see that it takes only one such leader to inspire followers, gain political power and wreak havoc on a nation and its neighbors. Kaiser Willhelm II, who ascended to the German throne in 1888 as emperor is an example of a leader who presented himself as a warmonger in disposition. Having a withered left arm, which might have caused underlying feelings of helplessness and injustice, he prided himself in building the military power of Germany. He wore military uniforms. He made warmongering comments, e.g. “The soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities, have welded together the German Empire. My trust is placed in the army.”<sup>27</sup> H.G. Wells, speaking of Willhelm II said “In the old absolutisms the monarch was either God himself or the adopted agent of God; the Kaiser took God for his trusty henchman.” (Ref. below, p. 1006 ff.) The Kaiser promoted an aggressive imperialism that led Germany into World War I.

Hitler is another prime example. He was a man of limited education and antisocial tendencies which put him in prison. He was consumed with hatred, expressed in his volatile and vituperative public harangues. He rose to power not by doing good for others, serving his community, state and nation with kindness, but by bullying, intimidation, manipulation and eventually terror. Hitler gained control of a relatively advanced, modern nation and used this nation to express personal violently destructive and homicidal tendencies to the great misery of millions of people. The quote that begins this chapter is from his book Mein Kampf (My Struggle), written while in prison.<sup>28</sup> He is our “Mystery Leader”. Like Kaiser Wilhelm, he thought of himself as on divine mission.

We have seen many other warmongering leaders in just the last fifty or sixty years for whom killing seemed an end in itself: Pol Pot, Ede Amin, Slobodan Milosovec, to name a few. And history is pocked with other military leaders who seemed to see war largely as an end in itself, including Genghis Khan, Alexander the Great, Attila the Hun and Napoleon Bonaparte.

As demonstrated by such leaders the warmongering trait can be extremely dangerous.

### **What we can do to minimize war.**

The above studies provide an initial basis for making educated plans to protect nations from the influence and dangers of warmongers. We can do several things.

#### **Educate the public.**

We can educate the public on the characteristics of the warmongering personality type. We can teach that war can be a function of warmongering leadership, whipping the public into an aggressive frenzy against other nations, not because it is the wise or necessary thing to do but as an extension of a warmonger’s lust for war.

#### **Screen candidates for political office.**

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27 The Outline of History, H.G. Wells, The MacMillan Co., New York, 1923, p 1006.

28 Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf, Translated by Ralph Manheim, Manriner Books, Boston/New York, 1999, p. 65.



We can encourage political parties, journalists and news media personnel to assess political leaders and candidates for political office in terms of their warmongering dispositions. We can encourage the media to make this an important part of their news coverage and to educate the voting public carefully on manifestations of the warmongering trait in candidates for political office.

We can encourage political parties to screen their candidates for political office to exclude warmongers. We can encourage the media to publicize those parties that do and don't. We can encourage the media to warn the public of the dangers of political parties that do not disavow warmongering or the careful screening out of warmongers.

**A Politician Rating Form to Measure Warmongering-Proneness.**

It seems unlikely that candidates for political office would be willing to take tests measuring the warmongering trait and other traits to which it is related. Even if they did, we might reasonably expect they would be clever enough to fake good on them. Warmongers lie and connive. We might especially expect this within parties that cater to special interest groups, for warmongers tend to endorse this form of government and this form of government might just as comfortably endorse them.

We can help journalists and the media assess political candidates on the warmongering trait by developing rating scales based on the known facets of the warmongering trait and on the many traits known to correlate with warmongering.

For example, using the list of traits presented earlier in this chapter, I created a rating scale of fifty items that reflect traits shown to relate to warmongering. They are not a direct measure of the warmongering trait itself but constitute a scale that correlates very highly with warmongering. This scale is a measure of warmongering-proneness in the same way that the items in the At Risk for Violence test constitute a measure of violence-proneness. Let's call it the McConochie Warmongering-proneness Scale, "McWaP", for short.

**The McConochie Warmongering-proneness Scale (McWaP):**

Here is the scale:

"Circle one number for each of the items below to rate the person, thinking carefully of the specific objective evidence that supports your rating. Consider statements made by the person or behaviors while seeking leadership or acting as a leader. Consider friendships, favors accepted or given and overt affiliations or group memberships.

"Use this code:

1 Strong evidence against the trait.	2 Some evidence against the trait.	3 Neutral. A position between 2&4, or not sure.	4 Some evidence for the trait.	5 Strong evidence for the trait.
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1 2 3 4 5      1. Does the person belong to a group, organization or social class that feels helpless?

1 2 3 4 5      2. Does the person belong to a group that feels a sense of injustice?

1 2 3 4 5      3. Does the person belong to a group that feels distrust in other groups?

- 1 2 3 4 5      4. Does the person belong to a group that feels vulnerable?
- 1 2 3 4 5      5. Does the person belong to a group that feels superior to other groups?
- 1 2 3 4 5      6. Is it likely that the person feels like a failure in careers longed for or engaged in?
- 1 2 3 4 5      7. Does the person tend to think rigidly, inflexibly, unable to consider alternative points of view, alternative courses of action?
- 1 2 3 4 5      8. Does the person seem to have a lack of guilt for wrongdoing either by him/herself or by persons with whom he/she closely identifies?
- 1 2 3 4 5      9. Does the person seem preoccupied with or frequently concerned about being rejected by others?
- 1 2 3 4 5      10. Does the person engage in activities that suggest pleasure from hostile acts, such as participating in or watching violent sports, or recreational activities?
- 1 2 3 4 5      11. Does the person seem to have a reservoir of unresolved anger. For example, does he/she bear grudges? Are there persons or groups with which he/she seems constantly at odds?
- 1 2 3 4 5      12. Does the person have gun skill and access to guns?
- 1 2 3 4 5      13. Does the person seem unwilling to ask for help with personal or business problems, to carefully consider helpful suggestions or other offers of assistance?
- 1 2 3 4 5      14. Does the person show an unwillingness to help reduce violence in the community?
- 1 2 3 4 5      15. Does the person seem comfortable lying and/or using propaganda?
- 1 2 3 4 5      16. Does the person seem interested in dominating other individuals or groups?
- 1 2 3 4 5      17. Does the person seem to think it is his/her position, right or duty to dominate others?
- 1 2 3 4 5      18. Does the person hold membership in groups or organizations who advocate dominating other groups?
- 1 2 3 4 5      19. Does the person maintain an authoritarian stance vis a vis other persons or groups?
- 1 2 3 4 5      20. Does the person associate with or endorse groups that advocate authoritarian views, opinions or actions?
- 1 2 3 4 5      21. Does the person hold fundamental religious beliefs, e.g. that there is only one true God and that anyone that disagrees with this belief is wrong?
- 1 2 3 4 5      22. Does the person disavow kindly religious beliefs, e.g. that all peoples should strive to cooperate and compromise to get along together?
- 1 2 3 4 5      23. Does the person advocate or condone anarchy forms of government?
- 1 2 3 4 5      24. Does the person advocate or support military dictatorship forms of government?
- 1 2 3 4 5      25. Does the person advocate government serving special interest groups rather than citizens in general?
- 1 2 3 4 5      26. Does the person have a messianic self-image, a sense of personal destiny or duty to achieve great things?
- 1 2 3 4 5      27. Does the person lack a college education?
- 1 2 3 4 5      28. Does the person lack verbal intelligence? Be careful in rating this one. Don't assume that a person is not intelligent just because they have done a few "stupid" things. High verbal intelligence is often reflected in traits and activities such as sophisticated conversation, good memory, comprehensive awareness of relevant information, high grades in school, high levels of formal education, significant achievement in career activities, etc. Don't assume the person has high verbal intelligence just because they have a college degree.

- 1 2 3 4 5      29. Does the person disavow endorsement of human rights, e.g. prisoner of war rights and equal status for women?
- 1 2 3 4 5      30. Does the person disavow international global warming treaties?
- 1 2 3 4 5      31. Does the person disavow international arms control treaties?
- 1 2 3 4 5      32. Does the person disavow endorsement of fossil fuel conservation and eventual replacement with renewable, non-polluting fuels?
- 1 2 3 4 5      33. Does the person disavow conservation of forests and fresh water fisheries?
- 1 2 3 4 5      34. Does the person disavow public democracy, direct participation by the public in government policy decision-making?
- 1 2 3 4 5      35. Does the person disavow a kindly foreign policy, e.g. fighting terrorism with non-military means more than military ones?
- 1 2 3 4 5      36. Does the person disavow a kindly foreign policy helping other nations achieve their goals?
- 1 2 3 4 5      37. Does the person disavow support of the United Nations organization?
- 1 2 3 4 5      38. Does the person have a disagreeable personality, being oppositional, irritable, contrary, argumentative or unsupportive of others?
- 1 2 3 4 5      39. Does the person have tendencies toward anxiety, depression or other signs of emotional instability?
- 1 2 3 4 5      40. Does the person have strong trust in top government leaders and cabinet members?
- 1 2 3 4 5      41. Does the person advocate unquestioning loyalty to such leaders?
- 1 2 3 4 5      42. Does the person think spending for military activities should be increased?
- 1 2 3 4 5      43. Does the person disavow the idea of his/her national budget being determined by direct vote of the citizens?
- 1 2 3 4 5      44. Does the person think his/her nation should try to control the world with military power?
- 1 2 3 4 5      45. Does the person advocate retaliation against wrongdoers?
- 1 2 3 4 5      46. Does the person advocate access to and use of nuclear weapons or other very destructive weapons, if needed to achieve military ends?
- 1 2 3 4 5      47. Does the person have interest in military activities, manufacturers, armed forces, weapons?
- 1 2 3 4 5      48. Does the person enjoy war movies, war stories, hostile video games?
- 1 2 3 4 5      49. Does the person think war is a noble and glorious activity?
- 1 2 3 4 5      50. Does the person think that powerful nations in the past have been justified in killing peoples in underdeveloped countries to get control of their gold, silver, land or other resources?"

This rating form was initially tested by having nineteen adults complete it on President George W. Bush and his 2004 Presidential opponent John Kerry. The raters were middle-aged adults, twelve of whom were from a mainstream Christian church that includes both Democrats and Republicans. I did not ask raters to indicate either their own names or political affiliations. They ranged in age from twenty-nine to eighty, mean age of sixty-two, standard deviation 11.4. Eight were men. They ranged in education from twelve to twenty-two years, mean 16.7 years (college degree, plus). The data was collected in January-March, 2005.

All of the nineteen persons viewed Bush as higher than Kerry. The mean item score for

Bush was 3.99 (above the midpoint of 3.5). For Kerry it was 2.13. The scores clustered tightly around the means (standard deviation .42 for Bush, .31 for Kerry). The difference between these mean scores was highly statistically significant at the .000 level (could have occurred by chance less than one in 1000 studies). These people rated Bush as significantly more prone to warmongering than Kerry.

To get an estimate of the absolute degree of warmongering-proneness reflected in scores of 3.99 and 2.13, note that on this 5 point Likert scale a 4 means “Agree”, the politician has the trait. A 5 means “Strongly agree”, the politician definitely has the trait. Therefore, a mean item score above the midpoint of the scale, 3.5, would indicate a positive score, “has the trait”. A mean item score below 3.5 would indicate “does not have the trait”. From this perspective, Bush would have the trait and Kerry would not.

We can also examine the percentile equivalents of mean item scores of 2.13 (Kerry) and 3.99 (Bush) on the related measure of warmongering itself as normed on the adults in prior studies reported in earlier chapters. For example, using the 214 American adult sample, a mean item score of 2.20 corresponds to the 67<sup>th</sup> percentile. A score of 3.99 is above the 100<sup>th</sup> percentile, which is 3.6.

Scores between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles are considered to be “average” on widely accepted measures of other major psychological traits, such as intelligence. By this framework, Kerry’s score somewhat below the 67<sup>th</sup> percentile would fall in the average range on warmongering-proneness, while Bush’s score at the 100<sup>th</sup> percentile would fall in the very high range.

As mentioned above, this instrument measures traits related to warmongering, not warmongering itself. We can expect that scores on this instrument would correlate very highly with scores on the warmongering scale.

We saw evidence of this in the last chapter. The multiple correlation between several of the traits included in the McWaP and warmongering was .80. The traits included in this statistic were the Big Five personality traits, the social disenfranchisement total scores for the five individual and five group measures, the sustainability endorsement scale, age and education.

To further check this expectation of a high correlation between the McWaP scale and warmongering, I ran a multiple correlation between nine of the many dimensions in the McWaP on the one hand and warmongering on the other for the samples of thirty-five and thirty-three churchgoers. The dimensions were age, education, Big Five personality traits, intelligence (measured by my twelve-item scale), religious fundamentalism and kindly religious beliefs measured by my scales, human rights endorsement (forty-four item scale), a measure of ecology or sustainability endorsement and my twelve-item lie/conniving scale. In effect, I used the information in all of these nine dimensions to predict the warmongering score. The multiple correlations were .85 and .82 respectively.

These correlations, ranging from .80 to .85 would appear to be an underestimate of the relationship between warmongering and the McWaP scale itself, as the McWaP is based on more

than the dimensions included in any of these three studies.

These rather high multiple correlations, supported the expectation that the McWaP, if reliable, would provide a very accurate estimate of the warmongering disposition itself. You will see just how accurate in the next chapter.

### **Summary.**

The many traits that correlate significantly with warmongering provide a basis for developing a rating scale which, if reliable enough, might provide a valid measure of warmongering. This scale might then be useful to screen political candidates. The next chapter presents scores of twenty-five historical and current leaders. Who do you suppose is Number One in the Hall of Infamy?

### **What traits provide a basis for determining if a person is prone to warmongering?**

All the traits that correlate positively or negatively with warmongering each provide information that can be used to measure a person's warmongering-proneness.

### **Is a President or other top leader who says he is inspired by God in his political vision for a nation better for the country than one who does not?**

Given the tendency of some warmongers to claim they are inspired by a god, this would seem to be a signal for danger, especially if the leader endorses fundamentalist religious beliefs.

### **Discussion questions.**

1. Have you been inclined to place more faith in political leaders who claim to be serving religious goals, inspired by God? What are the pros and cons of such faith in leaders?
2. What do you think of the idea of screening political candidates on warmongering-proneness? Are there other traits on which candidates should be screened?
3. If candidates are to be screened, who should do the screening to make it objective and fair?

## **Chapter 21. Warmonger Hall of Infamy: Who is number one?**

Comparing historical leaders, which do you think would score highest on warmongering: Truman, Jimmy Carter and Lincoln or F.D.R., Churchill and Lyndon Johnson?  
How can a warmongering-proneness rating form be validated using dead warmongers?

### **Tales from the Crypt.**

A sophisticated way to establish markers for politicians' scores on warmongering proneness would be to obtain scores on the McWaP for well-known political leaders, some considered to be warmongers, some not. For example, it would be interesting to have scores on

Napoleon Bonaparte, Hitler and Stalin, compared to Lincoln, Roosevelt and Churchill. If the first three leaders have scores higher than the latter three, this would add support to the validity of the instrument and provide objective anchor points on the scale. Indeed, if we could reliably rate historical leaders, we could create a “Hall of Fame”. Or, more appropriately, a “Hall of Infamy”. We can rate leaders long dead, as long as sufficient historical data about their lives is available.

A slightly modified version of the McWaP was created for rating historical leaders. Rating form items were phrased in the past tense and some items were adjusted for historical realities (e.g. no nuclear weapons in Bonaparte’s time). About twenty-five adults rated political leaders on the McWap. They rated leaders with whom they felt familiar from reading history, biographies, etc.. These raters ranged in age from twenty-nine to eighty. Most were between age forty-seven and seventy-two. They were well-educated college graduates, many with advanced degrees, either retired history teachers or history buffs who read biographies on historical leaders. 112 ratings were obtained on twenty-five current and past leaders.

The score reliability for the fifty items in the scale for this data was extremely high, .98. The McWaP provides a very reliable measure. 49 of the 50 items in the scale correlated significantly with the total score. 38 of the 50 items correlated .60 or higher with the total score. 18 correlated above .80. The only item that didn’t correlate was an item that asked if the person rated was of the male gender. Because all of the persons rated were males, this item didn’t add anything to differentiating persons on this scale. This item has been replaced with item 26, based on subsequent research which will be presented in Chapter 25: “26. Does the person have a messianic self-image, a sense of personal destiny or duty to achieve great things?”

The fact that the 49 items all correlate significantly with the total score is another indication that all of these dimensions are parts of warmongering, facets of this very real human trait. In a sense, this is an indirect confirmation of the validity of prior studies documenting the relationships between the warmongering trait and all of the other psychological traits included in the McWap scale.

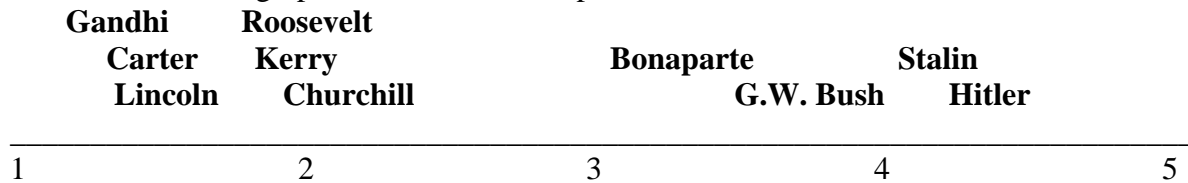
Consider these scores obtained initially on ten leaders:

**Scores for 10 Historical and Current Political Leaders on the McConochie Warmongering-proneness Scale**

<u>Mean item score.</u>	<u>Political leader.</u>
1.52	Mahatma Gandhi
1.82	Jimmy Carter
1.83	Lincoln
2.00	F.D. Roosevelt
2.13	John Kerry
2.35	Churchill
3.46	Napoleon Bonaparte

3.99	G. W. Bush
4.30	Stalin
4.42	Hitler

On a linear graph, these ten leaders spread out like this:



As expected, the scores for militant leaders, Bonaparte, Stalin and Hitler, are higher than for non-militant leaders, Gandhi and Jimmy Carter.

### Double Checking.

To check the validity of the scores I created a rating form asking persons to rate these initially rated leaders and several others (twenty in total) on a scale from 1 to 5 on warmongering defined not as warmongering per se but simply as:

“promoting the development and use, for aggressive purposes, of military weapons and forces (armies, navies, etc.).”

Twenty-two adults did these ratings. They were well-educated and were middle-aged for the most part (mean age of sixty, standard deviation 11.2 years). Twenty-seven percent were men. They all had a college education, many with advanced degrees (mean 17.9 years, standard deviation 1.7 years). Gender did not correlate strongly with many scores; these results are not gender-biased. Sixteen of these raters were members of main-stream Christian churches. None of these adults had done the McWaP ratings. The reliability of these ratings was .99, computed by transposing the file and computing the alpha for the 22 raters’ scores.

Computations were made to find the average (mean) ratings for the twenty leaders (twenty-two ratings for each one). These scores provide perspective on the range of the warmongering disposition as viewed by educated American adults:

### Mean Scores for Past and Current Political Leaders on a 1-item Rating of “Promoting Military Aggression”.

1.1	Mahatma Gandhi
1.3	Nelson Mandela
1.8	Jimmy Carter (Nobel Prize winner.)
2.6	Bill Clinton
2.6	Lincoln
2.8	John Kerry
2.8	Woodrow Wilson (Founder of League of Nations.)
3.1	F.D. Roosevelt
3.5	Eisenhower

3.6	Churchill
3.7	Teddy Roosevelt
4.2	George H. Bush
4.3	George Patton
4.5	Alexander the Great
4.6	Stalin
4.7	Napoleon Bonaparte
4.8	Attila the Hun
4.8	Genghis Khan
4.9	G. W. Bush
5.0	Hitler

A correlation was computed between these scores and the McWaP rating form scores for the ten leaders included in both groups. The correlation was .92\*\*, very high, providing evidence for the validity of the McWaP scale as a measure of warmongering-proneness. Persons with high scores on the fifty-item McWaP scale tend to be rated independently by other adults as high on “promoting the development and use, for aggressive purposes, of military weapons and forces.” When data was obtained for a total of twenty leaders on the McWaP, the correlation between the one-item warmongering form and the fifty-item McWaP form was .90\*\*.

Here are a few more scores for leaders rated on the fifty-item McWaP. These are just one retired person’s ratings. The rater has a masters degree from Stanford University and a long-term interest in history as a retired high school social sciences teacher:

<u>Mean Item Score</u>	<u>Leader</u>
George Washington	1.82
Harry Truman	1.84
J. F. Kennedy	2.1
Lyndon Johnson	2.56
Saddam Hussein	4.6

Here’s a chart of all the McWaP data (112 ratings) on leaders to date. These were provided by raters who were primarily between ages forty-seven and seventy-two with college educations:

Chart of Mean item Scores for 25 Leaders  
on the 50-item McConochie Warmongering Proneness Scale (McWap)

<u>Leader</u>	<u>Score</u>	<u>Standard deviation</u>	<u>Number of raters</u>
Nelson Mandela	1.61	.16	2
Mahatma Gandhi	1.71	.23	5
Jimmy Carter	1.73	.34	3



George Washington	1.82	-	1
Harry Truman	1.84	-	1
Lincoln	1.92	.47	6
F.D. Roosevelt	1.98	.37	8
Bill Clinton	2.09	.13	2
J.F. Kennedy	2.10	-	1
Teddy Roosevelt	2.12	.42	2
John Kerry	2.14	.30	20
Winston Churchill	2.20	.58	8
D. Eisenhower	2.29	.21	2
Woodrow Wilson	2.47	.24	2
Lyndon Johnson	2.56	-	1
G. H. Bush	2.6	.00	2
George Patton	3.11	.24	2
N. Bonaparte	3.64	.37	4
Alexander the Great	3.73	.02	2
Genghis Khan	3.98	-	1
G. W. Bush	4.00	.40	21
Attila the Hun	4.04	-	1
Stalin	4.21	.26	6
Hitler	4.50	.29	7
Saddam Hussein	4.68	.11	2

These figures list Saddam Hussein as “Number One” in the Warmonger Hall of Infamy, followed by Hitler, Stalin, Attila the Hun and G. W. Bush.

I showed these scores to a friend of mine. She said, “But those are just opinions, aren’t they?” We didn’t have time then to discuss this issue, but I thought about her hesitation later. These aren’t “just opinions.” They are scores obtained by persons carefully using a very reliable measuring instrument. They are not unlike the figures you would get from a responsible realtor using a steel tape measure to calculate the square footage of your house. She would measure the length and width of each room and multiply, adding the figures for all rooms to find the total. You would have little reason to question the accuracy of her numbers, as you trust both the realtor and the measuring instrument she used.

Similarly, I believe you can trust the numbers above provided by the well-educated raters using the reliable McWaP measuring instrument.

You can double-check the scores by repeating them, for example on Kerry and G. W. Bush.

Rate each politician, creating a list of fifty numbers, one for each of the fifty items in the scale. Put your answers on a separate sheet of paper. Don't mark up your book. Total the scores for the fifty items, double-checking the figure before you divide. Then divide this number by fifty to get the mean item score for the leader.

It would be wise to have two or three other persons familiar with the leader independently do this. Then add your mean item scores and divide by the number of raters. For example, if three of you rate a leader such as G. W. Bush and get mean item scores of 4.8, 4.6 and 4.9, the sum of these is 14.3. Divided by three is 4.77. Use this score for the leader. Compare it to the score in the list above.

It would be interesting to see scores on Edi Amin, Slobodan Milosovic, Mao Tse Tung and Fidel Castro, compared to Pope John Paul II, Mother Teresa, Martin Luther King, Jr. and Billy Graham. If you mail your findings to me, describing the backgrounds of the raters. I'll add them to my data. Please include your gender, age and years of education.

It is important to be very familiar with a leader when making ratings. Reading a good biography can help. For some leaders, scores may depend on which phase of their life you rate them. Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, for example, had a career recognized for promoting peace when younger but terrorism when older. Indicate which phase you are rating a leader for, if you send me your scores.

### **Use of the McWaP Rating Form.**

It is important that use of a rating form for assessing politicians does not lead to charges of "profiling" or McCarthyism. Certainly we would not want to falsely accuse persons who are not warmongers. One way to guard against this would be to encourage use of the scale primarily by groups of careful, well-informed journalists, academicians and other students of the political scene and to aggregate their scores, taking the mean score across several careful raters, as I did for twenty or more raters of Bush and Kerry, above. This would help to assure that comparisons between leaders are reliable and fair.

The stakes in national leadership are high. The lives of literally millions of soldiers and non-combatant civilians hang in the balance. Can we not justify erring on the side of caution? All selection techniques, e.g. interviews, tests and background checks in job applicant screening, have a degree of error. Certainly political commentary in the media is not without bias. And political leaders can deceive the public with propaganda in election campaigns.

If error is less when using scientifically designed rating forms than when using informal techniques, then something of value is gained. This rating form, as only one of several methods for assessing political candidates, would seem a worthwhile tool to help exclude from political office candidates of a warmongering disposition.

### **Selectively support political parties.**

We can discourage support for political parties that endorse warmongering and that disavow positive foreign policies, human rights and sustainable policies and programs.

We can encourage, support and promote political parties which disdain warmongering and which promote and advocate sustainability, international human rights, kindly religious thinking, positive foreign policy and political candidates and leadership that advocate these values.

If no current political parties clearly and comprehensively promote these values, we can encourage the formation of a new political party that does.

What would we want such a party to look like? We can define its initial parameters via thinking and research.

### **Summary.**

The McConochie Warmongering-Proneness scale is a very reliable instrument for rating both historical figures and current leaders and candidates for political office, as long as one has enough data upon which to base judgments. This instrument can be used to assess candidates for office by having a number of careful, well-informed raters pool their scores to form an average score for each leader rated.

In addition to this technique, nations can protect themselves from warmongering by developing and supporting political parties of a certain type. This is the topic of my next research studies, presented in the next and last section of this book.

### **1. Comparing historical leaders, which would score highest on warmongering: Truman, Jimmy Carter and Lincoln or F.D.R., Churchill and Lyndon Johnson?**

F.D.R., Churchill and Johnson are higher than Truman, Carter and Lincoln. But many others are much higher.

### **2. How can a warmongering-proneness rating form be validated using dead warmongers?**

By comparing scores on the rating form with scores on a rating of “promoting military activity” and by obtaining rating form scores on a variety of historical figures known to vary from high to low warmongering behavior.

### **Discussion Questions.**

1. Are you surprised by any of the scores for political and military leaders on the McWaP scale? Which ones? Why were you surprised? How could you double-check the scores?
2. How confident would you be in completing the McWaP on a political leader? Do you feel you know leaders well enough to make accurate ratings of the fifty items in the scale? If not, whose ratings would you trust?
3. If an historical figure was a peace-promoting leader at one point in his/her career and a warmonger in another, how would you explain this difference? Does such two-faced behavior necessarily negate a genetic or evolutionary explanation of the warmongering trait?

### **Section III** **The Psychology of Good and Bad Government**

*The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good persons to do nothing.*  
- Edmund Burke

#### **Introduction to Section III; Government Theory and Beyond.**

For centuries philosophers have offered theories about what form government should take. More recently, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and others have offered speculations about the expected course of history regarding economic, political, government and social systems, proposing an expected evolution through various stages with implicit benefits increasingly to a wider segment of society.

However, in practice, Communism as an expression of the supposed more advanced endpoint of such theories has been characterized by totalitarian political regimes, military dictatorships, and oppression of citizens, including imprisonment and executions. The welfare of the masses has been oppressed more than improved under such regimes.

Such political theories have been based on social and economic philosophy originating in the minds of theorists. These theorists have cited selected historical and economic data to support their theories. However, this data has not clearly included data from well-designed assessments of the opinions from the general citizenry as to what they want in terms of economic opportunity, government function or services or other life benefits.

Even the founding fathers of the U.S. Declaration of Independence and Constitution, such as Jefferson, based their theories on what may be considered benevolent, authoritarian social philosophy. The theorists took it upon themselves to decide what the people wanted or deserved, often backed up with a reference to religious authority. Consider Jefferson's comments in the Declaration of Independence:

“We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.” Safety was another Right, which government is designed to assure, according to Jefferson.

It is interesting to note that while Jefferson took it upon himself to decide the initial basic needs and desires of the citizenry, he implicitly bequeathed to the citizens the right and responsibility to make these decisions for themselves. At his time in history there was no practical way to assess and quantify such public desire, so it was reasonable for Jefferson and his colleagues to make a best guess to get the new government started.

However, among his initial rights of citizens was the right to define what sort of government they want and to revise or replace government that does not suit them.

Thus, he paved the way for what in the 21<sup>st</sup> century is possible, scientifically sophisticated assessment of public desire for what kind of government the people want, to include what specific

public needs or “rights” it is to serve and how it is expected to serve them.

In my experience from discussing these issues with friends, some well-educated persons are uncomfortable with letting the “masses” define the goals and mechanisms of government, perhaps fearing mass hysteria or oppression of minorities. However, to avoid assessing public desires for this reason seems a function more of fear and narrow-mindedness than of respect and concern for the citizens.

Recommending assessment of public opinion as a basis for designing government is not to propose some form of simplistic socialism or some form of a priori expectation of what the masses will want. Nor is it an invitation for individuals to assume another form of benevolent authoritarianism by designing questionnaires to get only what the questionnaire designers want to get. It is not an invitation to socially engineer or to create utopian societies.

It is merely an invitation to carefully explore via well-designed and open-minded research what the citizens want in terms of government services. It seems possible that what they want will be reasonable. If it is, then the data they provide can comfortably guide the design of government.

Government designed on such hard data would seem more likely to succeed in meeting the needs of the majority of citizens than government based merely on political theory, educated guesses about what is good for citizens.

Science in general has been successful and valuable to people by proceeding from objective data, to theory, to testable hypotheses, to research, to fact, and then to application in designing goods and services based on this fact. If political science and political psychology are to be truly sciences, generating hard facts upon which one can build useful designs for government, then they too must be based on more than just theory.

Indeed, just theory, unchecked and tried by changing a government on the hunch that the new government will be better, is a very risky business. Socialism tried in the form of Communism has rapidly morphed into military dictatorships in many nations. The welfare of the people is too precious to experiment with in this manner.

Theories about desirable forms of government should be studied scientifically before they are tried in national governments. A model for a new form of government is probably best tried out as a new political party before it is tried out as a national government. If it works well at the party level, then it can be tried in governments themselves.

In applied psychology, psychologists carefully diagnose or otherwise assess their clients' needs before offering services. Clinical psychologists diagnose mental and emotional problems before offering treatment or other recommendations and services. School psychologists assess children and school systems before offering treatment or system recommendations. I/O psychologists carefully listen to and assess business and organizational problems before designing and implementing services.

Applied scientists who are interested in government are devoted to serving the citizens of a

state or nation as their clients. Therefore, carefully understanding from their clients what their needs are would seem the logical starting point. These needs can be accurately assessed with questionnaires.

For example, my studies asked people how strongly they endorse five general types of government, four actual forms and one hypothetical one. You will recall the data from a prior chapter:

Percent of 214 U.S. adults who endorse as desirable five forms of national government:

- 1% Anarchy. No government at all, just roving bands of armed bandits who rob, kill and do whatever they want.
- ½% Military dictatorship, headed by a powerful military leader who controls everything and everyone in the country and prevents anyone else from replacing him.
- 6% Monarchy, headed by a king or queen, with a supportive parliament of elected representatives. They run the country as they “benevolently” see fit.
- 18% Tribal democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the short-term economic interests of the special interest groups (“economic tribes”) which helped them get elected.
- 91% Public democracy. Elected officials run the government to serve the current and long-term best interests of the community overall, including sustainable programs such as conservation of resources and control of pollution and global warming. No one special interest group or groups are favored.

This data suggests that people prefer government that serves their needs as they see them as a group, not as competing, self-centered individuals. The data also suggests that people prefer government that lets them have a voice in government decisions. The more “democratic” the government form, the more strongly it is endorsed. This suggests that the history of government, if you will, has been a steady progression over the centuries toward forms of government that provide an increasing participation by the citizens in government decision-making.

This conflicts with the notion proposed by social theorists such as Marx, who have postulated that history reflects a progression of social, economic and government systems through capitalism to socialism. In my opinion, the progression of government is through authoritarian to more democratic forms of government and more specifically from representative to direct democracy at its most advanced level.

There is nothing inherently evil about capitalism defined as reinvestment of savings to users other than the saver. Such savings are “capital”. Free markets and private ownership of production and distribution are also common features of capitalism. When people in a community have a reliable banking system, those who save provide capital that others in the community use via bank loans to buy homes and finance new businesses. 90 percent of the businesses in the United States are family-owned businesses, employing 50 percent of the workforce. There is nothing inherently evil about this. Indeed, when done carefully, it is a system that stimulates creative, energetic effort by citizens who have good ideas, good products and services and good intentions in providing goods and services to the community.

Government that is vulnerable to control by relatively small groups is more vulnerable to corruption and disservice to the citizens as a whole than governments of greater democratic citizen control. Therefore, the history of government can be considered a progression to forms of government that are less and less vulnerable to corruption and disservice. Progression from representative democracy to public democracy will, theoretically, lead to less corruption and disservice by government.

Government is not economics, though the two are intertwined. Whether a nation has a capitalistic or other form of economic system is not as important in protecting citizens from evil as their form of government. Capitalism combined with authoritarian government, including tribal democracy, is likely to be more prone to corruption than capitalism combined with public democracy.

### **The Danger of Warmongers in Control of Government.**

In section II, above, we see reasons for all current nations to be at continuing risk for war. Warmongers prefer government types that minorities can control. Warmongers are in the minority. Virtually all current national governments are controllable by minorities. As long as governments are controllable by minorities, as are military dictatorships, monarchies and tribal democracies, those governments and nations will be vulnerable to warmongering.

We can do three things to protect nations in the future from warmongering:

1. Educate the public on the nature of the warmongering trait,
2. Arm journalists with rating scales such as the McWap to identify the warmongering dispositions of politicians running for office and thus keep them out of office, and
3. Help nations develop governments controlled by the majority of citizens.

My research had shown that a large majority of the public seems to endorse a form of democracy, “public democracy”, that supports a wide range of constructive programs for environmental protection, positive foreign policies and promotion of human rights. In stark contrast, warmongers do not support this form of government and these policies and programs. What the majority of the public wants is constructive and peace-promoting: “good government”. What the warmonger wants is selfish, short-sighted and conflict-oriented: “bad government”.

All Americans are members of one or another special interest group. In spite of this, eighty to over ninety percent of adults I studied want government that would serve the best interests of the community overall rather than *any* special interest groups.

I believed it was important to try to imagine how public democracy would function and specifically the design of a political party that would promote such government. One reason public democracy is important is to protect nations from warmongering leadership.

Warmongers are in the minority, perhaps 5 percent. They tend to endorse forms of government in which minorities can control government: anarchy, military dictatorship, monarchy and tribal democracy. Otherwise, they would not be able to gain enough control of a government to command its military forces to wage war. Therefore, as long as a nation’s government is of a

sort that minorities can control and as long as the warmongering trait is present in some of its citizens, the nation will be at risk for warmongering. It seems unlikely that the warmongering trait will ever vanish from the human species. Therefore, the only long-term hope for peace is for a nation to transition to a new form of government that is not controllable by minority interests.

How could one learn how a public democracy government would function? If we could communicate with civilizations in other galaxies, civilizations 10,000 years more advanced than our own, we could ask them. Or, if there was money to be made from a working design for such a government, we could raise several hundred million dollars in capital from investors, hire a thousand social scientists, and give them the assignment to design a few working models of such government. As Boeing did when designing the 747 passenger airliner, we could instruct the social scientists to carefully interview the “customer”, members of the public, to assure that the designs would fit the desires of the eventual consumer.

I knew that even with radio astronomy the distances between galaxies are so great we will never be able to establish prompt communication with other interstellar civilizations. I lacked confidence that there was a viable financial “market” for a public democracy blueprint. I lacked the time for or interest in pushing the idea of a corporation to pursue it. I was left to my imagination. I’d been toying with a design for public democracy for years. I designed what I thought might be a reasonable model for a political party that would promote public democracy and conducted studies to see how strongly the public would support its various facets.

The party as I imagined it would be dedicated to serving the Best Interests of the Community Overall (BICO). The BICO party is designed to periodically carefully poll the general public to ascertain how the public wants government to serve. The BICO party would then craft specific program options to provide such government. It would then poll its party members to determine preferred options. These preferred options would constitute the current party platform, the government policies and programs advocated by the party and its candidates for public office. The new party would help protect the nation from warmongers by keeping itself free of special interest group money and influence and by screening its candidates for political office to make sure they are not warmongers.

## **Chapter 22.**

### **Designing a New Political Party: Would BICOs try harder?**

How much money does it take to support a political party?

Who would an ideal political party serve?

How can one know a party design will work?

### **A case for public democracy.**

In the studies discussed above there is evidence that the public is disenchanted with government that serves special interest groups, no matter which interest groups. Only eighteen percent of 214 Americans agree or strongly agree that government serving special interest groups (tribal or special interest group democracy) is desirable. Those who endorse this sort of government tend to be higher on warmongering. In contrast, ninety-one percent of this group



endorse government serving the best interests of the community overall (public democracy). These persons tend to be lower on warmongering.

In the research questionnaires people have been given the option of supporting or endorsing each of these and other government types independently, so eighteen plus ninety-one does not have to equal 100 percent. Their preference is not relative; they did not have to endorse one form of government relative to another. Their preference is absolute. Clearly, when given a choice, the public appears to prefer a new form of government, something that will take them beyond partisan or special interest group politics.

I ran correlations between the item on the questionnaire asking for endorsement level for public democracy and the other variables, using the sample of 383 Nigerians and Americans. There were several significant correlations that suggest the characteristics of persons who endorse public democracy. They tend to be:

- Older rather than younger.
- More often females than males.
- Better educated.
- Not feeling socially disenfranchised as either individuals or group members.
- Extroverted, agreeable, conscientious and emotionally stable.
- They endorse sustainable programs and policies, including the proportional budgeting system for public schools.
- They tend to be low on warmongering.

Correlations indicate tendencies. There are many men and younger adults who endorse public democracy too.

In a prior chapter we saw that persons endorsing public democracy also tend to endorse human rights. In those studies I began exploring the specific characteristics that the public prefers or expects in national government leaders. The results were similar across studies of community college students and two church groups.

For example, the majority think that political leaders should have a college degree, including courses in government and political science, economics, social science, international cultures and world religions, and conflict resolution and mediation. They think leaders do not necessarily need training as lawyers but should have several years of outstanding employment experience in a major leadership job, such as several years of experience in public office at the state government level.

The majority of these adults think that government should encourage citizens to be informed, thinking and participating in government decision-making by voting on policies and issues, such as how the national budget is spent and whether gay marriage is legal. They do not think such voting should be restricted by education level; all registered voters should have this privilege and responsibility. They do not think government policy decision-making should be left up to the President and Congress.

The majority of the American adults (ninety-two percent) would like to learn more about Federal budget issues and vote on how the budget is spent. The adults in this study were able to provide clear information about how they want the budget adjusted, specifically a reduction in military spending and an increase in spending for human resources and physical resources. They think we should strive for a balanced budget, spending less than we take in. They think we should pay off the national debt. In response to questions similar to those asking for government type endorsement, seventy-seven percent prefer government that serves the best interests of the community overall rather than government that serves primarily the interests of business, labor and the elderly or the environment.

The majority of these 214 American adults clearly support positive foreign policies, including treaties to reduce nuclear weapons and greenhouse gasses, replacement of fossil fuels, conservation of natural resources, population control, national health care, limits on offensive media broadcasting, and support of the United Nations. They do not advocate military domination of the world.

Of special significance is the data that show warmongers tend to hold views opposite to those of the public majority. The public majority opinion seems to be wise, responsible and kind. The public do not present themselves in these studies as self-centered, selfish, mean or short-sighted. Those traits characterize the warmongering personality.

### **Beyond Partisan Politics.**

In my questionnaires I have not used the terms “Republican” or “Democrat” or any other common party monikers. I have instead referred to business, labor, the elderly, the environment. The data forthcoming, while not referring to traditional political parties by name, nevertheless gives rather strong support to the idea that Americans are not very interested in power politics as practiced by traditional parties. Instead, they consistently and strongly endorse government of a much broader agenda, including the best interests of the community overall, a strong concern for fiscal responsibility and a balanced national budget, a concern for the future and the environment, a non-militaristic and kindly foreign policy and direct citizen participation in government policy decision-making.

The data implicitly call for a major revision of old parties or a new political party.

What characteristics would this revised or new party have? What name would it have? It is a party that has at its core a desire for government that represents the best interests of the community overall. *Best Interests of the Community Overall*. Should it be the “BICO” party? Let’s use this term for now. Eventually, the name should be decided by a vote of party members.

### **Model for a New Party.**

The French writer Jules Verne said “What one man can imagine, other men can build.” Perhaps he was referring to his imagined submarine, which other men did indeed build a few decades after he wrote vividly about submarines in his novel Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea. Based on the results of the above studies, I felt my next research challenge was to imagine a

new political party. If I could imagine it in detail, perhaps political scientists and activists could some day create it.

I tried to imagine the “BICO” party clearly enough that I could conduct studies to see if the general public would endorse its necessary and essential structures and functions. Eventually, the party’s characteristics would be defined by the general public, for, if the party is to represent the best interests of the community overall, then we must depend heavily on that community to help design the party.

It appeared from questionnaire data that the majority of adults have confidence that they are intelligent and interested enough to learn about important issues and contribute directly to making government decisions by voting. I could capitalize upon this confidence and interest by using questionnaires to explore the features of an ideal party.

Eventually, a good random sample of 1,500 members of the citizenry can reveal within 4 percentage points how the whole national population thinks on issues. If the majority will endorse a viable party design, then we can have confidence that such a design would be worth following in building a new party.

### **Designing the BICO party.**

I tried to imagine the primary and necessary features of an ideal political party that would serve the interests of the community overall. I realized, of course, that mine would be only one such possible design and perhaps not the best, but the effort had to begin somewhere. Once this was done, I could create questionnaires to solicit public input and endorsement levels.

The idea of democracy of a more direct sort than representative democracy is not new. As pointed out by Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., James Madison, as one of the founding fathers of our nation, distinguished between “pure democracy”, in which citizens directly administer the government in person, and government administered by elected representatives.<sup>29</sup> Direct democracy has gone by many names, Schlesinger points out: such as plebiscitary, direct, cyber, and electronic town hall democracy.

He makes two important points. Democracy as practiced to date does not guarantee peaceful nations or governments. Nor does it guarantee serving the best interests of the populace represented by elected leaders. For example, Hitler was elected into office.

Schlesinger also points out that electronically processed public opinion polling as a feature of modern technology makes direct democracy more practical and possible, though he warns that we would have to guard against letting momentary poll results reflecting momentary mass hysteria supplant wise decisions.

Advanced forms of democracy must protect nations from inadvertently electing

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<sup>29</sup> Schlesinger, Arthur M., *War and the American Presidency*, W. W. Norton Co, New York, p. 110.

warmongering leaders, such as Hitler. I have shown in the prior section how warmongering-proneness can be assessed in political candidates to this end.

Advanced forms of democracy must also guard against reliance upon potentially unwise, hysterical public opinion on issues of momentary importance. Modern electronic technology does lend itself to careful assessment of public desires, interests and preferences. Advanced forms of democracy would have to rely on more stable public desires than momentary opinions. Such advanced forms could be designed to rely on public opinion for general government policy formation but not on public opinion of a potentially hysterical, flash-in-the-pan sort on issues of momentary importance. The challenge is to design democratic government that is closely in line with overall public desire, but not necessarily with moment-to-moment public opinion. The model I present below strives to accomplish this. But first, any new form of democracy must deal realistically with the need for significant political party funding independent of special interest groups.

### **The need for money.**

To compete with existing political parties, a new party must be realistic about the fact that much money is needed to support successful political party activity. Unless money can be raised to a significant amount, any plan for a new party is just so much dreaming. And this funding must be independent of special interest groups, for such groups can restrict control of government to minority interests aligned with warmongering.

I had thought about an ideal political party off and on for many years. It had some of the features suggested by my recent studies. Before building more questionnaires to flesh out the details of such a party, I had lunch with a couple of local politicians who between them have served in government at the local, state and national level for decades. I asked them about forming a new political party. Their main response was to point out the need for considerable funding. They explained the reason.

Politicians and candidates for political office must raise much money to hire consultants and for advertizing and related campaign expenses. At the Federal level, television ads are used extensively and are very expensive. At the State level, television ads and mailings are the primary means of reaching voters and soliciting campaign contributions. At the local level, mailers are heavily used.

For a national Presidential election alone, \$500 million or more is raised by the major political parties. At the national level, it is not uncommon for current Congresspersons to spend two or more days per week on the phone, soliciting money, primarily from special interest groups. This goes on *every week* they are in office, as they must raise millions to fund their next campaigns.

To advertise and sell themselves to the public, political candidates at all levels of government, from the local to the national level, get money from individuals and special interest groups. They then use the advice of paid consultants to determine what they should say in their campaign speeches and messages to win votes. They spend much money for television ads and/or

repeated mailings to sell themselves to voters. They tell the voters what they think will win the votes they need to get elected.

Once elected, however, their daily behavior in office is dictated primarily by the expectations of those who funded their campaigns. They vote legislation in support of these financial backers. Thus, there can be frequent disconnects between what they promise the voters and what they do once in office. Like it or not, this is how things work. Money buys political power. To compete, one must have access to large sums of money to do the mailings and television advertizing, traveling and campaign speaking that wins elections.

An essential element of a new party then must be realistic financing on a large scale.

If the BICO party is to be government “of, by and for the people”, which is what my study data indicates the large majority of the public want, then perhaps we must expect the people, as individuals, to fund it. They must fund it as individuals, not as members of special interest groups. Indeed, special interest group money from any source, even foundations or trusts, might be considered by party members to be inappropriate. And so, one of the key issues explored in the next research was party funding and funding the election campaigns of candidates for government office.

About 120 million Americans voted in the 2004 Presidential election. My studies had suggested that as many as seventy-five to ninety percent of adults might endorse government of the sort the BICO party would advocate. If each party member paid \$100 per year party dues, then enough money would be raised to fund a very viable party. For example, if 80 million Americans joined this party and paid \$100 per year dues, the party would have eight *billion* dollars per year in funding, many times more than would be needed.

There are approximately 350 members of Congress. Representatives run for office every four years. Senators every six. On average, eighty members of Congress are running for office every year. If a well funded campaign costs 6 million dollars, the cost to finance the campaigns of eighty congresspersons would be 480 million dollars. This is only six percent of eight billion dollars. Obviously then, the BICO party, with enough dues-paying members, would have sufficient funding to contend with existing parties for House and Senate seats.

It would also clearly have sufficient funds for Presidential campaigns every four years as well as funding candidates for state government positions. It would have funds for ongoing high-quality, permanent staff, and for recruitment of new party members and candidates for office. It could afford to conduct random sample polls of the general public and conduct regular meetings of members locally, regionally and nationally. It could explore other activities in the service of communities, party members, political candidates and governments.

Even if only one fourth of eighty million persons were party members and paid only fifty dollars annual dues, that would equal twenty million times fifty dollars equals one billion dollars per year. That might still be enough to adequately fund all the above activities. And the party could build to this level gradually over several years.

## **What party members would get for their membership.**

To attract citizens to the BICO party, they would have to get meaningful benefits, something more than promises. We can imagine several essential and appealing benefits to party membership. The primary one would be the right to vote regularly on party polls of issues of national government policies, programs and budgets. Party members would also vote on party candidates for public office. Another benefit would be the camaraderie and pride of belonging to an organization that has dominant political power and that serves the best interests of the community. Other benefits might include good, reasonably priced health insurance and perhaps homeowner and auto insurance, phone and Internet service, travel and vacation discounts and other such benefits that very large groups, as this party would be, can negotiate with product vendors.

## **Key elements of BICO party structure and function:**

**A non-profit corporation or a network of affiliated corporations.** The party would probably be set up as a non-profit corporation or corporations, perhaps one in every state, or county, all affiliated with a national organization. There would be the usual board of directors. Daily operations would be under the direction of a president or CEO and related personnel heading different departments or areas, such as CFO, COO, Vice President of Personnel (Human Resources), etc. Members would be any citizen of voting age living in the respective area, e.g. county or state. Meetings would be run by appropriate democratic standards, such as Robert's Rules of Order. Officers would serve limited terms and would be selected by votes of the members.

**Permanent staff, offices and activities.** The party organizations, such as for a given state, would have permanent full-time staff members paid by the party. They would be carefully selected by standard personnel selection procedures, just as are employees of other corporations. Standards would be high. Highly qualified persons would be the norm. Persons would be sought of superior moral character, education, experience and dedication to the principles of public democracy. Efforts would be made to have regular meetings open to include all dues-paying members in meaningful activities related to the objectives of the organization and service to the community.

**Departments.** Departments would be formed to cover the various functions of the organization, including recruiting members, finances, member services, recruiting staff and political candidates, conducting polls of the general public on government issues, studying government issues and formulating government program options, polling dues-paying members on preferred government options, fielding input from special interest groups and planning and running periodic conventions locally, regionally and nationally.

**Platform planks determined by polling.** The core philosophy or mission of the organization would be to promote government of, by and for the people beginning with a political party of, by and for party members. This philosophy would underlie all the activities of the organization. One of the primary activities would be the definition of party "planks". These would be proposed government policies and programs, which would be determined by a several-step process. This process would be repeated every year or two, as appropriate. Here are suggested steps:

Step 1. The general public would be polled, at either a county, state or national level, depending on the scope of the specific organization. This poll would be designed to obtain current public opinion on important community issues, to include budgeting, taxes and expenditures, laws and regulations, programs and policies. All the functions of government would be open to examination.

Step 2. The results of this poll would be fed to a department of specialists who would study the issues in question, formulate options for reasonable government policies and programs to address the issues in question and formulate polling options to present to dues-paying members of the BICO party. This “issue formulation” department would have an important responsibility to listen to input from special interest group lobbyists, if any wish to make presentations. However no money would ever be accepted from such lobbyists, as a matter of principle. Issue formulation would not be “for sale” or open to bribery.

Step 3. The dues-paying members of the party would be polled to determine the specific options which will then become the party’s current recommended government policies and programs.

Step 4. These policies and programs are then passed on to party members currently serving in government as elected commissioners, representatives, senators, etc. These elected politicians would be obligated to promote these policies and programs in government.

### **Recruiting, grooming and sponsoring candidates for public office.**

Another important function of the party would be screening, selecting, training and grooming candidates for local, state and national political offices. These persons would be carefully screened for intelligence, education, experience, social and political skills, public speaking ability, moral character and charisma. The qualities sought would be defined largely by those defined by polling to determine what the majority of the public want in politicians. Selections would be subject to vote by the party members in the appropriate geographic area, e.g. residents of a state for which state representatives are being selected.

These persons would become paid employees of the party. They would be employed in positions that would help them gain the training and experience needed to run for office. Their campaigns would be funded totally by the party.

They would be trained to make campaign talks and speeches that would emphasize not their own personal views and opinions but the will of party members as defined by the current party platform . They would be trained to emphasize to voters that the will of the party is based on the desires of the majority of the informed, responsible public, as determined by regular, sophisticated public polls. They would be trained to encourage voters to vote for them not because of the specific personal ideas or preferences of the candidate himself or herself but because the candidate represents the best interests of the community to be served, as defined by current party platform planks.

Once elected to office, party candidate salaries would be supplanted by the governments they are serving. If, there is no government salary, such as at a county commissioner level, the party would provide a salary. If government salaries are inadequate, they would be supplemented

by party salary funds. Thus, candidates for office would not have to be independently wealthy to run for any level of public office, either to help fund their election campaigns or to support themselves and their families while in office.

While in office, they would not have to spend any of their time raising money for their next campaign.

### **Functions and behavior of party-sponsored politicians.**

- Party-elected political candidates would have several obligations defined by the party:
- They would be obligated to promote the current party platform as defined by polling party members in the area served by the politician (e.g. county, state, U.S. Congressional district).
  - They would be obligated to refer any and all lobbyists that approach them back to the party organization. They would not talk with lobbyists and certainly would accept no favors of any kind from them. Lobbyists would have an audience only with party employees trained to study issues and formulate options for party member vote, as discussed above.
  - While in office they would be obligated to raise no money for current or future personal or professional use in any manner that could cloud their political decision-making or legislative votes.

**Regular meetings.** Another important function of the BICO party would be to maintain party member involvement and enthusiasm. How often would party meetings be held, and at what levels (county, state, national, international)? This and other questions can be answered by polling. One can imagine at least annual meetings at a state level and perhaps monthly meetings at the county level. Annual regional and national meetings would seem desirable. Even international conventions every couple of years might evolve, especially if this form of political party becomes popular internationally.

**Coordinating with other organizations.** The BICO party would have a department responsible for interacting and coordinating activities with other groups whose missions dovetail with those of the party. Groups that come to mind are the United Nations, institutions of higher education and Ashoka, an organization that supports social entrepreneurs. Others might be the Peace Corps, the Better Business Bureau, conservation groups, Rotary International, the International Red Cross and other groups interested in the welfare of national and international communities.

**Benevolent Projects Fund.** If finances permitted, the party might have a fund from which prizes, research grants, scholarships, university faculty chairs and other such awards might be supported. Peace prizes paralleling the Nobel prizes and faculty chairs in university departments of political science would seem particularly appropriate, as would scholarships for especially promising high school graduates and college students interested in political science.

### **Rotary International as a working Model.**

At a State convention of professors and others interested in peace studies programs I had



dinner with a group of about 8 persons. I was a newcomer, meeting all of them for the first time. We were discussing current U.S. politics and how to improve government. I had said nothing. They knew nothing of my ideas, as I had not yet given my presentation, which was scheduled for the next day. Everyone had an opinion. Then, the lady to my left, with whom I had briefly shared some of my ideas earlier, invited me to share mine. I briefly said that I didn't think there was much hope for significant improvement in government without a new political party with a new agenda, specifically one dedicated to serving the best interests of the community overall, as opposed to special interest groups.

The chairman of the political science department at one of the local universities immediately asked how that would be done. I said with chapters in every community. He challenged: "Like the Sandinistas in Nicaragua?"

I felt threatened, and decided to extricate myself from the conversation, replying "I'm not familiar with the Sandinistas, so I can't answer your question."

A few minutes later, a good answer occurred to me. I told them briefly about Rotary International, an organization I have belonged to for 16 years. I said it was an organization similar to what I envisioned for the new political party, with regular meetings, a network around the world and a focus on doing good in the world. Rotarians tend to be community leaders and work together very well in spite of differences in religious and political beliefs, which are kept aside.

Later I looked up the Sandinistas and learned they were militant leftists who espoused Marxist-Leninist theory and overthrew the Nicaraguan government by force. Given this, I felt further puzzled that the poly-sci chairman would be so hostile. Why would he assume I was proposing militant revolution? Why would he assume that government espousing service to the community overall as opposed to special interest groups was inherently evil?

I'll probably never know, but I am grateful for his question, for it led to the Rotary model, which I think is an excellent one. Briefly, Rotary is a service organization. Its members tend to be middle and upper class community leaders. They meet weekly over a meal to hear interesting speakers, announce service projects, solicit help, thank and recognize members and welcome guests. Committees meet monthly to take care of business. Students are sponsored to study abroad and to come to the United States to study. Money is raised for international service projects, such as inoculating every child in the world against polio and other diseases, and for local projects, such as supporting community organizations that fight child abuse, renovating parks and helping redistribute excess food to needy organizations that serve the poor and homeless.

Rotarians pay annual dues, buy their weekly meals, run their meetings by Robert's Rules of Order and have 32,000 clubs in 200 nations, more nations than belong to the United Nations. Their individual members total about 1.2 million as of 2006. They govern themselves in business and Rotary activities by the "Four-way Test", four ethical principles that assure fairness, respect, honesty and friendship. We have fun. We care deeply about the welfare of humanity and of our communities. I can think of no better basic model for the BICO party.

The BICO party would not ignore political issues, of course, as good government would be

its raison d'être. Otherwise, I imagine it having much in common with Rotary.

### **Summary.**

The Best Interests of the Community Overall political party was created as a rough blueprint. The next step was to run it by the "customer" to see if it would fly. Would the voting public endorse this model? I could answer this question by further research measuring public endorsement of the ideal party features.

### **How much money does it take to support a political party?**

Hundreds of millions of dollars every two years.

### **Who would an ideal political party serve?**

It would serve party members, who in turn would serve the will of the majority of the voting public, as determined by periodic polls.

### **How can one know a party design will work?**

By conducting polls, asking the public how strongly they support different options for the design.

### **Discussions Questions.**

1. Can you think of some other possible names for a political party serving the best interests of the community overall?
2. Would you be interested in joining a party of this type? How much would you be willing to pay in dues to support it?
3. What features would you want such a party to offer? Low cost but good health insurance? Opportunities to work on local service projects to improve your community? Opportunities to recruit members by going door-to-door in your neighborhood? Periodic meetings at which members could socialize, discuss issues, share meals, complete questionnaires?



## Chapter 23.

### Wholesome Values for the Whole Nation: United we stand.

Does the public clearly prefer some values over others?

Does the public prefer separation of church from state?

Does the public share a constructive national ethic?

#### Basic issues about basic values.

The values that govern nations have arisen from different sources, ranging from religious values influencing European governments for many centuries and oscillating between Protestant and Catholic emphases to secular values such as those that underlie Communism in the former U.S.S.R. and present day China. Secular values can be as simple as “might makes right” in military dictatorships to a complex of more widely endorsed values such as those that underlie more democratic governments, such as those reflected in the Bill of Rights and Amendments of the United States Constitution.

Values and rights that are not strongly supported by the general public tend to be supplanted by other rights over time. For example, the Amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of hard liquor in the United States was so unpopular it was eventually repealed. The values underlying Communism in the former U.S.S.R. were too poorly supported by the general public to permit the survival of that political organization.

The values embodied in national constitutions are subject to misuse. In some nations, human and civil rights exist on paper but not in practice, with dictatorial leaders doing as they please, regardless of their nation’s constitutions. This misuse is present in the United States at present, according to Rosa Brooks, an associate professor at the University of Virginia School of Law.<sup>30</sup> She points out in a nationally syndicated newspaper comment that many authorities on the subject of U. S. constitutional law have expressed deep concern over the increasing political element in Supreme Court decisions. Supreme Court judges are appointed by the President and Congress, who are supposed to represent branches of government independent of the judicial branch.

Without independence, the important function of checks and balances is eroded. If judges are appointed for their expected support of politically biased positions held by the Executive and Legislative branches of government (the President and Congress), then those judges are likely to make legal case decisions in favor of those biased positions, rather than from a framework of what is right and wrong based on an objective interpretation of the Constitution. Attorneys are clever enough to argue cases to reach diametrically opposed conclusions, selecting whatever supports their particular end goal or bias. Supreme Court judges are too.

Especially when one is speculating on the underlying intentions of the drafters of the U.S. Constitution there is room for introjecting political bias. While the Preamble to our Declaration of Independence presents the underlying assumption that “all men are created equal”, this did not

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30 Rosa Brooks, “Focus: Law and the Constitution. Whole concept of constitutional law is getting fuzzy.” For the Los Angeles Times. In the Eugene Register-Guard, Wed. Jan. 25, 2006. Eugene, Oregon.

prevent our nation from practicing slavery for many decades. The majority of the public apparently was not ready to rise to the aspirations of the founding fathers. Supreme Court decisions supported slavery as appropriate. After the Civil War, their decisions were less supportive, but not entirely against mistreatment of African Americans, as in segregated public schooling, even well into the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

One could argue that, ideally, a national constitution, in both word and practice, should reflect the current best values of a nation as endorsed by the majority of the citizens of that nation, especially in democratically governed countries.

Thus, for a government to survive and thrive constructively it would seem important that the values underlying that government be carefully attuned to public values. The Constitution should clearly specify such values. The Judicial branch of government, especially as reflected in court decisions, should reflect those values and not the tug of politically colored bias.

Therefore, an ideal political party should be founded on a base of values widely shared and endorsed by the public. These values can be defined by research.

After the 2004 Presidential election, when retiring from years of broadcasting, Bill Moyers spoke on PBS television about his concern for how the country can find “the middle”, referring to some middle ground or political position between conservative and liberal extremes.

Defining what this middle position might be would not seem easy, in part because the positions represented by the traditional Republican and Democratic parties seem to be in flux. Some states that were staunchly Democratic in the past voted predominantly Republican in the 2004 election. Politicians occasionally switch loyalty from one party to the other. Different party factions have different opinions about the most desirable features of conservative or liberal agenda.

In prior chapters we have seen that the public only weakly endorses government serving special interest groups, whether business, labor, the elderly or the needy. A child who is given two choices for dinner, ice cream or pie, will seem short-sighted and foolish to an outside observer, no matter which of these options she chooses. Americans may seem foolish to foreigners when they choose either Republican or Democratic candidates, for both of these two parties traditionally represent self-serving special interest groups. A voter can be a selfish business supporter, a selfish military contractor supporter, a selfish labor supporter or a selfish senior. One could argue that neither major party represents the best interests of the community overall. Even Green parties and Ralph Nader represent special interest groups: environmentalists and consumers.

A middle position between pie and ice cream, perhaps cake, does not provide a healthy, balanced dinner. Finding a middle position between two political extremes neither of which the public endorses, will not provide what the public wants. It would be more worthwhile to find out what the majority of citizens want, how they define “best interests of the community overall”, and give them that.

Some well-educated persons with whom I have discussed the idea of public democracy as government based heavily on public opinion, have voiced fear of “tyranny by the majority”, mindless mob mentality or indifferent or cruel majority oppression of minority groups.

There may have been times in U.S. history when such fears were well-grounded, but such fear is not currently reasonable. On the contrary, greater danger lies in government controlled by one or another minority through propaganda, intimidation and terror. Dangerous political activity can be promoted by an economic special interest group (such as the industrial-military complex Eisenhower warned against), or a religious interest group (such as a militant religious sect controlling a Mid-East nation), or a narrowly nationalistic political interest group (such as the Imperialists, Fascists and Nazis of Japan and Europe leading to World War II).

The data in prior chapters suggest that the majority of adults, when asked to share their values in privacy, without pressure to adhere to some outside propaganda or social pressure, hold very mature, safe and reasonable views about national politics. They strongly prefer a form of government dedicated to the best interests of the community overall. They strongly support sustainable policies and programs, protecting and carefully using natural resources. They strongly support a kind and benevolent foreign policy rather than a militaristic and controlling one. They advocate fiscal responsibility, paying off the national debt and functioning within a balanced budget.

Therefore, rather than trying to define or conceptualize some amorphous middle ground in U.S. politics, we can clarify by careful polling what the majority of citizens want and design a political party to promote this in national government.

### **Shared Public Values**

Such polling could begin with a study of basic public values.

In the Presidential and Congressional election of 2004, news analysts discussed the results of exit polls. They noted that voters were increasingly concerned with fundamental values in choosing among candidates. Religious ethics were a part of this.

Values and ethical perspectives are implicit in every government constitution. They are implicit in all current government actions and decisions. The behavior of politicians, religious leaders and business leaders can bring ethics to the fore especially when immoral or illegal behaviors are manifest, such as the burglary of the Watergate Democratic offices engineered by the Nixon administration, the sexual indiscretions of Bill Clinton, the sexual molestation of children by Catholic priests and the white collar crimes of corporation heads, as in the Enron bookkeeping scandal.

Ethics originate from various sources. Religious ethics originate from religious writings and in the policies of current religious leaders. Social ethics reflect the values of a society in a wide range of areas, such as purchasing habits, recreational activities and romantic behavior. Government ethics are reflected in government laws, regulations, policies and budget priorities, which can fluctuate from one administration to another and from one political party to another.

In many advanced governments, there has been a separation of church and state, perhaps to avoid the possibility of religious leaders gaining political power and exerting too much authoritarian control. But, with increasing concerns and conflicts within government over basic

values, such as between protecting or using up natural resources, waging war or preserving peace, protecting rights to life and gay rights, it is difficult to completely separate religious and social values from government policy.

How can a nation maintain an appropriate and up-to-date ethical foundation and concurrently preserve a reasonable degree of separation of church from state? Without such separation, there will be inevitable conflict between various religious sects vying for political power. This can be very destructive, as manifest in Iraq. In the United States separation of church and state is important for this reason and because the Constitution guarantees citizens the right to worship in one's preferred way. Effective government rests on cooperation and compromise among its citizens. Favoring one religion over another fosters resentment and conflict.

If citizens want government based on some form of values or ethic, what should be the source of that value system? How can a political party clarify the ethics that underlie its principles for government? One option is regular polls of citizens. Polls could provide a partial and valuable guide for political decision-making, putting competing values in perspective. Poll results could provide a foundation for the principles governing a political party. As this party gains influence, its elected politicians can carry these principles to national government.

If the BICO party purports to be "of, by and for the people", then it would be essential for this party to base its philosophy, bylaws and policy planks on the results of well-designed and detailed public polls.

Fundamental values or ethics polling would permit each citizen to have a voice in formulating the current party and national ethic. Each citizen's poll responses could be governed by his or her own personal beliefs, both secular and religious. Each citizen's most fundamental, personal and cherished values could be expressed in forming a national ethic.

### **Example of Ethics Polling.**

For example, let us review some data from the studies discussed in Chapters 12 and 13, above. These polled 115 adults on their levels of endorsement of seventy-six ethical principles and rights gleaned from several sources, some religious, some secular. The twenty-four religious belief items are a sample from the major world religions, supplemented with 8 items measuring definitions of God/god. The remaining items are from secular sources. They include universal charters from the United Nations and the World Religions, the Earth Charter from an international conservation group and the "Four-Way Test", a code of ethics that guides members of Rotary International club members. The World Religion charter of human rights is not religious principles but human rights.

We can look at the mean (average) endorsement score for each of these items to get a sample of general public values. These groups were from a community college and two churches in the Eugene, Oregon. We can't assume this data represents the whole nation, of course, but it provides an example of how such research with a random sample of adequate size could define national values.

The scores for the community college sample were basically similar to those for the churchgoers.

For example, the 44 human rights mean item scores for the three charters correlated .49\*\* across the two groups.

These questionnaire items were in Likert scale format ranging from Strongly Agree (5) to Strongly Disagree (1). Therefore, an item that has a mean score of 4.7 is one that most people marked “Agree” or “Strongly Agree”. An item with a mean score of 3.2 would fall in the “Neutral” range. An item with a mean score of 2.2 would be one that the respondents disagree with, do not endorse.

Each cluster of items is presented as a group, followed by discussion.

Consider the first item, with the highest endorsement level. It is the second of 11 items taken from the United Nation Charter of Human Rights, “Un2”. The mean endorsement score for this item was 4.77, close the maximum rating, 5.0, “Strongly Agree”.

### Rank Order and Discussion of Ethical Values

From a study of 115 adults. Age range 12 - 91. Mean 48. Standard Deviation 22.8. Education range 6 -27 years, mean 16, standard deviation 3.3. 32 percent males. Source codes: Ge = General Ethic, Rel = Religious ethic, IGOD = ideal god/God, UN = United Nations Charter of Human Rights, WR = world religions charter of human rights, EC = Earth Charter, Re = World religions Rot = Rotary International.

#### **Endorsement level A, 4.50 up, “Strongly Agree - Agree”**

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Content</u>
1. Un2	4.77	Slavery is wrong.
2. WR1	4.72	Everyone has the right to food, clothing and shelter.
3. WR3	4.70	Everyone is equal before the law and entitled to equal protection before the law without discrimination on grounds of race, religion, caste, sex or sexual orientation.
4. Un111	4.70	Everyone has the right to a free public education which, among other things, promotes understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations and all racial and religious groups.
5. Rel10	4.69	One should love his neighbor as himself and treat others as he would like to be treated.
6. EC8	4.69	We should reduce, recycle and reuse materials used in production and consumption.
7. EC9	4.68	We should promote the active participation of women in all aspects of economic, political, civil, social and cultural life.
8. Rot1	4.66	One’s behavior in business, personal life and other areas should be based on truthful statements.
9. EC7	4.65	We should prevent and minimize pollution in any part of the environment.
10. Ge1	4.63	The peoples of all nations should learn to live peacefully together, resolving differences not by economic or military might but by discussion, working together, increasing understanding of one another and compromising.
11. WR7	4.49	Everyone has the right to choose his own religion and the duty to promote peace and tolerance among different religions and ideologies.
12. EC3	4.63	With increased freedom, knowledge and power comes increased responsibility to promote the common good.
13. Un14	4.62	All people of all nations should have the same basic human rights, such as life and liberty.



14. EC5 4.62 We should manage the use of renewable resources, such as water, soil, forests and marine life, in ways that do not exceed rates of regeneration and that protect the health of ecosystems.
15. EC12 4.62 We should encourage and support mutual understanding, solidarity and cooperation among all peoples and within and among nations.
16. WR13 4.61 Everyone is duty-bound, when asserting one's rights, to take into consideration the rights of other human beings and of past, present and future generation, and the rights of nature and the earth.
17. WR2 4.60 Everyone has the duty to support and sustain life, longevity and livability of the environment of all people.
18. EC13 4.60 We should implement comprehensive strategies to prevent violent conflict and use collaborative problem solving to manage and resolve environmental conflicts and other disputes.
19. EC6 4.59 We should carefully conserve and manage our extraction and use of non-renewable resources, such as fossil fuels and minerals.
20. Un10 4.58 Everyone should have the right to work for a living in a job freely chosen and for a reasonable wage.
21. Un64.57 Everyone should have the right to freedom of opinion and expression.
22. Rot2 4.57 One's behavior in business, personal life and other areas should be fair to all concerned.
23. Re14 4.56 Stealing from one's fellow humans is not appropriate.
24. Re112 4.56 Using a god's name as an excuse for or justification of evil against one's fellow man is inappropriate.
25. Re3 4.50 Violence toward one's fellow humans is not appropriate.
26. EC2 4.50 Everyone has the duty to prevent environmental harm.
27. EC16 4.50 We should strive for a sustainable global community, honoring the efforts of the United Nations and supporting appropriate international treaties.

### Discussion:

These most highly endorsed items include some from each of the several sources: the United Nations Charter, the World Religions Charter, the Earth Charter, the world religions and Rotary International. Each of these organizations or sources has principles that are valued highly by this sample of the public. No single organization has provided the exclusively ideal list of human rights or values. Together, they provide a richly varied value system.

Notice how wise and responsible these principles are. They are not mean-spirited or selfish. They do not exclude minorities. They imply that majority public opinion can be trusted to provide a wholesome guide to national policy.

The items cover several areas of concern, including rights to freedom from slavery (item 1), the right to choose one's own religious beliefs, but with a duty to respect other beliefs (11), the right have food and shelter (2), the right to legal protection (3) and freedom of speech (21), an obligation to support human lives and the environment (17), the right to a free public education (4) and the right to work for a living (20). Among these most highly endorsed items are ones that echo concern for the best interests of the community overall (13, 14, 15 and 18). The items include the right to live in a peaceful, non-military-dominated world (10, 18 and 25).

If these results are confirmed with large, random samples of adults, it would seem appropriate for a political party that expects to appeal to the majority of citizens to clearly and most strongly endorse these or a similar group of most highly endorsed ethical principles.

To the extent that a political party representing these values can gain seats in national government, some of these values have specific implications for government policy. For example, by policy category:

Social Security benefits: 2, 17.

Gender equality/ womens' rights: 7.

Honesty in politics: 8.

Military budgets: 10.

Environmental protection, global warming: 6,9,14, 19,26,27.

Anti-terrorism: 18, 25.

Labor and work: 20.

Business ethics: 11,22.

Separation of church and state: 24.

Foreign policy: 1,4,5,9,10,11,12,12,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,22,24,25 and 27.

**Endorsement level B, 4.25 to 4.49, "Agree - Strongly Agree".**

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Content</u>
28. Rel14	4.49	One should help others who are less fortunate or are suffering.
29. EC10	4.47	We should affirm the right of indigenous (native) peoples to their spirituality, knowledge, lands and resources and to their related practices of sustainable livelihoods
30. Rot4	4.47	One's behavior in business, personal life and other areas should build good will and better friendships.
31. Rel9	4.46	Killing other people is not appropriate.
32. WR4	4.43	Everyone has the right <i>not</i> to have one's religion denigrated by public media or education professors.
33. EC11	4.43	We should promote local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organizations in decision making at the local, regional and global level.
34. Rel11	4.39	One should not treat others the way he would not want to be treated.
35. EC4	4.39	We should adopt at all levels sustainable development plans and regulations that take into consideration environmental conservation and rehabilitation.
36. Rel5	4.37	Lying, slander and tattling are not appropriate.
37. WR9	4.36	Everyone has the right to join or not join a trade union for the protection of worker interests.
38. WR10	4.36	Everyone has the right to health and to universal medical insurance.
39. EC15	4.36	We should eliminate nuclear, biological and toxic weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.
40. Rel7	4.33	Meditating on feelings of personal inner serenity is appropriate.
41. EC1	4.33	All beings are interdependent and every form of life has value regardless of its current worth to human beings.
42. WR12	4.32	Everyone has the right to share scientific advances and their benefits and the duty to disseminate them, and, wherever possible, to contribute to such advances.
43. Un8	4.30	The will of the people should be the basis of the authority of government, expressed in periodic elections.
44. Un9	4.30	The people should have the right to vote on government policy, not just on persons running for government office.
45. Rot3	4.30	One's behavior in business, personal life and other areas should be beneficial to all concerned.
46. Un74	4.29	Everyone should have the right to take part in the governance of his country.

- 47. Rel23      4.28    Honoring and respecting parents and elders is appropriate.
- 48. Rel6      4.25    We should strive for good and stop bad.
- 49. WR6      4.25    Everyone has the right to own property, whether material, intellectual, aesthetic or spiritual.

Discussion:

This cluster of highly endorsed items also reflects content in several categories, including: Citizen participation in government (items 33,43,44,46 ). Sustainable and environmentally sensitive programs (35,41,). Protection to practice religious beliefs without interference or persecution (29,32,40,). The right to live in a compassionate, safe and civil society (28,30,34,36,45,47,48 ), and in a peaceful world (31,33,39). The right to universal health care (38).

These categories suggest that the general public strongly values direct participation in government, sustainable and peaceful national and international policies, protection of rights to practice any civil religion without discrimination and universal health care. Item 42 might be interpreted to obligate me to share with you what I know as a scientist via this book. Items 43, 44 and 46 have the ring of public democracy itself, “The people should have the right to vote on government policy....”

A political party that purports to represent the majority opinion of citizens should clearly support and endorse these principles.

**Endorsement level C, 4.00 to 4.24, “Agree”.**

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Content</u>
50. Un54.21		Everyone should have the right to own property, alone or with others.
51. Un34.18		No one should be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile from his/her nation.
52. Rel8	4.17	<i>Any</i> specific personal religious beliefs are appropriate and acceptable as long as they respect human dignity and welfare.
53. WR8	4.17	Everyone over the age of 17 or 18 has the right to vote or be elected to the governance of their community.
54. Defgod3	4.14	God takes many forms that guide the religious lives of many different peoples around the world.
55. Un44.05		Everyone should have the right to travel within his country and between countries.
56. Igod3	4.03	God is the creator of the universe and everything in it, including people.
57. EC14	4.03	We should demilitarize national security systems to the level of a non-provocative defense posture and dedicate money saved to constructive uses, such as restoring damaged environments or national health care systems.
58. WR11	4.02	Everyone has the right to work and to rest, including the right to support while seeking work and the right to periodic holidays with pay.
59. Igod2	4.01	God is kind and forgiving of wrongdoers.

Discussion:

These items are interesting in that they include several about religion (52,54,56 and 59). They convey tolerance for religion as an important source of social guidance that should be flexible, respectful and kindly. These items address a variety of civil rights (50,51, 55). They reiterate concerns for employment rights (58) and a desire for demilitarization and non-provocative national security systems.

### **Endorsement level D, 3.00 to 3.99, “Neutral”.**

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Content</u>
60. Rel13	3.93	One should forgive rather than retaliate against wrongdoers.
61. Rel20	3.92	One should joyfully accept nature
62. WR5	3.83	It is the duty of everyone to extend special consideration to others and children.
63. Rel19	3.72	Experiencing life as a good person is more important than practicing rituals or believing certain ideas or obeying any code of fixed rules, “do’s” and don’ts”.
64. Rel15	3.60	One should submit to the will of god (or God).
65. Rel18	3.23	Feeling envy or jealousy is inappropriate.
66. Rel22	3.19	Practicing rituals and taboos is appropriate.
67. Defgod2	3.03	God can be well-defined simply as the spirit of human kindness and love.

#### **Discussion:**

This group of items is notable for its inclusion of many definitions of supernatural beings (god) and other specific religious concepts (rules, rituals submitting to god). The fact that these items are not strongly shared by the public suggests that specific religious beliefs are not an appropriate aspect of government thinking or values. These are values left to religious organizations. This would appear also to underscore the appropriateness of separating church and state, leaving specific religious creeds or beliefs to religious groups to handle. We have seen above in more heavily endorsed categories that citizens widely endorse the right to practice whatever religion one wishes. However, that is an issue of civil rights, not religious beliefs per se. The public does not agree on specific religious concepts and beliefs, leaving that for individual citizens to decide as aspects of their personal religious affiliations and choices.

Item 60, about forgiving rather than retaliating against wrongdoers, while a religious principle, does have implications for foreign policy. How appropriate is it to retaliate against a whole nation from which a small group of terrorists emerges, for example? The public does not endorse this specific principle very strongly, however, so the matter is open to further debate.

### **Endorsement level E, 2.99 and below “Disagree - Strongly Disagree”.**

<u>Item #</u>	<u>Mean Score</u>	<u>Content</u>
68. Defgod1	2.80	God is an abstract concept, a creation of humans to help them live constructively with each other.
69. Rel1	2.50	There is only one true god (or God) which all people of the world should worship.
70. Rel21	2.49	One cannot and should not own the land.
71. IGod1	2.18	God is vengeful, punishes wrongdoers.
72. Rel2	1.87	All religions which do not ascribe to item 3, above (one true god/God) are wrong.
73. Ge2 1.78		The peoples of all nations should compete with each other in business, trade and, if necessary, in war, to let the “best nation win.”
74. Rel17	1.74	Unquestioning loyalty to superiors, including political leaders, is appropriate.
75. Rel16	1.63	One should submit to the will of religious or political leaders who say they know what god (or God) wants.

#### **Discussion:**

The general public in general disagrees with all these statements, most of which are about specific religious beliefs taken from various world religions. This again underscores the importance of separating church and state. Items 74 and 75 in particular accentuate the danger of melding church and state. Religious leaders who aspire to great political power can demand

absolute loyalty, which can be very dangerous for all concerned, especially if this leadership style is combined with military dictatorship or warmongering. Many of these religion items correlate positively with warmongering, so it is well that the majority of the public shun them. Specifically, the items and their correlations with warmongering are provided below.

Correlations between Warmongering and Religious Beliefs  
115 Adults.

Correlation.	Item.
.26**	69. There is only one true god (or God) which all people of the world should worship.
.40**	71. God is vengeful, punishes wrongdoers.
.26**	72. All religions which do not ascribe to item 3, above (one true god/God) are wrong.
.50**	74. Unquestioning loyalty to superiors, including political leaders, is appropriate.
.43**	75. One should submit to the will of religious or political leaders who say they know what god (or God) wants.

In addition, it is important to notice that the public rejects competition (item 73) as a basic national ethic. We read about competition in business and trade as core aspects of our national agenda. If the public rejects this ethic, we should reconsider government policy. This is further emphasized by the fact that item 73 also correlates positively and substantially with warmongering (.57\*\*). Persons who endorse competition also tend to endorse warmongering.

The public seems to strongly endorse sustainable programs and peaceful, helpful cooperation with other nations. Perhaps they see unbridled competition for and consumption of resources as incompatible with their strongly endorsed values of conservation, budgeting and protection of natural resources, and sharing cooperatively with other nations.

**Summary:**

From this example of polling the public on values, we can see that the public can provide clear preferences among values.

The present data constitute an internally consistent set of values that suggests a sound and constructive public ethic. The majority of the public are concerned for the weak and needy. They value jobs. They value a cooperative, kindly foreign policy. They value protecting the environment and husbanding natural resources. They value religious freedom and separation of church and state.

The values people endorse in this manner provide a commonly shared ethic that unite them. By conducting such research on appropriately large and random samples, a political party can determine a set of current public values upon which to base their policies and platform. By such procedures a party can assure widespread citizen support. The BICO party could use this technique to help assure its success by representing majority opinion. The party members could truly claim, "United we stand."

But, do Americans in different groups and different States share enough values in common to truly unite them? What about Kansas? The next chapter will provide an initial answer.

**Does the public clearly prefer some values over others?**

Yes, and different groups tend to see things the same way. Public opinion polling yields results that paint a clear picture of how the public wants government to function.

**Does the public prefer separation of church from state?**

Yes. The public values the right to worship in any way one wishes but they do not want government favoring any one religion over others. They seem to prefer government and religion as two separate social institutions and that no one religion should use government to promote its agenda or impose its beliefs on others. They do not want religion to be used as a rationale for war.

**Does the public share a constructive national ethic?**

Yes. The public seems to hold values that are internally consistent, fitting together in a meaningful philosophy of community and world living. The public ethic extends beyond national self-interest. It is peaceful, kind and protective of the environment and promotes the overall good of the world community.

**Discussion questions.**

1. Assume that the results reported in this chapter were based on a good random sample of the whole nation. Do you think that national government should be aligned with the results or should government be determined by the political party in power at the moment? Why do you hold your opinion?
2. How separate do you think church and state should be? For example, should politicians making speeches while in office end their comments with phrases such as “God bless our nation” or “God bless America.” Should we print “In God we trust” on our money? Should prayers be permitted in public schools? Should the Ten Commandments or central codes of any other religions be permanently and exclusively displayed on public buildings? Should the national pledge of allegiance include the phrase “Under God”?
3. What do you think of the following pledge? What are its advantages and disadvantages?  
I pledge allegiance to my nation and to the welfare of all human kind  
And to all life forms and the environment upon which they depend,  
One world, interdependent,  
Under a universal spirit of goodness and kindness,  
With opportunity and responsibility for all.
4. What policy should our government have regarding war? Should our Constitution clearly state that preemptive wars are not permissible? Should defensive wars be permissible? Under what circumstances? After our concerns have been heard by the United Nations? Only with United Nations sanction?
5. Our national anthem celebrates independence through military victory. Do you think the anthem will ever be changed? Will it ever celebrate a non-military theme? What theme might it celebrate other than a military one?

## Chapter 24. There's Nothing the Matter with Kansas.

Do Kansans have values different from persons in other states?

### **Kansans are Good People.**

In his best-selling book, “What’s the matter with Kansas?”, Thomas Frank opines how conservative politicians have won the votes of struggling, impoverished, working class Americans<sup>31</sup>. They have done this over three decades by using political jargon and slogans appealing to “old fashioned values” such as “stop abortion”, “make our country strong again”, “get government off our backs”, “unions don’t love America” and “Christians are persecuted”. However, what these conservatives actually do once in power, Frank explains, directly contradicts these same values, undermining working class jobs and political power, favoring an elite minority of rich people with monopoly power and tax cuts, and reducing funding for welfare programs and schools.

In effect, Frank depicts this “Great Backlash” as a diabolically engineered campaign designed to concentrate and increase political and economic power in a minority of wealthy Americans. The public is sold a bill of goods through election campaign propaganda.

Frank implies that Americans in Kansas may be particularly gullible to such propaganda, that they hold values that make them especially open to being misled.

Do they? We can measure how similar Kansans’ values are to those of other Americans. For example, we can compare how a sample of Kansans to samples of persons in Oregon, Illinois and Wisconsin. We can also compare Americans to persons from another continent to see how similar people are around the world.

In chapter 13, I presented data on 115 Oregonians’ religious and human rights values. By running correlations between the mean item scores for each of the seventy-six items measuring these values, we can measure the degree of similarity between these and other groups of citizens.

You will recall from the last chapter that the mean item score is the average rating from 1 to 5 given by persons to a questionnaire item. The higher the score, the more strongly people agree to it. Here is a sample of the mean item scores for a few items for the community college sample of forty-seven students and one of the local church groups in Oregon:

### Mean Item Scores for a Sample of Values;

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31 What’s the Matter with Kansas? How conservatives won the heart of America; Thomas Frank, Metropolitan Books, Henry Holt, New York, 2004.

47 College students compared to 35 churchgoers.

Comm. college	Church group	Item source.	Value rated.
4.74	4.86	Un2	Slavery is wrong.
3.64	3.98	Rel13	One should forgive rather than retaliate against wrongdoers
1.83	1.46	Rel16	Unquestioning loyalty to superiors, including political leaders, is appropriate.
4.72	4.54	Ec7	We should prevent and minimize pollution in any part of the environment.

Notice that the scores are similar for the two groups, college students and churchgoers.

We can calculate the correlation between these two groups on the forty-four human rights values discussed in the earlier chapter and the thirty-two religious values and then on all seventy-six values combined. The correlation is .47\*\* for the human rights values, indicating a moderate degree of similarity between college students and churchgoers. The correlation for the religious values is .94\*\*, indicating very high correspondence between the groups; college students and churchgoers tend to endorse general religious values in a very similar manner. Values highly endorsed by one group are highly endorsed by the other. Values lowly endorsed by one group are lowly endorsed by the other.

Very similar correlations were found between the college students and the sample of thirty-three adults from the other church (.46\*\* and .93\*\*).

Combining all the human rights values with the religious values, the correlation rises to .92\*\* between the college students and each church group.

The correlations between the two church groups were even higher: .85\*\* on human rights, .98\*\* on religious values, and .98\*\* on all seventy-six values combined.

Thus, we see very strong correspondence between three different groups of citizens in Oregon on the values they hold, particularly on religious values viewed from a broad perspective. By “broad perspective” I mean in terms of the full range of religious values represented in the world religions. A narrow perspective, in contrast, would consist of the rituals and beliefs unique to one or another sect, on which two groups might be expected to differ.

**What about Kansas, Wisconsin and Illinois?**

We can compare Oregonians to persons in Kansas, Wisconsin and Illinois in the same manner. I tried several ways to get data from Kansas, finally managing to get help through friends whose parents live in Kansas. One of them arranged to test 21 persons. I got data on three other Kansans through another contact. My Kansas sample is a group of 24 churchgoers ranging in age from 23 to 81, mean 44, standard deviation 16.8. 39 percent were males. They ranged in education from 12 to 20 years, mean 16, standard deviation 2.4.



I have friends and relatives in Wisconsin. We visited many of them vacationing at their summer cottages on a lake in south central Wisconsin in the summer of 2005. Eleven of them completed my 81-item questionnaire and a few said they'd try to test groups of persons they know in the fall. I subsequently got more data from a group of churchgoers and others. The final sample from Wisconsin was 33 persons ranging in age from 30 to 93. They ranged in education from 12 to 18 years (high school graduate through masters degree). 33 percent were males.

A student who had heard me lecture at the University of Oregon a few years ago and is now in graduate psychology studies in Chicago contacted me about another issue and agreed to test some of his fellow students and professors. 17 of them participated, ranging in age from 19 to 54, and in years of education from 12 to 25. 47 percent were males.

I ran statistics to compare these groups from the Midwest with the three groups in Oregon. I compared them on religious beliefs, human rights beliefs and preferred government types. Consider the correlations between the groups on religious beliefs. N is the number of persons in each group. The correlations are between the mean item scores for each group on all of the 32 religious items, then all of the 44 human rights items and then the 5 government type items. I later obtained data from a group of 60 emigrants to Eugene, Oregon from several Slavic countries and from mainland Chinese students at two American universities. The correlations below document the degree of similarity between these several groups.

Similarities (Correlations) between Groups on 32 Religious Beliefs

OCC = Oregon community college students (n = 47)

OCG1 = Oregon churchgoers, church #1 (n = 35)

OCG2 = Oregon churchgoers, church #2 (n = 33)

KS = Kansas churchgoers (n = 24)

WIS = Wisconsin group (n = 33)

ILL = Illinois group (n = 17)

Slav = Oregon Emigrant Slavs (n = 60)

China = Mainland Chinese university students (n = )

	OCC	OCG1	OCG2	KS	WIS	ILL	Slav	China
OCC	1.00	.94**	.93**	.43*	.78**	.96**	.89**	
OCG1		1.00	.98**	.57**	.84 **	.93**	.85**	
OCG2			1.00	.58**	.86 **	.89**	.87**	
KS				1.00	.83 **	.41*	.55**	
WIS					1.00	.72**	.85**	
ILL						1.00	.81**	
Slav							1.00	
China								1.00

The Kansas group is less like the other groups than the other groups are like each other, but all of the groups are more like than unlike the others, as indicated by the statistically significant

positive correlations between all groups. The Kansas group included about 50% who were of the fundamentalist orientation, in contrast to about 6% in the general population, from my prior studies. However, the Kansas group was also characterized by many of the Kindly religious type. Many were both Fundamentalist *and* Kindly. There might be something unique about Kansans, but my research includes only a very small sample, so further research is needed. In summary, this initial data implies that the majority of adults in different states, and even in different nations and cultures, are very similar in their basic religious beliefs, broadly defined.

Consider next the correlations between these groups on human rights beliefs:

Similarity between Groups on Human Rights Beliefs

	OCC	OCG1	OCG2	KS	WIS	ILL	Slav	China
OCC	1.00	.47**	.46**	.24	.46**	.48**	.28	
OCG1		1.00	.85**	.35*	.53**	.53**	.29	
OCG2			1.00	.15	.45**	.51**	.31*	
KS				1.00	.80**	.58**	.34*	
WIS					1.00	.72**	.50**	
ILL						1.00	.39**	
Slav							1.00	
China								1.00

The groups are less alike on human rights than on religious beliefs but still more alike than dissimilar. The Kansas group is much like the Wisconsin group (.80\*\*), but not particularly like the three Oregon groups (.24, .35 and .15). All of the correlations are positive, indicating greater similarity than difference between the groups.

Finally, consider the data measuring endorsement levels for the five types of government: anarchy, military dictatorship, monarchy, tribal democracy and public democracy. Again, the correlations were between the mean item scores for all five types.

Correlations Between Five Groups on Government Type Endorsement Levels

	OCC	OCG1	OCG2	KS	WIS	ILL	Slav	China
OCC	1.00	.97**	.97**	.95*	.96*	.995**	.89*	
OCG1		1.00	.996**	.995**	.998**	.99**	.95*	
OCG2			1.00	.997**	.995**	.981**	.92*	
KS				1.00	.998**	.972**	.94*	
WIS					1.00	.979**	.93*	
ILL						1.00	.93*	
Slav							1.00	

Because the correlations are for only five items, the correlations must be very high to be

significant. In spite of this, all of the correlations are statistically significant. They are all very high, indicating that all of these groups of persons are very much alike in their endorsement levels of government types.

How these groups view the five government types specifically is evident in the mean item scores and percentage of persons agreeing or strongly agreeing with each type, presented in the chart below:

Endorsement Levels of Five Government Types by Several Groups;  
Mean Item Score and Percent Agreeing and Strongly Agreeing that the Type is Desirable.  
 1= Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neutral, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly agree.

	Anarchy	Monarchy	Mil. Dictator.	Tribal Democ	Public Dem.
OCC	1.51, 6%	1.51, 2%	2.30, 17%	2.77, 32%	4.13, 83%
OCG1	1.22, 9%	1.31, 6%	2.37, 20%	2.18, 26%	4.57, 86%
OCG2	1.03, 0%	1.21, 0%	2.06, 9%	1.97, 15%	4.73, 97%
KS	1.29, 4%	1.33, 4%	2.13, 8%	1.83, 17%	4.08, 88%
WIS	1.09, 9%	1.11, 8%	2.18, 0%	1.82, 9%	4.27, 82%
ILL	1.00, 0%	1.12, 0%	2.24, 24%	2.47, 30%	4.47, 100%
Slav	1.37, 4%	1.53, 8%	3.3, 62%	2.2, 28%	4.3, 92%
Chinese					

All of the groups are very similar in their endorsement levels. They consistently prefer the Public Democracy option over all the others, over 80% of each group considering this option desirable, compared to only 9 to 32 percent endorsement of the second-place choice, tribal democracy. The relatively high percentage of Slavs endorsing military dictatorship is curious and may reflect their not too distant heritage of life in their home countries under this form of government in the former Soviet Union.

Thus, we see from this data, an admittedly small sample of persons overall, that the majority of people across America, and even from other continents, seem to share in common basic religious beliefs, human rights and government type preferences. The majority hold Kindly Religious values and endorse a wide range of human rights. The majority prefer public democracy over tribal democracy and other forms of government associated with warmongering. The majority of the public appear to hold pro-social, constructive values. In this sense, there's nothing the matter with Kansas, or with Oregon, Wisconsin or Illinois, or with other nations, perhaps.

But there *is* something wrong with Kansas, and with any group of people, when they are scared.

### Summary.

#### **Do Kansans have values different from persons in other states?**

No. Kansans appear to have basic religious and human rights values quite similar to

persons in other states.

Indeed, based on the initial studies of these issues reported in this chapter, the majority of people everywhere may hold the same basic values regarding human rights and religious beliefs. They may also hold the same strong preference for public democracy over other forms of government.

Governments that truly represent the will of their people will see important implications in these findings and seek to empower the citizens to gain control of government to protect themselves against warmongering leadership.

**Chapter 25.**  
**Problems in Kansas and Wherever There is Fear;**  
**Prevarication, propaganda, paranoia and xenophobia.**

Do warmongers lie?

Do warmongers use propaganda to mobilize the peace-loving majority?

Are warmongers and fundamentalists driven by fear?

Do warmongers prefer to live in Kansas?

When people are afraid, they appear to be more vulnerable to being misled by lying and propaganda, evident in the following studies of the relationship between anxiety, worry, lying, fear of outsiders (xenophobia) and warmongering.

I preface this chapter with a quote of Hermann Goering, Hitler's second in command of the Nazi war machine in World War II. Goering was interviewed extensively by Gustav Gilbert, a psychologist who studied the war crimes defendants in prison during the trials in Nuremburg, Germany after the war. Gilbert interviewed Goering, prefacing one topic with a comment about the common people. Goering responded:

“Why, of course, the people don't want war. Why would some poor slob on a farm want to risk his life in a war when the best that he can get out of it is to come back to his farm in one piece. Naturally, the common people don't want war; neither in Russia nor in England nor in America, nor for that matter in Germany. That is understood. But, after all, it is the leaders of the country who determine policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along....That is easy. All you have to do is tell them they are being attacked and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country.”<sup>32</sup>

**Warmongers are Liars.**

Goering's comments imply that warmongers are willing to lie, using propaganda to manipulate the public. To see if this is so, I created a political lying and conniving measure of fifteen questionnaire items, included in the studies of Oregon churchgoers. These were the items in the scale:

1. Political leaders should be willing and able to skillfully lie to the public if necessary to promote and defend their actions.
2. An effective politician must be willing to accept money from lobbyists or others in return for political favors that the politician can provide.
3. Effective politicians must be willing to take and pay occasional bribes, though they may not be termed as such.
4. If I were a politician I would be willing to lie to win votes in elections.
5. If I were a politician I would be willing to make promises to voters at times, even if I knew I couldn't keep them.
6. I have respected national politicians even after they lied to the press or public.
7. If I were a politician, I would be willing to vote for legislation that wasn't necessarily good for the people in return for votes on legislation that I wanted to pass.

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32 Gilbert, G.M. Nuremburg Diary, Farrar, Straus & Co., 1947, pp. 278-279.

8. It does not bother me that money buys political power.
9. Politicians must be willing to provide jobs, government contracts and other favors to supporters of their election campaigns.
10. If I were a politician, I would feel comfortable paying money to a news reporter to keep him or her quiet about a fact that would hurt my reputation.
11. It is okay for my preferred political party candidates to lie to win votes.
12. It is okay for my political party to rig voting machines in their favor.
13. It is okay for my political party candidates to accept secret campaign money contributions.
14. It is okay for my party elected politicians to break rules to pass legislation.
15. It is okay for my elected politicians to accept bribes and favors.

I obtained data for 68 churchgoers. Items 6, 8 and 9 did not correlate significantly with the total score for all 15 items, so they were omitted from the calculations. Three scales were created and studied, a Political Lying scale consisting of items 1, 4, 5 and 11, a Political Conniving scale consisting of items 2, 3, 7, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 15 and a total scale combining the two, Political Lie/conniving. Then, correlations were run between these scales and the other traits, with these results:

Correlations between measures of political lying and conniving and other traits.  
N = 68 churchgoers.

<u>Trait</u>	<u>Pure lie</u>	<u>Pure conniving</u>	<u>Lie/conniving</u>
1. Pure lie	1.00	.77**	.90**
2. Pure conniving	.77**	1.00	.94**
3. Warmongering	.28*	.37**	.36**
4. Rel. Fund.	.05	.08	.10
5. Rel. Fund. Altemeyer.	.26*	.31*	.31*
6. Kindly religion	-.21	-.41**	-.32*
7. Human Rights	-.45**	-.49**	-.51**
8. Sustainability	-.38**	-.49**	-.42**
9. Pos. Foreign Policy.	-.36**	-.42**	-.41**

Thus, in rows 3 and 5 we see that political lying and conniving do tend to go with warmongering and with religious fundamentalism as measured by Altemeyer's scale. Warmongers and religious fundamentalists endorse to lying and conniving politically.

In contrast, in rows 6 through 9 we see that lying and conniving are negatively associated with kindly religious beliefs and endorsement of human rights, sustainability and positive foreign policy. Persons who hold kindly religious beliefs and who endorse human rights, sustainable programs, and a positive foreign policy tend not to lie and connive politically.

### **Kansans and Americans in Danger.**

I believe that what is wrong with Kansas, and the whole of America is that we are all vulnerable to propaganda. Especially when under stress, people are suggestible, more open to quick fixes and propaganda. Germans under the extreme financial stresses of World War I

reparations obligations, especially to France, were thereby vulnerable to Nazi propaganda, enabling Hitler to sell his simplistic political messages. He promised good times. He delivered a nightmare. Losing jobs to outsourcing, losing buying power to inflation, losing markets to competition from cheaper goods and labor can all cause Americans to feel stressed, we can assume. I conducted studies to test these additional assumptions.

### **Propaganda: Diseased politics.**

Webster's dictionary defines propaganda as "information or ideas methodically spread to promote or injure a cause, movement, nation, etc."<sup>33</sup> Warmongers tend to lie and connive politically. It is reasonable to guess that they might also endorse propaganda as a tool for gaining and maintaining political power.

I did a second study with Dr. Holly Arrow at the University of Oregon. 277 students completed a thirty-item questionnaire which included measures of warmongering, political lying and endorsement of propaganda. My ten-item warmongering scale was included. In this study it had a reliability of .89. The four propaganda slogan items were these:

"If you're not for me you're against me."

"Lead, follow or get out of the way."

"When the going gets tough, the tough get going"

"It's a nasty job, but somebody has to do it."

These items formed a fairly reliable measure (alpha of .78). Propaganda often includes degradation of out-groups, which was not covered by these items. Nevertheless, these items provide an initial measure of the types of slogans typical of propaganda used to marshal followers in aggressive behavior. Goering's idea of denouncing pacifists as disloyal is implied in the first item, "If you're not for me you're against me." Fear of out-groups is addressed in other studies, below.

Five items from the political lying scale described above were included and provided a reliable measure of lying (alpha of .93):

"It is okay for my preferred political party candidates to lie to win votes."

"It is okay for my political party to rig voting machines in their favor."

"It is okay for my political party candidates to accept secret campaign money contributions."

"It is okay for my party elected politicians to break rules to pass legislation."

"It is okay for my elected politicians to accept bribes and favors."

I also included five items to measure a messianic self-image, to explore the possibility raised in Chapter 19, above, that some warmongers tend to see themselves as on divine mission, chosen by fate or a supernatural being to lead some grand mission. These items provided a reliable measure (alpha .81):

"I have sometimes felt a sense of mission to do something important for humankind."

"I have felt that I may have a special destiny in life."

"I have felt that I may have been chosen by fate for some certain role."

"I believe that I may have a unique religious calling of some sort."

“I believe that I am qualified to fulfill some higher duty in the service of humankind.”

Here are the correlations between the variables (based on 255 to 271 of the students):

<u>Trait/Trait</u>	<u>Lying</u>	<u>Messianic</u>	<u>Propaganda</u>
Warmongering	.53**	.18**	.45**
Lying		.00	.17**
Messianic			.35**

By row, these correlation mean:

1. The higher one is on warmongering, the higher he is on lying endorsement, messianic self-image and propaganda endorsement.
2. The higher one is on lying endorsement, the higher he is on propaganda endorsement.
3. The higher one is on messianic self-image, the higher he is on propaganda endorsement.

Thus, we see the expected results. Persons higher on warmongering are comfortable with lying as politicians. They are also comfortable using propaganda to achieve their ends. Some of them have a messianic self-image, e.g. see themselves as on divine mission.

We also see that lying and propaganda tend to be endorsed by the same people. Propaganda and messianic self-image also tend to go together. Self-declared messiah’s tend to use propaganda to promote their causes.

This data suggests that we can expect politicians of the warmongering disposition to be comfortable both lying and using propaganda to control public opinion, win votes and generally carry on political business under false premises. They promote “diseased” politics, politics contaminated by deceit.

They may do this for several reasons. Persons of the warmongering disposition are in a minority. Therefore, they must recruit others to have enough numbers to wage an effective war. They must convince others to ignore common sense and aversion to hostility and adopt the irrational beliefs and hostile perceptions of others as outsiders to be fought against.

To wage war, warmongers must define sides. They can begin by claiming there are “good guys” and “bad guys”. They can claim that they are the good guys and that some other group are the bad guys. Furthermore, they can argue that because there are only good guys and bad guys, everyone who is not for them must be against them. If you are not supportive of their cause, you are automatically a bad guy. If you are a bad guy you become a legitimate target for their hostility.

### **Recruiting Warriors with Lies.**

Specifically, we see in the above data endorsement of slogans that warmongers are likely to use to recruit members of the three types of warrior dispositions discussed in Chapter Ten.

You may recall that Chapter Ten concluded with data on the percentage of young people who fall into each of three attitudes about serving in wars:

5% preemptive (warmongering) warriors,



70% defensive warriors who prefer not to fight but will if necessary to protect their nation, 25% pacifists, who abhor war under any circumstances.

These numbers have implications for propaganda. If a warmongering federal administration wants to wage war, it can expect only five percent of young adults to be willing warriors without much incentive. This won't be enough to mount an effective military force.

So, warmongering leaders will have to aggressively recruit more helpers. We might expect warmongers to address the seventy percent who are defensive types by arguing that the war will be just a defensive action, one needed only to protect against threat rather than to aggress for self-aggrandizement. Warmongers can address the twenty-five percent who are essentially pacifists with intimidation, per Goering's advice. Warmongers might say "If you aren't for us, you're against us. There are only friends and enemies. If you're not our friend, you're our enemy. Those who won't fight for our nation are traitors."

In the second Arrow study summarized above, the correlation between warmongering and this questionnaire item "I like the saying 'If you're not for me, you're against me'." is .40\*\*. Warmongers like this propaganda slogan.

### **Paranoia.**

Paranoia is irrational, excessive fear. Among mental patients, paranoid schizophrenics are considered among the most dangerous. They see danger where none actually exists or personalize dangers so extremely that they can be motivated to kill. Kip Kinkel's mental disturbance comes to mind. Clinicians are careful to avoid angering paranoid clients lest the clinician become part of the patient's delusional system and thus a potential target for assault or homicide.

We have seen in earlier chapters a consistent relationship between the Big Five trait of Emotional Stability and both violence-proneness and warmongering. Persons prone to anxiety and depression are more likely to be violence-prone and warmongers.

Furthermore, in the studies of Social Disenfranchisement, we have seen a consistent correlation between feelings of Injustice, Helplessness, Vulnerability and Distrust on the one hand and warmongering on the other. These facets of Social Disenfranchisement are not unlike elements of paranoia, reflecting a perception of the world as dangerous and oneself as at risk of harm from outside persons or groups.

To see if warmongers are more likely to be paranoid, I conducted a study using a ninety-nine item scale I had previously developed to measure clinical symptoms of anxiety, worry and personal problems. This instrument is available on my web site, Testmasterinc.com. Prior studies had documented the reliability and validity of the many scales in this ninety-nine item instrument. It includes several separate and reliable scores for many facets of anxiety, including paranoia.

The study questionnaire included my ten-item measure of warmongering and items to measure several issues mentioned in an article in the Atlantic Monthly<sup>34</sup> about a Cornell University

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34 Suspicious Minds, Atlantic Monthly, April, 2005, p. 44.

study of Americans' attitudes toward Muslims.<sup>35</sup> I included these three items to measure "religiousness":

I am a very religious person.

I go to church almost every week.

I try to say prayers daily.

I included five items from my measure of religious fundamentalism:

There is only one true god (or God) which all people of the world should worship.

All religions which do not ascribe to the item immediately above are wrong.

Unquestioning loyalty to superiors, including political leaders, is appropriate.

God is vengeful, punishing wrongdoers.

One should submit to the will of religious or political leaders who say they know what god (or God) wants.

I also included five items to measure the kindly religious trait:

The peoples of all nations should learn to live peacefully together, resolving differences not by economic or military might but by discussion, working together, increasing understanding of one another and compromising.

One should help others who are less fortunate.

Using a god's (God's) name as an excuse for or justification of evil against one's fellow man is inappropriate.

Killing other people is not appropriate.

To measure prejudice against Muslims, I included these five items, based on research items reported in the sources mentioned above:

Muslim Americans should have to register their whereabouts with the U.S. government.

U.S. mosques (Muslim places of worship) should be monitored by the government.

The government should infiltrate Islamic civic and volunteer organizations.

Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence.

Islamic countries are violent, fanatical and dangerous.

I concluded with two items I wrote that reflect a general pessimistic, frightened worldview:

There will always be war somewhere in the world.

The world is more dangerous at night than during the daytime.

These items were administered to a group of community college students in the spring of 2005. My professor friend was back to teaching. Twenty-seven students completed the project. Many, however, failed to complete the heading information. Those who did ranged in age from twenty-one to fifty-two and in education from thirteen to fifteen years. Twenty-three percent were males.

The alpha reliability coefficients of most of the measures were adequate:

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35 MSRG Special Report: Restrictions on Civil Liberties, Views of Islam, & Muslim Americans, Dec. 2004, 314 Kenneday Hall, Ithaca, NY 14853, [www.comm.cornell.edu/msrg/msrg.html](http://www.comm.cornell.edu/msrg/msrg.html).

Alpha Reliability Coefficients

Warmongering	.84
Religious fundamentalism	.79
Kindly religious trait	.46
Religiousness	.85
Islam prejudice	.89
Anxiety total (64 items)	.96
Worry total (22 items)	.95
Personal problems (13 items)	.87

The modest reliability of .46 for the Kindly religious trait did not pose a serious restriction. It was high enough to permit detection of significant correlations between this scale and any of the other scales. In this study, any correlation above about .38 was significant at the .05 level. Because the reliabilities of the other scales were all well above .46, any correlation up to about .65 between these other scales and the Kindly trait could be detected, if present.

There are many ways the data for this study can be presented. Perhaps the easiest to grasp it is to look at the traits that correlate with each of the major variables in turn. The Warmongering trait correlated with the other variables as follows:

Correlations between Warmongering and other Variables.

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Anxiety total	.26	Not significant (but more on this in a moment).
Worry total	.43*	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on worry.
Kindly religion	-.10	No relationship with Kindly religion.
Fundamentalist religion	.59**	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on Fundamentalism, as seen in many other studies.
Muslim prejudice	.53**	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be prejudiced against Muslims.
Religiousness	.53**	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on religiousness.
Personal Problems	.33	Suggestions of possible higher personal problems in warmongers (.33 is not statistically significant).

Thus, warmongering is associated with worry, religious fundamentalism, prejudice against Muslims and religiousness.

While warmongering was not significantly correlated with the anxiety total score, it *was* significantly correlated with several facets of anxiety and with a total score made up of these facets, as follows:

Correlations between Warmongering and Fear Facets

<u>Anxiety facet</u>	<u>Correlation</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
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Fear of confinement, claustrophobia	.40*	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on claustrophobia.
Fear of germs	.37 (not quite signif.)	Persons higher on warmongering may tend to be higher of germ phobia.
Heights	.60**	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on fear of heights.
Busy	.39*	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be anxious unless they keep busy.
Something Else	.41*	Persons higher on warmongering report anxiety over something not covered in the test.
Total “Warmongering anxiety” score	.54**	Persons higher on warmongering tend to be higher on the five anxiety facets above, added together.

This data implies that some persons who are anxious and worried tend to see threats by out-groups (e.g. Muslims) as the source of their anxiety and worry. They reason that attacking and destroying those out-groups will reduce their anxiety and worry. The tragedy of this may be the same as it is for clinically anxious and worried persons. Such persons tend to misunderstand the sources of their anxiety and worry or respond to the sources inappropriately such that the anxiety and worry are never effectively reduced, unless they get treatment.

Recent research has uncovered specific genes that make some persons particularly prone to anxiety and depression<sup>36</sup>. Without understanding this mechanism, persons with these genes coded for anxiety and depression will understandably seek sources of their chronic unpleasant feelings in an attempt to reduce them. To the extent that they project responsibility onto out-groups and attack them militarily, they are likely to just make their lives more miserable. There is rarely a good war, for either side. And because “evil people” are not the cause of the anxiety and depression, no amount of killing will be enough. The warmonger will never be satisfied, as Hitler was not.

Warmongers tend to embrace the fundamentalist religious orientation, which emphasizes total subservience to and dependence on authoritarian leaders and gods (God). This may be explained in part by fear. Perhaps warmongers feel less afraid when they can turn to an authority for answers instead of thinking for themselves. Perhaps they see the world as too confusing to understand, too fearful to face. The fact that younger persons with less intelligence and less education are prone to warmongering makes sense in that less knowledge of and experience in the world and less intelligence makes it harder for some persons to face and understand the world. Turning to authorities for simple solutions and answers, may thus appeal.

Warmongering and fear are related. Persons higher on warmongering tend to be more fearful. Persons who are more fearful are more prone to warmongering. Thus, when citizens are afraid, they would appear to be more vulnerable to propaganda urging war.

We can now turn to the Religious Fundamentalist and Kindly Religion traits, examining how they relate to fear. The Kindly trait does not correlate with any of the other major variables or any of the facets of anxiety. Persons higher on Kindly Religious disposition are not afraid or worried. Religious Fundamentalists are, as shown in the following table.

Correlations between Religious Fundamentalism on the one hand  
and Anxiety, Worry, and other Traits on the other.

<u>Trait</u>	<u>Correl.</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
Warmongering	.59**	Persons higher on fundamentalism tend to be higher on warmongering,
Muslim prejudice	.53*	...and prejudiced against Muslims,
Religiousness	.72**	...and tend to be very religious in behavior,
Fear small creatures	.41*	...and fearful of small creatures,
Claustrophobic	.48*	...and fearful of closed spaces, rooms and confinement,
Fates, evil spirits	.55**	...and fearful of bad luck and evil spirits,
Body weight	.44**	...and anxious about gaining or losing weight,
Travel	.56**	...and fearful of traveling,
Heights	.67**	...and fearful of heights,
Alone	.61**	...and afraid when alone.

Thus, we see that religious fundamentalism in this sample of adults is fraught with underlying anxiety of a typically clinical nature. By “clinical” is mean the sort of anxieties and worries that patients who come in for mental health treatment report. These are not normal fears but ones which tend not to make sense and which don’t go away with routine efforts to deal with apparent causes. Treatments typically include anti-anxiety medications and psychotherapy or counseling.

The fact that this fundamentalist religious trait is very robustly associated with clinical anxiety adds further support to the appeal for some anxious persons of a religion that offers simple answers provided by authorities. Persons who are not clinically anxious tend to prefer the Kindly religious orientation in contrast.

The Kindly religious trait does not correlate significantly with religiousness. Persons who are not anxious and who prefer the Kindly religious orientation do not see themselves as “highly religious”, they do not describe themselves as often going to church or praying daily. For them, religious expression does not require frequent church attendance or praying.

Thus, while none of the major variables correlate specifically with paranoia per se, both warmongering and religious fundamentalism correlate robustly with many other facets of clinical anxiety and with worry.

In this data we see further psychological explanation for the warmonger mentality. Warmongers appear to be anxious and worried, seeing threat where none exists or overreacting to threats that more stable persons manage in more tempered, peaceful and constructive ways. The warmongers’ prejudice against out-groups may be an attempt to explain to themselves why they feel fearful. Their promotion of war may be an attempt to destroy what they fear. They are likely to find other fearful people especially open to propaganda urging war.

## Is Kansas a Haven for Frightened People?

I shared some of my data about Kansans with a friend who told me he'd been raised in Kansas. He said he couldn't wait to leave, as the people there seemed very conservative to him. While one person's experience certainly doesn't prove a point, I remembered that Kansas is the geographic center of the United States. It is the farthest away from both coasts and from the Canadian and Mexican borders that any American can get. I decided to explore this in another study.

I designed two questionnaires. My professor friend at the local community college volunteered his students for subjects. 31 students completed both of the questionnaires. The first one included the anxiety and worry scale described above, the 10-item warmongering scale, three items measuring interest in daily news broadcasts (e.g. "I watch the world news on television almost every day"), three items measuring religiousness ("I am a very religious person", "I go to church almost every week", "I try to say prayers daily"), 5 items measuring religious fundamentalism, 5 items measuring the Kindly religious orientation, 5 items measuring anti-Muslim/Islam prejudice and the two world worry items ("There will always be war somewhere in the world", "The world is more dangerous at night than during the daytime").

The second questionnaire included 8 items designed to measure xenophobia (fear of foreigners) expressed in terms of a preference for living in the interior of the United States, as represented by Kansas:

1. I would rather live in the interior of my country than near the border.
2. I would rather live in Kansas, the geographical center of the United States, than in California.
3. I would rather live in Kansas than in Minnesota.
4. I would rather live in Kansas than in Texas.
5. I would rather live in Kansas than in New York.
6. I would feel safer living on the East Coast or West Coast than in the Midwest.
7. I prefer not to travel outside the United States.
8. In a few important ways, United States citizens are better than citizens from other nations.

The questionnaire included 7 items measuring anxiety (e.g. "I feel anxious many days each week", "I have had panic attacks", "I have been treated by medications for anxiety, fear, phobias or panic attacks"). It included 4 items measuring concern with Muslims and terrorists:

I prefer to live as far away from Muslims as I can.

I prefer to live a far away from potential terrorists as I can.

I believe my country should wage war against terrorist organizations.

My country is threatened by terrorists one way or another almost every day.

The questionnaire also included a 4-item measure of Kindly religious orientation, a 5-item measure of religious fundamentalism and the 10-item warmongering scale.

The highlights of this study suggest the following:

Warmongers tend to be xenophobic, preferring to live in the center of the country. The correlation was .39\* between Warmongering and a 6-item xenophobia measure. Warmongers tend to be higher on religiousness (.44\*) and fundamentalism (.60\*\*). They are not Kindly in religious beliefs (-.63\*\*), are anti-Muslim (.80\*\*) and are concerned with the danger of terrorism (.54\*\*). For this sample of students the relationship between warmongering and clinical anxiety was not as dramatic as it was in the first study of these two variables but warmongering did correlate significantly with fears of creatures (.37\*) and fates and evil spirits (.40\*).

Fundamentalists tend to be religious (.70\*\*), not Kindly religious (-.37\*), are anti-Muslim (.72\*\*) and are concerned about the danger of terrorism (.54\*\*).

Those who are higher on Kindly religious beliefs tend not to endorse warmongering (-.63\*\*), or fundamentalism (-.37\*), and are not anti-Muslim (-.62\*\*).

Thus, we see confirmation of results from prior studies and of the hunch that the center of the country is viewed as a safer abode by warmongers. We also see further evidence of the relationship between prejudice, fear, fundamentalism and warmongering.

### **Summary.**

Warmongers lie and endorse propaganda. Warmongers and religious fundamentalists tend to be prejudiced against Muslims. Warmongers are clinically scared, are fearful of foreigners, and may wage war to destroy their imagined enemies. Fearful people are more open to warmongering, more vulnerable to propaganda and lying.

Persons high on the kindly religious trait are not unreasonably anxious and do not endorse war as a way of solving problems.

### **Do warmongers lie?**

Yes. They lie and connive politically, promoting their power by deceit.

### **Do warmongers use propaganda to mobilize the peace-loving majority?**

Yes. They are comfortable with a variety of propaganda phrases that can be used to win confidence and recruits and to promote preemptive war. The more that feel stressed and fearful, the more they will be vulnerable to propaganda. When running for office, politicians of a warmongering disposition tend to use propaganda. A stressed America is vulnerable to being lead by propaganda down the path to war. In this sense, there *is* something the matter with Kansas. When under stress, Kansas is vulnerable to propaganda, deceitful political leadership and war. And so is Wisconsin. And so is Oregon and all of America.

### **Are warmongers and fundamentalists driven by fear?**

Yes, fear measured in terms of clinical anxiety and worry, prejudice against Muslims, and fear of terrorists.

### **Do warmongers prefer to live in Kansas?**

Apparently so, as a symbolic haven deep in the center of the country, far from what they perceive are dangerous foreigners.

### **Discussion questions.**

1. Do you think other groups might differ in religious and human rights values from the groups cited in this chapter? Which groups? How might they differ? What are the implications?
2. Have you felt that politicians lie? Do they all lie? Do some lie more than others? Would you like to know if a candidate for office was prone to lying before you cast your vote?
3. Have you felt that some Federal government leaders have lied to get the nation into war? Have they lied to the public during wars? Do they lie to the media? Is all propaganda bad? When might it be good?

To be successful, a political party must be able to present a marketable image. The next chapter discusses issues related to selling the BICO party.

**Chapter 26.**  
**Think about Elephants, Donkeys, and Dogs:**  
**Values, frames and slogans.**

When is a slogan a good technique?  
 Which is better, an oversimplified frame of reference or a complex one?  
 What logo would best fit the BICO party?

**To slogan or not to slogan.**

Linguist George Lakoff, author of the best-selling book on political marketing Don't Think of an Elephant, says values and “frames” are centrally important in conveying or selling political messages to the public. “You need to speak from your moral perspective at all times...get clear on your values and use the language of values...remember that voters vote their identity and their values, which need not coincide with their self-interest.”<sup>37</sup> He challenges political parties to condense their philosophies into ten-word summaries.

He suggests five campaign slogans for progressives to use in competition with conservative slogans:

<b>Conservative:</b>	<b>Progressive:</b>
Strong defense	Stronger America
Free markets	Broad prosperity
Lower taxes	Better future
Smaller government	Effective government
Family values	Mutual responsibility

Such a summary representing the BICO party would have to be endorsed by a vote of party members, but we can imagine how it might look. The task is daunting, considering the complexity of government. For the BICO party, values include determining who makes government decisions as well as what decisions are made. Determining the national budget is not a simple matter. Determining tax issues also would be complex: Who should pay taxes? Should the taxes be graduated or flat? Should they be income or sales taxes, or both? What deductions should be allowed?

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37 Reference: Don't Think of an Elephant, Lakoff, George, Chelsea Green Publishing, White River Junction, Vermont, 2004.



I tried to condense a value system for the BICO party into five two-word phrases. I gave up. I needed more words. You will see in my following efforts reflections of the most highly endorsed values discussed in an earlier chapter:

**BICO Party suggested slogans:**

- a.. “Majority-values government”. Opinions of informed, concerned citizens define the highest form of democratic government.
- b. Community goals attained through voter-based government.
- c. Citizen-serving leadership.
- d. Citizen-endorsed government programs.
- e. Family values in the family, religious values in the place of worship, majority values in the community and government.
- f. Community values underlie community and government goals.
- g. A peaceful world through cooperative programs.
- h. Balanced budgets and proportional budgeting.
- i. Sustainable prosperity instead of short-term self-indulgence.
- j. Responsibility for the strong, compassion and support for the frail, opportunity for everyone.

Ideally, the BICO party eventually will be so widely supported by the citizenry that it won’t have to “sell” with simplistic slogans. If the party can recruit the majority of the voting public to party membership, then simplistic slogans will not be needed to win elections. The majority of the public will belong to the party, understand its platform and endorse party candidates, knowing they are committed to this platform.

**We’ve been framed.**

From another perspective, slogans may be unwise for the BICO party. Slogans imply a “frame” of oversimplification. According to Lakoff, a frame is a mental structure that determines how we see the world, a frame of reference. He advises that when a progressive person attempts to counter a conservative political argument the progressive should argue not from the frame of the conservative argument but from an alternative frame created by the progressive.

When Lakoff offers slogans that progressives can use to counter conservative slogans, however, may be failing to take his own advice. There is a frame implicitly underlying the conservative’s use of slogans. This conservative frame appears to consist of these beliefs:

1. The world is a dangerous place.
2. The dangerous world is best understood and managed by mentally simplifying it.
3. A few “right” ideas or beliefs are all one needs to simplify the world.
4. Most people are simple-minded enough that they will be persuaded to accept a few ideas as the “right” and sufficient ones to understand or manage the world, especially the political world.
5. Five two-word slogans are all that we conservatives need to “sell”our policies and political candidates to the public.

The frame underlying the conservative agenda is one of oversimplification. Slogans are part of oversimplification. To fight slogans with slogans accepts an oversimplification frame. The

Democrats seem to have a humanistic frame of reference that does not oversimplify the world as much as the Republican frame does. Therefore, slogans may not work for Democrats.

Let me suggest an alternative frame which would represent the BICO perspective. It is based on the assumption that the BICO party would use values research data such as that presented earlier to craft its bylaws and organization. The BICO party would seem to embody these beliefs:

1. The world, for the most part, is a peaceful and safe place, populated with kind, responsible people. There is a core of complex values shared by all peoples that can be identified, clarified and used to unite the majority of people in constructive, cooperative activity.
2. The world is a complicated place, with great variety of peoples, economic systems, ecologies, cultures, belief systems, religions, socioeconomic levels, technologies and knowledge bases.
3. This complexity is best dealt with, understood and managed *not* by oversimplification but with the help of intelligent, highly-educated, well-informed leaders who are guided by informed, concerned voters on how to address community, national and international matters.
4. Such leaders and citizens can be found in sufficient numbers in every nation to create effective governments of a “public democracy” style in all nations.
5. Building such governments takes time and effort and should not be oversimplified or compromised, because more primitive forms of government have serious shortcomings.
6. Voters and party members can and should be recruited who can understand and will support this view of the world and of politics.
7. Slogans oversimplify these issues too much to be appropriate recruitment or campaign messages.

From this BICO “frame”, then, we can see that slogans may not be appropriate for this party either. Rather than countering with new slogans either the conservative or progressive slogans presented by Lakoff, the BICO party may think it wisest to present its messages from a frame of reference such as the seven-point one offered above. From this frame of reference BICO recruiting and campaign messages may take a different form from slogans.

If slogans *are* used by the BICO party to converse with voters, they will probably involve more than two-word phrases and will be followed with clear explanatory detail. For example, slogan e., above, about values, reads:

e. Family values in the family, religious values in the place of worship, majority values in the community and government.

A one-minute spot ad on television might include this copy:

“Family values guide and unite happy families...” (Pictures of happy family members, serious and discussing family members, hugging family members)

“Religious values guide and unite peoples of many faiths...” (Pictures of Christians, Muslims, Jews, Hindus at their places of worship, and working on service projects)

“Citizens can choose values that unite them in constructive government programs.” (Pictures of citizens tallying and discussing information, planning a public park...blueprints, etc., and military personnel handing out food in a natural disaster situation).

“The best interests of the community overall are well-served by strong families, strong religions and strong civil governments. (Appropriate accompanying pictures.)

“In a strong nation there is room for many sorts of families, many religions and many helpful citizens.”

“Your vote for candidates of the BICO party ....  
or “Your vote for John Doe, candidate for U.S. Senator....  
(Appropriate photos)  
“...will help assure the best interests of your family, faith and nation.”  
“Vote BICO.” or “Vote for John Doe”.

### **Think of cats and dogs.**

Lakoff teaches linguistics at the University of California, Berkeley. To show his students that frames influence our thinking, he instructs them in lecture “Don’t think of an elephant”. He has never found a student who could obey his command, for the word ‘elephant’ evokes a frame, a visual image, an image that sticks vividly in mind, controlling the effort to *not* think of an elephant.

While political reality as defined by the BICO party may be too complex and sophisticated to summarize in one word or image, political parties have traditionally adopted visual image mascots, the elephant for Republicans, the donkey for Democrats. What mascot might the BICO party adopt? An owl, to imply wisdom? A border collie or golden retriever to imply kindness and helpfulness? A cat and a dog, to convey cooperation and tolerance of differences?

It would be fun to have a contest, with party members submitting ideas and artwork which could then be presented to party members for a vote of endorsement.

In the meantime, if you believe in the idea of a political party serving the best interests of communities overall, think “BICO<sup>R</sup>”.

I’ve registered this name, as indicated by the little “R”, to protect it for the party’s use.

### **Summary.**

Frames of reference and related slogans or other marketing techniques warrant careful consideration. The BICO party should clarify its basic values and frame of reference and build its marketing upon this. It might consider dogs and cats for its party logo.

Selling the party and recruiting members is the first step. Another is raising money independent of special interest groups. How can this be done? The next chapter explores an option.

### **When is a slogan a good technique?**

A slogan is a good technique when one is using an oversimplified frame of reference.

### **Which is better, an oversimplified frame of reference or a complex one?**

From the perspective of the BICO party, a complex frame of reference seems inevitable, as the majority of the public presents a clearly prioritized and consistent set of common values that is rather complex.

### **What logo would best fit the BICO party?**

Perhaps dogs and cats. But it will be up to party members, like you, to decide.

**Discussion questions.**

1. Do you think the BICO party could successfully market itself without simple slogans? If not, what three slogans would you suggest as key ones?
2. How well do you like a dog and cat logo for the BICO party? Can you think of other options?

**Chapter 27.**

**High Finance:**

**Funding a new party one member at a time.**

How much money would it take for a new party to be a serious contender?

How much would party members have to pay in dues?

Would enough members join to make the new party a go?

**Financing a new political party independent of special interest groups.**

To create a new political party that can realistically compete with the current major parties, considerable financing would be needed. To get an idea of the amount of money needed, it is helpful to refer to the costs of recent Presidential and Congressional campaigns. The Center for

Responsive Politics<sup>38</sup> estimates from information provided by the government that in 2000 nearly three billion dollars went into the Presidential and Congressional races and that in 2004 this had risen to 3.9 billion. 1.2 billion of this was for the Presidential race, the balance, 2.7 billion, for Congressional races. These amounts appear to cover a four-year cycle.

An increasing proportion of this money is contributed by individuals, 2.5 billion of the 3.9 billion for the cycle ending in 2004. Under current law, individuals can contribute up to \$2,000 to a Congressional candidate per election, up to \$4,000 counting the primary and final elections. In addition, individuals can give up to \$50,000 per cycle to a political party committee.

Money comes from other sources as well. Political action committees contributed \$384 million in the 2004 cycle.

To double-check these figures, consider these numbers:

Congress has 435 Representatives and 100 Senators. Campaign costs for Representatives typically run about \$1 million. They serve for two years at a time. Therefore, on average every Representative must raise about \$1/2 million every year to fund his or her next campaign. If each of them has an opponent who raises a similar amount, then \$435 million per year total must be raised for Representative campaigns. For a four year cycle, this totals \$1.74 billion.

The Senate has 100 members. Their campaign costs are about \$5 million each. They serve for 6 years. Therefore, on average, each must raise 1/6 of \$5, or \$833 thousand per year to be ready for his or her next campaign. For 100 Senators this totals \$83.3 million. If each of them has an equally well-funded opponent, the amount is doubled to \$166.6 million per year. For a four-year cycle the amount would be four times this or \$666.4 million.

For Representative and Senator races we have \$1.74 billion + \$666.4 million = \$2.406 billion. Add the \$1.2 billion for the Presidential election and we have \$3.606 billion, which is within eight percent of the above estimate provided by the Center for Responsive Politics of 3.9 billion for the four-year cycle ending in 2004. Thus, about \$1 billion per year is raised for Congressional and Presidential races.

Therefore, if a new political party hopes to seriously compete, it must have financing of, say 1/3 to 1/2 this amount. 1/3 of \$1 billion is \$333 million. The BICO party would need income of at least \$333 million per year to compete as a third major party.

We see above an increasing trend for individuals to support campaigns (2.5 billion for the four-year cycle ending in 2004). This would appear desirable if those individuals are contributing as individuals and not as members of special interest groups. Special interest groups can contribute money through Political Action Committees, presumably having considerable influence on the legislative behavior of elected officials. And individuals can contribute thousands of dollars, for which they might expect favors in return.

My studies have shown that a strong majority of people appears to prefer government that serves the best interests of the community overall rather than serving special interest groups. For this reason, it would be desirable for the new BICO party to be funded exclusively by individual party members as individuals, not as representatives of special interest groups. It would probably be best if they all contributed equally, no individuals contributing large amounts for which they would expect special favors in return.

The question then boils down to this: how many individual citizens could the BICO party expect to recruit as party members and how much would these persons be willing to pay in annual dues to fund party activities? Would the numbers be high enough to provide \$333 million a year, minimum?

Approximately 120 million persons voted in the 2004 presidential election. My research suggests that ninety percent of adults prefer a government of the sort the BICO party would advocate and different from special interest group parties, such as the current Democratic and Republican parties.

It seems reasonable to assume that these 120 million persons would be possible candidates for participation in the BICO party. Ninety percent of 120 million is 108 million persons. Let's assume that over a few years the BICO party could recruit twenty million of these 108 million people to join the party. That is less than one of every five who are likely to be interested in what the party would stand for. If the recruited members were asked to pay \$100 per year in dues, that would generate \$2 *billion* per year. The party would need only \$333 million per year.

The party could get by with only 1/6 of 20 million members, or 3.3 million members. With this many members, the party could expect to generate \$333 million per year in income and be a viable contender on the national political scene.

If it had twenty million members, the BICO party would have a budget of \$2 billion per year or \$8 billion every four years. At this level of financing, the party could expect to dominate national politics.

With a budget of \$2 billion per year, the party could fund a range of many activities, including ones that would assure a viable stable of candidates for office, a full time staff to recruit, groom and fund candidates' political campaigns and offer a number of attractive activities and services to party members. Offering activities and services to members could help attract and hold them. Activities could include local service projects to clean up rivers and lakes, purchase and maintain game and fish reserves, develop housing for homeless persons and to conduct semiannual meetings at which members could hear speakers, discuss political topics, plan campaigns, complete opinion questionnaires, vote on officers and socialize.

Services to members might eventually include benefits such as group discounts for travel or automobile services and perhaps even group life and health insurance policies at rates discounted from privately available policies. Retirement savings and investment programs might also be offered. These sorts of benefits are offered to members of the American Psychological Association, and presumably to other such large organizations.

The next step, then is to conduct polls of the public on these issues. How many would be willing to join a new party? What dues would they be willing to pay?

### **Research results:**

To begin exploring public interest in such a party, I administered a questionnaire to sixty-eight churchgoers. I prefaced these questions with a discussion of a new ideal political party with features to be determined by party members. Then I asked for levels of endorsement of items. Here are the results. The percentages are those who strongly agreed, agreed and half who were neutral:

### **How should dues be structured?**

- 43% Dues should be the same for all party members.
- 71% Dues should be on a sliding scale, based on income level.
- 82% Members should be invited but not required to make financial contributions to the party above the dues level, but only anonymously, so their interests cannot excessively influence the legislative activity of elected officials from the party.
- 95% No party member's votes on plank issues should count more than any other party member's votes.

We see preference for a sliding scale dues structure and openness to anonymous additional contributions, with no power or favor strings attached.

Next, I explore the critically important issue of how much people would be willing to pay in dues. I'd estimated a need for at least \$100 per year from ten or twenty million voters. "Please indicate what amount you would be comfortable paying in yearly dues to be a part of your ideal political party, as you have defined it by your responses above."

- 11% A= Nothing.
- 16% B=\$50.00 U.S.
- 52% C=\$100.00 U.S.
- 8% D=\$200 U.S.
- 13% E =Over \$200.

Thus, we see that  $52 + 8 + 13 = 73\%$  of this group is willing to pay \$100 or more in annual dues as members of this party. Along with the initial items above that indicate ninety percent or more of the public would be interested in such a party, these data imply that this new party could obtain sufficient funding and membership to be a viable contender on the national political scene.

### **Summary.**

Initial data suggests that a new political party might be appealing to enough members willing to pay dues as individuals at a level to be financially viable. How this party might function will be explored in the next chapter.

### **How much money would it take for a new party to be a serious contender?**

About \$333 million per year.

### **How much would party members have to pay in dues?**

\$100.

## **Would enough members join to make the new party a go?**

It looks like it.

### **Discussion Questions.**

1. Do you currently pay \$100 or more in dues to any organization you belong to? Would it be worth it to you to pay \$100 per year if you and others could make a new political party of the BICO model actually work?
2. What special services beyond the basics would you like this party's funds to cover? Scholarships for students? Conventions? Peace prizes?

## **Chapter 28.**

### **A New Political Party: A party of, by and for the people.**

*I know of no safe depository of the ultimate power of society but the people themselves; and if we think them not enlightened enough to exercise their control with a wholesome discretion, the remedy is not to take it from them but to inform their discretion by education.*

- Thomas Jefferson, 1820.<sup>39</sup>

How would the BICO party assess public opinion?

What principles would guide this activity?

Why would skillful assessment be important to protect the party?

### **Division of Issues Research.**

The new BICO party is intended to be a significant advancement over current parties. It would be a very dynamic organization that would function almost like a mini-government itself. For, the party would have at its core systems for carefully reading public opinion on issues of importance to society. The will of the public would be its guidepost. This function is of such great importance that it warrants discussion in detail.

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<sup>39</sup> American Quotations, Edited by Gordon Carruth and Eugene Ehrlich, Wing Books, Avenel, N.J., 1992, p 279.



In serving this function, perhaps the most important division of the BICO party would be what might be termed the Division of Issues Research. This division or department would be staffed at the top by a team of professionals with a wide range of expertise in state and national government, science, education, psychology, business, finance, law and other disciplines as necessary.

The tasks of this division would be several, including the following, which would tend to be done in sequence:

1. Designing and conducting periodic random sample polls of the general public on issues of importance to the nation overall.
2. Researching issues defined by polls as of central interest and importance to the general public.
3. Developing sophisticated, realistic *response options* for addressing the issues clarified in steps 1 and 2. Response options are specific government actions that can be taken to address the issues, solving the problems implied.
4. Polling the party membership on their preferences regarding these response options.
5. Preparing and presenting reports of these tasks and results to an executive committee of the party, who would consider including them in the current party platform.

The activities of this division would be guided by several principles, such as the following:

1. They are to remain objective and independent from financial influence by special interest groups. They may accept input from special interest groups, and, indeed, should seek input from all relevant sources on all issues studied. However, it would be of utmost importance that the committee be at arm's length from pressure from special interest groups. For example, the party would accept no money or favors from special interest groups.
2. They should be careful to explore and consider all relevant aspects of issues studied. For example, when exploring the issue of availability of jobs for citizens, it would be relevant for them to study facets of education, psychology, international trade and the trade balance, economics and government finance.
3. In designing *response options*, presented to party membership in polls, the department should be sensitive to existing fundamental principles, as laid out in the U.S. Constitution and Bill of Rights, and to national and international laws. They should also be sensitive to current national ethics and values as clarified by periodic polls of the general public conducted by the division.

For example, the values highly endorsed by the public and reported in an earlier chapter include strong endorsement of sustainable policies and programs, a kindly and supportive foreign policy, a decrease in military spending, protection of religious freedoms, freedom from slavery and meaningful jobs for decent pay. These values should be respected in response option drafts.

4. In designing response options, they should present a full range of options across the spectra likely to represent citizen preferences or choices. For example, in studies presented earlier in this book, when soliciting public preferences regarding preferred government, a full range of government types was presented, in five levels, from anarchy to public democracy.
5. In designing polls the department should be cognizant of and sensitive to principles of sophisticated poll design. For example, three such principles may be described as avoiding leading presentations, avoiding self-canceling item clusters and following progressive decision trees.

### **Avoid Leading Presentations.**

A leading presentation is one in which the preamble to a poll item and/or the poll item itself are phrased in such a way as to foster a biased response in a pre-selected direction. For example, consider this preamble and item:

“Most Americans for the past 20 years have thought the national budget should be balanced, paying off the debt. What do you think we should do? Choose one of these four options:

1. Pay off the national debt and work within a balanced budget, so our children aren’t burdened with it.
2. Keep the debt at the same level and pay \$310 billion per year in interest on it.
3. Let the debt grow at the same average rate as in the past 20 years.
4. Let the debt grow at whatever rate government leaders want it to.”

The preamble to this item is biased positively toward joining the crowd, thinking like the majority of other Americans, not making an independent judgment. The first response option is also biased positively with the “tag” of concern for our children. Option 2 is biased negatively with the “tag” of much expense of having debt.

A more objective preamble would present arguments for and against the debt and not mention prior poll results. Objective response options avoid tags, either pro or con.

**Avoid self-canceling item clusters.**

Self-canceling item clusters are groups of poll questions or items worded in such a way that they are likely to yield results that are contradictory to each other, throwing no clearly useful light on public opinion.

For example, consider these two items from 2004 polls summarized at [www.pollingreport.com/budget.htm](http://www.pollingreport.com/budget.htm):

“If you had to choose, would you prefer balancing the budget or cutting taxes?”

	Balance Budget	Cut Taxes	Unsure
11/04	66%	31%	3%
3/04	61%	36%	3%

“If you had to choose, would you prefer balancing the budget or spending more on education, health care and economic development?”

	Balance Budget	Spend More	Unsure
11/04	44%	55%	1%
3/04	36%	62%	2%

The results from the first item do not differ from March to November of 2004 and suggest that the public wants to balance the budget rather than cut taxes. However, the second item juxtaposes balancing the budget with spending more, and specifically spending more for education, health care and economic development, all of which the general public can be expected to want. The results of this item imply that the public does not want to balance the budget. Thus, we are left scratching our heads.

These issues could be handled differently to avoid this canceling effect by first presenting issues relevant to spending less, the same, or more than we take in and then asking poll questions on that topic. Then, independently, one should ask how the currently available income should be spread between various budget categories, such as current military spending, past military spending debt, human resources (education, health, etc.), natural resources (forests, parks) etc.

This avoids the cross-item canceling phenomenon and can provide interesting and clear information that can be useful in policy formation. For example, in my studies I have included such independent items which first showed these endorsement percentages by sixty-eight adults regarding balancing the budget. These sixty-eight were the churchgoer sample discussed in prior chapters:

Percent of adults

<u>endorsing:</u>	<u>Overall budget option:</u>
26%	Spend 10% less than we make (pay off debt).
56%	Spend 5% less than we make (pay off debt).
15%	Spend as much as we make.
3%	Spend 5% more than we make (increase debt).
0%	Spend 10% more than we make (increase debt).

Thus, the results of this item clearly indicate public support for balancing the budget (82% in options 1 and 2), similar to the results from the first poll item reported above from Pollingreport.com.

Then, I asked persons how they wanted each of five general categories of government spending to be handled, with these results:

Percent of adults want change as indicated:	Category:
85% want it decreased 5 to 10% or more.	Current military spending.
29% want it decreased 5 to 10% or more.	Past military spending.
82% want it <u>increased</u> 5 to 10% or more.	Human resources.
16% want it <u>increased</u> 5 to 10% or more.	General government.
57% want it <u>increased</u> 5 to 10% or more.	Physical resources.

Thus, from this second cluster of poll items we see how persons want current income spent. Of interest is the fact that this poll was taken while the Iraq war was in process. In spite of this, the polled adults want military spending decreased, implying they do not support war as a general national activity.

**Follow progressive decision trees.**

Following a progressive decision tree is designing a series of poll topics and questions in a logical progression, such as from general to specific.

Consider this example on budgeting. A logical way to budget one's family income is to follow this progression of decisions: determine income level, make decisions about acceptable debt level, identify amounts necessary for basic necessities and savings, determine remaining amount available for discretionary spending, decide how much to allocate to each of several discretionary spending categories.

For example, a family of four has income after taxes of \$48 thousand annually. This is \$4,000 monthly. They choose to pay off credit card debt totally at the end of each month, have house and car purchase payments totaling \$1,400 per month and related property taxes, insurance costs and maintenance costs of \$400 per month. They save \$100 per month in a general account, \$100 per month in an education savings account, \$100 per month in a vacation fund account and \$50 per month in a gifts/donations account, totaling \$2,150.

This leaves \$1,850 per month for discretionary spending. They divide this money into expenses for food (\$600), clothing (\$100), family entertainment (\$100), personal allowances and spending (\$300), health care (\$400), gas, oil and other transportation expenses (\$200), and miscellaneous (\$150).

While the national budget is much more complex than a single family budget, a similar logically progressing decision tree process should be followed when building polls to explore options for planning expenditures. Decision trees can become rather complex and are more easily explained by diagrams than text alone, but a simple progression of decisions about the national budget could follow two distinct general levels, having sub-levels within:

Level I. Answer the question "How are we going to manage expenditures?"

- A. Spend more than we take in? If so, how do we fund the difference?
  - 1. Borrow across accounts (e.g. from Social Security or road tax funds)?, or...
  - 2. Sell Treasury Bills, Bonds, etc. (borrowing from the public sector)?, or...
  - 3. Print excess money (causing inflation).
  - 4. After deciding between 1-3, go to Level II, below.
- or B. Spend as much as we take in? If so, go to level II, below.
- or C. Spend less than we take in? If so, what should we do with the excess money?
  - 1. Pay down the national debt?.
  - 2. Spread it among existing programs? If so, go to Level II.
  - 3. Fund a new program?, e.g. a national health care system.
  - 4. After deciding 1 or 3, go to Level II.

II. How should we spend funds available for current expenses? (Note: the 7 trillion dollar national debt is divided up among the categories).

- A. Make decisions between major categories:
  - 1. Military
    - A. Current military.
    - B. Past military (interest on debt, Veterans' services).

2. Human Resources.
    - A. Current human resources (health, education, welfare, Social Security, etc.).
    - B. Past human resources (interest on debt).
  3. Government services.
    - A. Current (state department, intelligence services, transportation, immigration and naturalization, judiciary, etc.).
    - B. Past (debt).
  4. Physical resources.
    - A. Current (national forests and parks, fisheries, mining rights, etc.)
    - B. Past (debt).
- B. Make decisions within categories, e.g. increase or decrease funding of specific programs as appropriate.

### **Importance of following good polling techniques.**

Following good polling techniques will be important for several reasons:

This division would be one of the most important in the BICO party, for it would have a unique freedom to study and respond to important national issues. Government offices do not have as much freedom, because of government constraint by special interest group pressures. Thus, the BICO Division of Issues Research would have a uniquely independent role in leading government improvements in the service of the community overall. To the extent that party candidates are elected to public office, the party platform, incorporating public and party member responses to sophisticated issue response options, would be promoted. Therefore, it is of utmost importance that issues research and polling be done very well and by staff whose expertise, motives and moral character are above reproach.

Another reason that issue polling must be done well is to assure clear, non-contradictory information that can be used to formulate sound government planning.

A third reason for excellent polling techniques is to avoid mistakes or oversights that could be used as fodder by critics of the BICO party. The more powerful the BICO party becomes, the more it will threaten the status quo and the special interest groups who have a stake in preserving the present system of government upon which they depend for favors. They might cite inconsistent or contradictory poll results as evidence that the public cannot be trusted to make reasonable decisions about how the government should operate.

An example of polling is presented in the next chapter.

### **Summary.**

The Division of Issues Research would serve the important BICO party function of studying issues and polling the general public and party members to gain information upon which to base the party platform and government legislation proposed by elected party candidates. The Division would be staffed by highly trained experts who would follow carefully delineated principles to assure excellent polling. How the public wants this party to function is presented in the next chapter.

### **How would the BICO party assess public opinion?**

Via well-designed polls

**What principles would guide this activity?**

There are several. Poll issues should be relevant to current political issues, well-researched and clearly presented. Other principles would be developed by party staff who are experts in polling.

**Why would skill be important to protect the party?**

Party polls must be done very well to guard against criticism from other parties threatened by the new BICO party as it gains strength.

**Discussion Questions.**

1. Do you agree with Thomas Jefferson that the ultimate power of society is the people themselves? If not, what is the ultimate power?
2. If you think the ultimate power of society is God or a god or gods, how can that power be incorporated in society and still keep an appropriate separation of church and state, church and government?
3. Or, do you think that religion and politics *should* be melded? If so, how can society avoid the problems of past governments which over thousands of years of human history have tried unsuccessfully to meld religion and government, with leaders claiming to be gods or the agents of God/gods and exerting destructive control over their peoples?
4. What areas of expertise do you think might be important additions to the Division of Issues Research, beyond those presented on the first page of this chapter: expertise in state and national government, science, education, psychology, business, finance and law?

## **Chapter 29.**

### **Poll Talk:**

#### **Government as you like it.**

How can poll questions be introduced to inform people of the relevant issues?

What range of topics can be covered in a poll of public opinion?

How can complex issues be explored by polls?

#### **Preambles.**

Once an issue has been thoroughly researched by the Division of Issues Research, it would be ready for inclusion in a poll of the membership. Each poll topic would be introduced by a preamble. The preamble would present a consensus of informed opinion on material relevant to the issue.

For example, questions about how to spend or manage the Federal budget can be introduced with a preamble that explains how money is currently spent, for what categories and in what amounts, the nature of debt and required interest payments and the likely impacts of budget adjustments up or down in various categories.

A preamble to questions about global warming and air pollution could include data on lung disease rates in communities with different levels of air pollution, the impact of rising CO<sub>2</sub> levels on atmospheric temperatures, the impact of warming on polar ice caps, and the relationship between burning fossil fuels and the buildup of greenhouse gasses.

Preamble facts should be based on highly respected references, experts and authorities, both to assure sound information upon which to base eventual policy decisions and to protect against unreasonable criticism from party opponents.

#### **Sample Preambles and Poll Questions.**

As a psychologist I cannot hope to craft preambles that would require high expertise from a wide range of disciplines on virtually any public issue of national importance. However, by way of example I present below a few brief preambles and poll questions of the sort that the division of issues research would produce.

To get an idea of how strongly the public would endorse these items, I administered them to sixty-eight churchgoers. This data was gathered in January and February, 2005, after President Bush was reelected. These churchgoers would seem to be the sort of conscientious citizens likely to be interested in participating in a new political party such as the BICO party. I provide the percentage of them that agree with each item (mean item scores above 3.5).

#### **Values, Conservation, Public School Budgeting, Jobs, Health Care, National Budgeting and Foreign Policy.**

**1. Values.** A sample of values research results are presented in a prior chapter. A values poll conducted by BICO party staff might include a preamble and items as follow. The introductory

wording in the research questionnaire was somewhat different but essentially the same as this:

“The BICO party thinks that it is important to base government policies and programs on a common set of values held by the public overall. One way to determine current public values is by asking a random sample of persons how strongly they endorse a wide variety of values. You have been selected to participate in this survey to help clarify current public values. Please circle one number to indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using this code:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

(Remember, reader, the percent figure indicates the degree of agreement.)

- |               |  |
|---------------|--|
| 1 2 3 4 5 90% | 1. While the government should protect our right to practice any reasonable religion, the government should not encourage religious practices per se in public institutions, documents or affairs. |
| 1 2 3 4 5 54% | 2. I need better and more affordable health care coverage than I currently have.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 91% | 3. I believe that our government should pay off the national debt.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 1%  | 4. I think that national government leaders should accept campaign money from special interest groups who expect favors in return.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 39% | 5. I expect my income level to rise during the next 12 months.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 5%  | 6. I have more confidence in national government now than I did 4 years ago.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 92% | 7. I believe the United States should put as much or more effort on non-military programs to reduce the threat of terrorism as on military efforts.  |
| 1 2 3 4 5 48% | 8. I believe that only those who pay into Social Security should be eligible for benefits from Social Security.  |
| 1 2 3 4 5 7%  | 9. I believe government is doing a better job of promoting well-paying jobs for Americans now than it was 5 years ago.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 25% | 10. I believe I am paying too much in property, income and sales taxes for what government services I receive in my community, state and nation.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 90% | 11. Our national elections should be conducted by polling/voting mechanisms or techniques that can be double-checked for accuracy.   |
| 1 2 3 4 5 90% | 12. I am familiar with the basic beliefs advocated by the major political parties.   |

Some of the items in this poll may be considered more program-specific than general value items, but most of them are intended to get at general values more than at specific program option endorsements. Data from such questions can provide indications of general areas of satisfaction or concern, especially when compared to similar questions asked in prior years. Data from some of these items has direct implications for government policies and programs. For example, item 4 supports a political party financed by means other than special interest groups. Item 7 data encourages a major rethinking of national budget priorities. The data for items 9 and 11 supports state and national government improvements in job creation programs and voting mechanisms.

## 2. Conservation.



The majority of adults appear to strongly support concern for the environment and for the long-term. Therefore, it would be reasonable for the BICO division of issues research to explore in detail what the public wants and would support by way of specific conservation and environmental policies and programs.

For example, a poll preamble on this topic might read as follows. The percentage data for those agreeing (3.5 or above) is again from the same group of 68 churchgoers, who took a poll with a similar preamble.

“Public opinion polls have shown that citizens hold strong opinions about the environment, conservation and pollution. In order to develop sound plans that will have wide public support, governments need detailed information from the public on this topic. You have been selected to give your opinion. Please circle one number to indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements, using this code:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

- 1 2 3 4 5 7%      1. I do not think that the government needs to be concerned about the environment.
- 1 2 3 4 5 98%      2. I think the government should carefully assure that we have adequate supplies of fresh water for generations to come.
- 1 2 3 4 5 25%      3. I have noticed periodic shortages of fresh water in my community.
- 1 2 3 4 5 50%      4. I believe we should consider setting limits on population size as one way to address the fresh water issue.”

One can easily imagine fifty or more such questions on this topic, especially when considering all its many facets, such as garbage and sewage disposal, recycling of household waste, toxic waste disposal, medical services waste disposal, management of fresh water and ocean fisheries, forests, agricultural land, oil and gas reserves, utilization rates of gravel, ores and other such raw materials, grazing land, atmospheric pollution and global warming. Items 1 and 2 imply very strong public concern for environmental protection. The fifty percent in support of item 4 suggests the public would be quite open to considering population control discussions as an issue of national importance.

### 3. Public School Budgeting.

As an example of how a state or county chapter of the BICO party could poll local citizens on a specific local issue of public importance, consider the preamble and three poll questions included in many of the questionnaires included in research reported in earlier chapters:

**“For the next three questions, consider these two possible types of local public school systems:**

**A. Contract-driven budgeting:** School budget allocations are dictated by contracts, such as between teacher unions and school boards, such that the salaries and benefits of tenured, long-term teachers take priority over all other aspects of the budget (supplies, utilities, buildings, ball fields, club and sport programs, etc.). If budgets are cut, tenured teachers’ salaries and benefits are not cut. All other programs are cut and classroom sizes go up. If budgets go up, the first priority is given to increasing teacher salaries and benefits. Then other budget items are

considered.

**B. Proportional budgeting:** A proportion of each school dollar is always protected and used only for a specific portion of the budget. Classroom sizes are constantly at 22 students. Teacher salaries are determined by a formula involving the amount of money available for salaries divided by the number of classes (students 22 per class), etc. When budgets decrease, all aspects of the budget are cut proportionally, but no teachers or programs are cut. Classroom sizes stay the same. When budgets increase, all portions of the budget increase proportionally. All programs get more money. Classroom sizes stay the same.

Answer these questions using this code:

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly agree

1 2 3 4 5      93. If I were a public school teacher, I would prefer to work under system B rather than system A.

1 2 3 4 5      94. If I were a parent, I would prefer to have my child educated under system B rather than system A.

1 2 3 4 5      95. If I were a taxpayer, I would prefer to support system B rather than system A”.

You may recall that the majority of adults prefer option, B. Warmongers tend to prefer option A.

If this data is confirmed on large random samples, communities would have justification for legislation promoting option B over A. This would require reduction of teacher union power, but recall that even teachers in training at a university prefer option B. It may be that only union leaders and tenured teachers with seniority prefer option A, for selfish reasons. The above data implies that the majority of the public think that the best interests of the community overall are not served by option A, the contract driven system for school budgeting.

Option A is an example of what may be defined as a non-sustainable program or policy. A sustainable program or policy may be defined as one which does not progressively destroy resources upon which the policy or program is dependent.

A school budgeting program that indefinitely devotes an increasing proportion of the budget to teacher salaries and benefits will eventually destroy the system upon which it depends. With no money for building maintenance, utilities, and supplies, the school system could not function and there would be no jobs for any teachers, tenured or not. Therefore, the budgeting program would be non-sustainable.

#### 4. Jobs.

The issue of jobs is complex. Some might think it is too complex for the citizens to understand or make reasonable decisions about. We can rely on Congress, the Department of Labor, the Federal Reserve, the current Executive branch administration (President, cabinet, etc.). Or, we can broaden our base of information and include the voting public. If we include the public by polling, the preamble would necessarily be complex, as the job issue itself is complex. Perhaps to make the topic manageable, it would be wise to present it in sections. Consider the following draft of such a poll. The percentage of sixty-eight churchgoers agreeing with each item is again included.

“One can describe different models of economic processes, ranging from highly centrally planned and controlled systems, as some communist states have been, to highly “free-market” systems characterized by minimally regulated supply and demand, as characterizes most of the world today.

Please indicate your degree of agreement or disagreement with each of the following statements:

1 2 3 4 5 25% 1. I think a highly planned and controlled economy is better than a loosely planned and controlled one, such as a free market economy.

1 2 3 4 5 16% 2. I am quite satisfied with the way the current U.S. economy is running, considering jobs, wages, chances for advancement, opportunities to work in a field that uses my best aptitudes and experience, etc.

1 2 3 4 5 80% 3. I think the government should do more to protect and promote well-paying jobs in my state.

1 2 3 4 5 64% 4. I would rather live in a somewhat controlled economy that has stable, good paying jobs than in a freer economy where job opportunities and wage levels change rapidly.

(The questionnaire continues:)

“Free trade between nations has both advantages and disadvantages for persons living in those nations. The United States trades extensively with other nations. The U.S. imports much more than it exports, running a “trade deficit of many billions of dollars per year. The dollars held by persons in other countries and not used to buy U.S. goods are largely invested in U.S. Treasury bills and related tools of borrowing by the government to pay for expenses in excess of tax and other government income.

“One advantage to citizens in the U.S. is cheaper consumer goods (e.g. clothes, shoes, electronic items such as computers, television sets and telephones, and automobiles). A disadvantage to citizens in the U.S. is a loss of manufacturing jobs to other countries where wages and benefits are much lower (as in China) (“outsourcing” U.S. jobs).

“An advantage to foreign workers and business managers is increased income from the manufacture of goods for the U.S. market. A disadvantage to foreigners is increased air and water pollution in their countries from rapid industrialization and poor regulation of resulting waste and pollution.

“Please give your opinions by answering the following questions (1 = Strongly Disagree, 5 = Strongly Agree):

1 2 3 4 5 37% 5. I am working now in a lower paying job than I was 5 years ago.

1 2 3 4 5 22% 6. I have lost a job during the past 5 years for reasons which seem related to “outsourcing”.

1 2 3 4 5 72% 7. I would rather pay 20% more than I do now for consumer goods and have a steady, higher paying job than I have now than pay low prices for consumer goods and work in an unsteady, lower paying job.

1 2 3 4 5 88% 8. I think the Federal government is more willing to keep conditions good for business leaders who make money from free trade than it is willing to make conditions good for working citizens like me and my friends and relatives.

“Research has shown that intelligence and basic personality traits are related to success in virtually all jobs. Some jobs require high levels of these traits, some require only average levels and some jobs can be successfully performed by persons with low levels of these traits. These traits are relatively stable and permanent, they cannot be changed much. Schooling and other

influences cannot transform persons with low levels of these traits to persons with higher levels. Given this information, please provide your opinions by answering the following questions, using the code provided for questions above:

1 2 3 4 5 47% 9. I think I am working in a job that fully challenges and uses my intelligence and personality assets.

1 2 3 4 5 19% 10. I think I have lost a job in the past five years due to outsourcing of that job to workers in foreign countries.

1 2 3 4 5 91% 11. I would rather work in a job that fully challenges and uses my intelligence and personality assets for a higher wage than work in a job that requires lower levels of intelligence and personality assets and pays less.

1 2 3 4 5 79% 12. I would rather work in a job that fully challenges and uses my assets and have to pay 20% more for consumer goods than work in a job that requires lower levels of assets and pay less for consumer goods.”

And so, we have here an example of how issues that are more complex can be explored by polling citizens to get information important to making planning decisions at a government level. In retrospect, I think item 8 was poorly written, as it includes a reference to very personal welfare rather than the welfare of workers in general. Rather than “...for working citizens like me and my friends and relatives”, I think it should have been worded “...for employees and laborers”, or just “employees” or “hourly wage earners”. This would be more in keeping with the interests of the community overall versus one’s own self-interest.

## 5. Health Care Models

We have seen in the ethics research discussed in a previous chapter that the public endorses a national health care system providing coverage to all citizens. What form such a system should take can be explored by a political party more easily than by standing government, for standing government is beholden to special interest group money from individuals and organizations with a vested interest in preserving the status quo, our primarily private health care delivery system.

The BICO party, dedicated to serving the interests of the people as defined or endorsed directly by the people could research and lay out various realistic options for a national health care system. To be realistic, a health care system would have to be affordable within a balanced national budget.

Consider the following preamble and poll items. The preamble is based on rather cursory research and thinking by the author, so may not be very sophisticated, but it gives an example of how this topic might be presented. Actually, I discussed it with a physician friend who read the manuscript. He said that while a tiered system such as this raises ethical questions, such as about fairness, we indeed do have a tiered system at present, though it is not overtly discussed. Rich people get better health care than poor people. And Oregon has pioneered a rationed public health care system, which functioned reasonably well until severe budget problems developed during the recession. Here’s the preamble:

“To design a national health care system supported by government design and funding, many issues must be considered. The United States tends to spend about twice as much per year on health care per person as other leading nations such as Great Britain, France and Germany.

In spite of this, many Americans are without health care. One reason for this is that the United States spends much money on research and development of new medical technologies and prescription medications. Another is that we have very advanced and expensive technologies for providing medical care. More money is spent for health care on the average American during the last two months of life than during their entire life up until that time. One reason for this is the very advanced and expensive treatments we now have that many other countries do not.

“There are important reasons why the United States would have difficulty providing highly sophisticated health care to all its citizens. One is that we provide very sophisticated and expensive care. Another is that we spend a great deal for military services, both present and past (veteran’s benefits and interest on debt).

“One way we could design a national health care service in light of these realities would be to have a tiered system, with different levels of care depending on how much persons have been able to pay into a national health care system. This would work like Social Security, with a monthly premium coming out of wages or checks sent to the government on a monthly basis for unemployed persons and benefits available at rates proportional to the amount contributed.

“Citizens could select a level of care they could afford and receive a level of benefits fitting their budget. They system would be partially subsidized by the government, perhaps out of money saved if other areas of government are cut back.

“The greatest difference in health care services between the different tiers of benefit would be for end of life services. Injuries sustained in accidents would be covered at a high level for all tiers. But when one is experiencing a terminal illness or condition, such as heart or other organ failure, terminal cancer or other life-threatening disease, care levels would be different for the different tiers. Doctors and hospitals would know your tier level and provide only the care appropriate for that level.

“Tiers might be defined as follow:

Tier 4. Top tier. Highest premium for wealthiest Americans. No government contribution. Highest health care benefits, even for last months of life. Some very expensive services, such as organ transplants, might be excluded.

Tier 3. High tier. Moderately high premium paid by insured person, slight government subsidy. Moderately high health care benefits, some of the expensive end of life benefits are excluded, especially at end of life.

Tier 2. Low tier. Low premium paid by insured. Moderate government subsidy. Modest health care benefits. Most of the expensive benefits are excluded, especially at end of life.

Tier 1. Lowest tier. No premium paid by insured person. Modest government subsidy. Only basic health care benefits. No expensive benefits, especially at end of life.

“Individuals could qualify for any tier, as long as they could pay their premium (which could be taken out of their paycheck if employed). Tier 1 would be for persons who are homeless, chronically unemployed, illegal aliens or otherwise unable to make any monthly financial contribution to their health care.

“Please indicate your level of agreement or disagreement with each of the questions below, using the response code given above (1 = Strongly disagree, 5 = Strongly agree).

1 2 3 4 5 39% 1. I think it is reasonable to have a tiered healthcare system of the sort

described above.

1 2 3 4 5 78% 2. I would have to know more about the details, such as how much one would have to pay for each tier level and what benefits would be provided before I could make any decision about this sort of system.

1 2 3 4 5 61% 3. I think we should spend less on developing new medical technologies and spend the money instead for more affordable health care for all Americans.

1 2 3 4 5 45% 4. I would resent it if I couldn't afford the highest tier of health care."

In this data we have mixed results. This issue appears so complex that more detail would be needed in the preamble before citizens would feel comfortable making firm decisions about options presented. .

## **6. National Budgeting.**

How national revenues are raised, e.g. by a flat income tax, graduated income tax, sales tax or a combination of these and other sources of revenues could also be discussed in detailed preambles and presented to the public and to BICO party members in poll questions. We have seen in studies summarized above how a sample of adults want adjustments in the allocations for five basic categories (military, human resources, physical resources, etc.). Putting these decisions in the hands of the voters would remove them from the influence of special interest groups seeking their own selfish, short-term interests at the expense of the best interests of the community and nation overall and at the expense of future generations.

## **7. Foreign Policy.**

Foreign policy could also be heavily shaped by public opinion via carefully designed polls. Detailed discussion could be presented in preambles, weighing the pros and cons of military might, student exchanges, international trade, outsourcing of jobs, international tourism, terrorism threats, drug trafficking, international athletic competitions, the international Red Cross, the United Nations, etc.

We have seen in the data presented in earlier chapters that the public appears to strongly support a positive, kindly foreign policy, including support for arms reduction and environmental protection treaties. Detailed polls could clarify the specifics of citizens' desires in this regard. This data could then be the basis for specific foreign policies.

## **8. On the subject of polling itself.**

Curious about how the public views polling itself, I included five questions on that topic in my study of sixty-eight churchgoers, with these results:

68% 1. I think the Federal government should conduct regular random polls of the public to help guide its decision-making.

86% 2. If the government did such polling, I would be willing to participate in it for up to one hour per year, without pay.

78% 3. If the government did such polling, I would be willing to participate in it for up to 5 hours per year, without pay.

69% 4. I think the government should try several different solutions to important problems and at the same time, rather than just one solution for several years.

53% 5. If the government wanted to try out the Tiered Healthcare System, I would be willing

to participate in it for a few years to see how it worked.

In this data we see strong support for polling on public policy issues and a willingness to participate in it. Item 4 would support a more creative effort by government to find effective programs for addressing community problems. For example, different forms of taxation, health care and environmental protection could be tried simultaneously in different regions of the country to compare their relative value and effectiveness. This would result in quicker discovery of the most effective way to provide public services than having one program in place for decades without trying other options.

In item 5, we see data that suggests a willingness of half the public to participate actively in carefully designed trial programs.

### **Chapter Summary.**

This chapter has described preambles and the importance of presenting poll questions that are not biased by preamble content or phrasing. It is important to avoid conflicting or self-canceling item clusters. You have seen a sample of poll results in several topic areas.

While many government issues are complex and might seem daunting as topics for the public to understand, research results reported in earlier chapters suggest that most adults are interested in and feel intelligent enough to learn about government issues. Pro-social, constructively-minded citizens are willing to accept the challenge and responsibility of participating in polls to help make government policy decisions. They do not want to trust them to elected representatives alone.

Given the serious drawbacks of government policy controlled by special interest group money and influence and given that poll preambles would be designed by highly qualified BICO staff, soliciting public opinion via polls would be an essential feature of the BICO party. This would help the party promote government of, by and for the people. It would help attract as members citizens who believe in and want this form of government.

A question of considerable importance is how the party would select and promote candidates for public office, which will be explored in the next chapter.

### **How can poll questions be introduced to inform people of the relevant issues?**

By preambles which summarize the details of relevant information.

### **What range of topics can be covered in a poll of public opinion?**

Virtually all aspects of government can be explored via polls.

### **How can complex issues be explored by polls?**

Complex issues can be explored in a number of ways. A complex topic can be broken into segments. Polls of experts in a topic area could be used. For example, a sample of physicians could be polled on the pros and cons of various health care system options. Medical patients who have received in-patient care could be polled on the pros and cons of different hospital care options. The results of these polls could be included in preambles of health care questionnaires presented to the general public or to members of the BICO party.

### **Discussion questions.**

1. What advantages, if any, do you see to polls for informing the new BICO party? What advantages for State and Federal government?
2. Do you think citizens participating in polls sponsored by a government should be paid for their time? What are the pros and cons of paying participants?
3. What three topics would you most like to be polled on regarding Federal government policies and programs? War? Taxes? Jobs? Health care? Environmental protection? Population control? Foreign policy?

### **Chapter 30.**

#### **Now Hiring:**

#### **High Quality Politicians; Selecting and grooming candidates**

How would the BICO party find persons to run for political office?

How would these persons remain independent of pressure from special interest groups and lobbyists?

What traits would the party look for in potential candidates?

#### **Hiring and training what you want.**

One of the most valuable functions of the BICO party would be its ability to carefully select and groom candidates for elected political positions at all levels of government, from town to national offices. Consider this initial list of topics covering the role of such candidates and how this role dovetails with party function. This is offered as a working model. The exact details of party and candidate roles would be worked out when the party is formed and functioning. Persons hired for training as candidates for elected public office would be:

1. Selected for characteristics desired by party members, not just party leaders.
2. Hired employees of the party, until and unless elected to public office.
3. Obligated to pledge loyalty to basic party doctrine as a condition for leadership training.
4. Trained in party activities, policies and programs.
5. Trained in elected office skills.
6. Presented to party membership for selection for candidacy to public office.
7. If selected, they would be sponsored by and their campaigns paid by the party.
8. Their campaigns would be designed and run by the party.
9. As candidates for public office they would be trained in how to represent the party rather than their own personal views.
10. Once in office, they would work closely with party staff in managing their political activities.
11. Once in office they would promote party goals and remain independent of excessive non-party influence.



12. They would avoid lobbyists, who instead would be referred back to party staff who would hear their concerns.

13. Elected candidates would accept no gifts, favors or money from lobbyists or the special interest groups they represent.

Let's consider a sample of what the public wants in leaders. This first data is from the sixty-eight churchgoers discussed in earlier chapters. The percentage of persons endorsing each item is given in the left column.

**Qualifications for election to public office in the national government should include...**

- 74% excellence in public speaking.
- 76% intelligence above 50% of the adult public (above average).
- 73% intelligence above 70% of the adult public (well above average).
- 54% intelligence above 90% of the adult public (very intelligent).
- 74% a college education.
- 57% a graduate college degree (masters or doctoral).

These results suggest that the public wants political leaders to be smart, but not too smart, educated but not too well educated. Perhaps they would trust leaders selected and trained by the BICO party to be both very smart and very well educated, for these qualities augur well for excellence in job performance.

**A. Training and Experience.** The characteristics of candidates for office would be defined largely by the party membership, as clarified in periodic party polls. An initial idea of what party members might look for can be gleaned from the studies done on the forty-seven community college students and sixty-eight churchgoers (115 total). We can tentatively assume that the opinions expressed by these adults would also apply to leaders for local and state government offices as well, though that should be confirmed by subsequent polls.

Here is a summary of the preferences expressed by these adults. These opinions were expressed in a Likert scale format, five options ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree.

**1. Trained as lawyers:** Forty-nine percent are undecided (neutral) on whether national leaders should be trained as lawyers. Thirty-eight percent think they should not be. Only thirteen percent think they should be (Agree or Strongly Agree). Especially at local government levels, many elected politicians are not trained as lawyers and serve very well. It would seem that training in law would not exclude a person for consideration for selection by the BICO party as a leader in training, but would not be required.

**2. Leadership employment and experience:** Sixty-one percent of the adults in this study think that prior leadership employment and experience is desirable. Twenty-one percent are neutral, eighteen percent think it isn't necessary. Thus, it would seem the majority of BICO leader in training candidates should have some such experience. To simplify, let's use LITs to mean "leaders in training". Such experience could come from business, government, higher education (teaching, research, administration) or military service, for example.

**3. 4-year college or university degree:** Sixty-six percent think that LITs should have a college

or university degree. Twenty-two percent are neutral and twelve percent disagree with this education requirement. Thus, with rare exception, candidates would hold a college or university degree. While the subject field majored in hasn't been explored yet in a poll by the author, one can imagine that degrees in political science, law, history, business or economics would be endorsed by the public but that degrees in other fields would not necessarily be excluded. For example, several current members of congress hold doctoral degrees in psychology. An excellent governor of Oregon was a physician.

**Specific college course work:** The next five questionnaire items asked about course work in specific content areas, with these results:

4. Seventy-three percent think (agree or strongly agree) that national government leaders should have three college classes in American and world history.
5. Seventy-four percent think they should have three courses in government and political science.
6. Sixty-seven percent think they should have two courses in economics.
7. 71% think they should have five courses in psychology, sociology, international cultures and world religions.
8. 76% think they should have three courses in group problem-solving, conflict resolution and mediation.

A typical college degree, on a semester system, requires about five classes per semester, for a total of ten per year and forty over four years. If our candidates have all the above course work, they will need sixteen classes of their forty just in our desired subjects. This is a heavy expectation, considering that a major typically requires ten classes. However, even if a person majors in, say, engineering, which might require twenty classes in that and related fields, there would still be room for our sixteen political candidate classes. And a person can take classes after they graduate to round out their academic skills to qualify for a life in politics.

There may be other classes that a more careful survey would find relevant to political office. For example, I personally think that at least one class in the scientific method, basic statistics and data understanding would be wise, for much information that politicians must weigh is presented in the form of statistics, tables of numbers and related formats. They should be familiar enough with this subject matter to know how to accurately weigh information. They should know how to be informed and not confused or misled by well-presented numerical data. Whether or not party members would agree, can be determined by a poll.

**9. Experience in lower public office:** Fifty-three percent think that LIT's should have at least five years of experience in public office at the state level before entering politics at the national level. Polls might show that citizens want local government experience as a qualification for state government office. One can imagine that a poll would show that the public would not think being a movie star alone is sufficient background for public office.

**10. Religious affiliation:** Only eight percent that political leaders at the national level should "be of a certain religion that I prefer". This is consistent with what we have seen above in an earlier chapter about the general public valuing government granting religious freedom without

endorsing any specific religion. The public seems aware of the importance of separating church and state.

**11. Ethnic background:** Similarly, only three percent think that political leaders at the national level should “be of a certain ethnic background that I prefer”. Probably all of the respondents in this poll of 115 adults were of Caucasian ethnic background. Hopefully this accentuates the egalitarian ethnic outlook of the general public in the United States at present. The majority of the public are not strongly biased against any specific ethnic background when it comes to selecting political leaders at the national level. Presumably this would hold at the local level as well.

**12. Gender:** Only five percent think that political candidates should “be of a certain gender that I prefer”. Women and men are equally acceptable as political candidates. Sixty-eight percent of the persons in this sample of 115 were women, which might have been expected to influence the results. However, response to this questionnaire item was not significantly correlated with gender.

**13. Low on warmongering personality traits:** Seventy-six percent agree or strongly agree that political candidates for national office “should not have personality traits that would make them likely to start wars.” Therefore, the BICO party would probably want to take steps to screen LITs for personality traits known to be associated with warmongering. From the studies discussed earlier in this book, the traits in question include high social disenfranchisement, low agreeableness and emotional stability, high social dominance orientation, high right wing authoritarianism, high at riskness for violence, low intelligence, low education, low human rights endorsement, low foreign policy endorsement, high religious fundamentalism and the measurable trait of warmongering itself.

You will recall in Chapter 8 the reference to studies by Milgram and Zimbardo which document the plasticity of public behavior. People can be rather easily led into atrociously hostile behavior. You will also recall from Chapter 25 Nazi leader Hermann Goering’s comments about how easily leaders can get citizens to participate in wars.

Presumably citizens can just as easily be led by leaders into kind and helpful behavior. Examples of this kind and generous human spirit are the dollars and help offered by non-government led Americans to victims of the tsunami in Indonesia and Hurricane Katrina in the United States in recent years. Thus, it is important for the sake of international good will and peace that national leaders be of dispositions likely to inspire and lead citizens to kind and generous behavior rather than selfish, hostile behavior.

**14. Independence from special interest groups:** Only six percent think that candidates for national political office should “be willing to support legislation that will do what their major campaign money contributors want them to do, whether that is in the best interest of the nation overall or not.” The public appears to want politicians to operate independently of special interest group pressure. Presumably members of the BICO party would endorse party support of BICO candidate campaigns, as long as that was the exclusive source of candidate campaign support. As such, BICO candidates would be beholden to the best interests of the community overall, as defined by the BICO party platform. This platform is defined by polls of all party members.

**15. Keeping personal religious beliefs aside from politics:** Seventy-five percent believe that national politicians “should have a reputation for not letting their specific personal religious beliefs color their professional thinking and decisions.” This is consistent with the attitudes expressed by this same sample of adults on the matter of religion and politics in general: government should protect freedom of religion without endorsing any specific religion or religions. BICO party candidates could have religious beliefs and affiliations, but the public wants these to be kept private, not mixed with duties as politicians.

**Warmongers disagree with majority public opinion on leader traits:**

These are safe and wise attitudes. Persons with a warmongering disposition think differently . Consider these correlations:

Warmongering	Item
.37**	92. Preferred ethnic background.
.46**	93. Preferred gender.
-.32**	94. Not warmongering personality.
-.44**	96. Not let personal religion color job.
.32**	95. Support special interest groups.

Persons of the warmongering disposition tend to want political leaders to be of a certain gender (male?), ethnic background (white?), prone to warmongering, motivated in their jobs by personal religious beliefs and supporting special interest groups.

**B. Intelligence and Personality Traits.**

There are several other characteristics which have not yet been included in the author’s polls but which would probably be ratified by public opinion.

**Intelligence.** High verbal intelligence would be desirable, as intelligence is the best overall single predictor of job success across all jobs. Verbal intelligence is the aptitude for understanding and solving problems using abstract symbols, such as words and numbers. I.Q. scores of 120 and above would be a reasonable goal.

**Personality traits.** Research I have done on a detailed personality instrument developed at Oregon Research Institute by Dr. Lewis Goldberg and called the AB5C (which I call the Big Five/45), provides information on the specific traits of that correlate positively with the job of politician. Specifically, 201 adults completed both the Big Five/45 personality questionnaire and a form on which they indicated how skillful they thought they could be in each of 305 careers. The career of politician was defined in terms of the role of current elected politicians, thus:

“Be a government leader in an elected position such as mayor, State Representative or Senator, Federal Government Representative or Senator. Raise money for your election campaigns, meet with people who want you to pass laws in their favor, attend committee meetings, think carefully and read much about many complex issues, do frequent public speaking. Help write, revise and pass laws and regulations.”

Because the role of elected politician would differ from this in the BICO party, the list of traits below would probably have to be revised via further research. Traditional politicians operate in what I have defined as tribal democracy, where politicians serve special interest groups in return for campaign money. The traits below seem consistent with this rather mercenary form of politics.

### **Mercenary politician types.**

If the correlation is positive, then high scores on that trait are associated with self-perceived skill in the job of politician. If the correlation is negative, then low scores on that trait are associated with the job. All the correlations are significant at the .05 level or better. I provide definitions for traits that aren't self-explanatory. The higher the correlation, the more important it is.

#### Extroversion traits:

- .21 Gregariousness.
- .35 Friendliness.
- .17 Assertiveness.
- .37 Leadership.
- .42 Provocativeness. Boastful, demanding, daring in comments and criticism and in defying rules.
- .27 Talkativeness.
- .32 Extroversion total score.

#### Agreeableness traits:

- .27 Morality. Not modest, respectful of rules and authority, not loyal to and respectful of other people.
- .16 Pleasantness. Not socially pleasant, friendly, trusting and kind.
- .35 Cooperation. Not cooperative. Competitive. Not modest, doesn't avoid conflict with and making fun of others.
- .31 Nurturance. Not tending to go out of one's way to help and please others, putting them before self.
- .20 Agreeableness Total Score. Not agreeable, overall.

#### Conscientiousness traits:

- .23 Dutifulness. Not neat, well-mannered, dutiful in work and following directions.
- .15 Cautiousness. Not attentive to detail, concerned with quality performance from self or others or concerned with completing tasks successfully.
- .22 Orderliness. Not rule-oriented, liking schedules, routines, doing things 'by the book'.

#### Emotional Stability Traits:

- .16 Stability.
- .18 Happy.
- .23 Toughness.
- .16 Impulse control. Tends not to control emotions. Interrupts others, not tactful or restrained socially.
- .20 Imperturbability. Tends not to let momentary emotions distract or divert self.

.14 Stability total score.

Intellect Traits: Intellect in this context is not intelligence but a related personality traits, as presented below.

.27 Intellect. Tends to have a large vocabulary of difficult words and enjoys thinking and understanding things.

.33 Competence. Sees self as understanding and learning quickly.

.37 Quickness. Sees self as learning quickly, comprehending complex problems.

.14 Introspection. Enjoys alone time, reflecting and contemplating.

.45 Creativity. Enjoys solving complex problems, linking facts and challenging other persons' points of view.

.17 Imagination. Enjoys, imagination, fantasy, art.

.17 Depth. Tends to think deeply, tries to understand the deeper meanings of things.

.37 Intellect total score.

This cluster of traits is interesting. It suggests a type of person more interested in self-aggrandizement than in public service. It suggests a person who is an extrovert but sly, a person who presents him- or herself as interested in helping others but who in some ways is not (low agreeableness). The low agreeableness scores are reminiscent of the low agreeableness of violence-prone persons and warmongers, persons who seek power to use others for their own selfish ends. A person who is emotionally stable for the most part and prefers not to work too hard. A person who sees him- or herself as intellectually inclined, clever and a thinker.

Keep in mind that this data does not mean that current politicians necessarily have these traits. This data was not gathered from studying politicians per se but from asking a sample of adults about their expected skill in this job. Their personality trait scores were correlated with their skill ratings. The implication is that persons with these personality traits are more likely to enjoy and seek positions as elected politicians.

A further research study of actual politicians could determine whether these traits actually do characterize them. It might be hard to get politicians to submit to such a study, however, for obvious reasons; they'd have little to gain if the results confirmed some of the less flattering findings above.

Once again, this data is provided not as a list of traits BICO candidates would be likely to have. It just shows how the traits of a person interested in one or another form of political office can be ascertained.

### **Can the BICO party do better than this?**

More specifically, as part of this same study of the relationship between personality traits and job preferences, I had the persons indicate which of three constituents they would prefer to serve if they were working as politicians. 155 of the 201 persons chose one of the three political constituencies. The rest chose not to respond, having no interest in politics as a career. Twenty-six percent chose to serve the business owner constituency, seventeen percent chose to serve labor and fifty-six percent chose the third constituency, which was described as in terms of the best interests of the community overall, striking balances between special interest groups

and attending to sustainable issues.

The personality traits of those choosing the community overall constituency would appear to be most likely to characterize persons applying for a job as a Leader in Training with the BICO party. Therefore, it is of interest to see what their personality traits are likely to be. The correlations between this job option and the fifty personality traits yielded the following data. Notice that this data is similar to the data for politicians in general but in some respects different:

Extroversion traits:

- .15 Leadership.
- .18 Provocativeness. Boastful, demanding, daring in comments and criticism and in defying rules.
- .22 Self-disclosure. Open about self and others, enjoying a sense of humor, laughing, childlike, 'wild' and 'crazy.'
- .24 Talkativeness.
- .18 Extroversion total score.

Agreeableness traits:

- .16 Morality. Not modest, respectful of rules and authority, not loyal to and respectful of other people.
- .27 Cooperation. Not cooperative. Competitive. Not modest, doesn't avoid conflict with others, and making fun of others.

Conscientiousness traits:

- .15 Conscientiousness. Not tending to plan ahead, do one's work carefully and complete it on time.
- .19 Dutifulness. Not neat, well-mannered, dutiful in work and following directions.
- .21 Cautiousness. Not attentive to detail, concerned with quality performance from self or others or concerned with completing tasks successfully.
- .16 Rationality. Not rational, logical, straight-forward and believing in consequences for misbehavior.
- .22 Conscientiousness total. Not conscientious, overall.

Emotional Stability Traits:

- .25 Impulse control. Tends not to control emotions. Interrupts others, not tactful or restrained socially.

Intellect Traits: Intellect in this context is not intelligence but a related personality traits, as presented below.

- .19 Intellect. Tends to have a large vocabulary of difficult words and enjoys thinking and understanding things.
- .19 Ingenuity. Confident, "idea person", who likes to come up with new plans and solutions to problems.
- .16 Competence. Sees self as understanding and learning quickly.
- .18 Quickness. Sees self as learning quickly, comprehending complex problems.
- .14 Introspection. Enjoys alone time, reflecting and contemplating.

.27 Creativity. Enjoys solving complex problems, linking facts and challenging other persons' points of view.

.18 Imagination. Enjoys, imagination, fantasy, art.

.14 Depth. Tends to think deeply, tries to understand the deeper meanings of things.

.24 Intellect total score.

Not all of these traits are flattering either. For example, Democratic 2004 presidential candidate Howard Dean got into trouble by whooping it up in public during the campaign (acting 'wild and crazy' and having low impulse control). The low Agreeableness and low Conscientiousness traits are also a concern. Hopefully the BICO party could find candidates for Leader in Training positions who would be agreeable and conscientious and still want to consider a career in politics. Perhaps the BICO party mission, once well developed and described, will appeal to persons with high scores on all of the Big Five personality dimensions. High scores tend to be associated with pro-social behavior and dedicated, constructive work behavior.

**C. Physical appearance.** While physical appearance is not a must for effective performance as an elected official, it would seem to be an asset, especially as politicians must do much public speaking and have much contact with voters and others.

**D. High moral character.** We can expect the general public to want political leaders to be of high moral character, embodying in particular the values most highly endorsed by the public, such as honesty, truthfulness and propriety in personal and sexual behavior. Avoidance of substance abuse (street drugs and alcohol) and other reckless behavior, law-abiding habits and loyalty to community and national ideals would also seem likely to be highly endorsed by the public and expected of elected officials.

**E. Reputation for service.** Another desirable character of LITs would seem to be a reputation of public service, supporting and promoting projects and programs of a pro-social nature. Persons who have been members of service clubs, who have helped raise money for charitable programs, who have fostered community projects in the public service and who put service to others ahead of self-gain would seem most likely to win and maintain public endorsement.

**F. Excellence in public speaking.** Effective politicians are able to speak with confidence, poise, clarity, humor and conviction. They can speak without excessive reference to notes. They have an excellent command of the language. They make good eye contact. They have excellent command of their subject matter. They convey empathy. They project confidence and optimism. They are persuasive and inspiring.

**G. Excellence in bargaining, negotiating, listening, compromising.** Effective politicians must be able to work effectively with other leaders of many sorts. They must appreciate a wide range of sometimes conflicting interests among their voters, fellow politicians, business leaders, scientists, community representatives and others. They must be able to promote important ideas, principles and programs and respect those of others.

**H. Hired Leaders in Training.** Leaders in training would be hired employees of the party, until



and unless elected to public office. These could be part-time positions, as they might also be employed in business, industry or non-elected government positions. As employees, they would not have to have other employment to support themselves. Highly qualified persons could be groomed for candidacy to public office without having to be wealthy, as most politicians have had to be.

A person with high qualifications could be hired right out of college, trained in BICO party functions, helped to find community employment to gain service and leadership experience and then supported in running for elected office once prepared.

**I. Party loyalty.** Leaders in training would be obligated to pledge loyalty to basic party doctrine as a condition for employment and leadership training. The party would invest considerable money and training in LIT's. LIT's would understand that their loyalty politically would be to the best interests of the community overall, as represented by the BICO party and as defined by the public and party members through periodic polls. Government of, by and for the people would be the mantra permeating party function. LIT's would be selected who were committed to this philosophy.

**J. Party Training.** As part of their employee responsibilities, LIT's would be given opportunities to gain experience and skill in a variety of party activities, policies and programs, from recruiting and serving member needs to doing issues research and analyzing poll data. They would gain experience in working with local organizations on service projects initiated by the party, such as programs for conservation, education, and health care. They would be coached in thinking politically, working with others in complex situations requiring negotiation and compromise, and in public speaking.

**K. Training in elected office skills.** LIT's would be carefully trained in the full array of elected office skills. While they would not have to raise money for campaigns, they would be trained in as many details of public office as possible, learning from experienced elected politicians formerly or currently in office, from academicians who study political activity and from leaders and experts in fields related to government activity, such as finance, business, labor, foreign trade, conservation, science, education, and health care.

**L. Presentation to party membership.** Once adequately prepared, LIT's would be presented to party membership for selection for candidacy to public office. These "within-party" elections would determine the candidates the party would enter in races for elected public office, from the local to national level. Party members within a given geographic area would vote on the party candidates from their area.

**7. Campaign funding.** Candidates endorsed by the party would not have to raise campaign funds. Their campaigns would be funded by party member dues. Thus, instead of spending time raising money and making promises, the candidates and the party could spend their pre-election time selling the party platform, recruiting members, and encouraging involvement in party activities.

**8. Campaigns run by party.** Candidate campaigns would be designed and run by the party.

Candidates would not be burdened with excess responsibility. They could continue their current employment activities, when not traveling or giving speeches. Candidate responsibility would primarily be public speaking in behalf of their campaign. As the election drew nearer, more time would necessarily be spent in this and less would be available for current job performance. The party could help cover the candidate's job duties during this period.

### **Summary.**

The BICO party would carefully hire and train candidates for political office. Candidates' roles as employees of the party and then as elected officials would be carefully guided to serve the goals of the party and thus the best interests of communities and the nation overall.

### **How would the BICO party find persons to run for political office?**

The party would recruit, screen, hire and train persons to run for political office. These persons might be current public employees, or elected officials. They might be business leaders, university professors or persons retired from other careers. They might be recent graduates of university studies in political science.

### **How would these persons remain independent of pressure from special interest groups and lobbyists?**

Candidates would be trained to represent the party platform, not the interests of an special group. They would not need or accept any money or favors from lobbyists or the special interest groups they represent. Their campaigns would be funded by the party. The Division of Issues Research would hear special interest group pleas and concerns.

### **What traits would the party look for in potential candidates?**

Candidates would be carefully selected and trained to have a wide range of desired characteristics to assure excellence in promoting the best interests of the party and of the people overall. They would be trained to speak for the party agenda. Specifics of this training are the subject of the next chapter.

### **Discussion questions.**

1. Would you like to be a candidate for political office in the BICO party? Do you know someone who would make a good one? What characteristics do they have that qualify them? How closely do they fit the profile described above?
2. How well do you think a BICO candidate, once elected, would get along in government working alongside Republicans and Democrats? What obstacles might they encounter? How many BICO members would have to be in Congress to have significant power?
3. Who do you think BICO candidates would be most likely to resemble in their legislation? Democrats or Republicans? Why?
4. How long do you think it would take for the BICO party to win a majority of seats in Congress?

**Chapter 31.**  
**Public Speaking 101:**  
**Training candidates to speak for the public.**

How would the speeches of BICO politicians differ from traditional speeches?  
Why would BICO candidates refrain from sharing their specific personal opinions and views on issues of public concern?

*A ... statesman is in general a man of common opinion and uncommon abilities.*  
- Walter Bagehot, 1856 <sup>40</sup>

**Unique campaign speeches: service above self.**

BICO candidates would be trained when making campaign speeches in how to represent the party platform rather than their own personal views. The party is, by definition, designed to serve the best interests of the community overall as defined by informed, concerned citizens.

Through the activities of the Issues Research Department public opinion is carefully

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<sup>40</sup> The Oxford Dictionary of Political Quotations, Antony Jay (Ed.), Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1996, p.23.

heard. Issues are researched. Realistic problem-solving options are designed and presented to party membership for vote. Strongly-endorsed options become the current party platform. This platform will be promoted by party candidates elected to office.

Therefore, the essence of a candidate's campaign speech is to elucidate the current platform as created by this process. Citizens will be encouraged to vote for the party candidate not because of his or her personal views, beliefs or preferences but because they are confident that this candidate will do a good job of promoting the current party platform. This platform will appeal to the majority of citizens because it will come out of a process that solicits and responds to citizen concerns and choices.

For example, here's how candidates could be trained to handle a sample of typical campaign questions by the media or in town hall meetings:

Q: What do you think about school prayer?

A: What BICO party research has clarified is that the majority of informed, concerned citizens, like yourselves, believe that government's role is to guarantee your right to practice whatever respectful religion you choose. However, citizens do not want government telling citizens which religion to practice. Nor do citizens want government promoting one religion over another. In this context, the majority of citizens do not think it is appropriate to have religious activities, such as prayer, a part of public institutions.

Q: But what about government leaders ending their speeches to the public with statements like "God Bless America"?

A: That is a good question. The party has not yet, to my knowledge, included an item addressing this in any of its public polls. I'll make a note of that and suggest they do. Personally, I believe it is most consistent with BICO party protocol that such phrases not be part of speeches by government personnel, for such phrases implicitly endorse religious sanction of our nation. There is nothing wrong with wanting one or another god or gods to endorse or support our nation, but this should be done as a religious act, as at church services, not as a government act. The citizens have indicated in polls that they want a clear separation of church and state. I would prefer to end my own public speeches with a phrase such as "May a spirit of goodness and kindness guide us as a nation." Other party candidates may have other answers to this question.

Q: With the spread of sinfulness in the world, including American corporation white collar crime, sexually transmitted disease, homosexuality, abortion clinics, and a general lack of moral values in society, is there no place for the Christian God in U.S. Government?

A: There *is* a place for the Christian God in government. There is a place for all respectful religious beliefs in government. Let me explain. The BICO party believes in government of, by and for the people. We believe government should be based on the decisions of the majority of registered voters. We trust the majority opinion as reflected in your answers and preferences on well-researched options for solving the many important problems that you expect your government to address. For example, we think the national budget allocations should be decided by the people and we conduct polls to ask you whether you want spending in each of several general categories to go up, go down or stay the same.

And this is where there is a place for your personal religious beliefs to have a place in government. When you respond to a poll question about the national budget, we expect you to look at the facts, look at your conscience, ask for ideas from those you respect, including your God, and then make what you think is the proper decision. Your religious beliefs can be part of your response to each poll question on each area of government. In this manner, we can each express our own personal religious beliefs in helping contribute to how our government functions.

And in this manner we can have different religious beliefs but cooperate together in forming majority opinions upon which to base our collective actions. It is important that we respect our individual differences in religious belief but learn to cooperate in forming policies that unite us in constructive action. We cannot afford to waste our energy fighting against each other on issues that concern us all and that we must all address as a nation.

Q: What do you think about the idea of preemptive wars to protect our interests around the world?

A: Our party research has shown that the majority of citizens in our nation do not endorse war in general. The majority prefer that we live cooperatively with other nations and resolve our differences by non-military means. Indeed, they prefer a downsizing of military expenditures. If elected to office, I would promote these activities as a way to protect our interests, the interests of other nations and in the interest of peace.

Q: What do you think of our efforts to promote democratic governments in Iraq and other middle-eastern nations?

A: The BICO party defines the most advanced form of democracy, which we call “public democracy”, as government based on public decision-making. The people should make the decisions. This form of democracy cannot be imposed on a nation from the outside. It must come from the people within a nation. If our nation practices public democracy, then it will offer to help other nations do so only when invited by the people of those nations, not by military force from our nation.

Q: But what if we are attacked by terrorists again? What should government do to protect us from terrorist acts?

A: We must have sophisticated and skillful government departments to provide intelligence and strategies for detecting and preventing terrorist plans and acts. Current government leaders must have timely access to this information in making policy decisions. Some military or police actions may sometimes be a reasonable part of this. However, we must not lose sight of the general public’s preference for a primarily peace-promoting foreign policy. The majority of the public want us to fight the causes of terrorism through promotion of activities such as those sponsored by the United Nations and through non-military aid to foreign countries. The radical terrorist acts of a relative minority of persons must not cause us to lose contact with and the trust of the great majority of citizens around the world who are peace-loving and do not endorse terrorist activity. We must maintain good rapport with the peace-loving citizens in all nations, whom we can expect to help us prevent terrorism by radical minorities in their countries.

Q: What about jobs? What are you going to do to provide unemployed but well-qualified and

willing adults with decent family-wage jobs?

A: Creating and protecting good jobs for all citizens willing to work is a very important issue, for jobs give our lives much meaning and generate income and tax revenue that give us the power to provide well for ourselves and help less fortunate persons in our nation and in other nations. But the issue of jobs is intimately intertwined with other issues, including foreign trade, our trade balance, education and training, banking and finance, the use of natural resources and the causes of pollution, to name only some. From polls of citizens like yourselves, the BICO party knows this is an issue of critical interest and importance to our nation.

The party has a staff of highly trained experts who are doing research on this issue as we speak. They are seeking realistic, sophisticated answers to this question. These will be presented to party members for selection of the best options. When this has been done, our party will have plans for creating the kinds of jobs we all need.

Q: What about health care? If we vote for you, what will you do to assure that I and my family will have adequate health care? I have no coverage. I can only find short-term jobs that don't pay benefits.

A: This topic is under intense study by the Issues Research department of the BICO party. We are exploring the many complex issues involved in providing or assuring adequate health care, one of which is that in the United States we have the most advanced, and as a result some of the costliest, diagnostic and treatment services in the world. One issue is the ethical one of deciding how much do we spend to keep ourselves alive, especially at the end of life. We die very expensively in our country.

I myself do not know many more of the details on this issue, but again, we welcome help from those of you who would join our party and help us with such issues, as by choosing between options on opinion questionnaires that we send to our members to help us pick realistic solutions to these important problems. What I can tell you with confidence is that the party knows that many Americans like yourself are without adequate health care and want adequate health care. The BICO party is relatively new, but we are trying to come up with some realistic options that will give every citizen a choice and access to some form of care.

Q: How would you, personally, vote on an amendment to the Constitution banning hand guns for private citizens?

A: How I would personally vote on this or any other specific issue is a private matter. It is private for me just as it is for each of you. If I were an elected official and it was a matter on which I would vote as a legislator, my vote would be public, by law. I would cast my vote based on my personal thoughts, feelings and opinions of the moment, based on a careful assessment of the issues involved. I would help others make decisions not by telling them how I was going to vote but by encouraging them to become as well-informed on the issues as they can. I am not aware of any such amendment proposal at the moment, so I have not studied the issue. In general, however, I am concerned with the number of intentional and accidental shootings by private citizens in our country and I think it is important that we more carefully manage weapons as a result.

Q: What is your position on gay marriage?

A: Again, my personal position or opinion does not carry any more weight or importance than

that of any one of yours and is thus a private concern. In making decisions about such issues I would again urge you all to be as well-informed as you can be. To learn about facts that are being considered by the BICO party Department of Issues Research, you can go to the party web site at [WWW.BicoParty.org](http://WWW.BicoParty.org). Click on the Issues Research button and follow the links to gay marriage. As I recall, there is data provided from scientific studies from biology, sociology and psychology. There is also a discussion of historical information and a discussion of religious thinking, and one about laws both in the United States and in other nations. It is a topic that touches on many issues, so you'll need to spend some time studying it if you want to make an informed decision.

I think as responsible citizens we all need to listen as carefully as we can to our entire minds and hearts when making decisions, not just do what the person next door does or what a highly-opinionated politician or other leader recommends. If you don't have time to study every issue, at least review the opinions of BICO party members as summarized by periodic polls conducted within the party. You can find these poll results also at the party web site. There may not yet have been a party poll on gay marriage legislation options, as the party is new.

Q: Who do you think contributes more to this country, know-it-all Ivy League intellectuals or working class persons in Kansas?

A: The form of your question implies a distrust of intelligent, highly educated persons. Some intelligent, well-educated persons have misused their assets when leading corporations or when serving special interest groups in government at the expense of overall welfare of the nation, and behaving in immoral ways. But do not be too quick to condemn all intelligent and educated persons because of the failings of a few. Dictatorships under Stalin and Hitler had great fear of intellectuals and imprisoned them to avoid their criticisms. Let us not become vulnerable to this sort of narrow-mindedness.

The BICO party thinks there is an important place in government decision-making for both well-educated, intelligent persons and less intelligent, less educated but hard-working, conscientious and moral citizens. The party employs intelligent, highly educated persons especially to work in its Issues Research Department. They poll the public to find out what you all think are important issues. Then they study these issues and form reasonable options for solving our nation's problems. Then they poll party members to find out how concerned and informed citizens want government to be run. You can join the party and participate in this process, no matter what your level of education or intelligence. The more you care about our nation's welfare, the more our party should appeal to you, for we value the opinions of concerned citizens.

### **Summary.**

In their public speeches, BICO political candidates would emphasize the philosophy and practices of the party, not their personal opinions per se. They would not engage in character assassination of opponents or dwell on weaknesses or deficiencies in opponent positions. Instead, they would place their faith in the party platform, confident that because the platform is based on public polls and party member endorsement of well-researched response options that it will appeal to the majority of any given audience.

**How would the speeches of BICO politicians differ from traditional speeches?**

They would reflect carefully researched solutions and positions on issues of public importance reflecting BICO party philosophy and policy. Personal chest-pounding, mud-slinging, and promises to special interest groups would be absent.

**Why would BICO candidates refrain from sharing their specific personal opinions and views on issues of public concern?**

Because any one person's opinions are not as relevant as individual statements in a truly democratic government which depends on the majority of voting citizens to make decisions. Candidates would keep their private opinions to themselves and defer to the group opinion reflected in the results of BICO party polls.

**Discussion questions.**

1. How well do you think a typical BICO party candidate or politician would fare in a public speech or press conference? How would the candidate fare in a debate against a Republican or Democrat? What advantages or disadvantages might fall to the BICO candidate?
2. What question that you would like to ask debaters in such a situation? How do you think candidates from each of the three parties would reply? Would their replies be predictable? Why?
3. Assume the BICO party is successful and celebrates its political power 100 years from now. It puts up a monument. What do you think the monument would feature? A famous BICO leader or politician? A group of people? An abstract symbol, such as a monolith or arch? Why would it feature what it does?
4. Assume a Nobel Peace Prize is one day awarded to an American political party. Which of the three parties, Republican, Democratic, or BICO do you think would be most likely to win the prize? Why?



## **Chapter 32.**

### **Blueprints for Future Efforts**

In conclusion, I thank you for considering my ideas. I have shown how questionnaires can be used to ferret out the workings of the human mind that underlie individual violence, warmongering leadership and what the general public wants from government. I have offered suggestions about how to treat the violence-prone child or adult to revise their antisocial tendencies. I have produced a rating scale for identifying potentially dangerous political leaders. I have described the beginnings of a new political party to represent the best interests of the majority of concerned, informed voters.

Let me take a few moments to respond to anticipated criticisms and then offer suggestions for further efforts.

#### **Criticisms.**

Some readers will point out that my studies, while replicated on many groups, have not been based on large random samples of subjects. This limits the confidence with which one can generalize from my findings to humankind as a whole.

This criticism would be important if one were concerned with norms, but not so important if one is concerned with the relationships between traits, which has been the focus of my studies. Charles Darwin also was concerned with the relationships between traits and species, not with categorizing all species or measuring the traits of all members of a species. His theory of evolution of species rests on careful observations of various segment of world fauna, the fauna of the Galapagos Islands off Ecuador and others, but not “random samples”.

My findings are offered as a theory about the relationships between human traits. The relationships between these traits, with a central focus on warmongering, have been observed in the same patterns over many groups and with subjects from five continents. I cannot claim at this point to have definitely established universal facts. I offer my findings as initial evidence. I believe these relationships will hold up well under future studies with larger, more random, more universal, and more diverse populations.

If one wants national or international norms for traits such as warmongering or violence-proneness, a sufficiently funded study could solicit participation from large random samples of persons. Ideally, these persons would be tested in the presence of a researcher, as at a hotel conference room where the participants could be provided room and board. A couple of days of questionnaires of various sorts would provide data replicating all the studies reported thus far. It would be interesting especially to gather more data from all the six inhabited continents, as I expect my findings reflect universal human traits. Internet studies have been shown to provide rather good, reliable and representative data and might be an even better format than “hotel” studies.<sup>41</sup> I conducted all of my studies without outside funding, covering all expenses myself and relying primarily on unpaid volunteers. My capacity to do studies on large random samples and on international samples was thus limited.

The reference to Internet studies (40) is to one by Sam Gosling, among others. Sam has provided me with norms for the Big Five Inventory, a 44-item measure of the Big Five personality traits that I used in my study of religious and spiritual beliefs reported in Chapter 12, above. When I shared my findings with Dr. Lew Goldberg at Oregon Research Institute, he raised questions about the representativeness of my sample (92 community college students). To check whether this sample might be much different than people in general, I compared the women’s scores on the BFI with the norm group provided by Sam, which was for over 166,000 Caucasian women gathered via the Internet. There were no significant differences. For example, the mean scores for my students were 3.44 and 3.90 for Conscientiousness and Openness, compared to 3.44 and 3.92 for Sam’s sample. Furthermore, the percentages of students holding Fundamentalist and Kindly religious beliefs in this sample (11 and 88) were virtually the same as those in my larger combined sample of 249 persons from three Midwestern states and from Oregon, including 80 first generation Slavic immigrants (11 and 89). From these findings I concluded that my sample was likely to be reasonably representative on traits such as personality and general religious and spiritual beliefs.

It is also true that I did not make any special effort to choose random subjects for my studies. Except in the case of norming the ARFV test on all of the children in one community, I relied on a wide variety of subjects, often with the selection governed in part by who was willing and able to participate. Known groups were assessed with the expectation of finding significant differences, as were found between criminals and non-criminals on the ARFV test and between Nigerian criminals and American Quakers. Otherwise, I tried to study a wide variety of groups to neutralize possible bias of results from one or another unique sample. The similarity of my findings across many different groups suggests that the findings are relatively widely generalizable.

Criticism might come from religious fundamentalists, who might feel singled out by my findings. At the extreme, there might be fundamentalists who eschew any scientific findings that threaten or contradict their religious beliefs, simply on the principle that faith-based beliefs

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41 Should We Trust Web-Based Studies?; A comparative Analysis of Six Preconceptions about Internet Questionnaires. Samuel D. Gosling, Siminie Vazire, Sanjay Srivastava and Oliver P. John, February/March 2004, *American Psychologist* Vol. 59, No. 2, Pp93-104.

supercede scientific facts. I can't imagine any logical argument that would successfully counter such a criticism to the satisfaction of persons from such a religious orientation. I did not set out to embarrass religious fundamentalists or persons of any religious disposition. I merely pursued research questions which appeared relevant to the unfolding issues as my studies progressed. The association between religious fundamentalism and warmongering was a surprise to me, as was the association between anxiety, and fundamentalism and warmongering. The strong association between religious fundamentalism and warmongering was evident when measuring fundamentalism via three different scales, mine, Altemeyer's and Saucier's. Therefore, this finding does not appear to be arbitrarily a function of the specific measuring instrument used.

My finding that warmongering is associated with preference for forms of government other than public democracy was also unanticipated.

I suppose concerns could also be raised by persons of some political orientations, specifically orientations steeped in partisan politics. Here the issue would appear to be differences in government type preference. My studies reveal preferences for different types of government by persons of different orientations. It is true that I personally prefer what I have termed public democracy over the four other forms of government studied, but I have tried to structure my questionnaire items without bias. Respondents on questionnaires were free to endorse or not endorse any of the government types as strongly as they wished. The fact that the majority consistently preferred public democracy to all other options was also a surprise, though one that pleased me.

One perceptive critic at a talk I gave objected to my use of the term "tribal democracy", preferring "special interest group democracy" instead. Each of these terms has potential negative connotations, I suppose, but I doubt that the use of the phrase "tribal democracy" was any worse for research purposes than "special interest group democracy" or any worse than other possible choices might have been. The term was clearly defined in the questionnaires. No other persons raised an objection to this phrase. Therefore, I do not think the research data was unusually skewed in one way or another by this particular phrase, or any more than it might have been had I used another phrase to describe this form of government.

Whether public democracy as conceived in this book can become a reality is an issue for citizens to determine through their political behavior in the years to come. I expect that it can be realized, given the apparent very strong preference for it over other options and the willingness of people to pay dues sufficient to support it adequately. In addition, Japan has begun national promotion of sustainable programs, urging citizens to buy hybrid cars and replace their appliances with much more energy efficient ones.<sup>42</sup> Europeans are hesitant to endorse a European Community constitution that does not provide some reasonable protection for jobs for citizens in member nations.<sup>43</sup>

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42 Japan On Fire to Cut Kilowatts, James Brooke, New York Times, in Eugene Register-Guard, Sat. June 4, 2005, p. A 1.

43 Fat and happy Europeans aren't ready for hungry India, Thomas Friedman, The New York Times, in Eugene Register-Guard, June 4, 2005, p. A 16.

## **Suggestions for Future Action and Research.**

I hope my efforts will lead to much further research and effort. Researchers may question some of my findings and conclusions. If so, I hope they will be stimulated to do further research to clarify the issues raised.

I have made all my research questionnaires available to researchers via my web site. This includes a manual summarizing the reliability and validity data for each instrument, as well as the instruments themselves. Some of them are available in French, German and Spanish.

I am open to collaboration with others and would find that stimulating. I encourage individuals and groups to continue efforts which dovetail with or are inspired in some small measure by my work. In general, it will be interesting to see how replications of my studies appear on larger and more diverse and random samples of subjects from various parts of the United States and from various countries around the world.

Specific questions that I think warrant special focus include these:

### Regarding violence-proneness:

1. Would children and adults prone to violence who are “sentenced” to interact with well-adjusted, non-violence prone persons become more productive, civil members of society than those punished by incarceration with other violence-prone children and adults?
2. Why are college males on the East coast of the United States so much higher than those on the West coast on the At Risk for Violence test? Do greater congestion, competition and population density exacerbate violence-proneness?
3. How and why do average ARFV test scores vary from age 8 or 9 to 24 for males and females? Do they increase for children not exposed to violent movies and video games?
4. How well would a community protect itself from school violence by testing all children periodically on the ARFV test and providing counseling to all those above the 90<sup>th</sup> or 95<sup>th</sup> percentile on the total ARFV score?

### Regarding warmongering.

1. Do members of traditionally more or less fundamentalist religious sects differ significantly on warmongering measures? If so, by how much? Are all members of fundamentalist sects high on religious fundamentalism? On warmongering?
2. How do persons with high scores on measures of warmongering react to being informed of their elevated scores?
3. How do various political heads of state from nations around the world score on the Warmongering-Prone Rating Scale? Do scores vary depending on who completed the scale, e.g.

political scientists versus journalists? Do scores for U.S. politicians by Republican raters differ from those by Democratic raters?

Regarding politics, public democracy and the proposed BICO party.

1. How do Republicans and Democrats react to the findings in this book?
2. How do supporters of independent and green parties react?
3. How do citizens of other nations react?
4. What citizen groups, if any, will take up the challenge to develop a working version of the BICO party? Will Europeans or Japanese take up the challenge more enthusiastically than Americans?
5. If the BICO party is developed, how will it fare? Will it be able to resist the temptation to accept special interest group money and influence?

**Fini**

In ending, I offer snippets of encouragement from three writers.

*A man should not give his heart to anything which will end when his life will end.*

-C. S. Lewis

I have given you my best. I hope my ideas will live for you. And through you after I am gone.

You will recall Yo-Yo Ma's questions:

*Where is our country? Where is the world? What could it be? What are the little things we can do that could actually move things in a good way?*

If my efforts inspire you to ask these questions for yourself, I will sleep more peacefully.

And lastly, a lovely poem, reprinted here by permission of the author, Welsh poet Sheenagh Pugh<sup>44</sup>. It provides encouragement for those of us struggling with humanity's biggest problems:

Sometimes

by Sheenagh Pugh

Sometimes things don't go, after all,  
from bad to worse. Some years, muscadel  
faces down frost, green thrives, the crops don't fail,  
sometimes a man aims high, and all goes well.

A people will sometimes step back from war,  
elect an honest man, decide they care  
enough, that they can't leave some stranger poor.

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44 Keillor, Garrison, (Selected and introduced by), Good Poems, Penguin, U.S.A., 2003.

Some men become what they were born for.

Sometimes our best efforts do not go  
amiss, sometimes we do as we meant to.  
The sun will sometimes melt a field of sorrow  
that seemed hard frozen: may it happen for you.